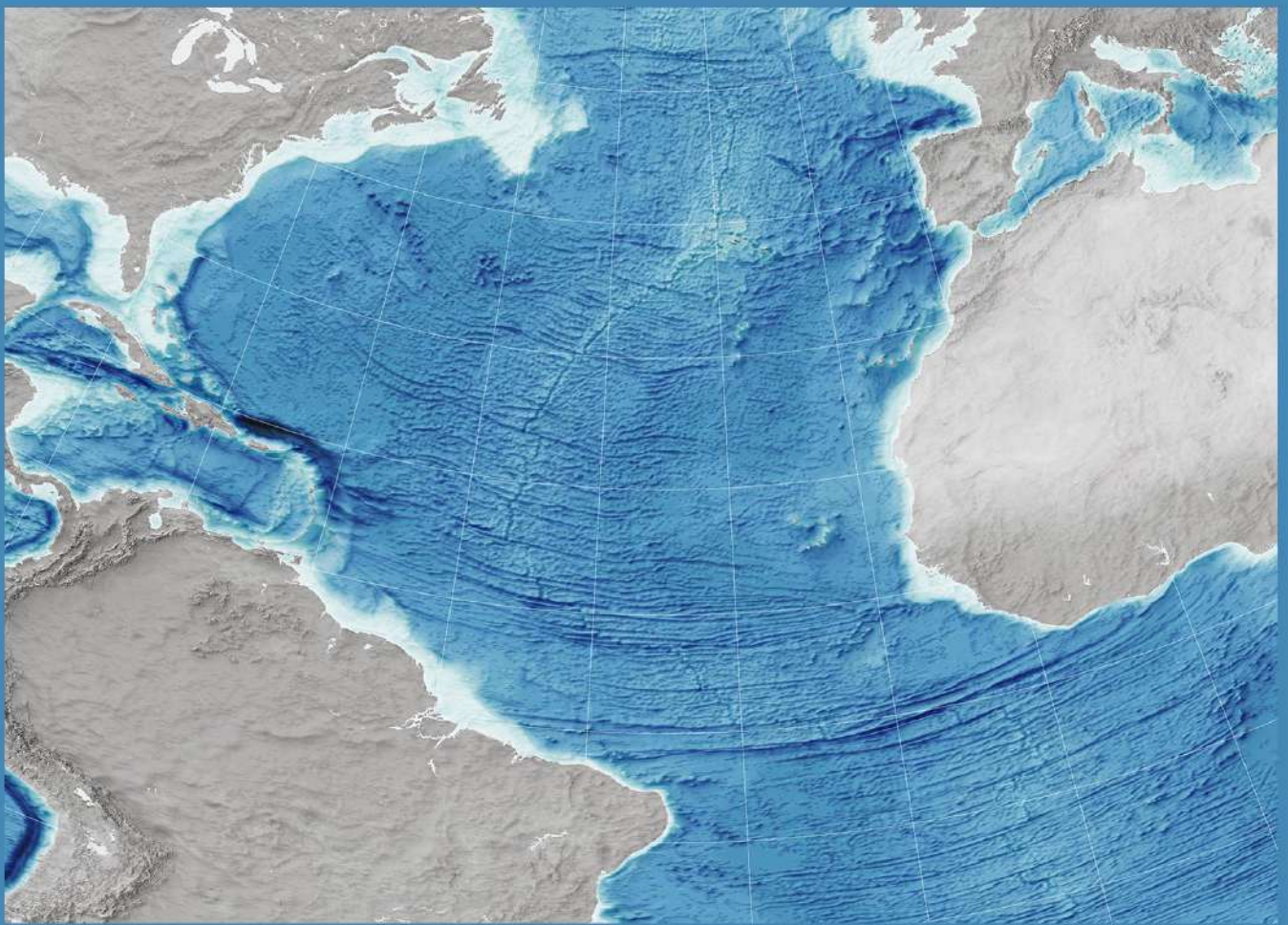# PENINSULAR IDENTITIES, TRANSATLANTIC CROSSINGS AND IBERIAN NETWORKS

Edited by

Mark Gant, Siân Edwards
and Susana Rocha Relvas

Peninsular Identities, Transatlantic Crossings and Iberian Networks

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Section Three: Iberian Cinema: Challenges & Perspectives

Section Four: Memory & Social Intervention in Iberian Literature

Section Five: Old and New Patterns of Imperialism, Transatlantic Crossings & Literary Influences

Section Six: National & Regional Political & Economic Development

INTRODUCTION

SUSANA ROCHA RELVAS, MARK GANT AND SIÂN EDWARDS

With the publication of this sixth volume the Association for Contemporary Iberian Studies seeks to promote research in the field of Iberian studies, originating from selected papers presented at the 43rd ACIS conference held in Palma de Mallorca in September 2022. They focus on the complexity and uniqueness of the Peninsula, more specifically on the identities, transnational exchanges, transatlantic crossings, and cultural and intellectual networks. The contributors are globally located, including Portugal, Spain, Germany, Brazil, Japan, India, Mexico, and the UK.

We continue to remain committed to exploring the diversity of the Iberian cultures by choosing conference venues in overlooked locations which are culturally important, but often underexplored academically. This was the case of Palma de Mallorca, allowing us to discover its history, its cultural background and literary effervescence up to the present day. In this sense, and as expected, Catalan studies had a special presence in the conference, and a selection of chapters in this area are gathered in this volume, with a specific focus on literature produced in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War, during the dictatorship and the transition period to Democracy alongside discussion of historical events from the same period.

