

**ARTICLE/ARTÍCULO**

# Shaping Andalusians and Spaniards: The Construction of National Identity in Andalusian Schools

## A preliminary study in the province of Seville

Formando andaluces y españoles: la construcción de la identidad nacional en la escuela andaluza

Una aproximación en la provincia de Sevilla

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## ABSTRACT

This study investigates the construction of Andalusian identity within schools and its relationship with Spanish national identity. Drawing on theoretical frameworks of national socialisation and identity models – civic and ethnic–cultural – it analyses the extent to which education in Andalusia fosters a distinct regional identity, how this identity relates to Spanish identity, and the relative prominence of civic versus ethnic–cultural elements in its transmission. Findings reveal that Andalusian schools play an active role in reproducing regional identity, with a marked emphasis on ethnic–cultural components, while civic dimensions remain largely peripheral. Although Andalusian identity is not presented in opposition to Spanish identity, Andalusian speech stands out as a distinctive feature, often tied to a sense of grievance. Teachers emerge as key agents in transmitting these identity elements.

**KEYWORDS:** national identity; Andalusian identity; education; school; Andalusia; Spain; nationalism; cultural identity; civic identity.

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## ABSTRACT

Este estudio analiza la construcción de la identidad andaluza en los centros educativos y su relación con la identidad española. Partiendo del marco teórico sobre la socialización nacional y los modelos de identidad (étnico-cultural y cívico), se investiga hasta qué punto la educación en Andalucía reproduce una identidad propia, cómo se articula en relación con la identidad española y qué tipo de elementos (cívicos o étnico-culturales) predominan en su enseñanza. Los resultados muestran que la escuela andaluza contribuye activamente a la reproducción de una identidad andaluza, pero con un fuerte énfasis en los elementos étnico-culturales, mientras que los aspectos cívicos tienen una presencia marginal. Además, la identidad andaluza no se presenta en oposición a la española, aunque el habla andaluza emerge como un elemento diferenciador asociado a una percepción de agravio. El profesorado desempeña un papel clave en la transmisión de estos contenidos.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** identidad nacional; identidad andaluza; educación; escuela; Andalucía; España; nacionalismo; identidad cultural; identidad cívica.

## 1. Introduction. The Role of Education in the Construction of National Identity in Spain and Andalusia

This study examines the reproduction of Andalusian identity during compulsory secondary education (*Educación Secundaria Obligatoria – ESO*). While debates surrounding education systems in Spain have traditionally focused on historic communities such as Catalonia and the Basque Country, this article argues that Andalusia engages in similar dynamics of national identity reproduction as those other autonomous communities. It is assumed that any administrative unit with control over this mechanism of socialisation will use education (or schooling – used interchangeably here) to shape or homogenise a territorial identity that legitimises the existence of the administrative unit, whether current or prospective (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm, 1992).

Schooling is a fundamental agent in the formation of the modern state, becoming one of its core institutions (Green, 1990; Tamir, 2021). It has contributed to cultural homogenisation in favour of the dominant ethnic group, which holds the power to impose its narrative of the nation. However, this narrative has been challenged within multinational states (Kleider, 2020). In such contexts, tensions arise over control of education, as both state and sub-state elites share an interest in fostering feelings of belonging, which may at times be exclusionary. In this regard, the Spanish State's capacity to implement a nationalising educational policy has historically been constrained by the influence of the Catholic Church and by the devolution of competences to autonomous communities, each pursuing their own nation-building agendas (Puelles, 1999).

The first attempts to construct a Spanish national identity by progressive governments, in line with the mandate of the 1812 Constitution (Álvarez Junco,

2001, p. 545), were hindered by factors such as limited financial resources (allocated instead to the army or the clergy), the weak reach of public education (with illiteracy rates above 60%), and resistance from the Catholic Church, which, supported by conservative factions, has historically contested the State's control over education (*ibid.*, p. 549). It was not until the final years of the Second Republic that Spain established a public education system comparable to those of other European countries, mobilising resources and introducing reforms aimed at constructing a democratic Spanish national identity. This system was abruptly dismantled following the military coup and ensuing dictatorship of Francisco Franco in 1936.

With the approval of the Spanish Constitution (SC) in 1978, a decentralised model was adopted in which educational competences are shared between the State and the autonomous communities, with the latter assuming a substantial share of these responsibilities. Nonetheless, the distribution of competences remained unsettled. In accordance with Article 149, matters not explicitly reserved for the State by the SC were transferred to the autonomous communities in two phases: 1978–1983 and 1998–2000 (Hijano and Ruiz, 2016). In some instances, autonomous communities have used these newly acquired powers to develop distinct national identities, occasionally giving rise to tensions between state-wide and nationalist parties (Delgado, 2022), as well as between administrative levels, over control of education (Del Campo and López, 2015). As a result, a minority of autonomous communities (Catalonia and the Basque Country) prioritise the nation over the State in the construction of identity, while the majority reproduce dual identities based on a negotiated alignment of cultural norms and shared beliefs, generally privileging the State over the autonomous community (Doncel, 2008).

Andalusia has remained largely absent from many of these debates. Despite its status as a historic nationality – a status it shares with the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia – its political representatives have not followed the same trajectories. Its autonomous educational legislation has been amended only on a few occasions, with the 2007 Andalusian Education Act still in force. Curricular modifications have been aligned with national reforms, the most recent being the Order of 30 May 2023 adapting the LOMLOE (Organic Act on Education). This silence might suggest that Andalusia constitutes an exception among the autonomous communities in terms of the nationalisation of its student body. However, comparative studies on the development of regional identities within the education curriculum suggest otherwise (Doncel, 2008; 2016).

The existing literature on Andalusian identity (Moreno, 2008; Aguiar and Espinosa, 2011; Pérez Yruela, 2014; Coller, 2014) has examined the nature of Andalusian national identity, including its core values and the meanings attributed to being Andalusian and Spanish. Nonetheless, there is a notable lack of research specifically applied to the educational sphere, which has not been explored to the same extent as in the case of the other historic nationalities. Studies published in the Andalusian context have primarily focused on the analysis of textbooks and educational legislation (Hijano, 2000; Ruiz, 2001; Méndez, 2003; García and Merchán, 2015; Hijano and

Ruiz, 2016). To date, limited attention has been paid to the role of teachers as agents in the construction of Andalusian identity. This is the area in which our research seeks to contribute, by examining the reproduction of Andalusian identity through the actions of teachers, given their central role in the process as the individuals who ultimately interpret and implement educational policy.

The structure of this article is as follows. First, we set out the theoretical framework, outlining the hypotheses under investigation. We then present the research methodology and design, followed by an analysis of the data. The final section concludes with a discussion of the findings and the conclusions drawn in relation to the proposed hypotheses.

## 2. Socialisation, Schooling, Nation and State

Societies depend on the socialisation of their members in order to survive. Through socialisation, individuals internalise the values, norms and cultural frameworks of the society to which they belong. The capacity of schools to fulfil these aims was instrumentalised by nation-states during their processes of national literacy and identity formation. However, multinational states face the challenge of constructing compatible national identities – whether nested or dual – in such a way that the various national communities within them consent to being governed by a single state. This compatibility depends in part on whether ethnic–cultural or civic elements predominate, and on how these elements are instrumentalised by political elites at both state and sub-state levels.

### 2.1. Schooling in the Service of the State

Human beings learn to live in society through a lifelong process of socialisation. Within this process, the stages of primary and secondary socialisation are particularly significant, as they involve the internalisation of values and imaginaries by the individual (Lucas, 1986, p. 370); that is, the process through which individuals form answers to the questions “Who am I?” and “How should I be?” Schooling contributes to fostering a sense of belonging to a community rooted in a specific territory. This sense of belonging is known as national identity – a subtype of social identity (Espinosa and Tapia, 2011, p. 71). It is understood here as a social and cultural construct formed through a process of nationalisation, in which public and private discourses and interactions converge, shaped by various socialising agents (Quiroga, 2013). These agents play a determining role in shaping the individual’s sense of membership in the ingroup (i.e. the social group to which they feel they belong and to which they express loyalty). The ingroup is contrasted with the outgroup – the social group to which the individual does not feel they belong and to which they do not express loyalty.

Schooling has been a fundamental pillar in the construction of national identities, to the extent that it is essential for understanding the consolidation of the modern

state. Since the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, education systems have functioned as key instruments for transmitting values, ideas and conceptions of identity and national belonging (Green, 1990; Hobsbawm, 1992). Compulsory schooling and the teaching of a common language have promoted cultural and linguistic unification, shaping a cohesive citizenry under a shared national identity (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983).

This process has traditionally benefited majority groups within nation-states, enabling them to impose their narrative of national history, culture and identity (Hechter, 2001). Thus, the school curriculum not only transmits technical and scientific knowledge, but also reinforces a national narrative that frequently marginalises or excludes cultural and linguistic minorities. In many cases, education has served as a vehicle for forced assimilation, as seen in the policies of Castilianisation in Spain, Francisation in France or Russification in the Tsarist Empire and the Soviet Union (Fishman, 1972; Smith, 1998).

