Andalucía en capas: Reconciling Andalusian Identity with Spanish and European Influence

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Andalucía en capas: Reconciling Andalusian Identity with Spanish and European Influence

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Hispanic Studies from the College of William & Mary in Virginia

by

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ABSTRACT

The southernmost autonomous community within Spain, Andalusia maintains a tradition of cultural pluralism and multi-layered social influence. Throughout Andalusia’s long and complex history, countless civilizations have contributed to the rich cultural uniqueness which persists today. Though an autonomous community under Spanish national jurisdiction, Andalusia and its people have diverged from the rest of Spain in cultural, historical, and linguistic experiences, establishing a unique identity in Andalusia. In the modern day, these layers of identities, Andalusian, Spanish, and European, compete to define the people of this region.
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Introduction

«Sevilla, la romana. Sevilla, la árabe, judía, cristiana, indiana. Han producido el patrimonio cultural que este año mostramos los españoles a huéspedes venidos de todos los países de la tierra.»¹

[“Seville, the Roman. Seville, the Arabic, Jewish, Christian, Indian. (These cultures) have produced the cultural patrimony that this year we Spaniards show to our guests from all countries in the land.”]

-- S.M. Juan Carlos I, 1992

The crossroads of Europe and Africa, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, Andalusia has sat centered as a focal point for economic commerce and cultural diffusion throughout millennia. Andalusia, characterized by its strategic positioning and prime climate, has seen the flourishing of countless civilizations. As each society arrived at this southernmost region of the Iberian Peninsula, whether by reaching the rocky shores, crossing the arid deserts, or conquering the snowcapped mountains, a distinct identity arose as a result of the layering of peoples and cultures, and with the flourishing of these settlements, an indelible mark, physically and culturally, has been impressed on the land and its people. Andalusia, a region with distinct histories and diverse peoples, maintains a separate sense of nationalism and pride within what is today, the autonomous community of Andalusia. Examining how Andalusia interacts on the levels of governance locally, nationally, and supra-nationally helps to identify the full nuances of the sociopolitical identity of Andalusia.

Though the field of examining and analyzing Andalusian uniqueness has not attracted the same prolific academics as those of more well-known autonomous

¹ Please see p. 81 in Chapter 4 for full quote and reference.
communities such as País Vasco [Basque Country] or Cataluña [Catalonia], there still has been a growing conversation on this matter, nonetheless. Scholars tend to examine Andalusian identity through a variety of lenses taking an interdisciplinary approach, ultimately adding a layered depth to the understanding of the region and its people. The first and most widely profound of these three paradigms is the historical. The second of which is anthropological. The final primary lens of analysis is political; however, it must be noted that there is little research dedicated explicitly to Andalusia in particular in this field. Rather, scholars on this tack tend to observe interparty politics within the region or juxtapose Andalusia with another autonomous communities to highlight a political thesis.

The first paradigm which contains the most breadth of material to help establish this conversation is deconstructing aspects of Andalusian identity as a factor of historical determinants. In order to understand the specific research with regards to Andalusia, it is necessary to examine pan-European studies in nationalism and identity. Christoffer Kølvraa of Aarhus Universitet elaborates on the role history has played out in Europe with regards to the convergence of people and their nations to create a shared identity: “... the enjoyment of and desire for specific collective identities are evoked by way of the narrative plotlines used to tell stories about the Community’s past, present, and future,” (Kølvraa 1406). Examining this framework more closely grounding the necessity of historical narratives in identity studies, Kølvraa illustrates the point by tying historical analysis to how notions of war have become memorialized into history: “Although World War II was still most frequently mentioned, the ‘horrific past’ could be expanded to entail both World Wars, the entirety of the 20th century before 1950 or indeed most extensively ‘1,500 years of intra-European warfare,’” (1410 Kølvraa).
Nations and their citizens then see concrete events of history through lenses colored by their own experiences, each with a different perception of such event, providing further motivation “to focus closely on the dominant stories about Europe which are articulated in these discourses” (Kølvraa 1406). This emphasis thereby enshrines the historical effect of such events into national identity, public consciousness, and social mythology.

A second widely accepted school of thought with respect to engaging Andalusian identity takes root in the field of anthropology. Pedro Gómez García elaborates on the present state of such identity:

«Lo andaluz está ahí, es algo que vivimos, que sabemos diferenciar cuando tratamos con alguien andaluz, algo por lo que nos identifican desde fuera otros que no son andaluces. Es algo manifiesto en costumbres, habilidades para vivir, expresiones artísticas, sentimientos festivos y religiosos, etc. Dicho de otro modo, lo andaluz se nos da en objetivaciones sociales e históricas que ocurren ahí y se pueden observar.» (Gómez García 2)

[“The Andalusian is there, it is something that we live, which we know how to differentiate when we encounter someone Andalusian, something by which we identify from the outside others who are not Andalusians. It is something manifest in our customs, ways of life, artistic expressions, social and religious feelings, etc. In other words, the Andalusian is given to use through social and historical objectifications that occur there and can be observed.”]

The implication of such identity being recognized through the juxtaposition of one who does not fit the same identity suggests a manner of intangible uniqueness which both convinces those arguing for the existence of a distinct identity while also failing to
ascertain skeptics of its lack of existence. However, this convention of analyzing Andalusian identity without a «científico» [“scientific”] methodology has been regarded by the field as generally acceptable (Gómez García 3).

Additionally, in the anthropological line of thought, José Manuel Jurado Almonte has argued in support of this idea through a different calculus. Jurado’s primary argument is rooted in discovering aspects of identity both realistically and symbolically. Isidoro Moreno Navarro explains in his critique of work of Jurado: «Fruto de este análisis es señalar que el problema de la tierra en Andalucía se constituye en uno de los marcadores de identidad... [que] nos presenta desde las dos dimensiones: la real y la simbólica,» [“The result of this analysis is to point out that the problem of land in Andalusia constitutes one of the markers of identity... (which) presents us from the two dimensions: the real and the symbolic,”] (Moreno Navarro 201). Here, he further ties these two dimensions in with the final chapter of the book the distinction of the «nación cultural» [“cultural nation”] and the «nación política» [“political nation”]. Suggesting this connection between the land and its people while justifying a common feeling of identity in Andalucía [Andalusia] that does not necessarily line up with political boundaries functionally elevates the conversation to the same level of that of Cataluña and País Vasco.

The final paradigm through which scholars discern this Andalusian identity is the political. With many scholars pulling from a diverse variety of sources, this lens encompasses academic works in addition to various factual political publications such as official statements and governmental declarations. The barriers to entry for writing on these political phenomena are much lower, allowing those other than academics to contribute to the burgeoning area of study.
One example of the political works and analyses that stands out in relevance to this question on Andalusian identity discusses the role of identity for the European Union. The E.U., one of the most radical ongoing experiments in diplomatic statecraft, necessitates a complex understanding of the different identities of its member states and regions therein. One such political study, influenced by the E.U., discusses the effect of European agricultural policy in its support for Andalusian olive production and exports. In summary, this article concludes that the “importancia social, económica y ambiental del olivar” [“social, economic, and environmental importance of olive cultivation”] is among the driving factors promoting «los intereses sociales del conjunto de la sociedad sobre los de carácter económico,» [“the social interests of the society overall over those of an economic nature”] (García-Brenes 100). In addition to the obvious economic motive behind these subsidies, the E.U. may see benefits to providing monetary subsidies to such production in further attempts to bolster this identity and pride within Andalusia, further aiding European political cohesion. Prevalent within this Honors Thesis are additional examples that illustrate the role of politics and economics in the formation, solidification, and outward expression of a social identity.

Additionally, in line primarily with the political calculus while also embodying elements of the historical and anthropological schools of thought, Manuel Hijano del Río and Francisco Martín Zúñiga wrote on the construction of the precepts of Andalusian identity through a perspective based on tourism to the region. In 2007, they discussed how «los trabajos que relacionan identidad y guías turísticas» [“the jobs that relate identity and tour guides”] serve as examples of how Andalusians represent themselves as well as what they perceive to be their sense-of-self, elucidating «una imagen que construye un “modo de ser,” un “carácter” o unas “señas de identidad”» [“an
image which constructs a ‘way of being,’ a ‘character,’ or some ‘signs of identity,’” (Hijano del Río et al. 95). By examining these primary cultural artifacts and synthesizing background information given by the historical and anthropological disciplines, these authors come to their conclusions in a very practical manner, taking liberties outside of the scholarly field and demonstrating how taking tourist texts and similar cultural artefacts into account helps to paint a more complete picture.

The existing scholarly conversation surrounding the Andalusian socio-political identity largely lacks coherence and continuity, scattered throughout a number of disciplines. This Honors Thesis proposes to synthesize fragments from the wide breath of scholarly literature surrounding an Andalusian socio-political identity in order to provide context that will ground a reading of the contemporary Andalusian self-perception through cultural artifacts manifest during interactions with Spain’s national attempted narrative and that of the European Union.

In order to better understand the context and origins for the Andalusian identity, it is imperative to have a firm grasp of the nation’s complex history. Chapter 1 will begin by analyzing the role of Blas Infante, Andalusian politician and widely considered the Father of Andalusian Nationalism – one of the first to codify this identity in the political system and further entrench the Andalusia in the recognition and continued creation of a regional socio-political narrative. Taking a step back, this chapter then will delve further into the tenets of nationalism and its implications for Andalusia in the modern-day citing some of Andalusia’s outwardly visible national symbols.

After discussions of Blas Infante and the construction of an Andalusian state, the chapter will jump back to elaborate on the early civilizations of Andalusia and will continue towards the present. The Roman Empire with its ambition and ingenuity
brought to the Iberian Peninsula a complex system of roads introducing a degree of urbanism, novel for its time, which still is prevalent within modern cities today. Afterwards, the Moors arrived from the northern tip of Africa and brought their sturdy architecture and agricultural innovations. Today in Andalusia, these cultural breakthroughs have advanced the region to embody the mixture of its historical antecedents. While much of the Iberian Peninsula shares a common history with Andalusia to some extent, Andalusia felt the effect of these civilizations most strongly, and the residual of the traits left by each society within Andalusia has driven the evolution of its own cultural patrimony – distinct from any other autonomous community in Spain.

Having established the Andalusian narrative of historical distinctness, both explicit in the case of Blas Infante and implicit as derived throughout the rest the region’s history, the following chapter will juxtapose this Andalusian uniqueness with the brutal repression from the dictatorship of Generalísimo Francisco Franco. An analysis of newspapers from the 1940’s through the 1960’s will be the methods through which this Honors Thesis will more closely examine the implied narrative and underlying intentions of the Dictatorship.

Taking a step into the present day, the Chapter 3 of this Honors Thesis speaks to the current state of the relationship between Andalusia and the Spanish national government in Madrid. Largely in part to the radical restructuring and devolution of authority from the unitary Francoist state to the dispersed *autonomía* [autonomy] system in place today, Andalusia, along with other *autonomías*, continues to struggle to define itself in relation to Madrid. While some of the population is in favor of increasing social and political ties with Madrid, another large portion of the population holds a
certain degree of distain for the national Spanish government. This chapter will delve into various instances of prominent interaction between Madrid and Andalusia, detailing the tenuous relationship of this decentralized, fragile dynamic.

Finally, the Chapter 4 will detail a similar process of analysis with respect to Andalusia and the role the European Union plays in the empowerment and simultaneous hinderance of the Andalusian socio-political identity. Sharing a similar struggle as Spain nationally, Andalusia is likewise navigating its relatively new relationship with the European Union – another competing socio-political force seeking to define the region. This entity, the European Union, permits Andalusia a new outlet for the growth and funding of its own economic and cultural resources within the autonomous community. This, however, allows fears to arise of the leveling of its distinct culture in the wave of globalism and pan-Europeanism. With many of the benefits the E.U. offers to Andalusia, come contingencies and conditions that people frequently believe contrary to the greater essence of Andalusia. In contrast, however, the chapter will assess the aspects of both Andalusia’s large population maintaining an ambivalent attitude towards the E.U. along with other portions of Andalusia’s political populace who despise the E.U.

The Honors Thesis will establish the essence of the Andalusian narrative and its relevance in contemporary culture. Then, I will demonstrate how this self-conceptualization has motivated Andalusia to perceive the dichotomy of authority stemming from Madrid and the European Union. Since both Madrid and the European Union seek to implicate Andalusia in their own narratives, a more foundational understanding of Andalusia’s own identity will forge pathways for Andalusia to gain greater recognition and political power on these two stages of authority.
Chapter 1: Foundations of the Andalusian Identity

«Andalucía, a lo largo de su historia, ha forjado una robusta y sólida identidad que le confiere un carácter singular como pueblo, asentado desde épocas milenarias en un ámbito geográfico diferenciado, espacio de encuentro y de diálogo entre civilizaciones diversas.»

[“Andalusia, throughout its history, has forged a robust and solid identity that confers it a singular character as a people, settled since ancient times in a differentiated geographical area, space of encounter, and dialogue among diverse civilizations.”]

-- Preámbulo, Estatuto de Autonomía para Andalucía

In order to better grasp the complexity of the outward expression of Andalusian identity, both politically and culturally, it is fundamental to look towards Blas Infante, who many consider to be the cornerstone in the modern conceptualization of Andalusia. Dubbed by many as “el padre del nacionalismo andaluz” [“the father of Andalusian nationalism”], Blas Infante dedicated his life to nurturing the roots of contemporary Andalusian nationalism from a young age and well throughout his substantial career in the Andalusian political system.

Born in Málaga in 1885, Blas Infante availed himself of the cultural influence of a variety of cities within Andalusia, having received formal education in Córdoba and Granada. Passing his civil service exams after his studies at the age of twenty-four, he began his first job as a notary in a small pueblo, or village, outside of Sevilla (El Correo). Having not only traveled but garnered tangible and pragmatic experience living in these diverse regions of Andalusia, he established his motus operandi of furthering Andalusia as a distinct region among Spanish society and parliament.

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2 This quote is taken from the very first lines of the Premble to the 2007 Revision to the Statutes of Autonomy
Blas Infante is widely considered the founder of these Andalusian unification movements, and many herald him as “El Padre de nacionalismo andaluz.” The vast majority of those examining Andalusian history and its origins through the lens of Blas Infante will note the careful wording Infante uses in his speeches and publications. In forging this pan-Andalusian narrative in the late 19th century, Infante constantly refers to “La nación andaluza” [“the Andalusian nation”] (CanalSur). The solidification of basic principles in Andalusian identity leads to the fundamental argument of what Infante and those at the Asemblea de Ronda [Assembly of Ronda], the first concretely recorded gathering in which Andalusians discussed these issues in a shared national spirit, were intending to make reality (CanalSur).

“El nacionalismo andaluz” today is a political movement that strives to push the Spanish government to continue to cede autonomous powers to Andalusia, similar to the wills of the Basque Country [País Vasco], and Catalonia [Cataluña]. Prior to the start of the Guerra Civil Española [Spanish Civil War] movements in Andalusia for accelerating the path to a greater degree of autonomy had been gaining traction; however, these hopes were shattered after the outbreak of the Civil War (Dixon 112). Just after the fall of the Francoist dictatorship in Spain, Andalusia had restarted its lobby to the Spanish government to reinvigorate the autonomous inklings within Andalusia to further recognize Andalusia's autonomy (Estatuto de Autonomía para Andalucía). However, today, there are movements, particularly to the east within Andalusia that advocate for a more radical vision of such separatist movements. Some major cities within this movement include Granada, and Almería (Contacto, Nación Andaluza). This subset of nationalist ideology has the ultimate vision of creating an
Andalusian nation, separate from Spain, with full autonomous control.\(^3\) These groups have even taken upon themselves the promoting of primary cultural artifacts of their own, such as this modified version of the current flag of Andalusia, which replaces the *escudo* of Andalusia with a red star (Fig. 1).

While *nacionalismo andaluz* is a widely recognized movement, this ideology differs from the broader definition of nationalism itself. Nationalism in its most general form takes on a plethora of meanings and connotations. In his book, *Nationalism: History and Theory*, Paul Lawrence dives into the root of nationalism and its political relevancy for Andalusian uniqueness:

“While nationalist doctrine has certainly persisted as the primary mechanism for ordering states and the relations between them since the

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\(^3\) Please see p. 103 in Chapter 4 for more details on *la Nación Andaluza* and radical leftist, Andalusian separatist ideologies.
nineteenth century, it is often hard to disentangle the claims nationalist doctrine makes for itself from objective, historical reality. Those espousing nationalist rhetoric have often claimed (and indeed still do) that ‘the people’ are a homogeneous, recognisable group who wish to govern themselves.” (Lawrence 5)

Here, Paul Lawrence demonstrates how the concept of nationalism has shifted over the course of time. As Lawrence argues, nationalism is not inherently malevolent as the way many portray it in post-modern political discourse; however, nationalism at its heart is the arbitrary division of peoples into groups around which they share common origins. “‘[N]ationalism’ might refer simply to an abstract ideology that has historically concerned itself with the belief that humanity is divided into nations and considered how they should be defined,” (Lawrence 3). By this definition, Andalusia should be considered a nation along with any other grouping of people geographically or culturally.

Blas Infante was a self-proclaimed socialist, a product of the leftist ideas characteristically prevalent within Europe in this time of the late 19th century. The socialist foundations have led to a continuous debate between the left and right in how each side views the most politically effective way to embrace Andalusian identity. In short, the leftists push for greater autonomy and independence, whereas the right advocates for a more rigidly defined subservient structure under the Spanish national government.

This argument within the political parties of Andalusia continues to ripple through the modern socio-political landscape even in contemporary times. Given Blas Infante’s leftist and socialist persona, PSOE, meaning «Partido Socialista Obrero
Español» [The Socialist Spanish Workers’ Party] has been closely associated with Infante. Given this relationship, many have found conflict in this man so deeply associated with Andalusian identity. On August 10, 2020, a popular Spanish newspaper, La Vanguardia, reported on the commemorations of Blas Infante’s brutal death. La Vanguardia reports that all prominent parties in the Andalusian Parliament have celebrated this commemoration, save for VOX, a staunchly right political party which has been gaining traction in Andalusia over the past decade («Todos los partidos, excepto VOX, recuerdan el fusilamiento de Blas Infante»).

The rift between the left and right within Andalusia has been further widened with monumental legislation over the past two decades, codifying concrete efforts to come to terms with Andalusia and Spain’s former fascist governance. A parliamentarian of PSOE-A Javier Fernández elaborates on these current tensions in a wider political context as additionally reported in the article from la Vanguardia:

«“Ahora que estamos viendo un gobierno que está en manos de la ultraderecha, que está teniendo una menor actividad para la Ley de Memoria Histórica” en Andalucía, que “está sometiéndola a una asfixia económica, queremos reivindicar esa ley como una de las leyes de vanguardia de memoria histórica en España y el instrumento más válido para recuperar la verdad, la recuperación, la justicia para esas víctimas...”» 4 (Todos los partidos, excepto VOX, recuerdan el fusilamiento de Blas Infante)

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4 «Ley de Memoria Histórica» or the “Law of Historic Memory,” was a law passed in 2007 that recognizes victims of the dictatorship of General Franco.
“Now that we are seeing a government that is in the hands of the ultraright, that is having a smaller activity for the Law of Historical Memory’ in Andalusia, which ‘is subduing [Andalusia to] an economic asphyxiation, we want to revindicate this law as one of the vanguard laws of historical memory in Spain and the most valid instrument in order to recover the truth, recovery, justice for those victims.”