Furthermore, cultural, and literary representations among the full range of Iberian nationalities are also represented, with particular emphasis not only on the above-mentioned Catalan identities, but also on Portuguese-Galician and Basque cultures, considering the relational and multicultural realities beyond the traditional approach grounded on the two official Peninsular nationalities, which prevailed in academia until very recently.

Comprising a total of fifteen chapters, this collection showcases an extensive range of research fields such as cinema studies, political, economic, and social sciences, as well as literary and cultural studies providing a comprehensive perspective of this emerging area of expertise. A considerable number of chapters are devoted to Memory, reflecting the impact of the historical memory law in Spain and the lively discussion in

the public square around this topic. Alongside this the pressing and perennial themes of Spanish Civil War, dictatorships, and exile; social mobilization and economic dynamics also play an important role in this volume.

In addition, transatlantic contacts between Iberia and the Portuguese and Spanish-speaking countries are covered, revealing not only cultural and literary reception and influences but also old and new forms of imperialism, in colonial and postcolonial periods.

Contributions entail new theoretical and methodological approaches applied to Iberian Studies, namely those under the core academic research fields such as Area Studies, focusing on geo-political, socio-economic and historical areas, in a transnational perspective. This has stimulated the study of Peninsular geo-cultural diversity and connections with outer territories frequently referred using the contested term Global South.

Moreover, the contribution of Cultural Studies and Comparative literature or World literature, is also worth mentioning, and has helped reshape the discipline of Iberian Studies in terms of epistemological, theoretical, and methodological domains. Ultimately, this reflects the multi-interdisciplinary stance of the Association which supports new paradigms of this emerging and consistently productive academic field.

The book is divided into six sections. The first is devoted to Catalan voices during the Francoist dictatorship, providing cutting-edge research on gender, regional and social conflicts, and exile. Section Two relies upon transnational contacts, focusing on cultural and literary representations. Section Three is comprised of chapters dedicated to Cinema studies, related not only to the challenges of adaptation, but also the historical events portrayed on the big screen. Section Four centres its attention on memory and social intervention in Iberian literature. In Section Five the relationships between Iberia, South America and Africa are highlighted with a transatlantic perspective, and past and present forms of imperialism are also the object of thorough attention. Finally, Section Six focuses on political and economic development on a national and regional scale.

The authors framed in Section One deal with the recuperation of historical memory, bringing to light new data about the facts and characters involved on both sides of the Spanish Civil War. This is a valuable and necessary effort with a view to a more accurate and complete interpretation of the tragic events that marked Spain in the 20th Century: the Civil War and subsequent dictatorship. This section also sheds some light on labour exploitation and social discrimination on a Peninsular scale and how literary production can be a means of social and political compromise.

Therefore, in Chapter One, Durba Banejee focuses on Catalan female memorial literature, establishing a comparison between the novels of Mercés Rodoreda and Teresa Pàmies, where the themes of repatriation and return are portrayed. She states that, although exile is framed in Spanish Cultural studies, it is not so present in the case of trauma studies and migration studies. The topic of women writers in exile has witnessed a revival in the second half of the 20th Century, providing a distinctive identity to Catalonia's culture of exile, especially from the transition period onwards. The author concludes by highlighting that the writing exercise was vital for these women writers, both as personal empowerment and as a testament to survival.

In Chapter Two, Margaret Woods de Vivero analyses the ambiguous role of Bishop Josep Miralles during the Civil War. This controversial figure claimed the use of Mallorcan and Catalan languages in literature, daily life, and even religious activities. During Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, Miralles's stance provoked conflict with civil authorities, understanding that his actions threatened Spanish unity. During the Second Republic, Miralles sought to protect the church away from political quarrels due to constant attacks on churches and clergymen. However, with the dawn of the Civil War, and the consequent intensification of attacks on the clergy, he became a moderate supporter of the Nationalist wing and a concerned voice on Nazism. Nevertheless, until today, many doubts remain about his dubious attitude towards repression perpetrated by the Falagists, and whether his efforts to save Fr. Jeroni Alomar from death were sufficient.

In the following chapter, Gemma Nadal presents a comparative study of the novels *Terres de l'Ebre* by Juan Arbó and *Gaibéus* by António Alves Redol, establishing a bridge between the two sides of the Iberian Peninsula at the time marked by social struggle. Beyond the similarity of thematic options, both authors shared a sympathetic and empathetic outlook regarding the most disadvantaged and oppressed social fringe. The main difference relies, though, on the fact that on the Spanish side fatalism and hopelessness prevailed, whereas in the Portuguese case social and political commitment was evident. The author stresses the literary value of both works, produced under the same ideological framework. Their multiple readings from the ethnological, philosophical and symbolic perspectives make these works worth reading.

Section Two relies upon transnational cultural and literary representations, focusing on the image and reception of the *other* between Portugal and Spain. Therefore, in Chapter Four, Carlos Pazos-Justo focuses on the Portuguese perspective on Spain and the Spaniards. Despite historical and geographical links between the two countries and past conflicts, distrust and

annexationist fears, intra-Iberian contacts benefited from a considerable change upon the common entry into the European Community (1986), mainly at economic and educational levels. Seeking multidisciplinary theoretical support from marketing, tourism, diplomacy and comparative literature, the author explores the concepts of *imageme* (ideas/beliefs) deepening this study in the understanding of discursive constructs of the *other* and the *self*-image developed over centuries, to conclude in favour of a neo-romantic imagotype prevailing in the present Portuguese imaginary, based on positive images and a sense of relational superiority.