In multinational and plurinational states with multilevel governance, dominant narratives have been contested, giving rise to debates regarding control of the education system. Educational tensions reflect broader political struggles over the distribution of power and the definition of national identity. In regions with autonomist or secessionist aspirations, sub-state elites have employed education as a means of reinforcing differentiated identities and promoting alternative narratives concerning their history, language and culture (Keating, 2007; Carranza, 2016). Such dynamics are evident in Catalonia and the Basque Country, as well as in Quebec and Scotland, where education systems have been deliberately designed to reinforce distinct national identities and, in some cases, to create distance from the dominant state identity (Conversi, 1997; Wright, 2017).

The contest over educational control carries far-reaching political implications. Central governments seek to maintain unity through a common curriculum, while sub-state governments utilise education to consolidate alternative national projects. This may result in exclusionary forms of belonging and pose a challenge to national cohesion (Tully, 1995; Hargreaves, 2004). However, it is not only communities with aspirations of sovereignty that instrumentalise education. Other regions operating within devolved frameworks also promote regional identities as mechanisms of social cohesion and institutional consolidation (Keating, 2007).

For schooling to function as a tool of identity construction, it requires an administrative apparatus that operates as an ideological transmission chain. Key components of this apparatus include educational legislation, which establishes the regulatory framework and the values to be transmitted (Apple, 2004); the official curriculum, which selects essential content for the formation of the citizenry (Goodson, 2014; Sautereau and Faas, 2023); textbooks, which present specific historical and cultural narratives (Torres Santomé, 2013); and inspection and evaluation bodies, which monitor teaching and learning practices.

Teachers occupy an ambivalent position within this structure. While they represent the final link in the ideological transmission chain, they also interpret and reframe curricular content according to their own experiences and pedagogical beliefs. This interpretive capacity allows for resistance and the rearticulation of the national identity promoted by the state, thereby generating contradictions or departures from the official discourse (Altamirano, 2020). Consequently, the teaching of subjects such as history, literature or civic education may become a site of symbolic contestation, where dominant narratives are reinterpreted or challenged depending on the sociopolitical context and the autonomy of the teacher (Van Dijk, 1997). The education system, therefore, cannot be understood as a monolithic apparatus of ideological reproduction, but rather as a dynamic arena in which elites seek to shape the collective imagination, while alternative resistances and reinterpretations simultaneously emerge.

In this context, our analysis of the discourses of secondary school teachers in Andalusia aims to test the following:

Hypothesis 1: The Andalusian education system fosters a distinct and differentiated Andalusian identity, in a manner consistent with other autonomous communities.

## 2.2. Identity diversity and legitimacy in multinational states: dual identities

Modern democracies require diffuse legitimacy to maintain stability, grounded in a shared national identity that reinforces the authority of the state without the need for coercion. David Easton (1975) distinguishes between specific legitimacy, which depends on support for particular policies or leaders, and diffuse legitimacy, which is based on sustained trust in institutions and ensures the continuity of the system in times of crisis. National identity thus constitutes a key mechanism for the reproduction of political legitimacy.

In democratic contexts, citizen consent cannot be sustained solely through legal compliance or state efficiency. Voluntary adherence to a democratic order requires a sense of belonging and commitment to a political community that transcends individual or short-term interests (Habermas, 1998). Education plays a central role in this process, acting as a mechanism for the reproduction of political order by naturalising a particular national community and its associated model of legitimacy.

However, in multinational states, the coexistence of multiple national identities complicates the production of uniform legitimacy. The effectiveness of schooling as a state instrument diminishes when it confronts communities with distinct historical and cultural narratives, and the imposition of a singular identity may be perceived as a form of domination (Keating, 2001). The management of such diversity is therefore crucial to ensuring social cohesion and democratic stability.

To sustain their democratic functionality and long-term stability, these states must promote dual or compatible identities, enabling individuals to identify simultaneously with both their national community and the broader state in which

it is embedded (Linz and Stepan, 1996). Compatibility between national and state identities relies on the construction of an inclusive, state-level ingroup that does not compete with pre-existing national identities, but instead incorporates them into a shared framework of belonging (Stepan, 1999).

To achieve this, multinational states must provide institutional recognition of cultural and linguistic diversity. Education is fundamental to this process, as it transmits historical narratives that reflect identity pluralism (Kymlicka, 1995). However, when power is distributed across multiple levels of governance, sub-state elites may seek to promote differentiated national identities to advance political projects aimed at greater autonomy or independence (Keating, 2001). A clear example is Catalonia, where education has been used to reinforce a national identity distinct from the Spanish one (Miley, 2007).

As previously noted, while all autonomous communities in Spain hold competences in the field of education, not all pursue sovereignist goals. In this sense, we argue that the consolidation of legitimacy within such autonomous communities, operating within the framework of devolution, entails the reproduction of dual or compatible identities alongside the Spanish national identity. The development of social cohesion and loyalty towards regional institutions (i.e. the consolidation of autonomous governments as relevant actors within the state) would therefore be compatible with broader national cohesion and a sense of belonging to a state-level ingroup. Given the absence of sovereignist aspirations in Andalusia, we expect our analysis of teacher discourse in Andalusian schools to reveal the following:

**Hypothesis 2:** The Andalusian identity fostered in schools is constructed as compatible with the Spanish national identity (in other words, Andalusian schooling reproduces dual identities – both Andalusian and Spanish).

The debate surrounding the compatibility of national identities in multinational states is complex. One model that accounts for this compatibility is that of nested identities, in which a subnational identity is embedded within a broader state identity without generating contradiction (Díez Medrano and Gutiérrez, 2001; Máiz, 2004). Another explanatory model is that of salient identities, whereby individuals prioritise different levels of identity depending on the political and geographical context (Moreno, 2004).

In the case of Andalusia, survey-based research suggests that identity compatibility follows the nested identity model: Spanish identity is integrated into the supranational (European) level and encompasses the sub-state (Andalusian) identity (Aguiar and Espinosa, 2011; Coller, 2014; Pérez Yruela, 2014). Both identities share common elements (Palacios, 2008), which facilitates their mutual compatibility.

## 2.3. Elements Defining National Identity

The education system constitutes a central instrument in the shaping of national identities, although such identities may assume different forms depending on the strategies adopted by political elites. Within this framework, two principal models of national identity are commonly distinguished: the ethnic–cultural model and the civic model. Ethnic–cultural identities are founded on elements such as language, historical heritage and ethnicity, and are based on a primordialist conception of the nation as an organic entity that predates the state. This perspective tends to be static and exclusionary, given its emphasis on historical continuity and the preservation of a supposedly distinctive national essence (Smith, 1998). In the Spanish context, this type of identity has gained particular significance in autonomous communities such as Catalonia and the Basque Country, where cultural and historical uniqueness has been foregrounded in contrast to the Spanish State (Guibernau, 2004).

Civic identities, by contrast, are constructed around shared democratic principles such as legal equality, fundamental rights and citizen participation within a common institutional framework (Habermas, 1998). These identities are not contingent on ethnic or cultural membership, but rather on adherence to an inclusive political project, making them more dynamic and adaptable forms of integration. In plurinational societies such as Spain, the civic model may contribute to democratic stability by enabling the coexistence of multiple collective identities within a single state (Kymlicka, 1995; Keating, 2007). Nonetheless, the Spanish system of regional autonomy, while allowing for some articulation of these identities, has also generated tensions between a shared civic identity and peripheral national identities.

In practice, most states do not exclusively adopt one model, but rather incorporate elements of both, depending on their historical trajectories and political imperatives. In the case of Andalusia, it is proposed that the identity reproduced within the educational sphere assumes a dual character, combining ethnic–cultural and civic components, with a predominance of the latter. This configuration reflects both the inclusive nature highlighted by sociological studies of Andalusian identity and the legitimising function that such identity is expected to perform for the regional government. Based on this dual structure, we formulate our third and final hypothesis:

**Hypothesis 3:** The Andalusian identity fostered in schools combines ethnic–cultural and civic elements, with a greater emphasis on the civic dimension, reflecting the dual character of Andalusian identity and its intended legitimising role in relation to the regional government.

The authors argue that civic identities are preferable to ethnic–cultural ones, as they allow for the coherent evolution of national identity in line with broader social, political and technological transformations. By contrast, emphasis on ethnic–cultural identity may lead to essentialist and exclusionary conceptions of the nation, which are more susceptible to political instrumentalisation for xenophobic or supremacist ends, thereby undermining inclusion, cooperation and democratic development (García-Segura, 2022).

### 3. Research Design

To evaluate the proposed hypotheses, a case study was conducted in secondary schools in the province of Seville. The selection of this province was based on economic and logistical considerations, as well as its comparability with the broader Andalusian context in terms of legislative, organisational and curricular frameworks, given the existence of a common regulatory structure governing all educational institutions in the region.

The study is based on 21 interviews with teachers from 10 educational centres, carried out in 2023. Participation in the interviews was voluntary, and the confidentiality of all data was ensured. Testimonies were transcribed and anonymised prior to analysis, with the approval of the Research Ethics Committee at Pablo de Olavide University (UPO). Cluster sampling was used to select participants, based on a census of 117 schools classified according to their type of ownership (public / state-subsidised private), religious or non-confessional affiliation, and location (rural/urban). Of these 117 schools, 35 were contacted, and 10 agreed to participate.