These aforementioned tensions have allowed Vox in contemporary times to mobilize various elements of Andalusian nationalism and affiliation suiting the far-right agenda while simultaneously attempting to pry it from its socialist beginnings. Millán Arroyo of La Universidad Complutense de Madrid grounds this phenomenon in political theory by analyzing the motivations of VOX. Arroyo begins positing the triparte foundation of VOX: «nacionalismo, populismo y autoritarismo,» [nationalism, populism, and authoritarianism] (Arroyo 698). Given the importance VOX places on the nationalist and populist platform, this far right political party is able to harness a type of widespread appeal for greater recognition of Andalusia within the Spanish autonomous system, explaining that the most contributing factor leading to electoral support for VOX in Andalusia during the 2018 parliamentary elections «tiene que ver principalmente con el problema del independentismo catalán, que impulsa la identidad nacionalista Española...» [“has to do principally with the problem of Catalan independence, which impulses the Spanish nationalist identity”] (Arroyo 699). Here shows the divide between the right and the left, demonstrating the right’s affinity to flourish as an Andalusian state within the confines of Spain.
These sentiments of Andalusian nationalism as a factor of Spanish nationalism likewise were present at a VOX rally in Seville on March 2, 2021. Showing highlights of the video, which is entitled «¡Solo VOX quiere la Andalucía que España necesita!» [“VOX only wants the Andalusia that Spain needs!”], various speakers are expressing their views of what it means to embrace Andalusian nationalism from the far right (VOX Parlamento de Andalucía). One of the speakers emphatically appeals «Y entendemos una de las mejores formas de ser español es precisamente siendo y sintiéndonos andaluces, con nuestra identidad propia, pero bajo una sola bandera... ¡La bandera nacional!» [“And we understand one of the best ways to be Spanish is precisely being and feeling Andalusian, with our own identity, but under one flag... The national flag!”] (VOX Parlamento de Andalucía). In line with the previous comment, a man echoes her calls of embracing the Andalusian identity vis-à-vis embracing Spain: «Tenemos la tarea histórica de devolver a los andaluces toda la dignidad robada por parte de los partidos autonomistas!» [“We have the historic job of returning to the Andalusians all of the dignity robbed in part by the autonomist parties!”] (VOX Parlamento de Andalucía)

While emotional appeals and intense verve within one of many videos found on the VOX media archive, in 2018, VOX only achieved 10.5% of the vote, totaling to 12 seats of 109 within the Andalusian Parliament (Resultados definitivos). The vast majority voted towards more moderate, left-leaning, and socialist candidates.

While the nationalism of VOX greatly contrasts the nationalism of PSOE, this type of far-right sentiment is largely overshadowed by the zealous left; however, it not only goes to show the depth and complexity within this idea of an Andalusian nation but also the intense regional identification found on both ends of the political spectrum in contemporary times.
Nationalism in the instance Blas Infante proclaims through his left-leaning beliefs lies more in the effect of the uniqueness of the Andalusian people and the merit of a nation through the distinct history and divergent development from that of the rest of Spain. In showing this, Blas Infante is conjuring the already prevalently existing and widely accepted Andalusian narrative in order to urge the citizens of Andalusia to consider themselves _distintos_ in more tangible senses. Blas Infante appears to believe that nationalism is a tool to unite people around a singular narrative to achieve an overarching political goal.

Though reinforcing these common ties in the linkage of Andalusia’s geo-historical and cultural roots, Blas Infante imposes this nationalist narrative onto a group of people with the ultimate goal of establishing a common identity. Here, Blas Infante and other Andaluz nationalists were taking part in the active construction of an “imagined community.” Though Lawrence provides a logistical framework for dealing with the conceptualization of the nation, Benedict Anderson examines from the base of the nation composed of people and ideas in looking at the common identity and mutual sentiments of such in hopes to gain perspective in how those who are producing the nation see themselves. In bridging Lawrence’s school of thought, Anderson extends it further in positing: “It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (Anderson 49). In simplistic terms, Andalusia is large enough geographically, and its contemporary history covers a sizeable swath of time, such that the common experiences for those Andalusians are felt and realized throughout the region. Blas Infante is simply working within this theoretical
framework to mobilize this narrative to affect political and cultural change based on what already exists with the Andalusian public memory.

The precise boundaries of such an “imagined community” may stand as undefined outside of political delineations. One measure to truly test the bounds of the “nation” in the thoughts of Anderson is to test the limits of the national conscious. The national consciousness is the basic, shared understanding and experience through the fundamental horizontal relations between peoples of communities – both imagined and codified.

“. . . regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately it is this fraternity that makes it possible. . . I believe that the beginnings of an answer lie in the cultural roots of nationalism.”

(Anderson 50)

Within Andalusia, during the time of Blas Infante, these laws governing the Andalusian autonomous community were not yet in place, basically relegating them to the same playing field as Madrid, Castilla y la Mancha, and Extremadura, among others. It is for this, that these people within Andalusia proper have demonstrated an active willingness, with Blas Infante leading this movement, to expand the horizontal horizons of the Andalusian community and nationalism to base upon these shared experiences a codified nation. Nationalism, in the sense of an imagined community, is an effective tool used to bridge the gap.

Regionalism, on the other hand, is the extenuation of nationalist sentiments. Primarily, regionalism builds on the same calculus that derives nationalism; however, in taking the political doctrine a step further, it applies the same principles of identification
**vis-á-vis** a collective, or group, while applying it to a microcosm of a nation that already exists. In practice, regionalism generally refers to a subtext of the already-existing nation “based on geographic proximity, social and cultural homogeneity, shared political attitudes and political institutions, and economic interdependence,” (Mansfield et al. 146). While different in its outward expression, for the most part, regionalism and nationalism are founded on the same principles of cultural self-identification.

Blas Infante ingeniously appears to have delineated this distinction between nationalism and regionalism in that he consistently ties in Andalusia with the former of the definitions – nationalism. It may be that Infante was attempting to forecast into the future or to rally the base around an ideal rather than a reality; whichever it be, for the purposes of the fundamental arguments and assumptions of this thesis, the two shall be equated, for even within Andalusian separatist and Andalusian autonomy literature alike, there is widespread discord regarding the exact specifications of both.

A curious point that Blas Infante mentions in the closing of the meeting minutes of *la Asemblea de Ronda* stands as a possible recognition or sympathy for the other regions within Spain. Infante proclaims that may long live «la Federación de las Regiones españolas!» [“the Federation of Spanish Regions!”] (El manifiesto de la Asamblea de Ronda). In mentioning the Federation of the Spanish Regions in 1918, Infante speaks on something much deeper than simply a political dream. The Statues of Autonomy as they stand today have traveled a long path of evolution. In 1918, this proclamation was prior to even the official beginnings of the Catalan and Basque autonomy devolutionary movements, the first two states to receive regional autonomy in the 1930’s. This being so, Infante must be speaking on an idea much larger along with
an ideal which has gained momentum around what then were simply Spanish regions, with very little autonomy or control over the area.

Blas Infante’s mention of the Federation of Spanish Regions is in reference to the primary experiment in Andalusian statehood, la Constitución de la Federación Andaluza. This document outlines a leftist political experiment in an anarchic idealist entity. All throughout Spain, these leftist enclaves hid throughout the monarchical society, which later fueled tensions in the lead up to the announcement of the Second Republic. Rubén Pérez elaborates on the role of this reference to an undeveloped ideal:

«El hallazgo condiciona el desarrollo ese mismo año de la decisiva Asamblea de Ronda, en donde se cerró la fase regionalista del andalucismo para principiar la nacionalista coincidiendo con la asunción de la Constitución andaluza como guía de la “patria andaluza”... Cuando caiga en sus manos... comenzarán a enhebrar con una solidez inédita su proyecto larvado entre republicanismo confederal, georgismo y regeneracionismo. . . llegando a apreciarse en las Bases para el Estatuto de Autonomía de Andalucía (1933) . . .» (Pérez 48)

[“The finding conditions the development this same year of the decisive Assembly of Ronda, where the regionalist phase of Andalusianism closed in order to begin coinciding the nationalist [thought] with the assumption that the Andalusian Constitution be a guide to the ‘Andalusian homeland.’ When it had fallen in their hands, they would start to string together an unprecedented solidarity their latent project between confederal republicanism,
Georgism, and regenerationism...becoming noticeable in the Bases for the Statue of Autonomy of Andalusia (1933) ...

Amidst the structural contributions to the political entity which today is known as the Autonomous Community of Andalusia, Blas Infante likewise produced a plethora of tangible cultural artifacts which still persist in today's contemporary institutions. Blas Infante, creator of the three most prominent within Andalusian culture, was the author and designer of the Andalusian flag, crest, and hymn. For Infante, these visual and auditory representations such as these were a fundamental element in distinguishing Andalusia amongst the other Spanish communities. As Blas Infante proclaimed himself, «Los regionalistas o nacionalistas andaluces nada vinimos a inventar. Nos hubimos de limitar, simplemente, a reconocer, en este orden, lo creado por nuestro pueblo en justificación de nuestra Historia.» [The Andalusian regionalists or nationalists never came to create. We should limit ourselves, simply, to recognizing, in this order, what is already created by our people in justification of our History.”] (BOE 34). Representative of the region itself through the popular creation over centuries, Infante was adamant in assuring that those who were to acknowledge Andalusia in its right were to acknowledge its expansive history. Published in the Spanish Boletín Oficial del Estado, the Gazette of the Spanish Government: «A partir de entonces, los tres símbolos de Andalucía se irán asumiendo por el pueblo andaluz, que hoy ya los entiende como la expresión inequívoca de su autonomía,» [From henceforth, the three symbols of Andalusia will be taken on by the Andalusian people, that today they will understand it as an unequivocal expression of their autonomy,”] (BOE 34) This reinforcement of Andalusian ideals stems from the advocation for the political recognition and coexistence within Spain.
Officially acknowledged in 1882 during the restoration of the Spanish monarchy and the abrupt transition to democracy, the Cortes Generales, which is the national Spanish legislative body situated beneath the newly instated king, codified these regional symbols into official law vis-à-vis the office of the Junta de Andalucía:

«Andalucía tiene himno y escudo propios que serán aprobados, definitivamente, por Ley del Parlamento de Andalucía, teniendo en cuenta los acuerdos dictados sobre tales extremos por la Asamblea de Ronda de 1918.» (BOE 34)

[“Andalusia has a its own hymn and shield which would be approved, definitely, by Law of the Parliament of Andalusia, taking into account the agreements issued on such ends by the Assembly of Ronda of 1918.”]

Transforming what many believe to be the historically reinforced imagined community to a regionally devolved political entity through a resolution such as this is the goal which Blas Infante had worked towards throughout his life («Los almerienses de la Asamblea de Ronda de 1918»). Here, Blas Infante amongst other Andalusian nationalists played an active role in presenting his ideas for these visual representations in Andalusia, ultimately resulting to these being adopted by the de facto regional government in place, which was the precursor to the current Junta de Andalusia.

One of the most visible instances of Blas Infante's contributions to the region can be seen on almost every official publication and on every street corner. The flag of Andalusia, commonly known as the arbonaida or arbondaira, was designed by Blas Infante (Fig. 2). The arbonaida is the symbol most associated with the poignant regionalist sentiments within Andalusia. With a band of white wedged between two
green, «[sus] colores evocan tonalidades del paisaje andaluz» («La bandera»). The green bands in the flag represent the virtues in hope, while the white symbolizes purity («La bandera»). Prominently displayed throughout Andalusia, many argue that the arbonaida stands to be more prevalent to public view than the flag of Spain, in hopes to further distinguish between the Community of Andalusia and Spain in its entirety.

Centered on the arbonaida is the coat of arms of Andalusia. Likewise brought to the forefront of Spanish politics through Blas Infante's careful design and arrangement, the Andalusian emblem remains well-recognized in the public consciousness of the region but is displayed much more infrequently, most likely to the intricate detail (Fig. 3). The crest is centered around Hercules, the mythological founder of Andalusia which is an allusion to the Roman settlement of the region and speaks to its longevity («El escudo»). Hercules is bordered by to white pillars, depicting those which stand at the Strait of Gibraltar, the southernmost part of Andalusia. On the arch connecting the two pillars from above,
the phrase «Dominator Hercules Fundator,» meaning “Hercules, the ruler, the founder.”

The third symbol in this group, el himno de Andalucía [the anthem of Andalusia], was begun by Blas Infante himself then completed and furthered by a fellow leftist Andalusian nationalist, José del Castillo Díaz, in 1933 (BOE34). Infante wrote the lyrics of the anthem and posited them for commemoration at La Asemblea de Ronda along with the shield and flag of Andalusia. Castillo, just more than a decade later, took Infante's inspiring lyrics and put them to the chant Santo Dios, «un popular canto religioso de los campesinos y jornaleros de Andalucía y que se cantaba durante la época de siega» [“a popular religious chant sung by the peasants and day-workers during the harvesttime,”] («Letra del himno de Andalucía - Día de Andalucía 2020»). This anthem, evoking the values of persistence and hard work, demonstrates some of the values and qualities which are paramount to Andalusian culture. The first lines, «La bandera blanca y verde vuelve, tras siglos de guerra, a decir paz y esperanza,» [“The white and green flag returns, after centuries of war, to proclaim peace and hope,”] speaks to the persistence of the Andalusian people in their continuous struggle for official recognition («Letra del himno de Andalucía – Día de Andalucía 2020»). In 1933, the Junta Liberalista de Andalucía, a more extreme version to its precursor, los Centros Andaluces, adopted this hymn and began to sound it in public becoming part of this newly codified Andalusian identity («Letra del himno de Andalucía - Día de Andalucía 2020»).

These symbols serve as a constant reminder of the regional uniqueness in Andalusian public memory. Many years after the establishment of these tangible cultural products, the fiery spirit of the first modern Andalusian nationalists maintains its passion deeply embedded into contemporary Andalusian society. The closing of the
ultimate proclamation of the Asemblea de Ronda closely mimics the public consciousness with respect to these moments crucial in the shaping of the modern narrative of Andalusia’s cultural uniqueness. «Viva Andalucía y la Federación de las Regiones españolas» [“Long live Andalusia and the Federation of the Spanish regions!”] (Lacomba 300).

In addition to the enduring landmarks left by Blas Infante and the principal Andalusian regionalists, contemporaries of this Andalusian identity have produced city-wide expositions paying homage to these founders. One of such sites most notable is the site which Blas Infante was executed by Falangistas, or those belonging to La Falange, the fascist political party of General Franco. This site of blatant repression and extreme violence in Seville during May of 2011 was ordered to be, by the Junta de Andalucía, added to «el Catálogo General del Patrimonio Histórico como ‘bien de interés cultural,’” [“the General Catalogue of Historical Patrimony as a ‘Good of Cultural Interest’,”] («Declarado sitio histórico el lugar del fusilamiento de Blas Infante»).

Accompanying this site are a plethora of more small-scale statues and commemorations to the Father of Andalusian Nationalism throughout all of Andalusia.

While Blas Infante played an impressive role in the formation of the modern Andalusian identity, Andalusia had always been distinct from its primitive inception. Although Andalusia has been home to civilization since the Ancient Greeks, the arrival of the Roman Empire to Andalusia marks the start of recorded history and the beginning of regionalization. The Romans, one of the first centralized civilizations to settle in Andalusia, incorporated the into the rest of the Empire around 200 B.C. Being part of the Roman Empire, the vast network of Roman roads and innovative city planning became characteristic of many cities within the southern region of Spain. One
such city in which this Roman layout becomes prevalent is Seville, the capital of Andalusia. The distinguishing factor of roads styled in the Roman fashion is the simplistic grid like layout, allowing for novel efficiency in communication, transportation, and trade (Kaiser 25).

Like the rest of the Western Roman Empire met its end, so did its reign in modern-day Andalusia. The Visigoths, Barbarian tribes from Northeastern Europe took the place of the Romans, ending the period of pan-Mediterranean regionalization and integration. This lack of centralization within the Barbarian tribes lead to growing differences between the regions, and Andalusia is no exception.

The Moorish occupation of the Iberian Peninsula spans from 711 A.D. to 1492 A.D. In 711 A.D., Berbers from the Maghreb, successfully crossed through what are now known as the Straits of Gibraltar, allowing them to become among the first Africans to enter Iberia (Ballesteros Gaibrois 205). Many Berbers began to relocate to Iberia for its temperate climate and conducive farmland. Especially given its exceedingly close proximity to the native land of the Berbers in the Maghreb, many chose to relocate to Andalusia in particular. As the influx of Muslim Berbers pushed northward, the Christians who had controlled the Iberian Peninsula in its entirety were unable to hold their territory against the numerous Moors. This led the Christians to flee north, seeking refuge in the Asturias, where the mountainous terrain proved difficult for Moorish advancement (Valdeón Baruque 42). After several years of fighting, the Christian rulers were relegated to the North, and by 719 A.D., the majority of the Iberia becomes a newly established Muslim stronghold (Valdeón Barque 15).

In the late 11th century, the Spanish kings and rulers from the Asturias launched the campaign dubbed, *La Reconquista* meaning “the Reconquest.” Over the course of
the following 200 years, Christian forces gradually regained control of different regions of Iberia. This greatly shrunk the Caliphate of Al-Andalus, with Andalusia being the only area within Iberia where the Moors still held control. By 1262 A.D., the only remaining Moorish stronghold in Iberia was in Granada, located in Andalusia (Ballesteros Gaibrois 302). Through negotiations and treaties, the Christians allowed Grenada to maintain its separate kingdom until 1492, when the Christian rulers ultimately invaded Grenada, finally reconquering the entirety of the land they had lost 781 years prior (Ballesteros Gaibrois 350).

Spain in 1492 was able to reconstruct itself after the many centuries of Moorish occupation. The Jewish population during this time made up a sizeable part of the overall populous within Spain, influencing the social and political workings much as the Moors had. Sephardic Jews, or more commonly known as Hispanic Jews, integrated well under Moorish control. The Caliphate had granted them a level of religious tolerance to assimilate into Muslim society (Valdeón Baruque 86). This same degree of tolerance was not extended to the Jews following the Christian Reconquista. In 1492, in addition to the fall of Grenada, the Catholic Monarchs, *los Reyes Católicos*, also expelled the Jews from the lands (Valdeón Baruque 168). With many Jews fleeing to the north of Africa or to Eastern Europe, Spain became almost exclusively Christian.

This Christian identity became fundamental in the guiding ethos during the Age of Exploration. In 1492 similarly, Christopher Columbus set out from the Port of Seville, in Andalusia, in hopes to encounter more efficient trade routes to India (Ballesteros Gaibrois 351). Upon Columbus’ encountering a new land mass, unknown to Europeans, this launched the Age of Exploration, where both Catholic missionaries went to introduce Christianity to the New World as well as conquistadores sent in search of
economic resources provided by this newly discovered region. Spain's Christian identity became a cornerstone influence the Americas, and similarly, those in search of economic wealth came across natural resources (Ballesteros Gaibrois 387). These financial discoveries paved the way for the Edad de Oro, or the Golden Age, for Spain – a time in which art, architecture, and culture thrived provided by the influx of wealth to Spain. With facilities to produce and spread culture, to allow for it to become prevalent in society, regions within Spain were able to flourish, and the historical and religious foundations of recent history launched the growth of regional identities. With Andalusia playing a critical role in many of the significant events throughout Spanish and global history, this region began to take on a culture of its own, distinct from generalized Spanish culture, reflecting these situational, historical, and cultural factors outwardly through its identity from its inception to the present.