Chapter Five focuses on the analysis, led by Diego Rivadulla Costa, of two plays *Nome: Bonita* by Vanesa Sotelo and *Mar Revolto* by Roberto Vidal Bolaño, in which a dialogue between Portugal and Galicia is established within the scope of Iberian cultural memory. The author stresses the importance of theatre as a performative art form with multiple didactic potentialities, highlighting its ethical compromise and raising awareness towards collective memory, especially related to the Spanish Civil War and dictatorships. Although these two plays are bounded by shared imaginaries, in *Nome: Bonita* the playwright pays tribute to feminist identity and creates a universal archetype of women fighters on a Lusophone scale, whereas in *Mar Revolto*, based on the "Dulcinea operation", a coup attempt on the Santa Maria cruise liner, perpetrated by Portuguese and Galician soldiers, aiming to establish Democracy in Portugal and achieve an Iberian federal union.

Section Three, which is entitled Iberian Cinema: Challenges and Perspectives, addresses not only the theoretical concepts and practical constraints of adapting a classic novel to the screen, but also the increasing interest given to memory, allowing the recovery of lesser-known episodes of history, now accessible to the general public through TV series and the Seventh Art. Filomena Antunes Sobral's chapter focuses on the analysis of the Portuguese fiction series *Our Consul in Havana* (2019), which takes place in the late 19th Century. This tells the story of Eça de Queirós, one of the most prominent Portuguese writers, launching his diplomatic career in Habana, Cuba, assigned the mission of solving the case of Chinese emigrants, who entered Cuba through Macau and ended up treated as slaves. Within the scope of historical fictional narrative, the author reflects on the methodological and thematic aspects that shape fiction, history and memory, carrying out an interdisciplinary approach to discourse analysis.

In Chapter Seven Luís Cardoso verses the challenges of transposing a classic novel to film, focusing on a possible typology guided by its diachronic representativeness and evolution, and the use of narratology as an instrumental vector. Considering different forms of adaptation and

criteria, proposed by prominent academics such as Wagner, Garcia, or Noriega, based on transposition, commentary and analogy, the author concludes that these theoretical approaches are all aligned in the respect of the semiotic, aesthetic and ideological independence of both cinema and literary works, which makes the mission of creating a unique adaptation typology impossible.

Section Four comprises three chapters dedicated to memory and social intervention in Iberian literature. In Maria de Lourdes Pereira's chapter, the theme of dehumanization in the literary works of the Portuguese writer Valter Hugo Mãe is analysed, taking into account the role of language as a path to humanism and citizenship. Combining literature and philosophy, prose and poetry, portrayed and followed by his own drawings, the writer's works have been translated profusely and extensively, with a prominent projection in the Lusophone space. His activity as a writer has spanned more than twenty-five years of consistent literary production, conveying an innovative style and a profound ethical and aesthetic conscience. Besides these traits, which stimulate the reader's critical judgement and an urge to active citizenship, Hugo Mãe appends to his narrative an ontological dimension, at local and universal levels, especially in *A desumanização*, as analysed by Maria de Lourdes.

In the following chapter, Andrea Sanz debuts a theoretical framework on memory, establishing the difference between political/historical/ collective memory, which comprises forgetting in the interests of a national consensus, and individual memory, which are both in constant tension. Additionally, the author focuses on how memory and oblivion are two interconnected forces represented in *The Lone Man* [*El hombre solo*] by Bernardo Atxaga. In this novel the identity crisis experienced by Carlos, the main character, resides in his need to forget the past, related to ETA, his incapability of doing so, and the inadaptability to a new life after Amnesty, compromising his future, condemning him to solitude and the annulment of his humanity.

In Chapter Ten, Florian Grafl starts by calling the reader's attention to the fact that the historical period encompassing the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist regime, still provokes lively discussion in the public square resulting in fractured positions in Spanish society today. Grounded in a recent investigation, which analyses measures taken by several authoritarian regimes regarding the prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, the author then focuses on gender discrimination during Francoist dictatorship. He concludes that, within the scope of a traditional society, ruled by rigid Catholic and patriarchal norms, especially those regarding women's attitudes, extremely repressive measures, both highly questionable and

inhuman, were undertaken with those who deviated from the *status quo* ideology.

Section Five comprises two chapters devoted to old and new ways of Imperialism in the case of Spain towards Morocco, and transatlantic crossings entailing Spanish literary references and influences in South America. Therefore, in Chapter Eleven, Manuel López Forjas explores Spain's attempts to regain imperial role since the 19th Century until the present day. At the start of the period, the Spanish Africanist campaign was jeopardized by British interests, which counted on the Spanish leaders' acceptance. Then, during Primo de Rivera and Franco's dictatorship imperialist propaganda witnessed an upsurge, with the establishment of several projects which engaged intellectuals such as Joaquín Costa, Fernando de los Ríos or Federico Garcia Lorca. Nevertheless, the African dream was frustrated due to Spain's decay, leading to economic weakness and the impoverishment of the Spanish people. Today, political, and economic elites have revived their imperialist dream in Africa, working alongside the Moroccan government.