Despite the reduction in sample size, the diversity of institutional types included in the study was preserved. A total of 21 teachers were interviewed. Their distribution by gender and by type of school is presented in Tables 1 and 2, with further details available in Annex 1.

**Table 1**

*Characteristics of the theoretical and empirical sample of secondary schools in the province of Seville. Percentages calculated with respect to the total number of schools in the census (N = 171) and the theoretical sample (N = 35)*

Dimension	Type	Universe size: N	Theoretical sample (of N)	Empirical sample (of n)
Ownership	Public State-subsidised private		26 (75%) 9 (25%)	6 (60%) 4 (40%)
Context	Rural Urban		5 (14%) 30 (86%)	2 (20%) 8 (80%)
Affiliation	Religious Non-confessional		8 (22%) 27 (78%)	3 (30%) 7 (70%)
Total		171	20% (35/171)	30% (10/35)

N = universe size (171 schools).

n = theoretical sample size (35 schools).

Source: compiled by the authors based on the analysis of 21 interviews with secondary school teachers in the province of Seville.

**Table 2**

*Characteristics of the empirical sample of teachers by school type and gender.  
Percentages calculated with respect to the total number of interviewees (N = 21)*

Dimension	Type	Men percentage (n)	Women percentage (n)	Total
Ownership	Public	5 (56%)	10 (83%)	15 (71%)
	State-subsidised private	4 (44%)	2 (17%)	6 (29%)
Context	Rural	2 (22%)	0 (0%)	2 (8%)
	Urban	7 (78%)	12 (100%)	19 (92%)
Affiliation	Religious	4 (44%)	1 (8%)	5 (23%)
	Non-confessional	5 (56%)	11 (92%)	16 (77%)
Total		9 (43%)	12 (57%)	21 (100%)

Source: compiled by the authors based on the analysis of 21 interviews with secondary school teachers in the province of Seville.

A semi-structured interview guide was administered to the participating teachers. The interview began with questions concerning activities carried out in relation to dates of explicitly civic significance: Andalusia Day (28 February) and Flag Day (4 December)<sup>3</sup>, the latter having been recently incorporated into the official school calendar. Following this descriptive phase, teachers were invited to share their subjective experiences, describing additional classroom activities and their connection to Andalusian identity, as well as proposing initiatives they considered necessary. At no point did the interview guide suggest a distinction between civic and ethnic–cultural elements.

The objective was to gather information on both the content and activities implemented and the teachers' perceptions of them. The interview concluded with reflections on the teaching of Andalusia within compulsory secondary education, including assessments of textbooks, the official curriculum and comparisons with educational experiences outside Andalusia.

A mixed-methods approach was adopted for data analysis, combining a typological classification of activities related to Andalusian identity using ATLAS.ti 25 with a discourse analysis of teacher responses. The complete coding manual, including all analytical categories, is provided in Annex 2.

#### 4. Typological organisation of activities carried out in Andalusian educational centres

Our initial approach to the data involved an inductive classification of the activities described by teachers into 16 dimensions related to the reproduction of Andalusian identity. These dimensions group together activities with similar content (see Table 3), and more detailed definitions are provided in Annex 2.

The diversity of activities reflected in Table 3 reveals a combination of ethnic-cultural and civic elements, providing preliminary support for our hypotheses. With regard to Hypothesis 1, teachers report specific activities aimed at fostering Andalusian identity. In relation to Hypothesis 3, the activities encompass both civic and ethnic-cultural components.

**Table 3**

*Items mentioned by teachers as involving activities related to the reproduction of Andalusian identity*

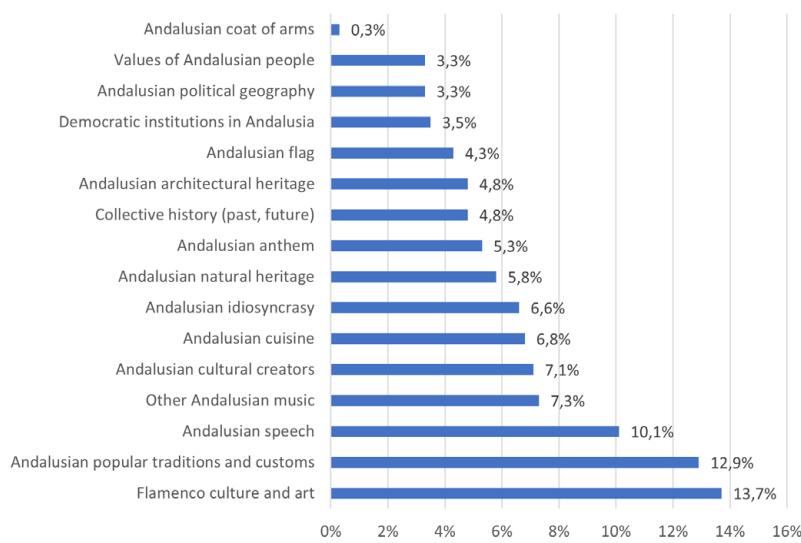
Item/code	Definition
Andalusian flag	Content and activities related to the Andalusian flag. Example: raising the flag.
Flamenco culture and art	Content and activities related to flamenco. Example: celebrating Flamenco Day.
Andalusian coat of arms	Content and activities related to the Andalusian coat of arms. Example: drawing the coat of arms.
Andalusian cuisine	Content and activities related to Andalusian cuisine. Example: comparing Andalusian and English cuisine.
Andalusian political geography	Content and activities related to the political geography of Andalusia. Example: explaining territorial administrations in Andalusia.
Andalusian anthem	Content and activities related to the Andalusian anthem. Example: singing or playing the anthem.
Collective history (past, future)	Content and activities related to the history of Andalusia. Example: explaining the process of gaining autonomy.
Andalusian idiosyncrasy	Content and activities related to the perceived characteristics of Andalusians. Example: describing the cheerful nature of Andalusian people.
Democratic institutions in Andalusia: - Parliament - Regional Government of Andalusia - Municipal councils	Content and activities related to or conducted in collaboration with Andalusian democratic institutions. Example: visiting the Andalusian Parliament.
Andalusian speech <sup>4</sup>	Content and activities related to Andalusian speech. Example: explaining the characteristics of Andalusian speech.
Other Andalusian music (non-flamenco)	Content and activities related to other Andalusian music. Example: singing Christmas carols.
Andalusian architectural heritage	Content and activities related to Andalusian architectural heritage. Example: visiting cathedrals.
Andalusian natural heritage	Content and activities related to Andalusian natural heritage. Example: excursion to Doñana National Park.
Andalusian cultural creators	Content and activities related to Andalusian cultural creators. Example: reciting poems by Lorca.
Andalusian popular traditions and customs: - Religious - Social - Gastronomic - Craft-based	Content and activities related to Andalusian popular traditions and customs. Example: hosting a traditional recipe competition.
Values of the Andalusian people: - Solidarity - Tolerance - Integration/inclusion	Content and activities related to values associated with Andalusian identity. Example: organising a charity lunch.

Source: compiled by the authors based on the analysis of 21 interviews with secondary school teachers in the province of Seville.

However, Figure 1 qualifies these findings by highlighting the limited presence of civic elements in the construction of Andalusian identity. Items such as the Andalusian coat of arms or democratic institutions are rarely mentioned among the activities reported by teachers. Although the flag and the anthem are somewhat more visible, their overall weight within the total set of recorded activities remains marginal. This absence of civic content is particularly noteworthy given that the interviews began with questions about two commemorative events of clear civic and political significance: Andalusia Day and Andalusian Flag Day. The latter, in particular, lacks educational traction, with many schools opting not to commemorate it (“We don’t celebrate Flag Day. It goes completely unnoticed”, I5).

**Figure 1**

*Relative importance, in the teachers’ discourse, of the 16 items around which activities related to Andalusian identity are organised: percentages based on normalised frequencies*



Source: compiled by the authors based on the analysis of 21 interviews with secondary school teachers in the province of Seville.

The weak presence of civic elements in representations of Andalusian identity may constrain its dynamism and modernity, keeping the focus on the past rather than the future. Moreover, it may hinder the development of diffuse loyalty towards the regional government. Given the relevance of this issue, we analysed the prominence of civic elements according to school characteristics and the gender of the teachers interviewed (see Figures A1 to A4 in Annex 1).

Regarding school ownership, democratic institutions feature more prominently in public schools. In terms of religious affiliation, non-confessional schools attach greater importance to civic activities than religious ones – particularly those related to democratic institutions, political geography and the flag. At the territorial level, rural schools prioritise activities involving the anthem and the flag, whereas urban schools focus more on political geography and democratic institutions. With respect to gender, male teachers more frequently mention activities related to democratic institutions and the flag, although no significant gender differences are observed for other civic elements.

At the lower end of Figure 1 appear ethnic–cultural activities such as flamenco culture and art, popular traditions and Andalusian speech, which together account for more than one-third of the activities mentioned. These three elements form an ethnic–cultural core that predominates in the reproduction of Andalusian identity in schools. This approach mirrors that adopted in other autonomous communities such as Catalonia and the Basque Country, which have integrated their distinct cultural identities into their education systems (Doncel, 2008).

