

Models of State Organization and Influence over Collective Identity and Nationalism in Spain

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Abstract—The main objective of this paper is to establish the relationship between models of state organization and the various types of collective identity expressed by the Spanish. The question of nationalism and identity ascription in Spain has always been a topic of special importance due to the presence in that country of territories where the population emits very different opinions of nationalist sentiment than the rest of Spain. The current situation of sovereignty challenge of Catalonia to the central government exemplifies the importance of the subject matter. In order to analyze this process of interrelation, we use a secondary data mining by applying the multiple correspondence analysis technique (MCA). As a main result a typology of four types of expression of collective identity based on models of State organization are shown, which are connected with the party position on this issue.

Keywords—Models of organization of the state, nationalism, collective identity, Spain, political parties.

I. TYPES OF SPANISH NATIONALISM AND RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ORGANIZATION AND STATE MODEL

It is assumed that it is necessary to conceptualize the differences between the different types of Spanish nationalism present today. To achieve this objective, the use of “ultramontano” nationalism -with strong past references, unifying and mythifying of the Spaniard- in line with the views expressed [24] vs. liberal nationalism marked by more civic and democratic roots. Undoubtedly, we can say that the first one was and is the most effective throughout history and has a much deeper imprint that has marked the future development of Spanish nationalism [5], [9], [29]. On the political spectrum to the right, the nationalist ultramontano guides the relationship with the other non-Spanish nationalism, and through implemented through its policies in many cases of repression and/or concealment in most historical periods.

We must consider as relevant another item for this research, since through it we can evaluate both various elements that interact in the formation of national identity, as well as positioning to the models of territorial organization and policy of the political parties. It is well known to all students of the subject [11], [14], [25], [30] that the state organization is a matter of vital importance day by day and, as a rule, it comes collected in a constitutional or legislative text, whose subsequent expansion in basic laws and regulations gives it a content. The models are based on analytical perspectives arise, and therefore are pure types, which are modified and ad hoc

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changes to individual cases. Even mixed types may be mentioned in which there are partial contributions of each of the models. Political science manuals state that the main existing models of territorial and political organization of the State are: a) unitary states b) composite states [1], [12], [31] within this latest model variants federal and confederal state status would be included. However, since the mid-twentieth century to its conclusion, they have been developed new types with as much importance as the regional state and new forms of political articulation based on supranational institutions, *verbi gratia* the European Union or minimal agreements interstate and the Commonwealth of Independent States of the former Soviet Union [16], [28]. The case of the variant of the federal state called autonomous state is the most widely studied in this research by directly affecting the subject matter. In this type of territorial organization, it is intended to accommodate both the needs of considering a unitary state, where there are no different modalities in the cultural field, as the presence of claims by territories and populations with aspirations of sovereignty recognition. The formula seems to have been successful, but we will argue that the territorial integration of parts of the Spanish State do not find a solution to this type of institutional form [9], [17].

The model adopted in Spain appeared to be aimed at the final realization of a federal state based formula that would allow the dialogue, peaceful and democratic coexistence of the so called plurinational Spain, without destabilizing the existing territorial unit in the Franco regime. To recognize the cultural, linguistic and national plurality in the Constitution and to grant broad levels of self-government, based on devolution in a wide decentralization process, were good starting points. In fact, the most reactionary political right believed that the agreement was not entirely satisfactory. There were even authoritative voices [16],[18] who claimed that Spain was a federal state, more than other countries with long federalist tradition like Germany. The autonomous model, however, cannot be considered federal in the strict sense, given that the regions don't have their own constitution, but autonomous status, besides the chamber of territorial representation, the Senate, does not fulfill the task entrusted and the almost total ineffectiveness of the instruments of inter-regional coordination.

The Spanish political left has not been able to overcome the limits posed by the regional model leaving without a base what should have been extended to another scenario and other consensus dialog [22]. The progress made in the constitutional debate in the field of recognition of plurality, embodied in reforms of the Statute of Autonomy, were replaced by the

current process of re-centralization of powers. Already it peaked within the constitutional framework for decentralization and overcoming that point would require a new stage, in which the rules were different, so it would opt for a constitutional process, which sit the foundations of a new agreement balance. But this possibility was discarded after the stoppage and distortion of the reform and approval of the statutes of autonomy of some autonomous communities, especially in the case of Catalonia and the Basque Country. This situation propitiated by the two major political parties (PSOE and Partido Popular) has become so serious that has been called by some scholars as "antitransición" [10]. Other reputable scholars [8], [22] claim that the attitude of the left parties in our country, especially the PSOE, as it has since its founding a strong federal character in its forms of internal organization and reflected in his political views, no progress on the path to solve what at the time was parked with the transitional arrangements and the adoption of the Constitution in 1978.