In Chapter Twelve, Maria Stella Galvão Santos analysis how referential, mythical, and fantastic discourses are gathered in *Cien años de Soledad,* by Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez. The author states that myth is present in Latin-America since pre-Hispanic times, and intensified during colonization period, where violence prevailed. Literary production in South America is, therefore, the result of the combination of the ancient and modern worlds. In the case of García Márquez, in association to this invaluable cultural background is the influence of Spanish literature. The pioneer of Magical Realism recognizes his narrative affiliation to the literary Spanish Golden Age, namely, the timeless works Don Quixote, Amadis or Lazarillo de Tormes.

Finally, Section Six is dedicated to national and regional political and economic development in different areas of Iberia, comprising of three chapters. The first, authored by Carla Sequeira, focuses on the elites and political organization in the Upper Douro wine region (1910-1940), examining regional political evolution and the objectives of the emerging elite in the two periods represented by the implantation period of the Republic and the subsequent institutionalisation of the military dictatorship from 1926. Among her conclusions, she notes that, over the first phase, the Douro region witnessed the emergence of a political elite focussed above all on the winegrowing interests of the area, drawn together by defence of their common interest in the latter industry and that this was to continue through the Dictatorship and *Estado Novo*, despite divisions between those

favouring the regime and those opposed to it, to the exclusion of the lower classes of society.

In the following chapter, Makiko Narita centres her attention on the economic development in the Basque Country, and particularly on the determinants of firm location. She explores the Basque experience of successful shift from heavy industry to an innovative high-tech economy as an example for other countries and regions, considering the characteristics of the Basque economy, its industrial context, the role of foreign direct investment (FDI and the factors which have attracted it. She concludes that, while the overall level of FDI is not particularly high, prominent companies have invested and there are clusters of high-tech manufacturing in particular and she provides some useful indications of areas on which future research might focus.

Lastly, Nick Sharman analyses Spain's economic modernisation, focusing on the autarkic political model and its constraints in the seven decades between the loss of Spain's last colonies in 1898 and the end of Francisco Franco's regime. He gives detailed consideration to the subsequent debate over how to modernise the country's economy, exploring the solutions attempted by liberal and conservative protections in turn, followed by the radical autarkists of the Franco dictatorship, all of whom rejected free-market ideology in favour of varying interventions. His view is that it was not protectionism which drew Spain into fascism, since for both liberal industrialists and the authoritarian conservative right, this was seen as a temporary measure to prepare the country for the pressures of full entry into international trading and commercial systems, contending that it is vital to consider instead the structural political weaknesses that prevented greater participation of the wider working population beyond the bourgeois elite in policy making and engagement with wholesale reform.

In conclusion, this wide-ranging and eclectic volume once more makes a valuable contribution to the important field of Iberia Studies in a variety of sub-disciplines. Its scope in covering lesser spoken languages and culture areas, postcolonial and transatlantic relations and influences is testament to the currency of the work of the global network of scholars comprising the Association for Contemporary Iberian Studies.

Two chapters were translated into English by members of the editorial team: Chapter Nine by Mark Gant and Chapter Twelve by Susana Rocha Relves.

The editors would like to thank all the participating authors for their engaging and thought-provoking contributions. We are also most grateful to the editorial team of Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their technical support and for agreeing to the inclusion of chapters in Galician and Catalan.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE IMAGE OF SPAIN
IN CONTEMPORARY PORTUGAL:
HYPOTHESES FOR ITS DELIMITATION

CARLOS PAZOS-JUSTO

Introduction

> Se acaso se fizesse um inquérito sobre o que pensam uns e outros
> [portugueses e espanhóis e vice versa] de alguns países estrangeiros como o
> Canadá, a África do Sul, a China ou a Austrália […], a maioria dos
> portugueses e dos espanhóis responderia apenas com algumas frases de
> conveniência […] Mas se o mesmo inquérito perguntasse como olham os
> portugueses para a Espanha ou os espanhóis para Portugal, poucos seriam
> os que nada teriam a dizer e as barreiras entre os especialistas e o público
> em geral tenderiam a esbater-se (Sardica 2013, 7)

Despite the different and often vague perspective of the Spanish State
regarding Portugal, the quote by this Portuguese historian illustrates in an
appropriate manner, we think, the Portuguese perspective on the *other*
Iberian country: which is part of a broader discursive construct, filled with
numerous elements that are easily accessible to the Portuguese community.
Indirectly, the results of *Barómetro Imagen de España* [Barometer]—
Resultados de 2021 seem to confirm it: those respondents who declared not
to know anything about Spain were excluded from the sample; from
Portugal, only 2 respondents (from a total of 400) declared not to know
about the *other* Iberian country, (from the Italian sample, 29 respondents
were excluded and, with the highest number, 196 [also from a total of 400]
from the USA). As highlighted by philosopher Eduardo Lourenço (1995,
7), when comparing mutual interest, "a Espanha, quer nós queiramos quer
não, existe mais para nós (apesar da famosa imagem de países de costas
voltadas um para o outro)".

This work is carried out in the field of cultural studies, in particular, in the analysis of the Iberian relational framework, in its cultural dimension, which, in our view, can also include its imagological dimension. From these premises, based on secondary bibliography and cross-referencing data, which we were able to access[1], it is our aim to approach the image of Spain and the Spaniards in contemporary Portugal with the specific objective of proposing hypotheses for its delimitation and subsequent analysis.