The prominence of these ethnic–cultural elements varies by type of school. Activities related to Andalusian speech are more frequent in public, non-confessional and rural schools, while popular traditions and customs are mainly promoted in private and religious schools. With regard to flamenco, its importance appears relatively consistent across school types, although more activities related to it are reported in urban schools. Furthermore, female teachers are more likely to mention activities focused on these three elements (see Figures A1 to A4 in Annex 1).

In the mid-range of Figure 1 are other ethnic–cultural elements with intermediate visibility. Gastronomy and non-flamenco Andalusian music are generally associated with celebrations and festivities such as Carnival, Holy Week, the Spring Fair or Christmas, often expressed through marches, carols or popular *copla* songs. In relation to idiosyncrasy, references include conviviality and a cheerful approach to life, reinforcing the ideal of the Andalusian *vida buena* (good life) (Pérez Yruela, 2014) and constructing contrasts between “us, the Andalusians” and “the others”. Finally, the cultural creators category includes emblematic figures of Andalusian culture such as Lorca, Camarón de la Isla and Bécquer.

In conclusion, this initial analysis confirms that teachers identify a broad and diverse set of activities related to the reproduction of Andalusian identity in schools, lending support to Hypothesis 1. It also shows a strong emphasis on ethnic–cultural elements similar to those promoted in other autonomous communities with pronounced national identities. However, the evidence in support of Hypothesis 3 – which anticipated a stronger role for civic elements in the construction of a dual Andalusian identity – is not substantiated. Civic elements are markedly underrepresented in comparison to their ethnic–cultural counterparts.

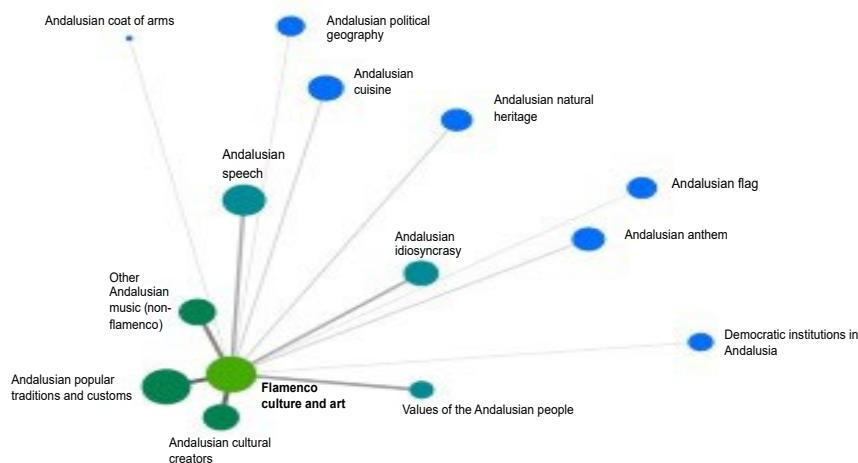
To evaluate the extent to which the Andalusian identity constructed in schools can be considered inclusive (Hypothesis 2), it is necessary to analyse more closely how teachers interpret and assign meaning to ethnic–cultural elements. As previously noted, ethnic–cultural identity tends to anchor belonging in the past, focusing on the origin of the community rather than its future trajectory. This emphasis may lead to static and closed conceptions of national identity, which in certain cases may justify the exclusion of those who do not share the same background.

#### 4.1. The Ethnic–Cultural Core of Andalusian Identity

Figure 2 illustrates the co-occurrence of items around which the interviewed teachers organise activities related to the reproduction of Andalusian identity. The size of each circle is proportional to the frequency with which the corresponding item appears in the discourse, while the lines connecting them represent the frequency with which different items are mentioned together (the thicker and shorter the line, the greater the co-occurrence between the elements represented). In this regard, Figure 2 shows that the majority of activities described by teachers as contributing to the reproduction of Andalusian identity are structured around a central core focused on flamenco culture and art – by far the most frequently referenced element.

**Figure 2**

*Co-occurrence of ethnic–cultural elements of Andalusian identity in the teachers' discourse*



Source: compiled by the authors based on the analysis of 21 interviews with secondary school teachers in the province of Seville.

This element acts as the axis around which a cultural Andalusian ingroup is constructed, defined in opposition to outgroups represented by other autonomous communities. Unlike other historic communities with sovereignist aspirations – where the outgroup is typically the broader Spanish population – in the case of Andalusia, this specific element (flamenco culture and art) is often projected as a component of Spanish national identity (that is, as a trait shared with a higher-level outgroup, the Spanish nation).

Flamenco is flamenco. And then you have the Catalans – how are you going to export the sardana? The sardana just doesn't have the same appeal, and that's the proof. Just like they export Rosalía, we export flamenco (I13).

This projection of flamenco as a national symbol raises the question of whether it reflects a nested identity structure or rather a lack of differentiation between Andalusian and Spanish identity.

In addition to flamenco, references to enduring traditions and customs passed down through generations are also central to the activities teachers associate with the formation of Andalusian identity. As illustrated in Figure 2, these traditions and customs are not only linked to flamenco but also to other forms of Andalusian music, particularly in connection with celebrations such as Holy Week or the singing of carols at Christmas.<sup>5</sup> As with flamenco culture, there appears to be a degree of indistinction between these elements as components of Andalusian identity and their projection within broader Spanish identity. Since these practices (including other popular traditions such as the Spring Fair or bullfighting) are commonly associated with Spanish national identity, they may not serve to clearly differentiate Andalusian identity from that of the rest of Spain.

It is important to highlight the significance of religious traditions, both in religious schools – where activities such as processions are organised (“on the Friday of Sorrows we organise a procession”, I20) – and in non-confessional schools, which include activities such as “visiting brother- and sisterhoods” (I12), nativity scenes or the performance of religious music. In this respect, the prominence of Catholic traditions, although not explicitly coded under this label, appears to play a substantial role in shaping Andalusian identity.

Undoubtedly, however, references to activities organised around Andalusian speech provide the clearest indication that Andalusia reproduces the nation-building practices found in other autonomous communities. Despite not having a language of its own, the Andalusian linguistic variety acquires notable prominence in the transmission of identity by teaching staff. Andalusian speech is framed as a representative feature of the region and an expression of its identity – either by emphasising the linguistic distinctiveness of Andalusia in relation to other autonomous communities, or by rejecting prejudices against it and asserting its equal value.

Speech is understood not merely as a communicative tool but as a marker of community identity, alongside culture and traditions. Teachers assert pride in Andalusian speech and stress the importance of public figures such as Alejandro Sanz, Manuel Carrasco or María Jesús Montero speaking in Andalusian without inhibition as evidence that it is as legitimate as other linguistic forms in Spain:

Now we can see political representatives and other public figures speak Andalusian without holding back. It's finally happening! There's a minister, for instance, who is Andalusian and speaks Andalusian fluently and confidently, without trying to water it down. So that's it. We shouldn't be repressing ourselves – on the contrary (I3).

Unlike the two previous elements, the defence of Andalusian speech is articulated as a claim to pride, rejecting stereotypes, prejudices and clichés. The distinction between Andalusian speech and that of other regions is affirmed, and belonging to Andalusia is constructed through this difference in speech, often accompanied by references to perceived mistreatment and stigmatisation by other communities, as well as calls to overcome an inferiority complex and assert parity with other regions.

There shouldn't be those comments like “you speak badly”. No. You don't speak badly – you speak differently from other regions in Spain, but that doesn't mean some ways of speaking are better or worse. They're simply different. That's all there is to it (I7).

Andalusian speech is the only element in the cultural core previously discussed that is not projected onto Spanish national identity, instead remaining a distinctly Andalusian marker. Even so, it does not create an Andalusian ingroup in opposition to a Spanish outgroup, but rather defines outgroups in relation to other autonomous communities, with interviewed teachers calling for the elimination of stereotypes and prejudices about Andalusian speech. This contrast is particularly striking when compared to flamenco and popular traditions – elements that are also part of Spanish national identity, yet are not accompanied by the same sense of stigma. This distinction is reflected in assertions such as “we don't speak bad Spanish, but perfect Andalusian” (I12):

I've always said it – it's as if 'Andalusian' has always meant uneducated. Are you Andalusian? Then you're a bumpkin. Well, analysing the features of Andalusian speech and seeing them as valid – just like *laísmo* in Madrid isn't seen as problematic – means valuing ourselves, doesn't it? We should embrace these features of ours. They're nothing to be ashamed of – quite the opposite (I3).

In short, the only clearly Andalusian element that is not assimilated into Spanish national identity gives rise to an ingroup marked by a sense of grievance, which constructs its identity in response to perceived unjust treatment by other autonomous communities. With respect to Hypothesis 2, regarding the degree of

inclusiveness of Andalusian identity, our evidence clearly indicates that Andalusian and Spanish identities are compatible. That is, no Spanish outgroup is constructed against which the interviewed teachers position a differentiated Andalusian ingroup based on ethnic–cultural traits. Nevertheless, it is problematic that the core of these traits does not support a clearly defined distinction between Andalusians and other Spaniards, given that the main differentiating element – speech – is framed as a negatively coded marker, tied to a sense of grievance in relation to other autonomous communities.