While Andalusia remains effectively unitary with its historical development, this has led to the growth and actualization of several linguistic phenomenon which continue to further set Andalusia apart from the rest of mainland Spain. Andalusia's extensive and sustained period of consequence with the Moors gave way primarily to a linguistic aberration appearing in the spoken language of that time, Arabic. This creation of such a new dialect is thus named “Andalusi Arabic.” This language, distinct in its own rite, is a subtle yet marked difference between Classical Arabic. “While rural AA has all but escaped our meagre means of detection, we know for sure, as is witnessed by our sources, that urban idiolects attained a fairly advanced degree of standardisation,” (Corriente x). This linguistic development came as a result of the Berbers coming in contact with those in the Iberian Peninsula at that time.
Though Andalusi Arabic became both prevalent and later refined, the final outcome of this linguistic by-product was such that it became sidelined by the Christian kingdoms beginning to reclaim the land taken from them centuries ago. “Romance language and culture, identified with Christianity, made no lasting concessions to the once Hispanic people who, intermingled with the minority of former invaders,” (Corriente ix). Though castellano ultimately overtook this linguistic trend, Andalusi Arabic has left an indelible mark on the region’s accent and lexicon.

In modern times, the same regional phenomenon has come to pass regarding the way in which Andalusians speak Spanish. One of the most well-known distinctions of Andalusia is its strong, particular accent, to which many refer to as el andaluz. While there is an ongoing debate regarding its status as a dialect or separate language itself, this goes to demonstrate the degree to which andaluz is devolved from mainstream castellano. While its origins are somewhat still undetermined, andaluz has become a symbol of pride, heritage, and patrimony for many people within Andalusia. This manner of speaking is often referenced in popular mainstream Spanish and Iberian culture.

Though this process of Andalusian regional distinction has been in progress for many centuries, it has taken an entirely concentrated form within the post-modern era. Isidoro Navarro Moreno, a scholar in Málaga, elaborates on the process of actualization of this self-perceived community. For Navarro, there are three distinct instances of emergent nationalist sentiments taking on varying manifestations and intensities. The first of such is «El primer descubrimiento consciente de la etnicidad» [“The first conscious discovery of the ethnicity”] which lasted approximately from 1868 to 1890. The second instance he calls «El movimiento andalucista histórico» [“The Andalusian
historical movement”] taking place from 1910 to around 1936 – the era which Blas Infante championed. Finally, he claims that the period in which Andalusians currently stand is dubbed «La actual emergencia nacionalista, aún muy desarticulada,» [“The present nationalist emergence, though very disjointed, ”] (Navarro Moreno 19).

These three epochs in time are crucial in understanding the underlying sentiments and give way to the three distinct phases of the emergence of a national consciousness. Generally, these three periods deal with moments of violent struggle and strife with hopes to gain a further degree of autonomy. With regards to the first, this was during the era of the Carlist Wars between those loyal to the monarchy and those who wished for an evolved sense of authority and a devolved sense of autonomy, especially in Catalonia. Navarro relates the second to the period during the Segunda República just prior to the Civil War where regionalism was stifled. The third instance, though somewhat undefined, may pertain to various decentralized, independent movements which citizens carry out to pursue a looser form of national autonomy. Examples of this may include the terrorist works of ETA or the frequent demonstrations in Cataluña.

Throughout history, Andalusia has been called home by a plethora of civilizations leaving a trace on the present-day society geographically, politically, and socially. Within recent history, Blas Infante has stood out as one of the first voices to not only recognize this anthropological incidence but to codify it— not only in a political ethos but also into a national consciousness as well. This gave rise to the era of leftist ideas of nationalism permeating the region, imparting a shared desire for a greater degree of regional autonomy and a refined recognition of position within Spain. Then, in the 1930’s, wills collided, and there began the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco, aggregating all peoples of Spain to a unitary state and dashing any hopes of furthered regional identity.
The death of General Franco turned the page and renewed the hopes of Andalusians for recognition and greater autonomy. Although the Statutes of Autonomy were quickly implemented just after the transition from Fascism to democracy, Andalusia continues to grapple with its unique and complex history—a struggle which other autonomous communities need not face. Andalusia, land to empire, caliphate, and kingdom, continues to define itself in relation to its own national narrative, distinct historical memory, and unique set of traditions, permeating even today intimately many aspects of society.
Chapter 2: Andalusian Praises and Impositions from Generalísimo Franco

«Fue precisamente este denso magma multicolor, integrado por los componentes de muy diversos grupos intermedios de la sociedad andaluza de los años treinta y cuarenta del pasado siglo xx, ...[que] protagonizó una adhesión incondicional a las propuestas patrióticas, ultranacionalistas y de regeneración nacional desplegadas desde el bando militar rebelde.»

[“It was precisely this dense multicolored magma, composed of the components of very diverse intermediate groups within Andalusian society during the 1930's and 1940's... [which] lead to an unconditional adhesion to the patriotic, ultranationalist, and regenerative proposals deployed by the militant rebel band.”]

-- Francisco Cobo Romero

The wave of fascism throughout the Iberian Peninsula brought drastic changes for the formerly Republican society. Just after the start of the Spanish Civil War [la Guerra Civil Española] in 1936, the Nationalists began to implement a brutally strict social rule of law. For example, in Nationalist-controlled territories, the fascist government controlled everything from religion, art, literature, to any other form of personal expression. While the Nationalists continued to wage their campaign of revolution conquering more territory on the Iberian Peninsula, the staunch repression became increasingly stronger. During the Guerra Civil and the years following, this intensely powerful repression multiplied with such force that this period became known as “the white terror.” After the Nationalist victory of the fascists in 1939, General Francisco Franco assumed total control of the government, and his party, la Falange,

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5 Excerpt may be found on p. 146 of his article «La “construcción” del franquismo en Andalucía. Perspectivas teóricas y metodológicas»
embarked on a campaign in which it would control every aspect of Spanish day-to-day life. One crucial element of this type of oppression was censorship. Nothing could be published without the official approval of the government. This wave of censorship and repression surged, growing intensely within Andalusia. With the conquest of Andalusia during the Civil War, General Franco took the opportunity to reconstruct Andalusia, an area then in ruins, integrating it as part of the Nuevo Estado\(^6\) [New State]. General Francisco Franco and the Falange monopolized the newspaper, \(ABC\), by means of censorship and propaganda appealing to the politics, memory, and religion of Andalusians to repress their socio-political expressions so that the narrative in the public media would influence them, coercing them into conforming to the national narrative purported by the fascist dictatorship.

Andalusia, the largest autonomous community in all of Spain, proved to be a strategic site after the \textit{golpe de estado} [coup d'état] had taken place, igniting the Spanish Civil War. With a population presence strongly in favor of leftist Republican ideals, Andalusia was the site where countless acts of violence took place. On July 18, 1936, there was a military coup d'état in the government of Andalusia. In this first instance of attack, the Nationalists failed to overthrow the Republican-governed cities of Jaén, Málaga, and Huelva; however, the Nationalists successfully assumed control of the Andalusian cities of Cadiz, Cordoba, Granada, and the capital city, Seville (Payne 83). The possession of these strategic locations from a militaristic standpoint prepared the land for the subsequent Nationalist victory.

\(^6\) «El Nuevo Estado» literally translates to “the New State.” However, this refers to the broader Spanish State during Franco’s rule
The following years are classified as the white terror in Spain, during which Francisco Franco and the those on the side of the Nationalists carried out nationwide acts of repression. In summary, this epoch “became a time of prolonged military emergency, punctuated in the rear guard by mass atrocities in the repression carried out by the Nationalists” (Payne 161). The brutalities the National Front and the Falange perpetrated, in general, concluded with the execution of the victims during the first phases of the official fascist governance:

“The lowest classes did not have productive resources. Many families had been destroyed by the execution of the head of the family and/or the exile or imprisonment of family members. Away from the prisons and cemeteries, life went on: the families of those on the losing side had to avoid hunger and it was necessary to struggle to survive.” (Cobo Romero 57)

Since the Republican Front, allied with the anarchists and communists had been silenced, not only in Andalusia but throughout all of Spain, Francisco Franco was able to further edify the Nuevo Estado and achieve his ultimate goal – a unified national narrative in which all would be in agreement with the government’s agenda, without interruption from ideas outside of these social limits.

The ideology directing General Franco’s motives and his plan to silence opposition rested on the concept of purity. In this instance, purity animated Franco to follow the notion that Spain had become a decrepit and immoral state. Franco pegged the fault of the degeneration of Spain on the Republicans, maintaining the idea that the National Front would reinvigorate Spain’s lost purity. Michael Richards centers his argument regarding purity on its relation to the state, “The language of purification was
the medium for articulating ‘reconstruction’ in the post-war. Violence was seen as a means not only to social improvement but to the very life of the Nation: it was ‘patriotic impatience’, necessary to transcend ‘Spain's death’” (Richards 49). In other words, Francisco Franco perceived this type of purge as a necessity for the well-being of the state. “This kind of «limpieza» [“purification”] was linked to a desire to ‘regenerate’ Spain which was seen as a decaying entity” (Richards 49). The regeneration, or purification, of Spain Richards describes could be understood as the conceptual genesis that guides the theoretical framework for interpreting the role of censorship in the regime. In order for Spain to conserve its fallen characteristics of purity and order, Generalísimo Franco and the Falange were obligated, in their minds, to banish any type of dissent, for these precise impure, blasphemous thoughts were what sullied the Nuevo Estado of their aspirations.

Encompassing this conceptual purity is the greater mythification of Spain, the Falange, and General Franco. Jo Labanyi relates fascism with myth in proclaiming that “fascism is indeed the ultimate expression of the Romantic appeal to myth” accompanied by an “urge to ‘undo’ history and return to origins” (Labanyi 36). This mythification of fascism completes the purification phase and supposed would allow Spaniards to enter into a new era with Franco at the helm. After the Nationalist victory, the Dictatorship then the process of converting history to myth serves to create “an inauthentic history with authentic origins” which served to promote the image of the Dictatorship as heroic and great (Labanyi 35). General Franco would continue to propagate this mythicized narrative through repression and censorship.

After some time had passed, the Francoist repression centered itself less on violent methods of coercion such as frequent political raids and impromptu
disappearances and more on propaganda and censorship. Raymond Williams’ theoretical concept “structures of feeling” allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the feelings and reactions to this strong repression and bombardment of propaganda. This theoretical framework juxtaposes the lived experiences with those communicated: “There is frequent tension between the received interpretation and practical experience” (Williams 22). To observe these probable reactions about the reception of such elements of propaganda could possibly lead to a comprehension of the situation in its totality. Analyzing “thought as felt and feeling as thought” is a way to observe from the other point of view so to see a more nuanced perspective of a situation which will guide the following analysis of various elements of Andalusian propaganda during the Dictatorship of General Franco (Williams 22).

The fascist victory sealed Spain's fate and signaled an era of intolerance of freethought, beliefs, and expressions. These restrictions stood out as antithetical to the tenets of the Segunda República [Second Republic]. Juan Antonio Bardem, well known Spanish film director and subversive critic of the Franco regime, characterizes the country during the fascist repression, especially with respect to censorship: «Era un país hambriento y aterido. Un país sojuzgado por los vencedores de la Guerra Civil donde había cárcceles de concentración para los que la habían perdido, fusilamientos, torturas, depuraciones, traslados forzados. Eran los años triunfales,» [“It was a starving and freezing country. A country subjugated by the winners of the Civil War where there were concentration camps for those who had lost: executions, tortures, purges, forced relocations. They were the triumphant years,] (Evans 36). The rather desolate environment challenged this triumphal view as portrayed in the media, highlighting the false narrative pushed by the dictatorship and demonstrating the censorship in place
silencing any contrasting views or opinions. While the press and the rest of the cultural producers of the time write of the “purity” of Spanish society, those who survived this circumstance took away a rather divergent perspective from such narrative.

In the initial years of the dictatorship of Miguel Primo de Rivera, which lasted from 1923 through 1930, Andalusia was a center of communication with infrastructure already in place to disseminate information and ideas in an effective and productive manner. One example of such an infrastructure was the development of house organs, precursors to the more common newspapers and magazines during the 1930’s and 1940’s. With the industrialization of the 1920’s, house organs dispersed content principally through advertisements or short booklets. In Andalusia, house organs became integrated well within this network of local and regional communication: «Los primeros, tienen en su haber obras sobre la prensa local de Andalucía, entre las que se incluyen esclarecedores ejemplos de house organ o revistas de empresa...» [“The first, have to their credit works about the local press within Andalusia, among which they include illuminating examples of house organ or business magazines...” (Reina Estévez et al. 429). These house organs were comprised of several pages, which compiled information and art, synthesizing a piece of media more digestible by the public. For this, Andalusia had a rate of literary consumption higher in proportion to the rest of the communities of Spain, even though the literacy rate was not equal (Reina Estévez et al. 430). A developed subculture linking the network of communication with a vast population of readers accustomed the people of Andalusia to read various news media sources daily. House organs ushered in the first step of this development prior to the growth of popular newspapers.
Given the existing media infrastructure and the engrained culture of media consumption in Andalusia, Francisco Franco saw a unique opportunity to further his agenda: the formation of a national narrative in which he could produce and diffuse a standardized mythological construction throughout the country. Keeping this goal as a primary motivation, Francisco Franco imposed his intense ideology and exercised his control over the public by means of the press. The newspaper ABC evidences this manipulation during the dictatorship.

ABC was founded in 1905 in Madrid and remains a popular source of news for Spaniards even to this day. With many editions published throughout Spain, those most popular and influential during this time were published in Madrid and Sevilla (Rodríguez Martínez et al. 604). The outgrowth, ABC Sevilla, was born in 1929. Throughout its most recent contemporary history, ABC Sevilla in Andalusia has always stood out as one of the most read daily newspapers of the region. Furthermore, this connection between Madrid and Sevilla helps to further solidify various political and social relations between the two regions – of which Francisco Franco at the time was keenly aware. Thenceforth, he channeled many of his efforts pertaining to his propaganda and mythological foundation, using this newspaper as a conduit. During the Civil War, the various editions of ABC actually differed depending on which side the geographic location supported. ABC Madrid wrote in favor of the Republican Front; whereas, ABC Sevilla published material supporting the Nationalists (Rodríguez Martínez et al. 604). Additionally, ABC Sevilla had an exceedingly large proportion of opinion articles, almost exclusively in favor of Francoism, relative to other newspapers of the time (605). Since then, many considered ABC Sevilla to be a conservative publication in which it supported staunchly the monarchy and the Catholic Church.
After the victory of the Nationalist Front in Madrid, the Nationalists took control of the press, taking their strategies of rhetoric and propaganda to a national level.

After the *Guerra Civil*, Francisco Franco and the Falange ingrained this sort of repression of public expression into law. In 1938, Franco and the regime established the *Ley de la Prensa* [Law of the Press]. Alberto Carvalho and Monteiro Cardoso elaborate on these details of the law and what the implications were for the publishers during the dictatorship. To begin, the law itself established three points of governmental intervention in the press. “Government permission became necessary to found a newspaper, to work as a professional journalist or serve as director of a newspaper,” (de Carvalho and Cardoso 54). These explicit regulations surrounding journalism gave the government the power to select and authorize publishers to be licensed to publish the news, under the expectation that they would be kind to the regime. Andalusian historian Francisco Espinosa Maestre’s focus on the implications of the *Guerra Civil* in Andalucía attests to the harshly regulated journalistic profession during this period noting that they always were required to carry «un registro de todos los trabajos que realizaban y de todos los clientes» [“a register of all the works carried out and of all the clients and subjected to sending a copy of each photo to a government official for approval (Espinosa 19). The government was able to revoke these permissions from the publishers at any moment. Likewise, Carvalho and Monteiro mention the punishments for those who did not follow this law of censorship. Someone who would not comply with the government’s orders in printing their propaganda could be condemned with “prison sentences of 3 to 10 years for crimes vaguely defined as ‘diffusion of false and tendentious news against the authority of the State,’ etc.,” (54). In practical terms the
Ley de la Prensa granted absolute authority of published information to the fascist regime.

With ABC at the orders of the Falange through the laws of censorship, Francisco Franco could begin in earnest his campaign to silence any and all opposition systematically, coercing the people to conform to the fascist ideals throughout Spain, especially in Andalusia through his control of the press. Generally, the articles of official propaganda fall into three categories. The first classification groups together the articles and photographs published to glorify the Francoist state through political nationalism. The second category is similar in which ABC equates the various constructed sites and natural characteristics in Andalusia with the supposedly great feats carried out by the Nationalists. Finally, the third category shows the fascists mobilizing religious imagery and the public’s spirituality to further impose Franco’s national narrative.

The first grouping of the manipulative attempts of the Francoist regime discusses elements of political rhetoric pertinent to Andalusia. Above all, Francisco Franco wanted to integrate and coerce Andalusia to conform with the national Spanish narrative to obtain political control of every aspect, community, and province of Spain. A photograph taken of General Francisco Franco and his wife, Carmen Polo de Franco, exemplify this phenomenon (Fig. 4). Published on January 31, 1942, this photo captures General Francisco Franco and his wife entering the Alcázar de Sevilla, passing below the Puerta del León, accompanied by the military guards and other state officials («S. E. el Generalísimo y su esposa salen del alcázar sevillano por la histórica. . .»). Franco’s visit has two implications for the popular reception of such imagery in Andalusia.
This photograph first depicts Franco taking political control of the city through a symbolic gesture of walking through the entrance to the Real Alcázar, closely tied to the historical patrimony of both Seville and Andalusia. The Real Alcázar de Sevilla [Royal Palace of Seville] was the seat of the Calif during the reign of the Moors. In addition, the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, los Reyes Católicos, likewise have stayed in the structure during official visits in contemporary times. Michael Richards offers the concept of “patriotic morality” to help understand the underlying motives. Patriotic morality states that when one plants a symbolic seedling, such as this photo, it will multiply into a more developed plant, or greater sense of morality and allegiance (Richards 64). In more specific terms, the allusion of Franco to the Catholic Monarchs in this photograph is his intent to plant a seed, some parallel which will enter into the public consciousness and take root. Therefore, Franco paints himself as a historic and powerful leader, relating himself to the conception that los andaluces [the Andalusians] come to understand as power historically.
The second subliminal implication lies in his choice of the location by the *Puerta del León* [Gate of the Lion] as a scenic backdrop for the photo. The *Puerta del León* is a historic symbol, embodying strength and power in Spain (Ramos 12). Likewise, the lion is grasping a flag in the mouth with text saying «*Ad uturumque*». This Latin phrase means something along the lines of «*siempre preparado*» or “always prepared”. What stands out in this imagery is that the motto used here is the official motto of the Armada Española (Ramos 12). This allusion to the Catholic Monarchs illustrates General Franco’s intention of inserting himself into the historic narrative of the Monarchs, associating the glory and victory of their reign with himself. In this instance, General Franco is appropriating elements from the zenith of Spain’s imperial past so that the public would view him as the legitimate leader, ushering in a new era of grandeur for Spain.