The image of Spain and the Spaniards, as we will present below, cannot be analysed without considering the different types of relations established over the time between both peninsular states.

From the famous Battle of Aljubarrota (1385) (in Portugal) and the period known as "dual monarchy" (*cf.* Vázquez 1986) to the emergence of various (anti)Iberisms during the second half of the 19th century (Chato 2018; Pereira 2018; Santos & Sousa 2018; Rina 2020), and later in contemporary history, Spanish-Portuguese relations can be understood through the lens of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), i.e., *tordesillasmente*, as two state communities that have built different and at times, divergent trajectories, marked by a structural asymmetry.[2]

However, there are many moments, in the contemporary period in particular, when projects of understanding largely increased, especially those containing cultural material (Sáez & Pérez 2018), often promoted in line with a certain Iberism (*cf.* Rocamora 1994). The framework quickly outlined here must be complemented by the cultural and political relations that were established between Portuguese and Catalan groups (Martínez-Gil 2010 and 2010a; Revelles 2022), or Galician groups (Villares 1983; Núñez 1993; Torres 1999; Pageaux 2010). Annexationist purposes must also be considered, which frequently brought turmoil to the Spanish external policy regarding Portugal, in particular during the reign of Alfonso XIII, (Torre Gómez 2002; Sardica 2013), or, with less relevance, the dispute regarding the status of Olivença/Olivenza (*cf.* Píriz 2022).

Nevertheless, since the mid-1980s, the intra-Iberian contact experienced a major change in numerous directions and with great implications, when

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[1] The following pages are also a result of our experience of over 20 years teaching in Portugal. Every year, we aim to systematically perform an exercise in our Spanish culture classes by surveying students on their vision of Spain and the Spaniards.

[2] "Como pulsões antagónicas e multifacetadas da reserva hispanófoba e das diferentes cambiantes e possibilidades da aproximação política, económica ou cultural, o nacionalismo, o iberismo e o hispanismo deixaram um largo lastro na história peninsular. No fundo, a *assimetria* que carateriza a dualidade ibérica foi sempre o principal condicionamento da relação luso-espanhola" (Sardica 2013, 31; emphasis added).

the states formalised their entry, at the time, to the European Economic Community in 1986: "Desde la adhesión a la Comunidad Europea y desde la creación del Mercado Único (1993) se han establecido distintas formas de colaboración y de cooperación que han multiplicado los contactos públicos y privados" (Cabero 2004, 43). From an economic perspective, the existence of a process that is increasingly interdependent seems evident; therefore, in 2020, for example, Portuguese exports had the Spanish market as their main destination, which was also the origin of the largest import share (INE/INE 2021, 58; *cf*. Lois, Escudero & Gusman 2019, 171).[3]

Simultaneously, and according to the current policies within the European Union, there is an ongoing process temporarily called *Euro-Iberization* [*Euroiberización*] (Pazos-Justo 2023): with an extra-Iberian stance giving a new meaning to the intra-Iberian contact based on the elimination of borders (Lois, Escudero & Gusman 2019), polycentrism and the growing spotlight of regional actors (take, for example, the 7 Spanish-Portuguese Euro cities). On the other hand, since 1985, the so-called Iberian Summits (or the Iberian-American Summits of Heads of State and Government, starting in 1991), in a way, portray the increasing political relations between the two states.

In general, the undeniable economic and political rapprochement brought a less intense proximity to the cultural domain (*cf*. Badillo 2017[4]). With the opening of Instituto Cervantes de Lisboa (1993), the Portuguese and Spanish connection was mainly materialised, following on from the Instituto Giner de los Ríos, an education centre founded in Lisbon, in 1932. It is worth mentioning that the Instituto Cervantes is one of the central soft power Spanish organisations (Noya 2003; Delgado 2014; *cf*. Valle 2007; Faber 2022) and carries out intense projection work of the Spanish culture in Portugal with a special focus on the Portuguese capital (Castañer 2020)[5].

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[3] For its part, in 2020, Portugal meant a major market for the Spanish economy, appearing in the 4th position as an export destination and in the 8th position when it comes to imports.

[4] According to A. Badillo (2017, 20-21): "podemos decir que la relación bilateral es, en el campo cultural, la mejor de la historia reciente. El hecho de que más de 1,5 millones de españoles visiten Portugal y 1,3 millones de portugueses visiten España cada año es una buena demostración de ello, incluso considerando que los datos oficiales del turismo no pueden computar la cotidiana circulación de ciudadanos que se produce a lo largo de la 'raya', ahora que las infraestructuras permiten que para las regiones fronterizas cruzar al otro país sea un viaje cómodo y breve".

[5] "Los dos países [España y Portugal] despertaron a la articulación contemporánea de sus instituciones de poder suave en los mismos años, y tienen en la cooperación, la diplomacia cultural y el idioma los pilares centrales de su proyección institucional. Y, sin embargo, sorprendentemente, los dos sistemas institucionales apenas han

Other initiatives equally contribute to promote the Spanish state and its culture, such as the biannual festival *Mostra Espanha* (7th edition in 2021), an initiative of the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sport, or the governmental platform SPAIN arts & culture, whose goal is to disseminate and promote cultural events and activities related to Spanish culture in Portugal (See www.spainculture.pt).[6]

Almost four decades after the entry of both states into the European Union, it does not seem wrong to say that the broad and fast implementation of Spanish as a foreign language in the Portuguese education system (and also, to a certain extent, in the higher education system) is one of the most noteworthy milestones of the new Iberian relational framework and, in particular, the current Spanish presence and visibility in Portugal. At the beginning of the 1990s, there were no recognisable traditions of Spanish teaching and learning or Spanish studies (Ponce de León 2009 and 2014; Valério 2001), nowadays, the number of students is close to 90,000 (*cf.* Santos & Serrano 2022). Another emerging contribution to the Spanish-Portuguese contact has been, since 2010, the Camino de Santiago.