"As the left is more concerned about the problematic circumstances of independence as credible risk, it has taken the federalism solution as an ideological goal" [9].

For several years, [26], [27] consider that the implementation of an asymmetrical federalism, also known as plural federalism is the most appropriate in the current Spanish situation. However, it is not guaranteed that the asymmetry in this federalist model will satisfy the integrated territories in this hypothetical federal state. We refer to the situation created by the articles on different parts of the Spanish State and the path to self-government and jurisdictional level, offered in the period of transition, and that caused the whole autonomous communities aspire to levels of self-government of the beneficiary at the time, called nationalities, against regions [7].

To conclude this section dedicated to models of territorial organization of the state and the positioning of the parties to this matter, we will consider the possible path to any federal model -whatever be its name or internal characteristics - must inevitably pass from institutional agreements to the arena of the political culture of the citizens of these territories [22].

II. THE SPANISH NUCLEAR IDEOLOGY OF NATIONALISM: THE NATIONAL-CATHOLICISM AND ITS CURRENT EMBODIMENT, THE PATRIOTISM

Besides our attention to models of territorial and political organization of the state, that characterize the various nationalist options, we should also address the structuring elements of the most traditional Spanish nationalism in order to achieve in order to observe their own identifying characteristics. To do so would be wise to target the religious roots of Spanish nationalism. If we trace the origins of what founds the Spanish state we would go back, without fear of making serious mistakes, to the time of gestation of the political structure that subsequently results in what is now Spain, i.e. the reconquest carried out by the monarchy of the Catholic Kings against the Arab occupation of the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, the presence of the Catholic religion is the foundation seed of what is Spain, and thus influenced the

recreation of the Spanish nation, as in all cases-against a common enemy with cohesive purpose [9], [20]. From here it is specified that the Catholic religion and the monarchy -in their different dynastic families - have been linked to the future of the Spanish nation, except in two short Republican historical periods.

From the union of Spanish nationalism and the Catholic religion emerged an ideology called National Catholicism, which guides the evolution of nationalism itself for the benefit of the institution of the church in Spain [4], [9], [23]. The National Catholicism takes effect one of the basic principles of Spanish "ultramontano" nationalism, that is, the unity of the national territory under any premise and attack against all that ideology that undermines it. That is why this ideology appeal in times of threat to the classic principle that argues that when liberalism triumphs, Spain stops being Catholic and, therefore undermining its national essence, and also geographically fragmented, causing a "broken " Spain. This statement is used in extreme situations; therefore, get many followers, including what has been called liberal or civic Spanish nationalism. At the same time, a fact that has been being verified throughout the history of effectiveness of this ideology, which underpins the Spanish nationalism, is that there are defects in shape in the formation of the National Catholicism. Therefore, we hold that "[...] is a false nationalism, operetta, based on violence on the weaker and always opposed to class or personal interests. A venal people patriotism" [9]. Further expansion of the concept patriotism will be made later to go deeper into other configuring elements of the Spanish right-wing nationalism. We also include the 1978 Constitution as an element to consider, because it emanates different principles (territorial organization of the state, nation concept, definition of the state, level of autonomy and powers of the government and many others) that will determine the composition and possible presence of different types of nationalism in Spain. There have even been experts that have called the discourse and political practices arising from the adoption of the Constitution of 78 as a constitutional nationalism [3]. Thus assuming that the consensus reached therewith, enables a new era in which the other nationalisms installed in Spain are recognized and respected even by the traditional Spanish nationalism. In a way, one can say that the pure-blooded Spanish nationalism lies behind the constitutional nationalism, giving legitimacy to the non-Spanish nationalism.

The Constitution of 1978 as a structural element of a new order of the nation state allows the survival, existence and development of non-strictly coincident nationalist sentiments with the Spanish nation, as different entities in the State and provides it with sovereignty recognized and capacity management skills [15]. The autonomous state model was chosen and, at least initially, seemed to please all parties [13], [21]. However, the right of self-determination of peoples that made up Spain is excluded from this agreement.