## 5. Conclusions. Problematising Andalusian Identity

This study has provided insight into the construction of Andalusian identity in educational settings and its relationship with Spanish national identity. By analysing both the activities implemented in schools and the discourse of teaching staff, the research has made it possible to assess the proposed hypotheses and identify the key challenges involved in fostering Andalusian identity within the classroom.

The findings offer partial support for Hypothesis 1, which suggested that the Andalusian education system fosters a distinct and differentiated identity. Teachers were found to carry out a wide variety of activities aimed at transmitting elements of Andalusian identity, with a marked emphasis on ethnic–cultural aspects. However, the evidence does not support Hypothesis 3, as civic components were found to play a marginal role in the construction of Andalusian identity. Elements such as the Andalusian coat of arms, regional democratic institutions or political geography receive far less attention than more traditional themes such as flamenco culture, Andalusian speech and popular festivities (particularly those of Catholic origin). This absence of civic content may limit the development of a more forward-looking and dynamic sense of Andalusian identity.

In relation to Hypothesis 2, which posited the construction of a dual identity compatible with Spanish national identity, the results show no structural opposition between the two. On the contrary, Andalusian identity is largely presented as continuous with Spanish identity across the majority of dimensions analysed. Nonetheless, a key challenge emerges: Andalusian speech is the only characteristic that teachers consistently associate with a clear distinction from other autonomous communities, and it is framed through a perceived grievance – reinforcing a narrative of inferiority in comparison with other regions of Spain.

The main obstacle to reproducing Andalusian identity in schools is the predominance of ethnic–cultural elements over civic ones. This imbalance tends to anchor identity in the past and does not contribute to the construction of a more inclusive identity rooted in democratic values and civic engagement. The limited presence of civic education risks fostering a weaker sense of commitment to regional institutions and may hinder the development of diffuse loyalty to the Andalusian government.

Ultimately, an Andalusian identity lacking strong civic foundations may also lack the dynamism needed to confront the socio-economic challenges that continue to place Andalusia at the lower end of national rankings. As such, the region risks remaining caught in the so-called “paradox of satisfaction” (Navarro and Pérez Yruela, 2000) – rooted in the celebration of “the good life” and the cultural values associated with it, but lacking the vision or incentive to imagine a better future capable of mobilising nationalising efforts. As one interviewee put it:

To feel Andalusian – not just because of the way we talk, not just because of the culture, not just because of that olive-tree landscape, and so on – but also because every region, every community, ought to have a kind of territorial class consciousness, precisely to address the socio-economic divides that exist between territories (16).

Another issue identified is the lack of a clearly defined positive differentiation between Andalusian and Spanish identity. Whereas flamenco culture, festivals and gastronomy are presented as elements shared with Spanish identity, Andalusian speech emerges as the only distinctive feature – although it is associated with perceptions of marginalisation and lack of recognition. This may give rise to an Andalusian identity articulated not proactively but rather as a response to an alleged external devaluation.

It is important to highlight the key role played by teachers in reproducing Andalusian identity, as they act as mediators between the official curriculum and classroom practice. Their discourse and teaching practices determine which aspects of identity are emphasised and how these are conveyed to students. As observed, teachers predominantly reproduce an Andalusian identity grounded in cultural and traditional elements, reinforcing an essentialist vision of identity. At the same time, a certain degree of professional agency allows for reinterpretations and adjustments depending on the context of the school and the personal experiences of the teaching staff.

The type of school also has a significant influence. In public and non-confessional schools, there are more references to civic elements, while in state-subsidised private and religious schools, activities related to traditions and customs predominate. Furthermore, female teachers have placed greater emphasis on ethnic-cultural aspects, suggesting that personal experience and pedagogical beliefs influence how Andalusian identity is reproduced in educational settings.

In conclusion, while Andalusian schools act as spaces for fostering regional identity, they do so in an unbalanced manner, prioritising cultural over civic dimensions. To promote a more inclusive and forward-looking identity, it would be advisable to reinforce the teaching of democratic values and regional institutions, and to foster a more positive and proactive vision of Andalusian identity – one that does not rest primarily on perceived linguistic grievances vis-à-vis other regions.

However, these conclusions should be regarded as provisional, due to the limitations of the sample and the need for further research into other aspects of the education system. Some of the study's limitations concern its restriction to the province of Seville, the limited number of schools analysed (without considering other classification criteria such as geographical location or socio-economic profile), the relatively small number of interviews and the limited socio-demographic information gathered on participants (future studies could incorporate variables such as age or political orientation). Future research will address these limitations by conducting further interviews across other provinces. This study constitutes the first article of an ongoing doctoral thesis on the teaching of Andalusia in secondary education, presenting initial findings and contributions regarding the transmission of Andalusian identity in the classroom. It is hoped that these results, together with ongoing research on curriculum content and textbook representation, will provide a foundation for developing recommendations to support the balanced construction of Andalusian identity in schools.

## 6. Funding

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## Notes

1 Conceptualisation, research, data curation, formal analysis, writing – original and final draft – review and editing.

2 Conceptualisation, supervision, methodology, funding acquisition, writing (review and editing).

3 The Andalusian autonomy process had two key milestones. The first was the demonstration on 4 December 1977, in which two million Andalusians peacefully demanded autonomy – a day marked by the assassination of Manuel José García Caparrós. The second was the referendum held on 28 February 1980, which saw a majority vote in favour of autonomy, despite opposition from the UCD government. While 28 February became established as Andalusia Day, 4 December was officially recognised as Flag Day in 2021.

4 There is a complex debate surrounding the linguistic reality of Andalusia, with various terms used to refer to it, such as accent, dialect, Spanish spoken in Andalusia, Andalusian speech varieties or Andalusian linguistic modality. For the purposes of coding, we have chosen the term “Andalusian speech”, though the different expressions are used interchangeably throughout the text.

5 It is worth noting the greater prominence of this item in private and religious schools.

## Annex 1

**Table A1**  
*Description of the characteristics of cases in the empirical sample*

ID	Gender	Ownership	Affiliation	Area	Subject	Role
1	M	P	N	Ru	Music	Tea.
2	W	P	N	U	English	Head T.
3	W	P	N	U	<u>Special needs</u>	Tea.
4	W	P	N	U	Music	Tea.
5	M	P	N	U	Extracurricular	Head of S.
6	M	P	N	U	<u>Social sciences</u>	Tea.
7	W	P	N	U	English	Tea.
8	W	P	N	U	Mathematics	Tea.
9	W	P	N	U	Language	Tea.
10	W	P	N	U	Creative science	Tea.
11	W	P	N	U	Language	Tea.
12	W	P	N	U	Language	Tea.
13	W	P	N	U	Social sciences	Tea.
14	W	S	N	U	Head of S.	Head of S.
15	M	S	R	U	Music and <u>social sciences</u>	Tea.
16	M	S	R	U	Biology	Tea.
17	M	S	R	U	Music and flamenco	Tea.
18	M	P	N	Ru	Language	Head T.
19	M	P	N	U	Physics and chemistry	Tea.
20	M	S	R	U	Physical education	Tea.
21	M	S	R	U	Biology	Tea.

ID: Interview identifier.

M: Man; W: Woman.

P: Public; S: State-subsidised private.

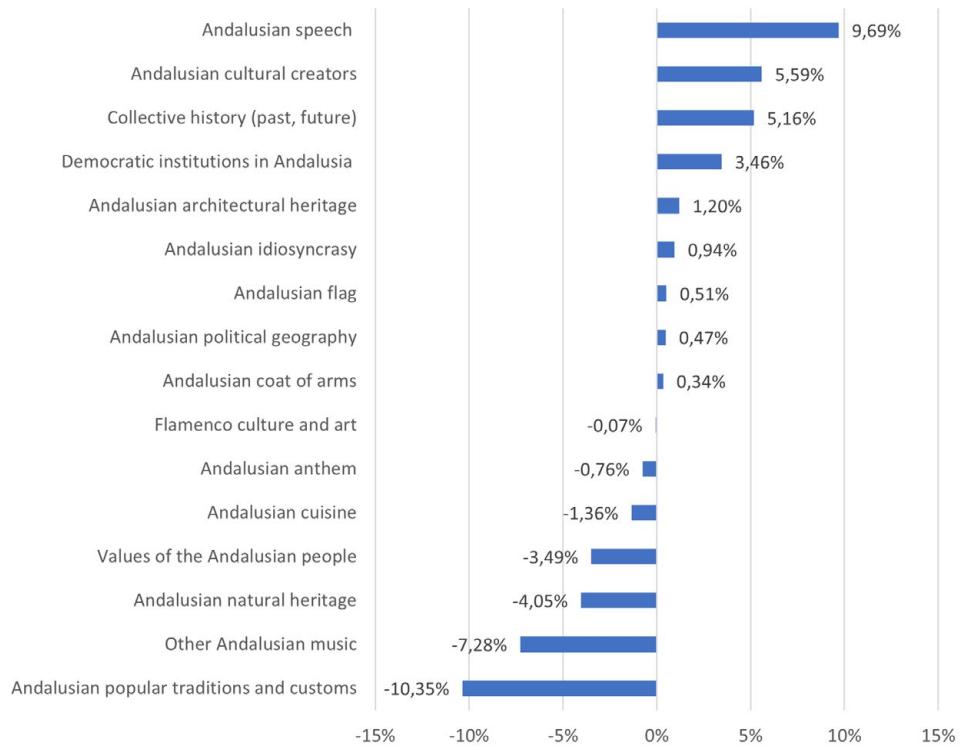
N: Non-confessional; R: Religious.