Towards a theoretical framework: the nature of images

Although interest in the image, in general (whether of human communities, individuals, organisations, etc.), has a long history, its evolution as the subject of a multifaceted study has experienced a notable growth since the last decades of the 20th century. A great contributor to this was the development of disciplines, such as marketing (Ruão 2017) or, with greater interest here, the emergence of concepts like the nation brand, theorised by the anthropologist Simon Anholt, in the 1990s (commodified through the

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comenzado a trabajar juntos, tímidamente, en algunos proyectos. Salvo por la colaboración del Camões y el Instituto Cervantes o AECID en los numerosos clusters de la red de institutos culturales europeos EUNIC, no hay iniciativas de colaboración entre las instituciones, ni en diplomacia cultural ni en promoción del idioma" (Badillo & Carvalho 2022, 151).

[6] The cultural projection (and not only) of the Spanish state in Portugal must also consider the initiatives in terms of cultural paradiplomacy (Martín & Rius 2016), which are developed by territorial governments. In the case of the Xunta de Galicia [Regional Government of Galicia], for example, it should be taken into account the network of Centros de Estudos Galegos [Galician Study Centres] of the Portuguese universities (University of Minho, Nova de Lisboa and Algarve), and, in the case of the Junta de Extremadura [Regional Government of Extremadura], the work of Gabinete de Iniciativas Transfronterizas [Office of Cross-Border Initiatives], which depends on this Junta, should also be considered.

Anholt Nation Brand Index; *cf*. Faber 2022, 38). There are, however, many voices that place obstacles to this, given that they identify the development of nation brands with non-desirable consequences, aligned with practices that belong to market capitalism, such as:

> Mercantilizar una cultura reduce una sociedad a tópicos que alimentan una ficción y la idea de una nación homogénea y comprensible para el gran mercado global y sus clientes-consumidores. La Marca, aun siendo un vector esencial en la economía capitalista, no deja de ser una herramienta peligrosa que desnaturaliza la cultura para convertirla en un producto de consumo mientras se apropia de tradiciones y elementos sociales despojados ya de su complejidad epistemológica (Vélez 2018 113).

On the other hand, S. Faber (2022, 92 and 93) draws attention to what he identifies, in the Spanish case, as "la fijación neurótica en la propia imagen" or "la obsesión malsana con la imagen mundial del país".[7]

In other areas, such as comparative literature, studies of images have also emerged (Abiada 2004; Beller & Leerssen 2007; Simões 2011; or Fernández & Leal 2012). This way, the images that were studied received the interest of a great number of areas of knowledge that range from marketing, tourism (Lopes 2011), and cultural diplomacy to, as mentioned, comparative literature (*cf*. Abiada 2004; Lamo 2000). In brief, we could describe the scope of imagology as "a technical neologism and applies to research in the field of our mental images of the Other and of ourselves" (Beller & Leerssen 2007, xiii), whose fundamental purpose is to "understand a discourse of representation rather than a society" (Leerssen 2007, 27).

In discursive constructs of the *other* (hetero image) and the *self* (self-image), we create images as ideas or beliefs that the communities elaborate about other communities or about themselves (Beller 2007), which are naturally understood and used. These are cultural elements (Machado & Pageaux 2001), i.e., are registered in the cultural repertoire of the culture from which they are observed and imagined, and are registered, therefore,

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[7] It is not without a pinch of sarcasm that the author illustrates this "obsession" with the decision made by the president of the Spanish government when *The New York Times* published, in the midst of a crisis (in 2012), a cover portraying a person rummaging through a waste bin: "Rajoy ordenó al CNI investigar el tema" (Faber, 2022, 35). The Spanish government led by this president was the same that created the Alto Comisionado para la Marca España y la Promoción del Español [High Commissioner for the Spanish Brand and Spanish Promotion] (in 2012).

in the imagination of each community (*cf.* Pintos 2022)[8]. On the other hand, the images can perform roles, given "as the mental silhouette of the other, who appears to be determined by the characteristics of family, group, tribe, people or race. Such an image rules our opinion of others and controls our behaviour towards them" (Beller 2007, 4). The specific roles can be social, political, and propagandistic, among others. Additionally, they work as "profecías que se autocumplen" because they "[c]ontrolan y canalizan la percepción de modo que se ve lo que se espera ver" (Lamo 2000, 243).

As historical products with supposedly traceable origins, the images are the result of the contact between cultural communities; the nature of the significant imagological contact can be (i) human or sociodemographic (such as tourism or migrations), (ii) material and economic, or (iii) symbolic (such as linguistics) (Noya 2002, 16). The lack of contact, however, does not necessarily imply the lack of discursive constructs, given that the contact can be indirect, mediated by the imagination of another community.