In speaking more towards the political appeals prevalent in Andalusia with respect to the Francoist control of the *ABC* Newspaper, another instance can be found in an article written on October 1, 1944 (Appendix, Fig. 7). Just after completing a tour of Spain, Generalísimo Franco demands the press document his travels. In what is described in triumphal words, the image of Francisco Franco continues to become mythicized. «*Vascos, gallegos, andaluces, castellanos, extremeños, catalanes… elevaron su fervor contagiados por la presencia física del Jefe del Estado, que se acercó a ellos para saber de sus afanes*» [“Basques, Galicians, Andalusians, Castilians, Extremadurans, Catalanians… elevated their fervor infected by the physical presence of the Head of the State, who approached them to know of their desires”] (del Corral). The integration of

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7 The Armada Española is the name given to the Spanish Navy.
Andalusia alongside the rest of the Spanish Communities serves to unify all the country under Franco’s own domain. This article goes in line with the Caudillo’s narrative of depicting each regional community as subservient to «una España, grande y libre» [“one Spain, great and free”]. In terms of the structures of feeling, Williams explains: “We can see it again in the range from dominant systems of belief and education to influential systems of explanation and argument,” (Williams 22). This power dynamic Williams describes present within structures of feeling provides clarity into how a regional community such as Andalusia would rationalize and internalize an adjustment into this greater, dominant political hierarchy imposed by Franco’s one Spain. With the press further cementing this system of beliefs regarding Franco and his power, one could have plausibly anticipated something to arise as a result, a culture based on the respect of Franco, the fear of Franco, or an amalgamation of both. Even the provocative title of the article itself «Proyección de la figura de Franco sobre el paisaje de España» [“Projection of the figure of Franco over the Spanish countryside”] carries with it imagery and allusions to a rigid state – Franco looking over his one country. This article demonstrates that the Spanish state was synonymous with its leader, el Caudillo. In Andalusia, this article represented an attempt to pry Andalusian from its fierce sense of individualism and socio-political uniqueness.

The second category of articles is centered on the comparison between places and sites throughout Andalusia with purported feats by Franco and his regime. The driving motivation is to reinforce and to inculcate new feelings in various sites in order to help Franco and the Falange’s objective of compelling Andalusia to conform to the national Spanish narrative. The article from October 27, 1943 entitled «El Aero Club de Andalucía glorifica a sus pilotos caídos por España» [“The Aerial Club of Andalusia
glorifies its pilots fallen for Spain”] offers proof of such objectives (Appendix, Fig. 8).

The text of the article is the following: «Constituye dicho monumento en un obelisco en piedra y en su frente figura la siguiente inscripción: “El Ejército del Aire y el Real Club de Andalucía a los caídos de este Club por Dios, la Patria y la causa del aire”» [“The Army of the Air and the Royal Club of Andalusia to the fallen of this Club by God, the Homeland, and the aerial cause”] («El Aero Club de Andalucía glorifica a sus pilotos caídos por España»). The edification of this monument represents the construction of new memorial sites. Here, this memorial integrates further the ideals of Franco and the party. Such a memorial site would serve as a point of reference in the upbuilding of a new society, redoing and erasing anterior references, especially with respect to those of the brief Segunda República. Also found in this article is a declaration explicitly proclaiming the ideals of Franco and the Falange: «Gloria a los héroes cristianos, gloria a todos aquellos que realizaron la gran epopeya por defender sus sagrados ideales y que lograron la mayor gloria al servicio de su Dios y de su Patria» [Glory to the Christian heroes, glory to all those who realized the grand feat by defending their holy ideals and who achieved greater glory through the service to their God and their Homeland”] («El Aero Club de Andalucía glorifica a sus pilotos caídos por España»). This event provided an opportunity for the Caudillo to increase popular fever and actively involve citizens in this formation of identity, helping him to further edify his national narrative. Williams refers to “the generation that substantially connects to its successors” as being an indispensable tool in the public implication in the formation of a created identity (Williams 25). It is possible that, in this instance, there is no marked difference in the public consciousness; however, joined with other events, dedications, and commemorations, it may seem to be the growth of an idea rooted in the national
consciousness. With the construction of monuments and the glorification of new sites comes a new generation of young people born into this narrative who will become influenced by these connections to their ancestors in public memory like these strategically constructed monuments.

Another example of the rewriting of public Andalusian memory speaks of its own culture. In the article published on August 16, 1942, *ABC Sevilla* printed a page titled, «Casas blancas en Castilla, influjo por Andalucía» [“White houses in Castille, influenced by Andalusia”] (Appendix, Fig. 9). In this article, *ABC* speaks to the architectural patrimony of Andalusia and how it has become a common style throughout Spain. Francisco Casares, the author, opens the first part of the article with an effusive hailing of the white houses in rural Andalusia:

«...en las aldeas más reducidas, más pobres de Andalucía, la cal blanca, signo de otro modo de vivir, de otro estilo. No es la riqueza, sino la alegría. Es el caudal de un carácter, de una idiosincrasia. Riqueza de las almas. Los hogares andaluces, por fuera y por dentro, saturados de la luz de mediodía, ríen. Como las gentes. Y esa identidad entre la escenografía y el sentimiento influye y crea, determina y sedimenta.» (Casares)

[“... in the smallest, poorest villages of Andalusia, the white lime, sign of another way of living, of another style. It is not wealth, rather happiness. It is the wealth of a character, of an idiosyncrasy. Riches of the souls. The Andalusian homes, from the inside out, saturated in the midday light, laugh. As the people. And this identity between the scenery and the feeling influences and creates, determines and settles.”]
This first hearkening to the Andalusian spirit through the elaborate description serves to attract the reader by relating him to a personal subject. Franco here intended to rename, reuse, and overall repurpose the Andalusian culture in order to fit his national narrative. The indiscreet attempts at appropriating Andalusian culture, as demonstrated here, the architectural style, and the superposition of it into areas where it was not originally constructed for a political purpose “have been powerfully asserted and reclaimed” in the formation of a distinct identity (Williams 21). Franco intended to take control of the essence and feeling of Andalusian architecture while replacing the base of support in order to reflect the foundations of his societal ideas. This tactful rhetoric in this article further equates the idea of Andalusian pride as Spanish pride, effectively sequestering a point from Andalusia’s patrimony and reinserted into the national Spanish narrative.

Quickly pivoting from proclaiming the great architectural patrimony demonstrated by these white houses, Casares begins to then laud General Franco for his supposed part in ensuring that all of Spain be privy to the beauty of Andalusia. Not only does the author speak to the aesthetic of Andalusian architecture but rather transmits his covert motive – to solidify support for the Francoist regime. «En España va a haber más casas blancas. Los destrozos de la guerra traen esta evolución. Hay que reparar, construir, dotar de vivienda a los que carecen. Obra fecunda y preferida del régimen es la de las regiones devastadas» [“In Spain there are going to be more white houses. The havoc from the war will bring about this evolution. We must repair, construct, and endow houses to those who have not. Fruitful and preferred work of the regime is that within the devastated regions”] (Casares). Precisely here the author tries to accredit General Franco for the reconstruction of the posguerra [post-war]. Additionally, this effort furthers the intent to implicate Andalusia into the national narrative the Francoist
Regime was propagating. The goal of this article was to coax the public into thinking of Franco's *Nuevo Estado* when considering their own Andalusian patrimony.

The final category that classifies the efforts of the Falange to manipulate the people *vis-à-vis* direct control of the press and media is the use of religious imagery, poignantly appealing to the Andalusian people through historic and spiritual rhetoric. In the Francoist state where *nacionalcatolicismo* [national Catholicism] was one of the governing principles, the Catholic Church was the only official body in which it was legal to hold religious beliefs at that time. With only one legal church throughout the land, the Falange disseminated a vast collection of news articles and propagandizing elements having to do with Catholicism in Andalusia. This religious coverage in the press represented an important reality for Francisco Franco, for in the wake of the destruction of the Civil War, the *Nuevo Estado* was obligated to rebuild society from the ground up in a Catholic formation in order to add to the state's legitimacy and stability.

One rather important instance is the official commentary of *Semana Santa* [Holy Week] in Seville, as it has always been a celebration worthy of global fame, the celebrations and ceremonies of *Semana Santa* also were supported and regulated by the *Nuevo Estado* (Appendix, Fig. 10). In the edition of *ABC Sevilla* from April 7, 1943, one can see such commentary of these Catholic celebrations:

«La profunda fe de los españoles, el supremo arte de nuestros imagineros, la luz y el color incomparables de Sevilla se conjugan, como un prodigio, en la Semana Santa de la bellísima ciudad. Asistir a esa gran manifestación religiosa, sentirse sumergidos en aquel ambiente maravilloso, es tanto como gozar de una hondísima emoción del espíritu.» («Semana Santa en Sevilla»)
[The profound faith of Spaniards, the supreme art of our visionaries, the incomparable light and color of Seville meet, in a wonder, during the Holy Week of the most beautiful city. To attend this great religious gathering, feeling entrenched in that marvelous environment, is to enjoy the most profound spiritual emotion.]

Just next to this profoundly effusive text are two photographs detailing the imagery of the complex architecture of the Cathedral of Seville. On the inferior part of the page, there are other testimonies and commentaries about the celebrations in other Spanish cities, like Madrid, Santiago de Compostela, and Zaragoza («Semana Santa en Sevilla»). The use and support of the Catholic Church and its celebrations are based on a conceptual parallel by equating the sacrifice and ceremonies so richly celebrated in Seville with other cities in attempts to claim all places under the nacionalcatolicismo of the Nuevo Estado. According to Richards, “. . . a voluntary act of self-imposed suffering, or as patriotic self-sacrifice,” could be a supreme form of propaganda because one can live the experiences, offering them to God and Country (Richards 50). In this instance, ABC paints Andalusia as the exemplary religious Spanish city. It may be that this page of this edition of the press is an appeal to the Andalusians, so to unite them in the narrative Franco proposes, disseminating it throughout the rest of Spain.

This discerned underlying intention of the Dictatorship can be better understood by approaching it from the “Imagined Communities” framework established by Benedict Anderson. Through the ideology of nacionalcatolicismo, General Franco mobilized these Holy Week celebrations and resurrected a new driving ideology behind it – inviting those from all regions of Spain to take part in the nation’s celebration of the people’s religion. In line with Anderson’s position of dismissing the physical manifestation of
such celebrations and uncovering the guiding ideal that drives the people of Seville and all other regions, Anderson states: “Yet void as these tombs are of identifiable mortal remains or immortal souls, they are nonetheless saturated with ghostly national imaginings,” (Anderson 50). Anderson further legitimizes General Franco’s Machiavellian calculus of uniting all people of the nation in an exemplary Catholic community, ultimately deepening the Dictator’s power and reach into the national psyche.

A similar article exemplifies the necessity of the national Catholic [nacionalcatólica] narrative in the Francoist regime. Published in ABC Madrid, this fragment illustrates likewise the religiosity of Andalusia so that all of Spain would see (Appendix, Fig. 11). «Anteayer se celebró, con gran solemnidad, la anual romería al Santuario de Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza, lugar donde España dio al mundo un ejemplo más de su valor y su sacrificio» [“The day before yesterday was celebrated, with great solemnity, the annual pilgrimage to the Sanctuary of Our Lady of the Head, a place where Spain gave to the world one more example of its bravery and its sacrifice”] («La romería al santuario de Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza»). The Cathedral Nuestra Señora de la Cabeza is in Jaén, a province within Andalusia. The commentary here evidences the mix of religion and state to construct this dichotomy in order to appear that the church is glorifying the Nuevo Estado. This relationship was further fomented into the national consciousness as the Dictatorship drew religious parallels, equating the political solution of fascism to the saving grace of God. Labanyi references the comparison of “Franco’s smile to the Virgin’s mantle holding out the promise of redemption” (Labanyi 36). The hierarchy insinuates in this instance that the Nuevo Estado could not exist without the Catholic Church, and vice-versa.
It is necessary to pay attention to the method in which ABC describes this religiosity in Andalusia, painting it as a virtue. Possessing «profundo fe» [“profound faith”] the propaganda speaks of the people in terms of how the dictatorship wishes to see them; however, this act itself of practicing the religion also could be a method of subverting authority through a silent protest. As Mireya Folch-Serra explains in her article, Franco uses this religiously motivated propaganda as a method of “domestic indoctrination” meant to become engrained in the national consciousness whether true belief accompanied it or not (Folch-Serra 232). Being bombarded with religious imagery both on the street and in the media will begin the process of normalizing such actions leading to popular submission.

Considering how the public may have perceived this repetition of religiously charged propaganda provides further insight into the motivations of the regime. As Williams explains, “characteristic elements of impulse, restraint, and tone” elucidate the lived experience, which in this instance, could manifest itself as actions not based on what one person does, but rather, the motivations guiding one's behavior (Williams 23). The overall effect of the public lauding of religiosity in Andalusia may have been that there was genuinely a religious fervor throughout the crowds at each procession; however, through analyzing the underlying motivations, the larger picture becomes muddled with ambiguity, furthering the disconnect between the official state narrative and how the Andalusians felt and responded to such coverage and imposition. The dictatorship itself has had a campaign of “instilling fear and hatred” which has characterized its grasp on Spain (Folch-Serra 228). The press reported these religious celebrations in a way that coerced the public into internalizing Franco’s objectives in nacionalicatolicismo by repetition and intimidation.
The strictly controlled press, as in the case of the newspaper ABC, by the Francoist regime served as an integral part in the construction of the unified narrative in the Nuevo Estado. Silencing those who thought against Franco and the Falange, the newspapers and other tools of communication were a powerful tool through which they could influence not only the sociopolitical expression of the rebellious and repressed, but also inculcate their own ideas into the masses through the bombarding of fascist propaganda. The three appeals to the people through propaganda in the divisions of political influence, the Francoist commemoration and spatial rewriting, and the religious beliefs were efforts to involve Andalusia in the systematization of the narrative construction. While any form of public dissent became extinguished during the dictatorship, the individualistic expression in Andalusia surged after the democratic transition. Although Francisco Franco and the Falangistas successfully held tight control of the press, they were never able to take completely the fiery spirit and persistent thought of the Andalusian people.

In contemporary times after the death of Francisco Franco, Andalusians have begun to reconcile the past and present in strikingly different ways. While some favor the idea of turning a new page and leaving the painful memories of the dictatorship in history, others, especially youth, have taken a more active approach in the preservation of historic memory. Within Andalusia, some of these deeply moving reminders have been the construction of public monuments, the commemorations of those affected, and the creation of commissions to conserve this memory.

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8 Please see p. 16 for another reference to the «Ley de Memoria Histórica». The text of such law, officially cited as «Ley 52/2007» may be found at the following link: [https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/2007/12/26/52/con](https://www.boe.es/eli/es/l/2007/12/26/52/con)
While the debate of how to grapple with Spain’s fascist past continues, one method of reconciliation has been the construction of monuments or plaques to honor the fallen (Fig. 5). For example, in on July 1, 2005 in Lucena, Córdoba, a province within Andalusia, a small monolithic structure holding a plaque was erected and then dedicated to 123 people who either died in prison or were executed at the hands of the dictatorship, listing their names on the memorial (Bedmar). There are ongoing excavations of the *fosas comunes*, or the mass graves, where the victims were buried during the Francoist regime.

Additionally, other efforts have been characterized as the redefining of places associated with the dictatorship as well as the public commemoration in political discourse. Seville has recently taken a step towards furthering this goal. On March 21, 2021, el Diario, a popular news source, headlines “El Ayuntamiento de Sevilla ha retirado 129 placas con simbología franquista en los últimos meses” [“The City Hall of Seville has removed 129 plaques with Francoist symbology in the last few months” (El Diario). This concrete step in recognizing the horrors of the Franco regime is one of many symbols of Andalusia’s commitment to justice and reconciliation.
Finally, Andalusia has been funding various projects and commissions charged with providing a more comprehensive understanding of the historical context of the Francoist legacy (Fig. 6). One project demonstrating a great advancement in these efforts is the commission created to map all of the fosas comunes throughout Andalusia (Junta de Andalucía). As reported by el Diario, «La Junta mantiene el objetivo de impulsar la búsqueda y apertura de tumbas ilegales de la guerra civil y la dictadura de Franco,» [“The Junta maintains the objective of promoting the search and opening of illegal graves from the Civil War and the Franco dictatorship”] (Miguel). This step was one of many directives aimed at duly acknowledging the brutal past of the fascist dictatorship while also granting a degree of peace to the families affected.

Figure 6: A screenshot depicting the interactive map of all the known fosas comunes in Andalusia from: Mapa De Las Fosas Comunas, La Junta de Andalucía. https://www.juntadeandalucia.es/organismos/culturaypatrimoniohistorico/areas/memoria-democratica/fosas/mapas-fosas.html.
General Francisco Franco saw aspects of Andalusian culture as exemplary; however, in lieu of allowing them to flourish, he selected what he saw fit, established a national narrative based on several of his guiding principles, and then continued to brutalize the people, keeping them in a constant state of terror. Franco’s campaign of propaganda held the bipartite effect of bringing all of Spain into a unitary sociopolitical identity based on Andalusia while simultaneously bringing Andalusians in, through both praise and terror, implicating them further into the *Estado Español* so that they would not dare step out of line. In the modern day, Andalusia continues to grapple with the ramifications of the 36 years of the horrific dictatorship, now recently allowing these issues to be brought back into public memory under. Jo Labanyi encapsulates the crux of these efforts in her article “History and Hauntology” reflecting on how to relate with ghosts from the years of Francoism: “... ghosts cannot make their own voice heard; they rely on an interpreter to speak for them,” (Labanyi 80). The autonomous community of Andalusia has been slowly healing just as Spain as a whole by enacting concessions to the victims of the brutally repressive regime. The transition to democracy after the fall of the dictatorship brought about by the death of Francisco Franco ushered in a dynamic era and a new playing field, opening new avenues for Andalusia to interact with the central Spanish government in Madrid.
Figure 7: "Projection of the Figure of Franco over the Countryside of Spain" from: del Corral, Enrique. "Proyección De La Figura De Franco Sobre El Paisaje De España." ABC Sevilla, 1944, pp. 7, https://www.abc.es/archivo/periodicos/abc-sevilla-19441001-7.html.
El Aero Club de Andalucía Glorifica a Sus Pilotos Caídos por España

En los jardines del barrio de Tablada inaugura el monumento dedicado a la memoria de aquellos héroes.

El presidente del Aero Club fue el encargado de discusión ante las autoridades. (FOTO: SCRENNON)

El monumento creó a la memoria de los pilotos caídos del Aero Club de Andalucía. (FOTO: SCRENNON)

Palabras del P. Vizcaino:
Terminando, la mesa y con estas palabras:
"Palabras a las nuevas generaciones que van a honrar esta memoria de los caídos."

EL PRESIDENTE DEL AERO CLUB:
"Presidencia del Aero Club de Andalucía, en nombramiento ante las autoridades."

ENTRONIZACIÓN DEL SA GRADO CORAZON DE JE
SUS EN BOLLULLOS DEL CONDADO

Madrid, 20.- En Bolulleros del Condado se ha conmemorado el prólogo ardiente de la Entronización del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús. En el templo del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, presidía la misa de la Entronización del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús. Los fieles, con gran devoción, recibieron el sagrado corazón de Cristo, que fue venerado por todos. En el anterior, el obispo de la diócesis, monseñor, ofició la misa en la Catedral. En el exterior de la Catedral, se colocaron velas encendidas, que iluminaron el templo. La Entronización del Sagrado Corazón de Jesús es un acto de fe y devoción que recuerda la pasión de Cristo y su amor inmenso hacia el ser humano.

CASAS BLANCAS EN CASTILLA

HUMOR ITALIANO

Uno de los bloques de casas para labradores.