With the agreements and ratification by referendum of the Spanish Constitution of 1978 for some the possibility to request the right to self-determination was over, as in the articles of the Constitution and the Statute of Autonomy they

could channel the independence drifts within the constitutional framework [2]. A key idea, which comes after the argument that it is curious that the end of the Franco regime and the communism fifteen years later, had a similar result: the resurgence of nationalism, also we could say that non Spanish nationalism-and moreover all mismatched nationalism with nation-state- has no end to their demands till they get their full program. However, the Constitution never appeased non-Spanish nationalism, but in many cases, achieved the opposite effect and the nationalist claims are still very alive, even they make arguments to achieve finalist objectives away from constitutional consensus [5]. Therefore, the 1978 Constitution has served to involve non-Spanish nationalist claims within democratic channels, leaving aside political violence and repressive measures, such as those carried out during the Franco regime. But at the same time he has also made a very favorable context to enhance the Spanish nationalism citing the Magna Charter [3]. Also we say the presence of a constitutional patriotism with a residue of Habermas's conceptualization as a mobilizing base of rejuvenated traditional Spanish nationalist sentiment.

There will be questions about whether the Spanish nationalism is a visible category, or whether, by contrast, would have to trace its presence in other broader concepts and therefore hinder its definition and analysis. Obviously nationalism without a territorial correlate, i.e. stateless nations are more visible both in their demands and in its configuration. However, in the case of Spanish nationalism we would not be in such conditions. The existence of a geographically limited homogeneous territory and with cultural characteristics, without going too much into language issues, could satisfy the materialization of the nation in a state, and thereby substantiate statist nationalism root. But the greatest difficulty is that this state nationalism is not presented as such, but has clear "competitors" in the area of collective identity of individuals. Hence it is camouflaged under other claims or terminology to conceal their true existence [19]. This confusion is often generated by two pathways. The first one is in relation to possible attacks against the integrity and survival of the nation state, so it appeals to patriotism as a cohesive element and configurator image of the external enemy, especially in the case of conflicts. And, secondly, as legitimizing the political situation in that historical moment, to prevent possible routes of fragmentation of the territory of the nation state arising from sovereignists integral claims from different parts of the state, as in the case of Quebec, Scotland or Basque Country [25].

The Spanish case can be paradigmatic in this sense, because there are nationalisms within the country whose aspirations are being secessionists, although legislatively they have a roof within the Constitution of 1978.

III. METHODOLOGY, OBJECTIVES AND DATA ANALYSIS

Objective: The objective of this research is to classify the different models of territorial organization present in the symbolic representations of Spanish voters.

For statistical exploitation phase we use the data contained in the Barometer of April 2015 by the CIS [6]. This survey is part of the monthly barometer of public opinion polls conducted by the Center for Sociological Research dependent on the Ministry of the Prime Minister of Spain. The Barometer of April 2015 (study 3080) has the distinction of containing questions about the intention to vote, preference for different models of territorial organization, the subjective perception of nationalist identity and other variables measuring voter confidence on major institutions. The 3080 study has the following features; It is a survey of the Spanish population of both sexes and over 18 years in April 2015. It has a sample of 2,479 interviews which gives a sampling error of ± 2 points.

Data exploitation technique: To analyze the interrelationship of the various models of territorial organization of the state with the most important characteristics in their definition has been chosen to use multiple correspondence analyses (MCA). This analysis identifies the major dimensions that structure the different models of territorial organization present in the symbolic representations and opinions of Spanish voters and giving origin to various party political speeches.

The analysis measures the distance between the different categories of opinion of Spanish voters. The statistical analysis also shows the two dimensions that explain most of the variance and the joint representation of categories in relation to these two dimensions. The intersection of the two dimensions can locate each category in the graph throwing two separate scores, one on the first factor and one on the second factor or dimension.

The categories that help to define the axis are the extreme categories, i.e., those that are to the extreme left (negative scores) and those that are to the extreme right (positive scores). Analogous interprets the vertical axis, being the extreme categories which most to defining the size.

The variables used in the analysis (MCA) are: Intention to vote / ideological positioning / nationalist identity / preference for the model of territorial organization / trust in the monarchy.

To make a first interpretation of the statistical model obtained we will consider the presence of two explanatory dimensions that cover a total of 93.2% of the variance. Dimension 1, represents 54.7% of the explained variance, refers to the idea of Spain and we call it Union of Spain. Here are two extremes which run from patriotism (right) to the sovereignism (left). On the other hand, it is also important to appeal to the dimension 2 (vertical axis) that represents 38.5% of the total variance explained by the model, associated with the model of territorial organization of the State and we call it Territorial Organization. That dimension is established between the breakaway pole (top graph) and the continuity pole (bottom graph).

TABLE I
 EIGENVALUES, EXPLAINED VARIANCE

Dimension	Alfa of Cronbach	Total (Eigenvalues)	Inertia Total (Eigenvalues)
1	0,793	2,735	0,547
2	0,6	1,924	0,385
Total		4,659	0,932

Source: CIS, barometer April 2015.