According to J. Leerssen, an image can be plural and, simultaneously, contradictory:

> In practice, images are mobile and changeable as all discursive constructs are. […] over time, images may spawn their very opposite counter-images [...] In practice, these successive counter-images do not abolish each other but accumulate. As a result, in most cases, the image of a given nation will include a compound of layering different, contradictory counter-images, with (in any given textual expression) some aspects activated and dominant, but the remaining counterparts all latently, tacitly, subliminally present. As a result, most images of national character will boil down to a characteristic, or quasi-characterological, polarity: passion and arrogance in the Spaniards, refinement and immorality in the Italians [...] An imageme is the term used to describe an image in all its implicit, compounded polarities (Leerssen 2007a, 343-344).

We use the term imagotype (instead of stereotype, which may be more common, however, we think it is misleading) to identify each of the discursive constructs that comprise it, in this case, the Portuguese image regarding their peninsular neighbour. Therefore, each discourse would be an abstraction that collects a series of repertoire elements that are interlinked (imagosemas), and together they create a certain imagological discursive construct (See Figure 1). In general, the imagotypes show a high level of

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[8] "The imaginary is seen as the fictional production of reality [...] and as a generator of social image formation, which is in turn understood as a reality surplus that results from the oscillation between individual psychological constructs and their historical and social institutions" (Scherer 2007, 346).

continuity: they are highly resistant to changes and/or deactivation (Núñez 2002), within the imagination of the communities. These are generally constituted not as individual formulations, but as shared formulations among members within the same cultural community.

Fig. 4.1 Imagological repertoire: structural scheme of images
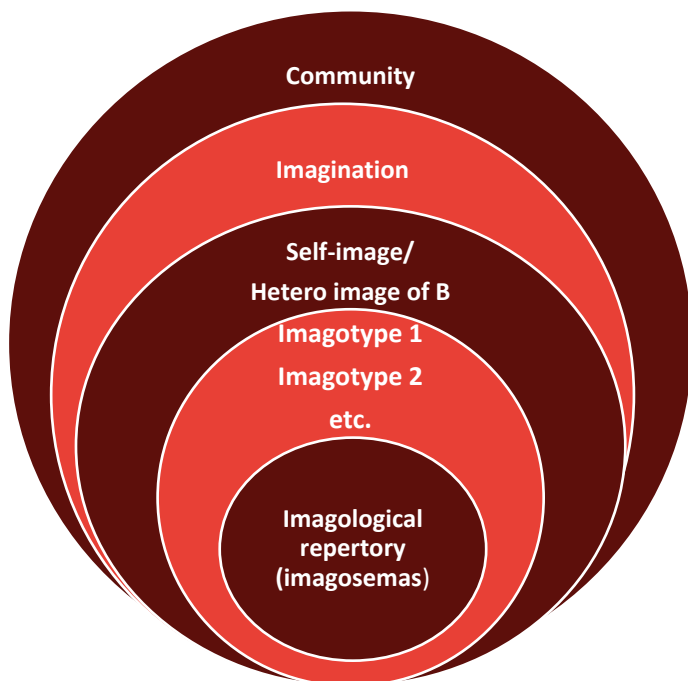
Source: prepared by the author

Understanding images as cultural elements of a community forces us to state that the images are not false; assigning falsehood to the images of a culture is the same as saying that certain cultural elements (values associated with religion or gastronomy, for example) are also, to a certain measure, false. Obviously, this does not mean that value should be taken from an imagological representation comprised of elements that are not real, modifiable, relevant, etc.

These are equally characterised by homogenising the *other*[9], for considering the *other* as a whole, frequently without considering (geo)cultural, ethnic diversity, etc. Within this scope, they are simplifying; they tend to generalise, as well as the linguistic economy principle, the images tend to become a way of conveying minimum information for maximum communication (*cf*. Pageaux 2004). This simplification often manifests itself in one symbolisation (Santomil 2011), a process by which one or more elements metonymically represent the community or country in question.

Therefore, these processes can be conditioned by what Lamo de Espinosa (1993) calls the *Welcome Mr. Marshall*! effect, in which the self-image is determined by beliefs from others, a particularly relevant phenomenon in processes that imply tourist activity (*cf*. Storm 2013).

Lastly, taking the concept of capital as a starting point, in particular, symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1997), we aim to (temporarily) understand the *imagological capital* (in this case) of a community, as the qualitative value assigned according to the analysis of the set of recognised properties[10]. The value can be determined on a scale that ranges from positive to negative poles. Simultaneously, aligned with the types of representation of the *other*, suggested by Álvaro M. Machado and Daniel-Henri Pageaux (2001)[11], the value can be marked by the relational idea of inferiority, superiority or equality.

Hypothesis

The Portuguese image regarding the geocultural space within the Spanish state is, it seems obvious, the result of long historical contact (Brandenberger 2005, 11) that dates back, at least, to the appearance of the foundations of

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[9] Paradoxically, this is one of the remarks that has been challenging the development of the country-brand Spain: "la marca-países refractaria a los principios de pluralidad y diversidad. Lejos de luchar contra los estereotipos, la marca parece reforzarlos […], ya que limita la diversidad de posibles discursos identitarios, favoreciendo una simplificación a menudo encaminada a satisfacer la mirada de un observador externo reducido a la categoría de mero consumidor o turista" (Martínez-Expósito 2015, 15).

[10] Although it is still under conceptual development, this suggestion can be understood as totally different from the concept *capital of brand* (*cf*. Ruão 2017, 28).