S siempre que hacemos la ruta del Norte, hacia el Sur viene a nuestra mente la imagen predominante de las casas antiguas de adoquines, recubiertos con la tierra, en el arroyo, por Castilla son el reflejo de la vida. Y a medida que se avanza, en las aldeas más reducidas, más pobres, de Andalucía, la col blancas, signo de otro modo de vivir, de otro estilo. No es la iglesia, sino la aldea. Es el cadáver de un carácter, de una dinastía. Espera de las almas. Los hombres ambulantes, por fuera y por dentro, naturales de la luz de mediodía, ríos. Como las gentes. Y esa identidad entre la esoterización y el mismo íntimo infusión y crece, determina y sella. La poca se jeta en los espíritus. Es una invasión de crímenes. ¿Se pueden cambiar las mujeres? Puede, porque así se displacen, trocar la costumbre? Es evidente que no. Pero todo ello y propone su infusión.

En España hay haber más casas blancas. Los destinos de la guerra traen esta evolución. Hasta el comienzo, construir, dar virgen a los que no tienen. Otras sociedades y preferencia del régimen lo son. Pero los años de 35, de las armas de los americanos que se expone la patria que no puede limitar el ejercicio a restaurar el todo nuevo. De esta forma, y las gentes, también. Los grandes bloques de las almas de las casas—en la gran organización de la vida, el umbral del hogar—para los procedentes, para los empleados, se repliegan unas casas, pequeñas, más modestas. Pero blancas. Es el signo. La característica. Todo, como antes Andalucía. En la façana se quita el sol, que no en la tierra musulmanes y pueblos, las llamas, sobre las ventanas. Los cultivos, muy tecnificados, como una parte sobresaliente del hombre. Algo de la misma, única, como un símbolo toda una. Pero la alegría en el vivir. Porque la caja que se habrá de llevar a la iglesia, de viejos en todas partes, en la tierra que está bajo el hogar, en la escuela donde los mayores inician el vivir, en el campo, en la iglesia, en los pasos y las tertulias. Ayer en la reunión inútil, bajo los techos familiales, más lejos que en el mundo, en la mujer. Pero que es el sitio del vivir por fragmentación, porque así se jeta. Y allí se prolonga la vida. Puede en su sagrado, en el recuerdo de los padres y los hijos, se desgasta las ventanas, los techos, pasillos y alrededor, río, en la carne de los gentes. Esta siguen, por fuera y por dentro, naturales de la luz de mediodía, ríos. Como las gentes. Y esa identidad entre la esoterización y el mismo íntimo infusión y crece, determina y sella. La poca se jeta en los espíritus. Es una invasión de crímenes. ¿Se pueden cambiar las mujeres? Puede, porque así se displacen, trocar la costumbre? Es evidente que no. Pero todo ello y propone su infusión.

La obra de restaurar las casas de la ciudad, de la gente, en un ritmo que varía y donde las dificultades de nuestra circunstancia económica, la estación de materiales, los colores del pintor, siguen adelante. Ya se están sobre el suelo de España en el trabajo de las casas blancas, con el nuevo trazo, la corrección de las almas—en la desaparición de la iglesia, que nace del Sur. Los almacenes de abajo, en la reforma, los hombres que se alejan y se truncan en ventanas, del deseo a la emoción definitiva, se separan. En Castilla hará casas blancas, de las gentes, de la gente, de las gentes, y luego sale, blanca y revolverse. Como en las aldeas de Andalucía, como en los campos sevillanos, como en las humildes casas del hogar, o el gran de la mañana, porque la gente, material, se compone con el cuadro de la mucha de ser, gentes, casas blancas. La iglesia, la alegría en el vivir. Porque la caja que se habrá de llevar a la iglesia, de viejos en todas partes, en la tierra que está bajo el hogar, en la escuela donde los mayores inician el vivir, en el campo, en la iglesia, en los pasos y las tertulias. Ayer en la reunión inútil, bajo los techos familiales, más lejos que en el mundo, en la mujer. Pero que es el sitio del vivir por fragmentación, porque así se jeta. Y allí se prolonga la vida. Puede en su sagrado, en el recuerdo de los padres y los hijos, se desgasta las ventanas, los techos, pasillos y alrededor, río, en la carne de los gentes. Esta siguen, por fuera y por dentro, naturales de la luz de mediodía, ríos. Como las gentes. Y esa identidad entre la esoterización y el mismo íntimo infusión y crece, determina y sella. La poca se jeta en los espíritus. Es una invasión de crímenes. ¿Se pueden cambiar las mujeres? Puede, porque así se displacen, trocar la costumbre? Es evidente que no. Pero todo ello y propone su infusión.

Chapter 3: The Contemporary Relationship between Andalusia and Spain

After the death of Francisco Franco in 1975, Andalusia, along with all other regional communities in Spain, began to gather the pieces of what broken government was left to reconstruct a national body incorporating more liberal, democratic ideals into its foundation. This period of time is referred to as la transición, or the Transition. General Franco died on November 20, 1975, and on November 22, per the request of the late general, King Juan Carlos I assumed the throne, reinstating of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain (Saavedra Padrón). Though King Juan Carlos I had been crowned just days after the death of his dictatorial predecessor, Spain continued the arduous process of recovering from a dictatorship and transforming to a constitutional monarchy for the years to come. A variety of debates have arisen regarding the precise date marking the end of la transición; however, the many historians have agreed upon the conclusion of this period to be during the first free general elections held on October 28, 1982 (Olábarri Gortázar 946).

9 Please see full translation PM Felipe Gonzalez’s remarks on p. 79 in Chapter 3.
With the transition to democracy came the rapid rise of technology and communication which has characterized the past half century. During this period, distinctions and discrepancies between the regional and national level have been amplified and brought to a wider frame of public recognition. In the public eye, narratives of both geographic and historic significance are intertwined with day-to-day life. The constant interaction and dialogue between Andalusia, regionally, and Spain, nationally, highlights the gaps in a shared vision between the two while championing what they hold in common. These two levels of authority and influence frequently tend to be in line with each other in a consistent manner; however, there are cases where Andalusia’s narrative and public memory differs from that of Spain, and vice versa. All official accounts state that Andalusia and Spain exist in a friendly, symbiotic relationship diplomatically; however, looking beyond the political linkages, the dynamic between an autonomous community and a sovereign nation oscillates, reaching peaks where both entities benefit and troughs where mutual resentments may deepen.

In order to more fully understand the dynamic beyond the officially stated precepts of this connection and into the actual rapport, one must examine the gaps and discrepancies in the public material by revisiting Raymond Williams’ framework “structures of feeling.” Williams discusses the phenomenon of thoughts and feelings used as a metric of determining underlying overarching sentiments within culture and public memory: “For structures of feeling can be defined as social experiences in solution, as distinct from other social semantic formations which have been precipitated and are more evidently and more immediately available,” (Williams 20). In application, this theoretical concept allows for the observation of material culture to drive the understanding of the underlying intentions, motivations, and positions of the creators of
cultural artefacts. In the case of analyzing the relationship between Andalusia and Madrid in contemporary times, this framework will permit the deeper meaning behind carefully worded press releases, intentionally shared monuments, and contradictory regional newspapers.

Juanma Moreno, the President of la Junta de Andalucía, demonstrated these tenets of Andalusian self-identification in May of 2020. During several press meetings, Juanma Moreno is seen exhibiting a modified version of the Andalusian crest on the podium (Fig. 12). This political symbol has raised criticisms surrounding the creation and display without approval:

«El Ejecutivo de PP y Ciudadanos ha creado un nuevo emblema para la Presidencia del Gobierno de la Junta. Se trata del escudo de la comunidad autónoma que figura en el Estatuto, con el Hércules y los leones, pero está timbrado por una corona real, como la que figura en el escudo de España, y rodeado por dos hojas de laurel estilizadas.» (C.R.)

[“The Executive Branch of the Popular Party and Citizens parties has created a new emblem for the Presidency of the Government of the Junta [Andalusian governing body]. It takes the shield from the autonomous community which appears in the Statute [of Andalusia], with Hercules and the lions, but is stamped with a royal crown, like the one found on the shield of Spain, and encircled by two stylized laurel leaves.”]

While at face value, these changes may seem subtle and unimportant, the potential implications for such an action in a greater socio-political context provide a looking glass into modern Andalusian sentiment towards Spain.
First, one must pay careful attention to the significance of the reception of this revised coat of arms. The crest of Andalusia has not been modified since its establishment as outlined in the Statutes of Autonomy in 1981 (C.R.). Therefore, this recent shift may document changing sentiments towards the national Spanish government. The additions of laurel topped with a crown seems to imply that Andalusia have royal claims, or it could be harkening back to its loose ties as a former kingdom during the Moorish rule. However, the crown not only represents the direct line of a kingdom; rather, it may suggest a sovereignty and an equality of status with Madrid.
This move by Juanma Moreno and the party «Partido Popular Andaluz (PP)» was not received universally with elation. One of the first introductions of this new Andalusian crest was brought to the forefront of the regional and national discourse during a videoconference held by Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez and the heads of the autonomous communities. «Yo al principio pensaba que era una broma,» [“At first I thought it was a joke,”] remarks the head of the leftist PODEMOS party in Spain, Theresa Rodríguez. Additionally, the leader of the left-wing parliamentary coalition Adelante Andalucía [Onward Andalusia] exclaims, «El escudo andaluz no tiene corona porque Andalucía no es un reino, sino un pueblo,» [“The Andalusian coat of arms has no crown because Andalusia is not a kingdom, rather a people/village”] (C.R.)\(^\text{10}\). This stark juxtaposition of Andalusian pride versus regional embarrassment was echoed by popular receptions. In the following reaction to this news clip, a reader comments on the article, adding a layer of complexity to the presumed monotonic commentary of the political elite:

«Y digo yo, puestos a cambiar el escudo, en vez de la corona podía haber puesto un elefante muerto y en vez de las hojas de laurel dos maletines con millones de dólares en la banca Suiza, y en vez del León la foto de Corina. Hubiera sido más Real\(^\text{11}\).» (Usuario Anónimo)\(^\text{12}\)

[“And I said, given they were going to change the coat of arms, in lieu of a crown they may have put a dead elephant, and in place of

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\(^{10}\) Translation note: «pueblo» literally translates to either “people” or “village.” It is unclear in this instance which form of the word the writer wishes to convey.

\(^{11}\) Translation note: «Real» in may mean both “real” and “royal.” In this context, since the user capitalized «Real», it is reasonable to assume that he was referring to the meaning as “royal.” Though, it may also be interpreted as “genuine.”

\(^{12}\) Found under the comments section of the same article, cited under “C.R.”
the laurel leaves, two suitcases with millions of dollars in a Swiss bank, and instead of the Lion, a picture of Corina. That would have been more Royal/real (indicates double entendre).” (Anonymous User)]

The Anonymous User in this instance demonstrates a stark difference in the criticisms from the leading political leaders. In lieu of garnering concern for the issue of the unapproved symbol itself, this user is alluding to scandals in the royal family and a corrupt, bankrupt national government while simultaneously implying that it may be that in order to remain on the same reputed political level as the National Spanish Government, Andalucía must lower its standards.13

Another potent inference from the aforementioned comment on the issue of putting forth a new version of the Andalusian crest is the implication for confidence in public institutions. Within the governmental hierarchy, it may be possible that many have more faith in the Junta de Andalucía than in the National Spanish Government. By elevating the Andalusian Government with the crown, there are powerful intonations that people identify more with an Andalusian belonging and identity than a Spanish. In practice, these tensions have presented themselves in a plethora of interactions between the regional and national government in both informal and formal instances.

*Andalucía*, while sharing many of its traditions with Spain, the aforementioned power dynamic produces tensions when it comes to Andalusians identifying as Spanish. Many derive such dissonance from a sense of Andalusian superiority over Madrid. While

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General Franco put Andalusia on a pedestal as the community that embodies Spain in all its faculties, many Andalusians believe that there is a different side of this narrative which the popular dialogue has neglected to tell.

One prime instance of this Andalusian sense of superiority becomes apparent while observing a brief commercial for a local beer company. *Cruzmampo*, with breweries in Seville, Madrid, Valencia, Jaén and Arano, has prided itself on its Andalusian roots with many considering this beer to be indispensable to the region and cultural narrative. Founded in 1904, the Cruzcampo brewery was named after La Cruz del Campo in Seville (Palomo). While based out of Seville, this brewery has successfully campaigned to expand its appeal to all of Andalusia, being prevalent in almost every corner bar.

In 2002 Cruzcampo circulated a commercial depicting many of the proud Andalusian traditions with a subtext asserting Andalusia’s cultural patrimonial primacy over Madrid’s. This advertisement's fundamental principle relies on comparisons of various cultural elements common in both Andalusia and Spain as a whole; however, the commercial purports that Andalusia embodies these aspects in the purest form – with a subtext that Madrid’s attempt at imitating these cultural traditions always falls short.

Before analyzing the rhetoric and underlying intonations of the Cruzcampo commercial itself, one must look at the greater context and role which advertisements play in the formation of a national identity. Helen Kelly-Holmes provides a theoretical

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14 La Cruz del Campo, meaning “The Cross of the Field” is a *templete*, or small shrine, marking one of many stations on what is called the *Via Crucis*, or Way of the Cross. The *Via Crucis*, a Catholic devotion, is similar to the practice of Stations of the Cross, with stations placed throughout the city.

15 The advertisement to the Cruzcampo commercial, while also noted in the Works Cited, may be accessed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rf3KwoDL33M
framework to better grasp the function of such cultural artefacts within the context of cultural production. In her article, Kelly-Holmes establishes the concept of a country-of-origin appeal. This sort of rhetorical appeal allows an advertising company to align itself with a specific national narrative, creating links between the product at hand and certain aspects of this identity (Kelly Holmes 53). The creation of these linkages may take many forms in popular culture; however, a prominent method is the video advertisement – as was the case for one of the many advertising avenues for Cruzcampo.

Kelly-Holmes explores a case study with the Belgian beer Stella Artois.\(^1\) By examining the various strategies used involving the country-of-origin appeal, Kelly-Holmes arrives at two conclusions regarding the benefits of such appeal and such resulting outcomes:

“A country-of-origin appeal highlights “positive and normally stereotypical attributes of another country and imbues the product originating from that country with those image-enhancing qualities” (Moon and Jain 2002, 93). Furthermore, the combination of “humorous stereotyping” with an “allusion to a particular expertise which is associated with the foreign country” (Moon and Jain 2002, 93) has been shown to instill confidence in a product.” (Kelly Holmes 53)

In the case of Cruzcampo, the nation purporting to make such ties would be invariably Andalusia, whereas in this article, Kelly-Holmes examines the same phenomenon for the French-speaking section within Belgium.\(^2\) Just as Andalusia is one of many

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\(^1\) The name Stella Artois is broken down into the following two components: “stella” translates to “star” in French and “Artois” is the name of a region in northern France, adjacent to Belgium.

\(^2\) Belgium has three official languages: Dutch, French, and German.
autonomous communities within Spain continuously navigating the socio-political landscape and layers of authority, this French-speaking population within Belgium likewise grapples with methods to gain recognition and cultural concessions within the political framework.

The ultimate goal of the Cruzcampo advertising tactic is that of any business: to sell the maximum amount of its product. In appealing to country-of-origin rhetoric, Cruzcampo is relating the brand, the product, and the presence all to the Andalusian national identity. The result of such efforts is an appealingly outward-looking advertising presence looking towards the rest of Spain. However, the implications of such linkages in lexicon and traditions that these advertisements present may also create a greater cooperation between Cruzcampo and Andalusia. Building upon these connections among the two entities, Andalusians are able to use Cruzcampo to legitimize their sense of self, giving meaning to themselves, and vice versa. As Kelly-Holmes makes similar claims towards this productive symbiotic relationship, “Co-construction... involves consumers and producers working together, often asymmetrically, to create value for the product, rather than the former passively consuming products that have already been infused with value by the latter,” (Kelly-Holmes 64). In a greater sense, an illustration of this concept may be to imagine the answer an outsider may give to the question: Does Andalusia need Cruzcampo to become empowered, or does Cruzcampo need Andalusia to be successful?

In each line of this advertisement, the narrator makes a claim which is typically thought to be Spanish in nature and then rebukes such claim, saying Andalusia does it

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18 Though Cruzcampo is closely associated with Andalusia, it distributes beers all throughout Spain.
better. Each of these statements paints Andalusia in a grand, original, and monumental light. From the litany of comparisons and praises of Andalusia’s vibrant culture, one is able to see clearly the various feelings of superiority as well as slight resentment,

«¡Andalucía! Andalucía no es donde termine Europa. Es donde empieza... El andaluz no es un acento, es un castellano entre amigos.»[^19] [“Andalusia! Andalusia is not where Europe ends. It is where it begins... Andaluz is not an accent, it is Spanish spoken between friends.”] Right from the beginning, one is able to distinguish the feeling of being a second-rate community compared to Spain by implying that the region is frequently considered to be “[where Europe ends,]” («Anuncio Cruzcampo hecha de Andalucía»).

Additionally, Cruzcampo addresses here the common connotation regarding the distinct regional accent within Andalusia. The permeating accent, as mentioned in Chapter 1, derives from a long history of Moorish occupation of which Andalusia had been the focal point for a much longer, more concentrated time than the rest of

[^19]: «Andaluz» is the term for the type of Spanish spoken by Andalusians. Though not a separate language or official dialect, it varies distinctly between the ways other autonomous communities speak Spanish.

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Spain. A verbal lisp of the /c/ and in some regions even /s/, called the ceceo, is the phenomenon of shifting the soft /c/ sound to a /th/; whereas, the seseo is, in both instances, /c/ and /s/ turning to producing the same soft /s/ sound (Fig. 13). Both modified forms of the «ceceo» and the «seseo» as shown in red and green respectively are unique to Andalusia; however, the portion shown in white shows the distinction between /c/ and /z/ which is normal in mainstream spoken castellano. The many distinct, typical variations in speech throughout Andalusia are not common throughout the rest of Spain (Dalbor 5). The Cruzcampo Advertisement, rather than conceding that many Spaniards mock Andalusians for such accent, which is often the case in popular culture, Cruzcampo capitalizes on this opportunity to further motivate the Andalusian identity and take the issue as a point of pride and contribution to the Andalusian sense of self.

In fact, Cruzcampo is currently pursuing a campaign capitalizing on this premise based on the dialects within Andalusia on the basis of country-of-origin appeal. As of January 2021, Cruzcampo has launched a string of commercials under the umbrella phrase «Con mucho acento» [“With a lot of accent”] and «Habla tu andaluz» [“Speak Andalusian your way”] («Con mucho acento»). In a montage of artfully produced videos, a plethora of people elaborate on the pride that they consider their accents to bring them. To the background, walls are lettered with words and phrases omnipresent in Andalusia and baffling to most other Spaniards – phrases and words such as «bulla»,
«queijo», and «bienmesabe»\textsuperscript{23}. As Cruzcampo clearly argues, accent is an inseparable element from Andalusian identity, in the same way that the Cruzcampo beer is to the Andalusian people.

Halfway through the commercial, the producers arrive at the real substance of the overt praise of Andalusia and backhanded criticism of Madrid. They discuss traditions prevalent all throughout Spain, and then proceed by proclaiming that Andalusia is the true origin and master of such. For example, tapas are a staple throughout the vast majority of Spain.\textsuperscript{24} A small plate of food, many consider it to be a bar snack. Cruzcampo capitalizes on this phenomenon by announcing that in addition to the \textit{rubias}, which in itself is a double entendre claiming high praise for the Andalusian beer (the literal translation of «rubia» means “blonde girl”), always come free with a tapa «Y las rubias nunca están solas. Vienen con tapa.» [“And the beers/(blonde girls) are never alone. They come with a tapa.”] («Anuncio Cruzcampo hecha de Andalucía»).