U: Urban; Ru: Rural.

Tea.: Teacher; Head T.: Head Teacher; Head of S.: Head of Studies.

## Figure A1

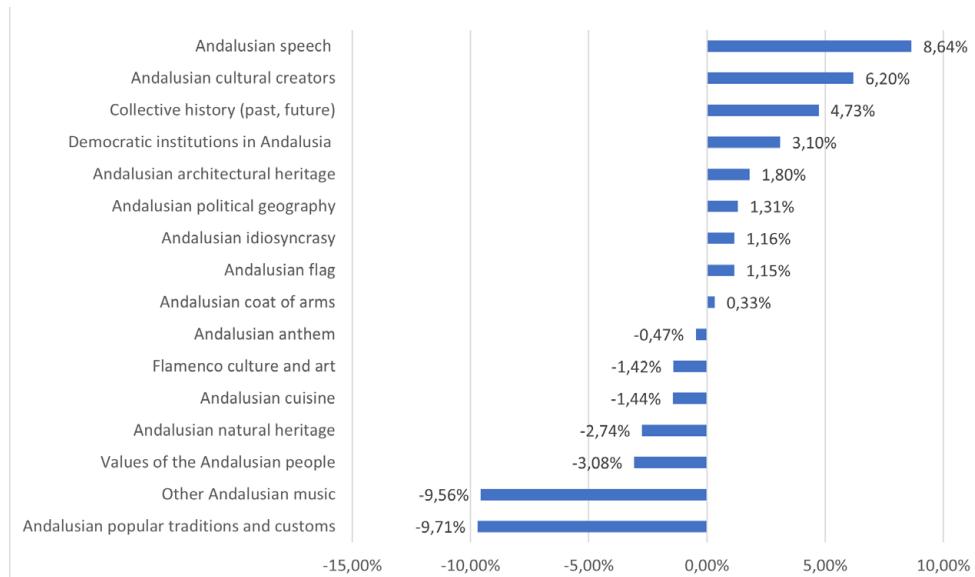
*Net difference in favour of public versus private school teachers in terms of the frequency with which they mention activities related to the reproduction of Andalusian identity*



Source: compiled by the authors based on the analysis of 21 interviews with secondary school teachers in the province of Seville. The net difference has been calculated based on percentages derived from normalised frequencies.

## Figure A2

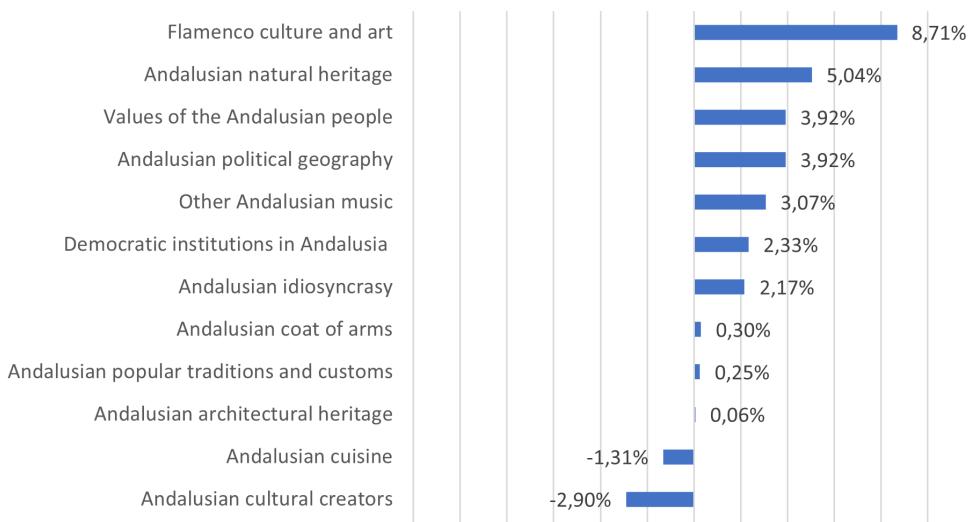
*Net difference in favour of teachers from non-confessional versus religious schools in terms of the frequency with which they mention activities related to the reproduction of Andalusian identity*



Source: compiled by the authors based on the analysis of 21 interviews with secondary school teachers in the province of Seville. The net difference has been calculated based on percentages derived from normalised frequencies.

### Figure A3

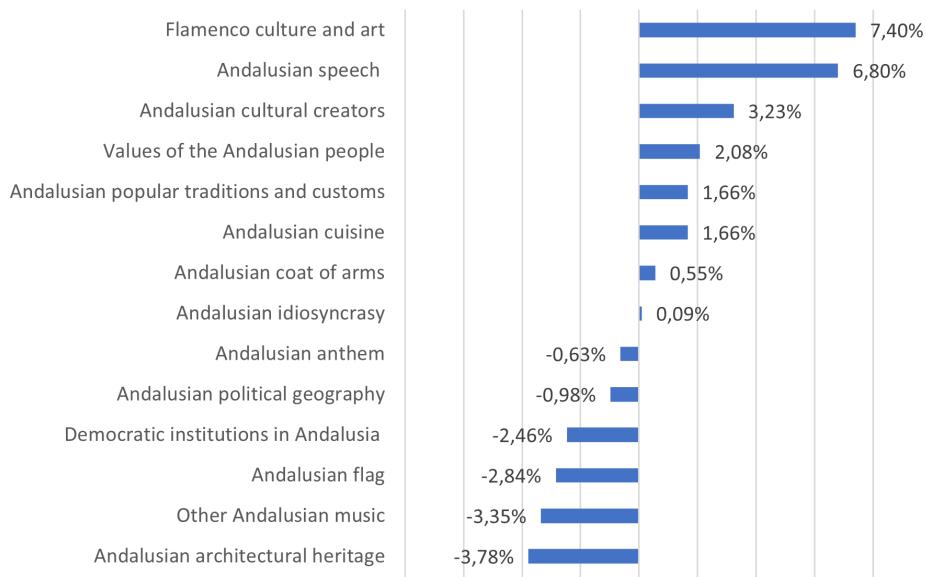
*Net difference in favour of teachers from urban versus rural schools in terms of the frequency with which they mention activities related to the reproduction of Andalusian identity*



Source: compiled by the authors based on the analysis of 21 interviews with secondary school teachers in the province of Seville. The net difference has been calculated based on percentages derived from normalised frequencies.

## Figure A4

*Net difference in favour of female versus male teachers in terms of the frequency with which they mention activities related to the reproduction of Andalusian identity*



Source: compiled by the authors based on the analysis of 21 interviews with secondary school teachers in the province of Seville. The net difference has been calculated based on percentages derived from normalised frequencies.

## Annex 2

### 1. Content of the discourse

This category refers to the “object” around which the interviewee’s discourse is organised. It may relate to opinions, preferences, complaints or demands expressed by the interviewee. It may also refer to any type of activity carried out by the school with potential “Andalusian nation-building” content – whether or not it involves other institutions and regardless of the format of the activity. This section includes references related to various typologies used to define national identity and nationalism: ethnic, cultural, civic and symbolic elements on the one hand, and ascribed and acquired characteristics on the other. However, the object referred to here need not be the central or principal focus of the activity. It may be one element of the content, provided it is sufficiently substantial and is explicitly identified as “Andalusian”.

#### 1.1. Andalusian idiosyncrasy

This code captures interviewees’ references to any type of activity focused on the idiosyncrasy of the Andalusian people, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. Here, the concept of idiosyncrasy is akin to “ethnicity”. Ethnicity itself is not expected to appear explicitly, but activities related to features perceived as inherent and unique to Andalusians as a people are classified here. These may include physical or character traits identified as distinctive or exclusive (or nearly exclusive) to Andalusians. The key to identifying what is considered idiosyncratic lies in the interviewee’s belief that such features cannot be “learnt” or “acquired” – one either has them or does not. This can be summed up by the idea that “one is born Andalusian, not made”. In general, this subcategory may also include stereotypes about Andalusians that interviewees share (including with students). For example: the *malafollá* (“moodiness”) of people from Granada, the *salero* (“magnetism”) of people from Cádiz, statements such as Andalusians having historically been courageous and bold, or alternatively conservative and backward, and comments linked to the notion of the *vida buena* (“good life”). Not coded, for example: mentions of other groups unless they are explicitly linked to Andalusia.