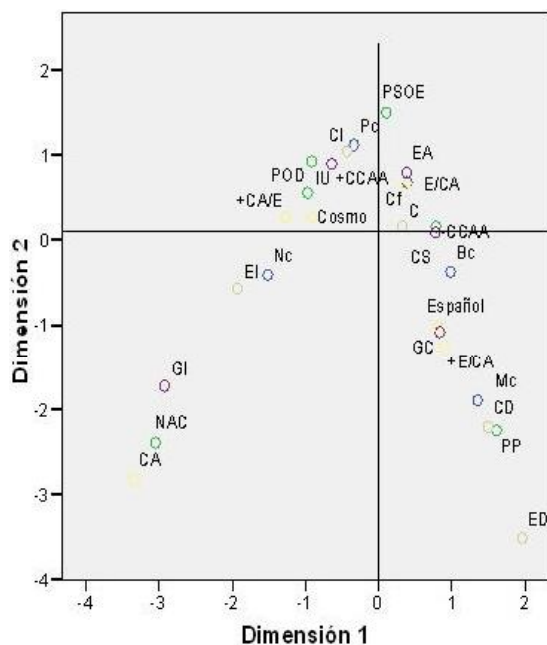


Fig. 1 Analysis of multiple correspondences (Source: CIS Barometer April (2015))

The results of the interpretation of the two dimensions together throw the presence of four mixed types we call Federalists (located in the upper left quadrant), autonomy (upper right quadrant), centralist (lower right quadrant) and secessionist (lower left quadrant).

Now we measure the relative percentage of population that shares each model type of territorial organization.

The federalists made up 23.8% of the population and their characterization is based on considering that the regions have to extend its powers. They declare that their identity is considered more associated with its autonomous community of origin that define themselves as Spanish, but also encompasses those who feel cosmopolitan. His ideological position is emerging based on the center-left. In relation to the institution of the monarchy they say they have little confidence in it. Finally, their intention to vote is primarily identified with political parties Podemos and Izquierda Unida.

TABLE II
 MODELS OF TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

Models of territorial organization	Frequency	Percentage
Federalists	590	23,8
Autonomists	744	30
Centralists	721	29,1
Nationalists	422	17
Total	2477	100

Source: CIS Barometer April (2015).

Considering the profile of the autonomists, they represent 30% of the population. Their characterization is defined by the preference for a model of regional territorial organization such as the already existing after the 1978 Constitution that the regions prefer to maintain their level of self-government powers. Regarding ideological preference, the answer of those who have declared themselves in the political center position is that they feel as Spanish as from their autonomous community of origin when they are questioned by their national feeling. They also show confidence in the institution of the monarchy and its intention to vote is identified with the political party PSOE. Also, the centralists represent 29.1% of the population represented in the graph. As for their preference for the model of state organization they opt to reduce the powers of the regional governments to locate in the central state. Collective identity is limited to feel only Spanish or Spanish and also from their autonomous region. They express a very high level of confidence in the monarchy. In connection with its ideological position the presence of responses center-right and extreme right is observed. Finally, the declared intention to vote is to Ciudadanos and Partido Popular.

To conclude, the percentage they represent in the secessionist population is 17%. They consider the current state of autonomous does not respond to the existing political reality in Spain and should be replaced by an independent government of the territories that they express. National sentiment declaring considered confined only to members of their region. As for the monarchy they do not have any confidence in it. Ideological preference happens to be extreme-left and declared the intention to vote is centered exclusively nationalist parties.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the provisional results shown, and considering the results of the statistical model of interdependent variables, 30 of 100 Spanish respondents show their agreement with the existence of an autonomous model like the present one. The type called autonomist is the largest, according to our results. This compares with 29 out of 100 Spaniards positioned within the centralized type, whose characterization indicated that they consider the model of state organization must be simplified, reducing the levels of self-government of autonomous regions. We must also mention the federalist type reaches almost 24 of every 100 Spaniards. It includes a number of opinions aimed at deepening the reform and the current model of autonomous state organization, with the clear intention to overcome; also replacing another organizational model is not clearly identified yet.

Finally, we consider the nationalist type, which consists of 17 of every 100 Spaniards interviewed. Within this classification are the speeches, opinions and representations of an alternative model of state organization, whose definition considered disruptive to the status quo.

A relevant fact is that the typology elaborated very high numbers of critical types (centralist, federalist and nationalist) who consider -each with its peculiarities- that it is necessary to

reform the current state organizational model, which is a result of the constitutional consensus of 1978. However, only the nationalist expression has a definite replacement of the current model.

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