While a common tradition throughout Andalusia, in Córdoba, an eastern province, it is codified into regional law that with every drink ordered, a complementary plate of food must accompany it. The same importance which Andalusians place on the convivial nature of tapas and beer also applies to the tomato, which grows exceedingly well in the Mediterranean climate and is prime vegetable export of Andalusia. «Aquí no comemos tomate, nos lo bebemos.» [“Here we don’t eat the tomato, we drink it.”] («Anuncio Cruzcampo hecha de Andalucía»). This reference to the tomato speaks to Andalusian gazpacho and salmorejo, staples of cuisine in Southern Spain, which may also be an

\textsuperscript{23} «Bulla» is Andalusian slang for “hurry.” «Quiejo» is Andalusian slang for “What did he say?” «Bienmesabe» means “It tastes good to me.”

\textsuperscript{24} There is an urban legend which states that King Ferdinand II had visited a city in Andalusia, where he asked for a glass of wine. The waiter brought the king the glass of wine he had requested with the addition of a small plate covering the class, protecting it from dust falling into it. The Spanish word «tapar» means “to cover.”
allusion to the use of the tomato in other Spanish regions. For instance, neighboring Valencia stands out as famous throughout the world for its celebration of *la Tomatina*, a festival in which participants amass in a large crowd, and instead of feasting upon the delicious, ripe tomatoes, the Valencians throw them at each other.

In one last group of appeals, Cruzcampo makes a direct statement towards a controversial topic within Spain that polarizes the majority of the country: bullfighting. A popular and public sport throughout Andalusia and other communities within Spain, a few communities have actually banned the practice; however, what many Andalusians consider an art of high esteem, bullfighting is still closely associated with Andalusia, and though some may disagree, they will recognize its ubiquity in Andalusian culture. For the majority in Andalusia who support bullfighting, they consider it an art and intense point of pride. Cruzcampo proclaims, «En Andalucía, no nos dan miedo los cuernos, nos torreamos.» [“In Andalusia, we aren’t afraid of horns, we fight them.”] («Anuncio Cruzcampo hecha de Andalucía»). Additionally recognized throughout Spain are its methods of producing olive oil and curing ham, to which the commercial claims for Andalusia, «Amamos el aceite de oliva, el jamón, y las bombillas de colores.» [“We love olive oil, ham, and colored lights.”]

In conclusion, from an advertising standpoint, this commercial is creating an equivalence between Andalusia and Cruzcampo. Andalusia is Cruzcampo. However, in more nuanced yet not quite subtle terms, Cruzcampo also is claiming to be the pinnacle of Spanish culture, of Andalusian culture. This intense regional pride is prominent throughout the regional consciousness and manifests itself in this particular beer having been engrained into this people: «Amamos ese arte, esa risa, ese orgullo, esa casta, ese verde, ese blanco. Los andaluces amamos esta tierra y brindamos por ella con esta
cerveza. ¡Cruzcampo! Hecha de Andalucía. » [“We love that art, that smile, that pride, that breed, that green that white. We Andalusians love this land and toast to her with this beer. Cruzcampo! Made from Andalusia.”] («Anuncio Cruzcampo hecha de Andalucía»). Even the last phrase «Hecha de Andalucía» is a linguistic play on words. Normally, when referring to a product’s origin, one would say «hecha en...», meaning “made in...”; however, changing this traditional formula to «hecha de...» provokes an attitude more in line with “made of...” This intentional linguistic shift demonstrates that Cruzcampo is not simply a product made by happenstance in Andalusia rather a beer made up of the Andalusian pride and spirit.

While the Cruzcampo advertisement makes light of some cultural points of contention, Andalusia and Madrid frequently disagree on various political matters and courses of action25. One illustration of the sort of opposition and clash of wills that sometimes occur between Madrid and Andalusia are the recent lockdowns prompted by the global pandemic of COVID-19. Initially, the Spanish response to the pandemic was a unilateral action by the Spanish National governing body, enforced by decreto real, or royal decree. This move by the national government was met with little resistance from the autonomous communities initially given the widespread fear and uncertainty of the situation; however, as the quarantine and lockdown measures, some of the strictest throughout Europe, wore on, some autonomous communities saw the need to have more say in the proceedings. For this, the government eventually ended the estado de alarma [state of emergency] and devolved the power to enforce precautionary measures on a community basis.

25 While Madrid, known as la Comunidad de Madrid, is technically an autonomous community as Andalucía, in the majority of references, I am using Madrid as synonymous for the seat of the National Spanish Government.
In order to understand the dynamic at play, one must examine closely the motivations, influences, and ultimately the pressures regarding Madrid’s policy towards the autonomous communities as a whole. In a specific instance, on the 18 of March, the Boletín Oficial del Estado [Official State Bulletin] published “decreto real 3824” which authorized and mandated «medidas urgentes extraordinarias para hacer frente al impacto económico y social del COVID-19» [“urgent, extraordinary measures to counteract the economic and social impact of COVID-19”] (BOE 3824). This lockdown, in the midst of the worldwide shock at the rapid spread of the virus, was anticipated by many. It was not until the June 9, 2020 that these temporary emergency measures were lifted. From this point forward, the Spanish government had seemed to have a change of tone from reaction to prevention, instating «medidas urgentes de prevención, contención y coordinación para hacer frente a la crisis sanitaria» [“urgent measures of prevention, containment, and coordination to counteract the health crisis”] (BOE 5895). The rapid measures taken to contain the virus seemed to pave the way for a reconciliation between the disgruntled communities, who at the time were feeling the force from Madrid.

This progress was soon halted. As autumn of 2020 began, cases of infection from the virus were on the rise again throughout Europe, as many countries had begun easing restrictions just as Spain had.26 Madrid, in response to the rising cases internally as well as increasing pressures from other European countries instated additional measures, quite similar to the first lockdown, almost immediately (Sevillano). Here, with the autonomous communities already having implemented their own restrictions and

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26 Many refer to this resurgence in cases as the «segunda ola» or “second wave.”
measures, this move on the part of the national government was met with resistance, even within Madrid itself (TeleMadrid). In more practical terms relatable to the sort of tensions present within Andalusia, there may have been various political motivations behind this legislation, which has caused widespread protests throughout Spain (Fig. 14). Highlighting these competing political undertones: “The move, with immediate effect, escalated a standoff between Prime Minister Pedro Sanchez's government and the conservative-led Madrid regional chief who calls the curbs illegal, excessive and disastrous for the economy,” (Laundaro).

While the onset of the COVID-19 Pandemic increased tensions haphazardly and without warning, Andalusia and Madrid additionally have not seen eye to eye in instances where years of planning were put to work. One such event was the creation and hosting of «La Exposición Universal de Sevilla de 1992» [The Universal Exposition of Seville of 1992]. This international exhibition with many countries around represented in Seville may serve as a pointed case study for examining how the goals of Andalusia match up with those of Spain in addition to the practical plans of the event, authority, and funding.
To begin, the city and province of Seville welcomed the proposition for the project with open arms. La Junta de Andalucía likewise became greatly fond of the project, contributing a large source of funds; however, this event became more regionalized, centralizing itself primarily on the province of Seville, leaving la Junta de Andalucía to play a more indirect role.

Chosen by popular vote by a commission comprised of Spanish politicians, Manuel Olivencia, lawyer and professor, was the commissioner for the event. Widely lauded for his organization, handling, and communication throughout the duration of the event, Olivencia remains a well-recognized name throughout the region. Politically, Olivencia staunchly represented the Andalusian interest, in that he saw the Expo ’92 as an exposition of the city of Seville and Andalusia in their own rite rather than as an exposition of Spain (Martínez).

With the Expo ’92 coinciding with the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona, the central government of Madrid during this time was certainly pulled in many directions. The Central Government of Spain and that of Seville and Andalusia could all agree on the primary object of commemoration of the entire event – the 500th anniversary of the discovery of the Americas in 1492 (Martínez). With the boats having launched from la Puerta de Sevilla, the location suited the event; however, the tensions manifested themselves rather in who believed to be the proprietors of the historical narrative of those setting sail from the new world. Whereas Madrid believed it to be a celebration of Spanish heritage since the sailors left with the approval from the newly united Spanish kingdom, Andalusia viewed it more in a sense of localized patrimony: those who revolutionized globalization and discovered the “New World” were from Andalusia.
Felipe Gonzalez was one important link between Andalusia and Madrid during this time of concentrated development and interaction. A member of PSOE, Gonzalez was elected as the third Prime Minister of Spain since democracy had been restored during the transition from the Francoist regime («Biografía»). Felipe Gonzalez also has the privilege of calling Andalusia home, having been born in Seville. The fact that Gonzalez was able to represent these two peoples opened a line for communication.

During the Expo ’92, Felipe Gonzalez spoke in an official capacity at the inauguration of the Exposición Universal de 1992 alongside His Majesty, Juan Carlos I, King of Spain, along with Alejandro Rojas Marcos, Mayor of Seville, and Manuel Chaves, president of La Junta de Andalucía. During this lineup of elected officials representing all parties of interest at the Expo, Felipe Gonzalez gave a rousing speech, demonstrating what the significance of the Expo for Andalusians and how Madrid optimistically viewed the event:

«Hoy, podemos sentirnos satisfechos al poder ofrecer realidades tangibles que están a la altura de dichos compromisos, y no sólo, señor, por haber hecho honor a la palabra dada; sino también por haber contribuido de este modo a celebrar a Andalucía – un territorio lleno de potencialidades y de futuro. No es este, sin embargo, un esfuerzo aislado o sin continuidad. Se trata de establecer las condiciones que favorezcan el desarrollo de Andalucía y también de articular este desarrollo con el del conjunto de España. En definitiva, se pretende aprovechar este impulso renovador para conectarlo, vertebrando este territorio con otros espacios de crecimiento y desarrollo de nuestro país.» (MemorANDA)
“Today, we may feel satisfied at the ability to offer tangible realities which are at the stature of such compromises, and not only, sir, by having honored the spoken word; but also, for having contributed to this way of celebration of Andalusia – a territory full of potential and of future. It is not this, however, an isolated effort without continuity. It deals with establishing the conditions which favor the development of Andalusia and also with articulating this development jointly with that of Spain. Ultimately, this renewing impulse must be taken advantage of in order to connect it [Andalusia], supporting this territory with other spaces of growth and development within our country.”

It appears that Gonzalez holds an optimistic view for the cooperation of Andalusia and Spain in this international event. Likewise, through this speech, Gonzalez makes known one of his self-proclaimed goals: the necessity to nurture development within Andalusia and to help bring it in line with Madrid’s vision.

As mentioned previously, the Universal Exposition of 1992 was coinciding with the 1992 Olympics in Barcelona, making Spain a focal point for people all over the world. Furthermore, the European Union had named Madrid a Cultural Capital of Europe in 1992 (Gomes et al. 18). Though the formal ceremony of naming of the Cultural Capital of Europe took place in 1992, Europe and Madrid had been planning this designation for at least several years leading up to 1988 – well within the timeframe in which strenuous planning for the Barcelona Olympics and Universal Exposition were likewise under talks and planning (Gomes et al. 14).
The naming of Madrid as the Cultural Capital of the Europe may have been in effort to increase legitimacy of the nation from a European and international standpoint. Given Spain’s accession to the European Union in 1986, the plan to dub Madrid with this particular honorific seems to offer due diligence to the city by proclaiming it in 1988 as a way of possibly reaffirming Spain’s place in Europe. As cited, the goal of this program was to “bring the peoples of the Member States closer together,” (Council of the European Union 2)\(^2\).

Pedro Gomes and Alejandro Libero-Cano offer in their article plausible reasons for such a title given to Spain, a relatively new, economically stagnant member state. The primary reason they find is that once a particular city is chosen, the host country actually benefits overall from receiving a sizable boost in average national GDP (Gomes et al. 10). Given this correlation, it may be that the European Union was granting Spain an economic boon in hopes of increased further relation. One may reasonably predict that such effect may be applied to the Universal Exposition of 1992 and the Barcelona Olympics alike. In summary, the year of 1992 became the first year of Spain’s recognition on an international level since the fall of the Francoist regime, creating a newfound outlet for national pride in the new epoch of democracy and European integration.

In the same way the European Union selected Madrid as a Cultural Capital, Madrid may have lobbied heavily for Seville be the host city for the Universal Exposition as a means of attracting development so that Seville, and possibly Andalusia, could be brought to the same level of socio-economic status as Madrid. During the same

\(^2\) The European Capital of Culture Program was launched in 1985, seven years prior to Madrid being denominated as such.
inaugural remarks during which Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez spoke, just prior, His Majesty King Juan Carlos I spoke in tones alluding to this idea of taking Sevilla, and indirectly Andalucía as a whole, to show off to the world as the pinnacle of Spanish culture and international excellence to help bring it more in line with the same recognition Madrid has received.

In introducing the city, His Majesty Juan Carlos I gives recognition to the very structure of identity that makes Andalucía unique in comparison to the rest of the autonomous communities in Spain. Such tenets and crucial points for Andalusian identity that differentiate it are as mentioned earlier in its rich, layered history. «Sevilla, la romana. Sevilla, la árabe, judía, cristiana, indiana. Han producido el patrimonio cultural que este año mostramos los españoles a huéspedes venidos de todos los países de la tierra.»

[“Seville, the Roman. Seville, the Arabic, Jewish, Christian, Indian. (These cultures) have produced the cultural patrimony that this year we Spaniards show to our guests from all countries in the land.”] (MemorANDA) In giving due diligence to the vast historical landscape of Andalusia, the King not only recognizes the Andalusian historical roots; rather, he elevates them on a pedestal so the entirety of the world may see Andalusia in its richness and forever associate that same profound cultural complexity with the rest of Spain, and thereby, Madrid.

With Madrid eagerly awaiting the payback on the strategic investment of the Exposition of 1992 and Andalusia caught up in the residual excitement, the physical memory of the Expo ’92 suffered a severely different fate from the fond cultural memory of the event. While considered a relative success, people believed the Expo had achieved

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28 Please see p. 27 in Chapter 1 for a more detailed explanation of the layered historical background of Andalusia.
its goal of putting Andalusia on the map by way of building the ciudad del futuro [city of the future] as many Sevillanos refer to the project retrospectively.\(^{29}\) As S.M. Rey Juan Carlos I had proclaimed himself: «La Exposición Universal pretende transmitir a sus visitantes la idea de la diversidad y riqueza de las culturas que el hombre ha creado...» [“The Universal Exposition intends to communicate to its visitors the idea of diversity and abundance of cultures that man has created.”] (MemorANDA). This rallying call became an objective goal and prompted the event planners to envision the creation of a new, bold city to host this monumental event. Built on la Isla de Cartuja just adjacent to the city center of Seville, the grounds where the Exposition was held were seen as a gateway to the future. All new infrastructure was constructed to host the inevitable herd of visitors to see the glorious city which purported to host a glimpse into the future. Each country’s exhibition was hosted in a uniquely designed «pabellón,» or “pavilion,” where the participating country had a blank slate to mold the space to properly reveal it’s exhibition.

After the success of the event, this space, however, fell into ruin and was abandoned. The hopes that it be turned to the new, modern city center of Seville slowly faded away. In the modern day, while numerous Sevillanos still reflect fondly on the event and its relevance for the city, the vast majority of the buildings constructed lay victim to the overgrown plants and the sparse quietness, devoid of people. A video commemorating the 25\(^{th}\) anniversary of the Exposition continues to stake claims justifying that it was all worth it. Emilio Cassinello, President of the Council of Administration of the Expo remarks, «La Expo fue una ocasión extraordinaria a

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\(^{29}\) Often times, when the Universal Exposition of 1992 comes up in conversation, Sevillanos, those living in Seville, tend to refer to the «ciudad del futuro» in a joking manner.
demostrarnos a nosotros mismos que podíamos estar entre los mejores del mundo...»
[“The Expo was an extraordinary occasion to show ourselves that we could be among the best of the world.”] (Asociación Legado Expo Sevilla). How could an investment so large prove to have such little fruit in its longevity? Though the exhibit may have served its purpose, the space itself no longer represents its ideals, and one must read between the lines of Madrid’s insistence and Andalucía’s exuberance.

In further looking towards the state of this “city of the future” in modern times, Edward Olivier provides both context and framework to understand the usage of space and its representations. Proclaiming the Universal Exposition as “a hymn to technology and conquest at the very end of the American century,” the space now lamentably stands as a mere shadow of what it once was, “private property off-limits at night, patrolled by security guards, and surrounded by hectares of overgrown empty former parking lots; the remnants of ambitious planting schemes overpower the many abandoned pavilions,” (Oliver 116). In these ruins of what was to be, Oliver repeats the undertones which he finds as a function of the imposing “past futures,” the hopes of grandeur yet the limits of temporality, which he claims characterize this area. In his work, he defines the space now as “ambiguous and less concerned with a faithful representation of ‘that which was there,’” along with the sight of each pavilion, wrought with “the ghosts of possibilities, the echoes of past futures” (Oliver 116).

This situational space chronicles not only the interactions in planning but more so the difference in political position between Madrid and Andalusia. While Andalusia was excited at this opportunity of growth, development, and advancement, Madrid may have been more concerned with ensuring that Andalusia comply with the direction of Madrid. That is to say, Madrid may have become preoccupied not for any noticed lack of
alignment of goals with regards to Seville; rather, Madrid may have seen the Expo ’92 as its own canvas to impose what they had envisioned for Andalusia.

One example of this disconnection between Madrid and Andalucía which Alberto Medina details lies in one of the pavilion’s named «Era de los Descubrimientos,» or “Age of Discovery,” where he goes says:

«La escasez de representaciones de Cristóbal Colón o el silencio en torno a otros eventos de 1492 como la expulsión eran simultáneos al desinterés generalizado por una historia narrativa sustituida por fetiches artísticos y científicos, reducida a una colección de objetos en el escaparate. Esos objetos no eran solo auráticas reliquias de esa aludida “Era de los Descubrimientos,” sino también de la misma posibilidad de la historia que parecía dejarse atrás.» (Medina 22)

[“The dearth of representations of Christopher Columbus or the silence around the other events of 1492 such as the expulsion [of the Moors] were simultaneous to the generalized disinterest through a historical narrative, substituted by artistic and scientific fetishes, reduced to a collection of objects in a shopwindow. Those objects were not only auratic relics of that aforementioned “Age of Discoveries,” but also of the same possibility of history that appeared left behind.”]

Here, the glamor of the exposition further overruns the inapparent need for historical accuracy with the Spanish national government’s substituting substance and detailed portrayal with artistic wonders and architectural feats. Madrid mobilized this event to
continue to pursue and impose the national Spanish narrative, leaving little credence nor artistic liberty to Andalucía to portray theirs.

For the moment, the site of La Exposición Universal de 1992 remains as a remembrance of a glorious premonition, which briefly was but never developed as its creators had envisioned. While there never arose any significant conflict between Madrid and Andalusia during the Exposition, the tensions have not faded as the space has fallen into ruin. Felipe González, leader of PSOE during the time stated his intention of the Expo ’92 was to «favorecer la integración de una España multinacional» [“favor the integration of a multinational Spain”], while after the event concluded, Giulia Quaggio cited polls stating in fact that regional opinions of the Expo and its relevance had become more sharply divided between autonomous communities (Quaggio 119). The discrepancy in favorability in looking back on the Expo goes to show that even through working towards a common goal, these competing layers of authority, identity, and power add complexity to the undertones of the event.