#### 1.2. Collective history (past, future)

This code captures interviewees’ references to any activity related to the collective history of Andalusia, whether curricular or extracurricular. These activities may be formal or informal. In the activities, Andalusia may be referred to as a region, nation, territory, people or community. What this code seeks to capture is whether the activity places value on Andalusia’s historical existence and continuity over time and/or on its projection into the future. Only collective references are included here – whether to the territory and its institutions, or to collective feats

or accomplishments by Andalusians as a people. For example: the organisation of world exhibitions, the achievement of autonomy, “the Arab conquest”. Not coded, for example: references to individual accomplishments or creations by historical figures of Andalusian origin. These are covered under the code Andalusian cultural creators.

### 1.3. Democratic institutions in Andalusia

This code captures interviewees' references to activities related to the democratic institutions of Andalusia, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. In general, they must reference institutions belonging to the Andalusian community, such as the Andalusian Parliament, the regional government or the High Court of Justice of Andalusia. Municipal councils are covered under a separate subcategory. This category is not coded directly, but through specific subcodes created for each institution. For example: visiting the Andalusian Parliament or the Regional Government of Andalusia, explaining the origins of these institutions, etc.

#### *Democratic institutions in Andalusia: Municipal Councils*

This subcode is used for activities related to municipal councils in Andalusia, whether curricular or extracurricular. Activities may be formal or informal. In general, they must refer to the local municipal council or to the concept of the municipal council more broadly. For example: visits from the mayor or councillors, participation in educational activities about the municipal council or its competences, etc.

#### *Democratic institutions in Andalusia: Regional Government of Andalusia/Junta de Andalucía*

This subcode is used for activities related to the Regional Government of Andalusia or Junta de Andalucía (understood as the executive branch of the region), whether curricular or extracurricular. Activities may be formal or informal. In general, references must concern the regional government of Andalusia, the Council of Government of the Junta de Andalucía, or the Presidency of the regional government. For example: visits from regional ministers, visits to the Palace of San Telmo, classroom activities about the competences of the Andalusian government, etc.

#### *Democratic institutions in Andalusia: Parliament*

This subcode is used for activities related to the Andalusian Parliament, both curricular and extracurricular. Activities may be formal or informal. In general, they must involve references to the Andalusian Parliament – whether its history, origins or current members. For example: visiting the Andalusian Parliament, visits from a member of parliament to the school, classroom activities related to the powers and functions of the Andalusian Parliament, etc.

## 1.4. Values of the Andalusian people

This code captures interviewees' references to any activities focusing on values regarded as characteristic of the Andalusian people, including both curricular and extracurricular formats. This code contrasts with that of Andalusian idiosyncrasy. Unlike the latter, it refers specifically to the character traits of Andalusians, highlighting shared collective values, usually presented in a positive light. These activities may be formal or informal. The key feature is that the interviewee considers these values to be teachable, that they are in fact taught in school, and that they are actively shared with students. This is linked to the idea that "a good Andalusian is made". The values highlighted here are those that interviewees attempt to promote in school settings as part of constructing this ideal. This category is not coded directly, but through specific subcodes for each value. For example: promotion of values such as tolerance, inclusion and a sense of belonging to an open community. Not coded, for example: mentions of Andalusia's past.

### *Values of the Andalusian people: Solidarity*

This subcode is used for activities intended to foster solidarity, both curricular and extracurricular. Activities may be formal or informal. In general, the activities must promote values related to solidarity among students. For example: food drives, toy donations, fundraising, etc.

### *Values of the Andalusian people: Capacity for integration/inclusion*

This subcode is used for activities that aim to foster integration and inclusion, whether curricular or extracurricular. Activities may be formal or informal. In general, references must concern the promotion of values related to inclusion and integration among the student body. For example: welcoming refugees or migrants, volunteer activities focused on immigration, etc.

### *Values of the Andalusian people: Tolerance*

This subcode is used for activities that seek to foster tolerance among students, both curricular and extracurricular. Activities may be formal or informal. In general, they must aim to promote values associated with tolerance within the school context. For example: activities against hate speech or hate-motivated violence, etc.

## 1.5. Andalusian coat of arms

This code captures interviewees' references to any type of activity related to the coat of arms of Andalusia, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. In general, this category includes activities related to the Andalusian coat of arms, whether theoretical or practical. For example: explanations of its shape, colours, meaning and historical origin; classroom activities or fieldwork centred on the coat of arms, etc. Not coded, for example: activities related to the Spanish coat of arms or municipal councils.

## 1.6. Andalusian flag

This code captures interviewees' references to any type of activity related to the flag of Andalusia, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. In general, this category includes activities related to the Andalusian flag, whether theoretical or practical. Mentions of Flag Day (*Día de la Bandera*) are also included. For example: flag-raising ceremonies; explanations of its shape, colours, meaning and historical origin; classroom activities or fieldwork centred on the flag, etc. Not coded, for example: activities related to the Spanish flag.

## 1.7. Andalusian cuisine

This code captures interviewees' references to any type of activity related to Andalusian gastronomy (or containing a gastronomic component), including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. In general terms, this category applies whenever food is eaten, drunk or prepared on the premises (or when an activity involving cooking is assigned), and the gastronomic element is identified as distinctly Andalusian. This may relate to the type of food or drink, but also to the manner of consumption, with whom food is shared or the time at which it is eaten. The emphasis lies on highlighting what is particular to Andalusian culture – that is, what differentiates it. For example: a visit to a Michelin-starred restaurant with an Andalusian chef. Not coded, for example: activities related to Andalusian raw materials or ingredients.

## 1.8. Andalusian cultural creators

This code captures interviewees' references to any type of activity related to cultural creators (historical or contemporary) from Andalusia, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. In general, they must place value on the contribution of relevant figures within Andalusian culture. This may refer to any discipline, including music, literature, architecture, painting, cinema or theatre. For example: references to Lorca, Camarón de la Isla or other prominent figures; research activities on cultural creators; the preparation of biographies or exhibitions. Not coded, for example: references to Blas Infante linked to his role in the construction of Andalusian autonomy (these fall under collective history). The mere mention of an Andalusian creator (cultural figure), even if not the central focus of the activity, is coded. This applies when the figure is mentioned as part of or as an illustration of another topic.

## 1.9. Andalusian architectural heritage

This code captures interviewees' references to any type of activity related to Andalusian architectural heritage, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These may be formal or informal activities. In general, they should highlight the richness, diversity and distinctiveness of Andalusian architecture in

comparison with the rest of Spain. The focus may be on buildings or monuments themselves, architectural styles and/or Andalusian creators. For example: learning about iconic buildings or monuments in Andalusia or its provinces, the “Andalusian architectural style”, white villages, guided tours, etc. Not coded, for example: activities related to Andalusia’s natural heritage.

### 1.10. Andalusian language and speech

This code captures interviewees’ references to any type of activity related to the language or speech patterns of Andalusia, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These may be formal or informal activities. In general, this includes references to features that characterise Andalusian speech, describing Andalusian as a dialect (or not), identifying variants of the dialect, or commenting on what constitutes correct or incorrect speech. For example: stating that Andalusian speech is not incorrect Spanish but a dialect with its own distinctive features, which may be addressed in educational activities. Not coded, for example: references to other languages not connected with Andalusian speech.

### 1.11. Andalusian anthem

This code captures interviewees’ references to any type of activity related to the anthem of Andalusia, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. In general, this includes activities involving the Andalusian anthem, whether theoretical or practical. For example: listening to the anthem at school, playing or singing it, learning to perform it, explaining its meaning, etc. Not coded, for example: activities related to the Spanish national anthem.

### 1.12. Andalusian popular traditions and customs

This code captures interviewees’ references to any type of activity related to the knowledge or recovery of Andalusian popular traditions and customs, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. In general, they refer to Andalusian traditions and customs across various domains. This category is not used for coding directly; instead, the relevant subcodes for specific traditions are applied. For example: learning about traditional games, historical trades, visiting ethnographic museums, etc. Not coded, for example: mentions of historical events.

Andalusian popular traditions and customs: Craft-based

This subcode captures interviewees’ references to any type of activity related to Andalusian craft traditions, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. In general, it includes all activities organised by or involving the school (on or off the premises). In addition to focusing on a craft-based activity, the Andalusian dimension of the tradition must be explicitly mentioned (e.g. unique to Andalusia

or practised with specifically Andalusian features). For example: making objects with local materials or learning Andalusian ceramic techniques. Not coded, for example: making wicker baskets.

#### Andalusian popular traditions and customs: Gastronomic

This subcode captures interviewees' references to any type of activity related to Andalusian gastronomic traditions, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. This code is compatible with "Andalusian cuisine". In general, it covers all school-organised or school-involved activities (on or off the premises) focused on learning about or recovering elements of typical Andalusian cuisine. For example: preparing traditional recipes, attending workshops on Andalusian gastronomy, etc.

#### Andalusian popular traditions and customs: Religious

This subcode captures interviewees' references to any type of activity related to Andalusian religious traditions, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. In general, it includes all activities organised by or involving the school (on or off the premises). The activity must have a religious component and refer explicitly to the Andalusian dimension of the tradition (e.g. being unique to Andalusia or expressed in a culturally specific way). For example: learning about traditional pilgrimages such as El Rocío, or the celebration and features of Andalusian Holy Week, including traditional foods specific to the occasion.