At the moment, while no large-scale revivals of the area have been in the works, there has been some degree of urban revitalization within the site of the Expo Universal de 1992. In 1994, just two years after the Expo, La Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, or the International University of Andalusia, was founded in the heart of La Isla de Cartuja, the home of the Expo.³⁰ Additionally, La Universidad de Sevilla and other universities have taken space in the area to host auxiliary offices and laboratories. Similarly, offices and companies within Andalusia have sought to expand into the space.

³⁰ La Universidad Internacional de Andalucía actually is located in the Monastery of St. Mary of the Caves, or «Monasterio de Santa María de las Cuevas» which is thought to be where Christopher Columbus had prayed prior to his world-changing journey.
An important perspective that will further augment the comprehensive nature of how identity and self-determination can create conflict when brought to a degree of opposition is how these entities see and present themselves. An increasingly large portion of Spain’s economy is dedicated to tourism, and in terms of attractive locations for prospective visitors, Andalusia is home to some of Spain’s most popular treasures. Examining the narrative which the tourist offices purport will give way to a better idea of understanding how Andalusians see themselves in the present and in turn how Spaniards as a whole see Andalusians.

Andalusia and Spain overall are prime destinations for tourists coming from all over the world. The way tourists interact with, perceive, and appreciate this space within this community may further contribute to the affirmation of identity and self-actualization of Andalusia among the rest of Spain. Sasha Pack from the University of Buffalo grounds this relation of social identity with tourism in a theoretical framework used to examine these influences.

Pack begins by elaborating on the necessity of tourism to Spain’s development, with special attention to the temporal location in Europe: « Tales ejemplos Aydan a entender la contribución del turismo a la inserción de España en la naciente comunidad de pueblos europeos, » [“Such examples help to understand the contribution of tourism to the insertion of Spain to the nascent community of European peoples.”] (Pack 123). This idea of the «pueblos europeos» is fundamental in analyzing the tonal shift from an introspective Spain, and thereby Andalusia, to an outwardly looking distillation of
culture and identity, raising it on par with other explicit and *de facto* “Cultural Capitals” of Europe such as Rome, Munich, or Paris.\(^{31}\)

Spain had not always embraced tourism with open arms as it does today. During the Franco regime, tourism played little part, remaining a relatively unknown phenomenon until the 1960’s (Pack 124). However, she then pivots to discuss how well Spain has adapted to the rise of tourism in its communities: «Si a estos grupos de naciones se solía aplicar metáforas como “familia” o “comunidad,” las expresiones de la individualidad de sus distintos miembros facilitaba la reconciliación del nacionalismo como un orden cada vez más internacionalista,» [“If metaphors such as ‘family’ or ‘community’ were frequently applied to these groups of nations, expressions of individuality of its distinct members facilitated the reconciliation of nationalism as an order, always becoming more internationalist,”] (Pack 125). Pack argues here that tourism has opened up Spain in a way which has led to the leveling of nationalism.

Crucial to the conjecture and development of Spain’s nascent tourist inklings, Pack discusses «la marca España» [“the Spain brand”] in the world, that being how the rest of the world sees and perceives Spain. Here, Pack introduces the concept of “national branding.” In the definition of a national brand, said country must elect elements of its choosing, intending to put the best foot forward for outsiders and visitors to see upon arrival. Pack describes the unique challenges Spain faced in the late 20\(^{\text{th}}\) century in how the country had to «luchar contra un acopio singular de imágenes negativas de un país bruto, pobre, sucio, vanidoso, o poco sofisticado,» [“to fight against

\(^{31}\) The term «pueblo» in Spanish has a very intimate connotation. Although small villages are typically referred to as «pueblos,» the use outside of this context typically demonstrates a state of affinity and affiliation more in line with the term “a people.”
a singular collection of negative images of a brutish, poor, dirty, vain, or unsophisticated country,”] (Pack 133). In this instance, re-branding was the crux of the transition to a country more open to tourism and outsiders; however, during this distillation of identity and explicit attempt at redefining the national brand, it is important to note that the tourist agents are not introducing foreign aspects to make the narrative more attractive to foreigners, rather, they are amplifying the already existing elements to entice travelers.

With this national branding in mind, one must then focus on how Andalusia has effectively employed this strategy in practice. Interestingly enough, Pack remarks that initially in 1889, a famous travel writer Richard Ford, described Andalusia as an area unfit for visitation, referring to those in the region as «animales» [“animals”] (Pack 158). This is a stark contrast from the first intentional effort of national rebranding that took place during the early portion of the Franco regime under the term “Spain is different.” In that campaign, here began the appropriation and imposition of Andalusian cultural characteristics on the rest of Spain:

«Durante los años cuarenta y cincuenta, los promotores de la Dirección General de Turismo apostaron por la España de pandereta y los estereotipos andaluces, evocando una forma distinta de vivir, un retorno al campo preindustrial.» (Pack 137)

[“During the 1940’s and 1950’s, the promoters in the General Tourism Office opted for Spain of the tambourine and the Andalusian stereotypes, evoking a distinct form of living, a return to the preindustrial countryside.”]
This national rebranding with regards to tourism is part of General Franco’s larger tactic of universalizing Spanish culture on both an inwardly looking domestic basis and the greater tourist perception of Spain.

Reminiscent of this call to a rebranded identity shown to tourists is the Spanish film, ¡Bienvenido, Mister Marshall! [Welcome, Mr. Marshall!]. The premise of the film, written by well-known director and screenwriter Juan Antonio Bardem, takes place in a small village in Castilla y León in central Spain just after the conclusion of the Second World War. Alerted of the incoming arrival of two American diplomats, the village mobilizes in hopes to receive part of the benefit under the European Recovery Program, also known as the Marshall Plan (Berlanga et al.). In order to show the highly anticipated guests a pleasurable stay, the town reinvents itself to mimic a small Andalusian village, bringing in flamenco dancers and colored lanterns (Berlanga et al.). This humorous clash between the true nature of this Castilian village and the imposed stereotypes of an Andalusian town play into the greater movement of Spanish tourism jumpstarted by General Franco’s regime of attempting to create a unified Spanish culture not only domestically but also in all outward appearances. While entertaining, the film’s depiction of the genuine attempts of Castilians taking on these completely unfamiliar traditions, serves as a critique of this tact of rebranding during the Francoist regime, still applicable today as demonstrated by the widespread availability flamenco, sangria, and paella in nearly every Spanish city.32

32 Whereas both flamenco and sangria originated in Andalusia, paella, a rice and seafood dish, was actually born in Valencia. This further goes to show the piecemeal selection of the Franco dictatorship in selecting the most appealing elements to show to tourists.
Given the historical motivations behind this formula of rebranding and rewriting of beliefs and opinions of Spain during the Franco Regime, one must look how Andalusia has adapted to this change-in-narrative and imposed emphasis brough by rebranding in contemporary times. In surveying the common themes quite present in the official dialogue of Andalusia’s current conceptualization as a tourist destination, notes of passion, beauty, uniqueness, and pleasure become apparent. From a first glance at the official office for Andalusian tourism, one sees plainly video clips of people running through diverse environments, snow, mountains, and deserts – all with the caption in bold letters in the center of the screen “EXPLORE ANDALUSIA” (Consejería de Turismo y Deporte de la Junta de Andalucía). Following the introduction video, it has hyperlinks to all of the various provinces within Andalusia to further drive the point of diversity within Andalusia.\(^{33}\) In reading between the lines while also bearing in mind the history of the Andalusian tourist motive during the Franco appropriation, one can see that Andalusia is attempting to show that, as an autonomous community of its own, it has no need to rely on Spain to offer what it already so proudly displays.

On the bottom of the website, there is no seal in sight from the Spanish Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte [Ministry of Education, Culture, and Sport], the national Spanish body charged with the administration of running schools, protecting artefacts of cultural and historical patrimony, and hosting sporting events and concerts. Rather, one clearly may observe three emblems displayed showing their outward intentions: the seal of la Junta de Andalucía, the flag of the European Union, and a graphic displaying the words “Andalucía se mueve con Europa” [“Andalusia

\(^{33}\) The eight provinces of Andalusia are as follows: Almería, Cádiz, Córdoba, Granada, Huelva, Jaén, Málaga, and Sevilla.
moves with Europe”] (Consejería de Turismo y Deporte de la Junta de Andalucía). These three affiliations demonstrate the fierce independent sentiments which Andalusia feels and exemplifies the Andalusia’s desire to demonstrate to those visiting their independence – a result of the fiery passion of Andalusians and their poignant regional identification they feel (Fig. 15).

While there is little to no mention of Spain nationally in the official narrative of Andalusia, Madrid and the national Spanish tourist office seem more than happy to include Andalusia in their offerings, claiming it as their own. Upon glancing at the website, one sees flashing pictures of The Alcazar of Seville, accompanied by other photos of La Sagrada Familia in Barcelona and El Camino de Santiago in Galicia – all of which those in Madrid among others consider to be focal points of the country («España»). Here, Madrid has redefined the national brand of Spain by claiming Andalusia as one of many communities, embarking on a new era of intracommunitarian
recognition while still grappling with the vestiges of its engrained unitary national narrative.

In sum, Andalusia feels a distinct sense of pride and a willingness to spread its name, laying claim on its distinct traditions, apparent throughout the entirety of Spain in some form or fashion. Rather than granting the total credit and respect which Andalusians believe they deserve, Madrid continues to praise Andalusia only on various occasions; however, as with the Expo of ’92, there are many instances in which Madrid imposes its own narrative on the region, coercing Andalusia to fit the shoe Madrid has chosen and laid out for them. The Andalusian socio-political identity has been increasingly influenced by Madrid in this search for the best fit; however, Spain’s accession to the European Union has further provided another realm of authority which Andalusia must navigate. As Andalusia has pried its way through the autonomía system of 17 other players, the European Union adds an additional 27 members to the delicate balance of preserving its distinct identity with political power. With this new layer arise the same questions regarding authority, obedience, power, and identity.
Chapter 4: Europe’s Place in Andalusia

«EL NUEVO año significa para España la reafirmación de un destino europeo del que nunca debimos apartarnos. Tan cierto es que Europa no estaría completa sin nuestra presencia activa como que nuestra identidad no se comprendería sin Europa... Buenos días, Europa.»

[“THE NEW year signifies for Spain the reaffirmation of a European destiny from which we should never be separated. So true is that Europe would not be complete without our active presence just as our identity could not be realized without Europe... Good morning, Europe.”]

-- El País34, January 1, 1986

As Andalusia has continued to grapple with its distinct manifest identity in relation to the national Spanish government, the European Union likewise adds another variable to the complexity of the calculus in uncovering Andalusian socio-political identity. The European Union is the collective effort of twenty-seven European states to promote diplomacy and prosperity throughout continental Europe. The inclinations for European integration in contemporary times stem from the prevailing fear that encompassed Europe after World War II, an unrelenting system of mechanized warfare bringing levels of destruction Europe had never before seen. After experiencing the implications of resolving inter-state issues by means of brute force, European countries sought to settle disputes through peaceful, diplomatic methods.

The European Union has been one of most significant political experiments throughout modern history. This ongoing project in collective diplomacy represents a degree of submission to a multilateral governing body comprised of 27 sovereign countries, referred to as “member states.” In exchange for ceding various aspects of

34 On January 1, 1986, Spain officially ascended to the European Community (El País)
sovereignty and national decision-making, the European Union promises a high degree of political, economic, and social integration within the community.

The European Union as it stands today reflects the integratory sentiments stemming from the time immediately after the Second World War. The first formal steps taken toward the creation of the entity known as the E.U. today was the signing of the Paris Treaty which created the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which was established on July 23, 1952. The first six signatory countries were Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany (Vătăman 115). The signing of the Paris treaty established a common market for coal and steel. Seeing the success of the ECSC, five years later the same aforementioned countries signed and put into effect the Treaty of Rome in 1957 which renamed the ECSC to the European Economic Community (EEC) and thereby expanded the common market to include other goods. Harkening back to its main purpose as a regional free trade area, in Article 3 of the Treaty of Rome, the first point listed on the treaty elaborates on “the elimination, as between Member States, of customs duties and of quantitative restrictions in regard to the importation and exportation of goods, as well as of all other measures with equivalent effect” (Treaty on the European Union 10). Over the following two decades into the 1970’s, Denmark, Greece, Ireland, Northern Ireland, and the United Kingdom joined the EEC as well, expanding membership to eleven countries in total. This trend of European enlargement continued through the 1980’s with the addition of Spain and Portugal. Throughout the 1990’s to the early 2000’s, the EEC sustained this pattern of growth with the accession of several Eastern European countries in 2004; however, a fundamental change occurred in 1992 which marked a turning point for the EEC. In the growing wave of European integration, the Maastricht Treaty was signed on February 7,
1992 (Vătăman 120). This treaty profoundly and explicitly merged the political and economic components of the resulting European integration thus far, creating the European Union as it is recognized today.

Spain attempted to join this burgeoning free trade area, however, the primary countries in power denied Spain’s application in 1964 due to the fact that Spain was under the dictatorship of General Franco during this time (Olsen 6). Ironically, while many of General Franco’s national aims, such as economic integration and political legitimization, would have been bolstered by the European Community (E.C.), General Franco, the fascist leader himself, was the very reason that other European powers were hesitant to review their application (Olsen 37). In 1985, Spain signed onto the Treaty of Accession having overhauled the country’s political and economic system to meet the convergence requirements, and in 1986, 11 years after General Franco’s death in 1975, Spain officially became a member of the E.C.

The European Community appeared to have a vested interest in helping Spain to converge with the rest of the European countries. As Olsen explains for the case of Spain and Portugal, both having been under the iron grip of authoritarianism for the better part of the 20th century, “the EEC felt that membership would encourage democracy on the Iberian Peninsula and help link the two countries more closely to NATO and Western Europe” (Olsen 63). The E.C. thought that by entering the political psyche of a country still nascent in its political development after the end of an extended period of authoritarian rule, the E.C. could instill a more democratic virtue within the country, solidifying liberal and democratic tenets during the transition from forty years of a fascist dictatorship. In his book, *The Rise of Euroskepticism: Europe and Its Critics in*
Spanish Culture, Luis Martín-Estudillo discusses these incentives as a dual factor of increasing political stability and convincing the population within the country:

“...first, the cleavage between the political and cultural elites, who were almost unanimously for European integration, and all those who were not as persuaded by it; second, the need to qualify the apparent consensus among those elites, since substantial debates on the issue were scarce and arguments critical of Europeanization were largely ignored.” (Martín-Estudillo 91)

This disconnect between the political elite and various factions within the Spanish population present during Spain’s accession marks the precursor to the same manifested issues that individual autonomous communities, often times seen as beneath those of the elites, currently face – especially with respect to Andalusia, commonly seen as lacking political power in the larger Spanish national political arena.

In contemporary times, the European Union has a firm grip in Andalusian society, politically and economically. In many instances, the specifics of these policy maneuvers involve only la Junta de Andalucía and the European Union itself, without, to its dismay, much interaction or foresight from the Spanish Government (Bourne 10)35. On one level, this allows the E.U. to serve as a legitimizer for Andalusia, increasing its political autonomy and communications with the exterior of the country without having to go through Madrid as a conduit. This form of policy independence may further

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35 For more detail in the case of the struggles between the Basque Country, Spain and the E.U., one may look towards Bourne’s book, The European Union and the Accommodation of Basque Difference in Spain, especially at the first chapter “The impact of European integration on regional power.”
increase feelings of distinctiveness among Andalusians, prying them from reliance on Madrid por political legitimization.

The E.U.’s primary dealings with Andalusia tend to be in policy regulations. These are pieces of legislation created at the supranational level in the European Commission and extended to various regions to help preserve the area’s political and economic stability. While the E.C. focuses these efforts on a variety of sub-regions within each member state of the E.U., in Spain, Andalusia maintains a moderate level of involvement politically with the E.C. The primary plans active in the region are the following: “Agreement for the Economic and Social Reactivation of Andalusia, Andalusia European Regional Development Fund Operational Programme, and the Andalusia Innovation Strategy 2014-2020” (Regional Innovation Monitor).

Similarly, the E.U. provides Spain with various concrete implementations of management and direction. This oversight remains especially prevalent with the industrial and agricultural efforts of the region. Two of the most notable of these initiatives are “Andalusian Plan for Research, Development and Innovation” and “The Industrial Strategy of Andalusia.” The latter is published on an annual basis. As a summary of this Industrial Strategy which the E.U. has sanctioned with la Junta de Andalucía, they propose the continued oversight of a dedicated committee with the aim of aid the effectiveness and productivity of Andalusian industry:

«La Estrategia Industrial de Andalucía 2020 finaliza con la incorporación de una clara apuesta innovadora que tiene que ver fundamentalmente con la gobernanza, que ha estado presente en todo el proceso de redacción de la estrategia y lo estará en el de su implantación. Esta gobernanza se ha configurado a partir de la nueva concepción de la política industrial, esto
es, una gobernanza entendida como un proceso de aprendizaje flexible y colaborativo entre los agentes públicos y privados destinado a obtener información útil para el proceso de descubrimiento emprendedor y para la toma de decisiones sobre las medidas a aplicar.» (Industrial Strategy of Andalucía 2020)

[“The 2020 Industrial Strategy of Andalusia ends with a clear, innovative commitment that deals fundamentally with governance, which has been present throughout the entire process of drafting the strategy and will continue to be there in its implementation. This governance has been shaped from the new understanding of industrial policy, that is, governance understood as a process of flexible and collaborative learning among public and private agents destined to obtain useful information for the process of enterprising discovery and for decision-making about what measures to use.”]

Of course, the E.U. likewise gives heavy monetary subsidies to the region for the preservation of economic stability. The majority of these “support measures” with respect to Andalusia tend to take the form of agricultural subsidies and aids to small businesses for the creation of jobs. Agricultural subsidies have been at the heart of the E.U.’s policy since the organization’s inception. For Andalusia, these notably are granted to vegetable producers, with a high ratio going to olive and tomato production (García-Brenes 90).

Looking further at other methods of E.U. funding in Andalusia, many are presented as grants to small businesses and corporations with the intention of promoting digital innovation. The European Commission has published details on
several projects bolstering the development and investment within Andalusia like “the Andalusian Public Fund for Business Finance and Economic Development” and “Incentives for promoting industrial development, competitiveness” (Regional Innovation Monitor). These types of programs are under the parent guide titled the “Plan for Research, Development and Innovation of Andalusia,” (Regional Innovation Monitor). Funds and grants available through the E.U. such as these are examples of European Regional Development funds, which as the name implies, creates direct linkages with the distinct regions within E.U. member states in order to bolster communication and productivity.

While these programs have taken root within the past decade, Andalusians tend to maintain a certain level of ambivalence towards the E.U. The COHESIFY project funded by the E.U. has recently published a case study discussing attitudes and public opinion within Andalusia with regards to the E.U. (Fig. 16). The methods of this case study are primarily qualitative, utilizing data from the Eurobarometer, an internal E.U. mechanism that measures public attitudes toward the E.U. and its projects. In this case study, the results stand out as peculiar compared to the rest of Spain and even the rest of Europe. Fuensanta Martín et al. begin by demonstrating Andalusia’s geopolitical position. They conclude that Andalusia’s geographical circumstances make it conducive for a favorable look on the European Union from Andalusians (Martín et al. 69). They analyze the favorability context as a function of tangible private assets, tangible public assets, and intangible public assets. For instance, they gauge factors such as business support, infrastructure, and social policies to discover attitudes pertinent to the European Union (Martín et al. 5). They further state that the E.U. may have a chance of gaining favorability in this particular region because Andalusia in all three metrics stood
out as “Appropriate policy in an inefficient context” (Martín et al. 67). In simpler terms, these researchers are stating that due to the inefficacies of the regional Andalusian government, the European Union has a likely chance of its policies thriving – an uncultivated garden where the seeds of European policy may take root. Other regions within countries of a similar profile to Spain, such as Italy and Portugal, also shared these characteristics.

![Map of Spain with Andalucía highlighted](image)

**Figure 16**: A graph representing the results of the study conducted by Martín et al. showing the public perception of the European Union in Andalucía from: Martín, Fuesanta et al. *Cohesion Policy Implementation, Performance and Communication (Case Study -- Andalucía [Spain])*. Regio Plus Consulting, E.U. Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme, 2018.

The second revelation from this study stands out on the measurements of the actual opinion of residents within Andalusia towards the E.U. Their classifications are based on three categories: positive, neutral, and negative. The benefit of this approach allows the gradient to paint a more complete picture of Andalusian attitudes. Rather than a binary survey where Andalusians were to have chosen simply yes or no, this allows for more flexibility in analysis and interpretation.
The results of this classification are surprising in that they are not in line with what the researchers had predicted. To begin with the positive category, Andalusia was in the second to lowest strata for positive attitudes, from 20% to 40% of a positive review from the sample (Martín et al. 6). The negative attitudes were in this same stratum as well, meaning that close to an equal number of Andalusians are for and against the E.U. The majority of the respondents to this survey were in the middle category of being solidly neutral, 40% to 60% of respondents. In short, the majority of Andalusians appear from this study to feel lukewarm at most towards the E.U.

This net-zero result from the survey may lie in the breakup of political parties within Andalusian parliaments. Andalusian politics do not quite fit a linear spectrum, with the far right and the far left tending to agree on certain issues of an identity framework which does not include the E.U.; however, more moderate leftist parties, such as PSOE or even Podemos, hold a much higher affinity for European integration than the moderate right (Van Hecke 109).

The right end of the political spectrum tends to be much wearier of the E.U. overall and the required integration necessary to accede to E.U. mechanisms. For instance, the Partido Popular [People’s Party], party of Juanma Moreno, President of the Junta de Andalucía, is located on the center right of the spectrum. Steven Van Hecke, notes in his article on Europeanization in political parties that even though the Partido Popular took a “more pro-integration stance on European issues” they still maintained the “continued defence of the role of the nation state and of Spanish national interests,” (Van Hecke 114). That is to say, the right prefers to maintain the Spanish nation as its primary source of affiliation and authority.
In looking at the extreme ends of the spectrum, the common ground upon which the radical left and reactionary right stand is a shared disdain for the E.U. replacing their primary body. For the leftists, this body is their affiliation with the autonomous community, in this case, Andalucía, and for the far right, Spain nationally is the object of supposed European encroachment. On the extreme right of the spectrum is VOX. With a sizeable presence within the Andalusian parliament comparitavely, VOX is vehemently opposed to the European Union, stating that Spain, and invariably Andalusia, would be making a move leading to a “loss of sovereignty” by integrating further with the E.U. (Alonso-Muñoz et al. 4). VOX, and the right overall, tend to me more concerned with these issues on a national level.

On the radical left of the spectrum lies the self-proclaimed socialist political party Nación Andaluza [Andalusian Nation]. While somewhat an unpopular party throughout Andalusia, la Nación Andaluza advocates for the independence from both Spain and the European Union. From a declaration written prior to the European elections of 2009, La Nación Andaluza’s diatribe towards the European Union makes its position clear. In their manifesto towards the European Union entitled “¡Europa, NO: Andalucía!” the leftist group proclaims: «Al igual que el Estado Español, la “Unión Europea” es otro marco de relaciones que, desde las instancias del Poder, las clases dominantes continentales y transnacionales, junto con la oligarquía española, se le ha impuesto al Pueblo Trabajador Andaluz» [“Just like the Spanish State, the ‘European Union’ is another mark of relations that, from the instances of power, the continental and transitional ruling classes, together with the Spanish oligarchy, have been imposed on

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36 «el Estado Español» or “the Spanish State” may be a reference to Spain’s fascist past where General Franco would refer to Spain exclusively as «el Estado Español»
the Andalusian Working People.”] (Nación Andaluza 2). So radical as to say any imposition of vertical political authority is oppression, they continue in their declaration to bash the imposed «estereotipada Europa “única”, uniformizada e indiferenciada, apelando a una inexistente cultura e historia común...» [“unique’ European stereotype, uniformized and undifferentiated, appealing to a nonexistent culture and common history...”] (Nación Andaluza 2). The leftist ideologies such as those evidenced by la Nación Andaluza appear to despise the E.U. on the grounds of the trespass on their distinct identity.

The drawing to the right depicts this intense contempt which the far left holds for the E.U. (Fig. 17). The text of the image states «Ante las elecciones españolas: abstención andaluza» [“Before the Spanish elections: Andalusian abstention”] with text beneath that proclaiming «Andalucía no elige carcelero ¡Independencia!» [“Andalusia does not choose a jailer. Independence!”] (Comisión Nacional de Andalucía). Above this provoking text are two pictures with parallel form. The picture to the right shows a hand presumably putting a ballot into

**Figure 17:** This graphic was published by the Nación Andaluza just before the Spanish elections in 2019 advocating for Andalusians to abstain from voting from: “Nación Andaluza Ante Las Elecciones Del 10N ¡Elecciones Españolas, Abstención Andaluza!”, October 7, 2019, [https://www.boltxe.eus/2019/10/07/nacion-andaluza-ante-las-elecciones-del-10n-elecciones-espanolas-abstencion-andaluza/](https://www.boltxe.eus/2019/10/07/nacion-andaluza-ante-las-elecciones-del-10n-elecciones-espanolas-abstencion-andaluza/).
a ballot box. On the adjacent drawing, it has a hand of similar style likewise holding a ballot; however, this time it is going into the province of Seville, the seat of the capital of Andalusia, with blood splashing where the ballot and Seville meet (Comisión Nacional de Andalucía). This incendiary cartoon equates voting in these Spanish Elections with driving a knife through the heart of Andalusia. La Nación Andaluza is advocating for an abstention from voting in these Spanish elections, which took place on November 10, 2019, which would serve as a symbolic demonstration stating that Andalusia should not be under the authority of Madrid. Accompanying this image is an article detailing the reasons for abstaining from voting in the Spanish elections: «La solución a los problemas de Andalucía no está en Madrid ni en Estrasburgo ni en Washington, está en Andalucía...» [“The solution to Andalusia’s problems is not in Madrid, Strasbourg, nor Washington, it is in Andalusia...”] (Comisión Nacional de Andalucía). Fierce sentiments towards the E.U. are found on both ends of the political spectrum.

With respect to Madrid, the current Prime Minister, Pedro Sánchez of PSOE, stands out as a remarkable Europhile. Seeming to step outside these boundaries of containing identity within the nation, within Spain or any community, Pedro Sánchez possesses a particular affinity for a large degree of convergence with supposed “European” ideals, contributing to a broader definition of identity. As reported in January of 2019 at the height of the Brexit discussions, Pedro Sánchez relays his investment into the European project: “we must protect Europe, so Europe can protect its citizens,” (Narrillos). He elaborates on this further declaration of European citizenhood by implying that the foundation of civilian rights rests with the E.U. rather than with Spain itself. The article explains that the protection of European citizens should “be done through a rights-based Union that gives shelter to the most vulnerable,
offers opportunities to youth and the unemployed, ensures citizens’ safety…” (Narrillos).

The remarks of Pedro Sánchez are oddly reminiscent of the very same goals and objectives established by the Junta de Andalucía on a regional level as well as those ideals proclaimed for Andalusia during the Exposition of 1992.

One must continue looking deeper at the motivations behind the established sentiments which PSOE and PM Sánchez hold to discern the precarious balance that always has plagued the European Union: how much uniqueness is a state willing to concede in exchange for rights and benefits? Juan Medrano and Paula Gutiérrez discuss this type of intracommunitarian dynamics within Spain regarding how Spanish national identity is influenced by the rapid degree of European integration. Medrano and Gutiérrez begin by reaffirming the existing worries present in discussions of a “federal” Europe: “…the emergence of a federal Europe does not necessarily hinge on the pre-existence of a strong sense of belonging to Europe, but that such a federal Europe will not be stable unless a high degree of identification with Europe developed soon afterwards” (Medrano et al. 754). Afterwards, they mark the importance of understanding the degree to which there is European identity found in Spain through “a sense of belonging” in Europe (Medrano et al. 754).

Medrano and Gutiérrez propose the framework of “nested identities” as a method of grasping the interchange between these organisms which seek to define their citizens. “Nested identities are lower- and higher order identities such that the latter encompass the former” (Medrano et al. 757). Similarly, individuals will hold a preference for one identity over another. By these terms, a general Andalusian may say that he identifies most closely with Andalusia, while also considering himself a Spaniard, and to a lesser degree, a European. This theoretical framework perfectly addresses Andalusia’s
somewhat profound ambivalence towards the European Union. According to Medrano and Gutiérrez’s grounding research, a group will neglect to form varying degrees of closeness proportional to the magnitude or number of “out-groups” there are in this overcompassing nest holding the eggs of many varied identities (Medrano et al. 757).

To follow this logical progression, one must begin by examining the possibilities for a typical Andalusian. Andalusians, as a whole, have an exceedingly large degree of regional affiliation as established previously in this Honors Thesis. Therefore, it may not be unreasonable to say that an Andalusian identity could be the core identity. This leaves a Spanish or European affiliation on the table to take place as the following layer. Based on the diversity within the group and the lack of affiliation Andalusians feel with other communities within the egg, it is difficult for one to identify completely given the sheer size and unfamiliarity with the community. Here stems the root of Andalusian indecisiveness in choosing affiliations with Madrid or the E.U. Given the frequent differing visions between Madrid and Andalusia along with the varying degrees of autonomy within Spain nationally, the European Union may in fact appear as a more attractive solution as an external affiliation. The monetary endowments the E.U. furnishes the region further entice Spain to the E.U. One point of criticism, however, is that Andalusians have even less in common with Germans and Croatians than they do with Catalanians or Gallegos. The end result of this intricate matrix of community identification is an ambiguous choice left largely undecided by many.

This concept of a nested identity builds upon the “tripartite identity” of Isabel Dulfano in which “Spain’s sense-of-self [is] being split up, between 1) political, linguistic, and ethnographic groupings of the autonomous community; 2) allegiance to the crown on a national level; and ultimately, 3) capitulation to European supremacy
and acceptance of the rewards therein,” (Dulfano 77). As Dulfano mentions further, these material gains may not be enough to persuade Andalusians, or members of any autonomous community, to expand the inclusion of a European identity. Dulfano states that “reluctance to associate with a ‘European’ identity is, in some instances, a reflection of socioeconomic status, with less-privileged individuals from lower socioeconomic classes putting up the strongest resistance...” (Dulfano 80). While not an entirely compelling argument due to Andalucía having the third highest GDP per autonomous community in Spain, some data may loosely support his claim based on the degree of industrialization within Andalusia. In assessing the composition of the regional economy, the primary sector makes up 6.9% of the total GPD for Andalucía (INE Spain). Activities included in the primary sector are “agriculture, livestock, forestry, and fishing,” (INE Spain). While appearing small, to put it in perspective, Castilla-la Mancha’s primary sector fell just above Andalucía’s at 8.9% and that of Extremadura at 9.1%. These two communities are often characterized by their economies being structured around agrarian activity, signifying an overall lack of development. Compared to more prosperous autonomous communities, Catalonia only had a striking 1.1% of its GDP in the primary sector, and the Basque Country at 0.6% (INE Spain). Andalusia’s overall lack of relative industrialization may further explain their reliance on the tourist industry. This economy based heavily on tourism may stifle the Andalusian population’s faith in the regional funds for industrial development. One may rationalize this as a further misalignment of wills: Andalusia would rather invest in their existing, robust tourist capabilities, whereas the E.U. would prefer to increase their industrial capacity since it is so low comparatively.
In summary, the European Union’s firm grounding in the Spanish political system has allowed Andalusia to benefit from the monetary support and managerial oversight from the E.U. in a practical sense. Additionally, the avenues of direct communication between Andalusia and the E.U. help to bolster the Andalusian sense-of-self, bypassing Madrid as an intermediary. In terms of its effect on the socio-political identity of Andalusia, people on both ends of the political spectrum seem to tread cautiously, preferring to remain affiliated with either their own autonomous community or that of Spain as a whole. The E.U. is an ongoing experiment in political, economic, and social integration, and given its deep entanglement with Spanish politics, it will likely remain present in Spain for the foreseeable future. In the face of expanding European integration and influence in Spain, the vast majority of Andalusians will continue proudly defining themselves by their region and by their nation – Andalucía.
Conclusion

«Yo no creo en una cultura de estado. Yo no creo en la cultura del Estado Español. Yo creo en el estado de la cultura... en la andaluza, la mía, la nuestra.»

[“I do not believe in a state culture. I do not believe in the culture of the Spanish State. I believe in the state of culture... Andalusian [culture], mine and ours.”]

-- Antonio Manuel Rodríguez, Fundación de Blas Infante

During the annual celebration of the Día de Andalucía [Day of Andalusia] on February 28, 2021, President of the Junta de Andalucía Juanma Moreno addresses the Andalusian people, having lived through the COVID-19 Pandemic for more than a year. In his emotionally candid appeal to all of Andalusia on this day of celebration, he attests to the strength and grit of the Andalusian people: «Hoy, 28 de febrero, hemos de invocar la Andalucía luchadora, conquistadora, y valiente, que a lo largo de la historia, tantas y tantas veces ha vencida la adversidad,» [“Today, the 28th of February, we must invoke the fighting, conquering, and valiant Andalusia, which throughout all of history, time and time again has beat adversity”] (Junta de Andalucía). Even throughout the seemingly darkest of times, Presidente Moreno does not dwell on any sort of weariness or anger; rather, he proclaims «el coraje, la resistencia, y la energía» of the Andalusian people «que nos impulsa para derribar los mayores obstáculos» [“the courage, the resistance, and the energy” ... “which compels us to overcome even the greatest of obstacles”] (Junta de Andalucía). As evidenced in this moment, the most trying times make the Andalusian spirit all the more apparent.

Celebrated as a tribute to the official recognition of Andalusia as an autonomous community and its official codification into the Spanish Constitution, el Día de
Andalucía stands as not only a reminder of Andalusia’s long struggle to gain autonomy but as a source of present pride and future hope for the continued enrichment of the Andalusian nation. With schoolchildren eating bread with sugar and olive oil along with balconies flying green and white banners from every window, Andalusians take this day to reflect on the meaning of their unique history (Salvador).

Later in the spring on May 9, member states of the European Union will likewise celebrate “Europe Day,” or in the case for Andalucía, *Día de Europa*. In 2020, one of the main focuses of the celebration in Seville was a performance by the Royal Symphonic Orchestra of Seville, performing Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony, the anthem of the European Union (Olmedo). In the past, other events of celebration have included lectures on European matters and artistic demonstrations from member states throughout the E.U. *El Día de Europa* greatly contrasts *El Día de Andalucía* whether through its didactic programming or lack of popular enthusiasm. *El Día de Andalucía* is characterized by its intense celebrations of pride and uniqueness, spawning from the 28th of February, a day in which Andalusia made a concrete step towards greater autonomy; however, the same level off animation does not accompany Europe Day. This explicit excitement for Andalucía juxtaposed with the lack thereof regarding Europe demonstrates the degree to which Andalusians feel connected through their common, Andalusian identity.

The multitude of civilizations that have inhabited the region are in large part the foundation of the essence of this Andalusian identity, having left indelible marks that continues to mold and influence the national consciousness. These remnants appear manifest in the Andalusian pride, identity, and outlook. Looking closely at these fundamental precepts and socio-political motivations not only gives way to a more
complete understanding of the complex geo-political circumstances of this region but also helps provide a framework that will elucidate the aspects of Andalusia’s socio-political disposition, promoting a greater knowledge of Andalusia’s driving principles when acting on a regional, national, and supranational level.

Andalucía’s territorial claims dating back even prior to the Roman civilization continue to form the backbone of Andalusian society. Following the impactful settlement of the Romans, the Moors arrived and thrived in the region. In spite of the vast territorial expanse of the Caliphate at the height of the occupation, Andalusia further continues to embody today an even more poignant, present shadow of this civilization which many other autonomous communities in Spain do not possess. Finally, after the fall of the seemingly infinitely powerful Caliphate centered in Andalusia, the Catholic Monarchs reconquered the land and with them brought wealth, prosperity, and commerce to the region. Andalusia was witness to many of the conquistadores' last glimpse of the shores of the Spanish empire as well as the first of the riches and artefacts brought back from the New World.

In contemporary times, Andalusia’s history has made the region and its people a target for General Franco during his reign. Seeing the people, the cities, and their traditions, he proclaimed this region above all others embodies the true essence of Spain. From thenceforth, a ruthless campaign of propaganda began to further entangle the two cultures, seemingly making Spanish mainstream culture inseparable from Andalusian regional tradition.

Still present today are the ripples throughout the relationship of Spain and Andalusia. With tourism capitalizing on this identity, other areas such as business and governance garner a feeling of resentment between the two. Often times Andalusia feels
Spain encroaching on their territory and identity whereas Spain may disregard Andalusia in a public stage leaving these sentiments to fester. Turning towards the European Union, Andalusia has attempted to deepen their relationship to increase regional prosperity and bolster legitimacy—frequently to the dismay of Spain.

While this Honors Thesis has synthesized texts from a number of disciplines in attempts to define the Andalusian identity and its relevance today, it merely must serve as a start to a larger conversation. This Honors Thesis has only taken a few select moments and examples which display such aforementioned phenomena, for this foundational identity serves as the backbone for almost each significant decision which faces Andalusia. In order to expand upon this current research, some relevant areas worthy of pursuit may be to discern Andalusian identity from a different perspective. For example, it would be worthwhile to examine closely exactly how the European Union conceptualizes Andalusia, and thereby other regions and peoples, in order to gain further insight into how Andalusia and its identity is perceived. Being able to reconcile these two perceptions may allow for more targeted funding from the E.U. and a overall more productive, candid relationship.

Additionally, now that the Andalusian sense-of-self has been somewhat elaborated, a further comparison to other autonomous communities, such as the País Vasco or Cataluña, could bring to light other important dimensions necessary to take into account for a true discernment of identity. The deep sense of nationalisms which those in the Basque Country and Catalonia feel could provide valuable details on the dynamics of inter-regional relationships.

Finally, another area upon which this subject could be expanded could be closely examining the autonomía system as a whole. As it stands, those on the right tend to
believe that the *autonomía* system is too liberal in its decentralization, while the leftists believe that it does not go far enough, wanting an even higher degree of autonomy. With widespread criticism from both right and left ends of the political system, a solid understanding of identity could play a crucial role in understanding the root of the issue.

The circumstances of this world in which communication is perpetual and decisions are instant prompt a complete understanding of both parties for the sake of negotiation and productive decision-making. Andalusian identity has played a large role in shaping many facets of Spanish society, and it is entirely necessary to uplift and empower this unique culture. As Andalusia continues to grapple with the implications of its sense-of-self on the national and supranational stages, the poignant spirit of the Andalusian nation will remain a constant, propelling the citizens as it has for millennia.
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