#### Andalusian popular traditions and customs: Social

This subcode captures interviewees' references to any type of activity related to Andalusian social traditions, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. In general, it includes all activities organised by or involving the school (on or off the premises). In addition to being centred on a social practice, the activity must refer to its specifically Andalusian nature (e.g. being unique to Andalusia or practised in a distinctive way). For example: having a siesta, sitting outside in the evening, visiting the sick or new mothers with food. Not coded, for example: a pilgrimage, a football match.

### 1.13. Flamenco culture and art

This code captures interviewees' references to activities involving flamenco, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. It includes both theoretical activities (focused on the study of flamenco) and practical ones (involving performance, learning dances or songs, attending performances, exhibitions, etc.). The code applies to both general references to flamenco and specific references to its history, cultural creators, notable figures, customs, ways of life, etc. For example: gaining knowledge of flamenco, celebrating Flamenco Day, practical activities related to flamenco, the role of the Roma ethnic group in flamenco, etc. Not coded, for example: references to musical genres other than flamenco.

### 1.14. Andalusian political geography

This category codes references made by interviewees to any activity related to the political geography of Andalusia, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. The definition of Andalusia as an administrative and territorial unit – including its borders and institutions – constitutes one of the clearest expressions of the school's nation-building function. In general, this includes all activities organised by or involving the school that focus on fostering knowledge of Andalusia as an administrative and territorial entity. References to Andalusia as a region or autonomous community should be tagged under this code. For example: any activity in which students are introduced to the idea of Andalusia as an autonomous territorial unit. Not coded, for example: references to Andalusia's historical past or to its natural resources, which are instead coded as natural heritage.

### 1.15. Other Andalusian musical traditions

This category codes activities focused on Andalusian music other than flamenco, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. In general, the activities should involve theoretical learning or practical engagement with the musical traditions of Andalusia and its constituent provinces. It is important to distinguish music as the central focus from instances where music serves merely as a medium to transmit another type of content (for example, the anthem). In such cases, the code should reflect the main subject rather than this category. For example: theoretical or practical activities on Carnival music, Christmas carols, rap battles or classical music when explicitly linked to the development of Andalusian identity – whether through use by Andalusians or association with Andalusian festivities. If the music is linked to cultural creators, both relevant codes should be applied. Not coded, for example: activities related to flamenco.

### 1.16. Andalusian natural heritage

This code captures interviewees' references to activities related to Andalusia's natural heritage, including both curricular and extracurricular activities. These activities may be formal or informal. In general, they should highlight the richness, diversity and distinctiveness of Andalusian nature in comparison with the rest of Spain. Focus may be placed on natural parks, biodiversity or the variety of landscapes (coastline, beaches, mountains, inland areas). For example: learning about Andalusia's protected natural areas or climate, visits to natural settings, etc. Not coded, for example: references related to Andalusian architectural heritage.

## 2. Opinion on the academic curriculum

This section refers to the information available concerning activities organised in relation to the academic curriculum. It addresses whether these activities are included in the official educational curriculum or not. The content reflects statements made by the interviewees. As such, it does not constitute an exhaustive compilation and, in some cases, respondents may be unable to offer a clear answer or may provide inaccurate information. Verification using external sources may therefore be required at a later stage.

### 2.1. Greater inclusion in the academic curriculum

This code captures interviewees' references to the lack of content, activities or celebrations related to Andalusian culture and identity. In general, it includes complaints, suggestions or observations concerning the absence or limited presence of material related to Andalusia within the academic curriculum. It also includes references to any activity described as having a connection – whether direct or indirect, strong or weak – to the official curriculum. These may be formal or informal activities. This code is particularly relevant when activities are described as being carried out despite not being part of the official curriculum. For example: extracurricular activities such as excursions, sports days, etc.

### 2.2. Inclusion in the academic curriculum

It also includes references to any activity described as having a connection – whether direct or indirect, strong or weak – to the official curriculum. These may be formal or informal activities. In general, this includes all activities reported to be undertaken as part of the academic curriculum. For example: when the activity is justified in its curricular position. Any planning undertaken by the teaching staff or department is always considered to be curriculum-related and should be coded accordingly. For example: a statement such as “flamenco is included throughout the programme” should be coded under this category.

### 3. Activity format. Space and medium

This section refers to the format in which activities are organised. It considers both the physical space where activities take place (ranging from within the classroom to off-site excursions or home-based tasks) and the medium through which, or with which, the activity is carried out.

#### 3.1. Space: inside the classroom

This code applies to references made by interviewees to any activity conducted within the classroom or elsewhere on school premises. These may be curricular or extracurricular, formal or informal. In general, this includes all activities that take place in the classroom setting. For example: lesson content, illustrative examples, anecdotes, etc.

#### 3.2. Space: outside the classroom (within the school)

This code applies to references made by interviewees to any activity conducted within the classroom or elsewhere on school premises. These may be curricular or extracurricular, formal or informal. In general, it includes activities organised within the school but outside the classroom, such as flag-raising ceremonies, listening to the anthem, exhibitions, etc.

#### 3.3. Space: outside the classroom (off-site visit or excursion)

This code applies to references made by interviewees to any activity conducted within the classroom or elsewhere on school premises. These may be curricular or extracurricular, formal or informal. In general, it includes activities organised outside the school, such as excursions, guided visits, etc.

#### 3.4. Space: outside the classroom (at home)

This code applies to references made by interviewees to any activity conducted within the classroom or elsewhere on school premises. These may be curricular or extracurricular, formal or informal. It includes all home-based activities, such as homework, independent study of specific topics, etc.

#### 3.5. Space: undefined

This code is used for references or comments not associated with a specific location. It may apply to personal opinions expressed by the interviewee or general remarks not tied to a particular setting or timeframe. It also includes experiences in other schools where the interviewee may have worked in the past. This category functions as a catch-all for spatially unclassifiable instances.

### 3.6. Medium: textbook content

This code applies to references to any activity explicitly based on or linked to textbook content, as indicated by the interviewee. It applies exclusively to formal curricular activities. For example: textbook exercises, discussion topics, images or audiovisual materials included in textbooks, etc.

### 3.7. Medium: external visit to the school

This code applies to references to any activity involving a visit to the school by an external person or group, as explicitly mentioned by the interviewee. These may be curricular or extracurricular, formal or informal. For example: visits by cultural or political figures, workshops run by the police, etc.

### 3.8. Medium: hands-on task

This code applies to references to any activity involving manual or practical work by students, as explicitly mentioned by the interviewee. These may be curricular or extracurricular, formal or informal. For example: singing, building models, writing essays, etc.

### 3.9. Medium: oral explanation by the teacher

This code applies to references to any activity explicitly based on oral explanations by the teacher, as explicitly mentioned by the interviewee. These may be curricular or extracurricular, formal or informal. For example: spoken anecdotes, illustrative explanations provided in class, etc.

## 4. Organiser and promoter of the activity

This section compiles information on the individuals or entities acting as organisers and promoters of the various activities with potential nation-building content. The promoter is the person or body from whom the initiative originates and/or who finances the activity (wholly or partially, where funding is required). The organiser is the person or group responsible for implementing the activity operationally. A single activity may involve more than one organiser and/or promoter.

### 4.1. Organiser: teaching staff (individual or collective)

This code applies to interviewee references to any activity organised by teaching staff. It includes both curricular and extracurricular activities, whether formal or informal. For example: plays, concerts, performances, lectures, discussion panels, internal competitions, sporting events, etc.

#### 4.2. Organiser: school (management or position of responsibility)

This code applies to references to any activity organised by the school, either through its management or by staff in positions of responsibility. It applies to curricular and extracurricular activities, all of which are formal in nature. For example: exhibitions, ceremonies, lectures, commemorative events, etc.

#### 4.3. Organiser: other institution external to the school

This code applies to references to any activity organised by an institution external to the school. It applies to curricular and extracurricular activities, all of which are formal in nature. For example: activities to which schools are invited to participate voluntarily, workshops, visits to the school by external facilitators or representatives, etc.

#### 4.4. Organiser: Parents' Association (AMPA)

This code applies to references to any activity organised by the Parents' Association (AMPA). It is limited to extracurricular activities, which may be formal or informal. For example: the organisation of social gatherings or end-of-year celebrations.

#### 4.5. Promoter: school (management or position of responsibility)

This code applies to references to any activity promoted by the school, either through its management or by staff in positions of responsibility. It includes formal curricular and extracurricular activities. For example: exhibitions, ceremonies, commemorative events, etc.

#### 4.6. Promoter: other institution external to the school

This code applies to references to any activity promoted by an institution external to the school. It includes formal curricular and extracurricular activities. For example: school competitions, workshops promoting specific values or healthy habits, etc.

#### 4.7. Promoter: Parents' Association (AMPA)

This code applies to references to any activity promoted by the Parents' Association (AMPA). It is limited to extracurricular activities, which may be formal or informal. For example: support for social gatherings, school trips, etc.

#### 4.8. Promoter: teaching staff (individual or collective)

This code applies to references to any activity promoted by teaching staff. It includes both curricular and extracurricular activities, whether formal or informal. For example: plays, concerts, performances, internal competitions, sporting events, etc.