[11] The proposal of Machado and Pageaux (2001, 61-63), schematically suggests understanding three possibilities in intercultural relationships: (i) imagination of the foreign cultural reality as superior to the culture of origin; (ii) imagination of the foreign cultural reality as inferior or negative, giving rise to phobias and rejections; (iii) imagination of the foreign cultural reality as positive, without hierarchical relations (*filia*).

the geocultural spaces considered here. On the other hand, the Spanish image regarding Portugal is the same. However, in the contemporary period, there are some notable differences; in summary: everything seems to indicate that Portugal did not have a similar projection in the Spanish imaginary. The claim "Portugal existe" [Portugal exists] by the Portuguese journalist Nuno Ribeiro (Ribeiro 2007), at the time correspondent in Madrid, is a good indication of what we just stated[12]. This has not generated a clear and broad interest regarding the image of Spain in Portugal, despite the many works that were directly or indirectly dedicated to the issue (Sánchez 1997 or Fernández & Leal 2012, for example).

Nevertheless, over the last years, probably depending on the attraction of Portugal as a tourist destination, Portuguese visibility in the Spanish imaginary seems to have experienced an upsurge both quantitatively and qualitatively; "Portugal es sexy, está de moda" could be read in *El País* at the end of the last decade (Martín 2017).[13]

In the following pages, we present three hypotheses for the analysis of the current image of Spain and the Spaniards in Portugal. First, as a starting general hypothesis, we suggest that the Portuguese image of the *other* Iberian can be analysed from the previously mentioned concept of *imageme*. This way, and generally speaking, the Portuguese image regarding the Spanish person is plural; we suggest that it is comprised of two imagotypes with different trajectories and relevance in the current Portuguese imaginary. Therefore, as mentioned above, a broad set of attributes is included: ideas/beliefs about Spain and the Spaniards. In addition, the Portuguese image represents an increasingly homogenous Spain (*cf. below*), aligned with the Portuguese trend of imagining itself as a "espaço histórico cultural sem 'diferenças'" (Lourenço 1994, 82). In this sense, it is worth considering

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[12] According to Hipólito de la Torre Gómez (2002, 14; emphasis added): "La visión española de Portugal es la de una parte de la península segregada contra natura del conjunto peninsular que debería constituir el cuerpo territorial de una gran nación hispánica." The understandable resistance of the Portuguese nationalism to these centripetal intents generates an incompatible relation, which ranges from rivalry to indifference.

For a significant proposal of the systematisation of the Spanish image of Portugal based on literature, see Fernández 2019, 30 and seq.

[13] In addition to the probable interest of the Spanish newspaper in facilitating the governance of Portuguese socialists (since November 2015), this discourse is based on: the victory of the Portuguese football team in the UEFA European championship (summer 2016), victory in the Eurovision Song Contest (May 2017), the Pope's visit (May 2017) and the substantial improvement of the Portuguese economy during those years (with a leftist government).

that the Portuguese hetero images tend to portray the equation: *1 country=1 capital=1 culture =1 language=etc.*

The suggestions collected here are based on the premises that the image of Spain outside of the country can be analysed from the imagological structure suggested by J. Noya (See Table 1; *cf*. Lucena 2006).

Table 4.1 General archetype structure of the Spanish image outside of Spain.

Illustrated archetype	Romantic archetype
Decaying country	Non-developed country
Western, European	Oriental, exotic
Fundamentalist	Anarchist, individualist
Intolerant	Hyper tolerant
Indolent	Hyperactive
Manipulative, sly, cold	Warm, passionate
Greedy	Generous
Toledo, Escorial	Seville, Granada
Conqueror	Guerrilla
Catholic	Pagan
Masculine	Feminine
Negative vision…	Positive vision…
But they are the same, civilised	But they are different, not civilised

Source: Noya 2002, 62

Imagotype of the enemy

> Sou do tempo em que Portugal vivia de costas voltadas para Espanha—o nosso 'inimigo histórico'—e em que, na escola primária, se apontava para Aljubarrota como o símbolo máximo da nossa resistência a Castela (Soares 2005: 1).

Since the Middle Ages, with relevant moments in Portuguese historiography during the 19th century and up until now (known as the Restoration) what we call "imagotype" of the enemy has been gaining shape (See Figure 2). This is clearly registered in the cited words of the former Portuguese President of the Republic, Mário Soares. With an identity role, against the so-called *Spanish danger* (Torre Gómez 1985, for example), and useful to the Portuguese elites interested in the creation of the Portuguese state (later on, the nation) (Chato 2018), this discursive construct seems to have a certain semantic relation with the illustrated archetype, as previously

mentioned. In this way, we can identify attributes such as: *enemy*, *invader*, *braggart*, *arrogant*, *violent, disrespectful*, etc.[14]; attributes that, to a certain extent, are present in Portuguese sayings regarding Spain, which can be reduced to the overly used expression "*De Espanha nem bom vento, nem bom casamento*" [neither good winds nor good weddings come from Spain] (Saraiva 2002; Torre 2005; García 2014). We believe that the symbol of the imagotype of the enemy would be Aljubarrota or, in particular, the *baker of Aljubarrota* ("símbolo máximo da nossa resistência a Castela", as pointed out by M. Soares).

In a more contemporary Portugal, where the holiday on 1st December is celebrated (since 1861) as the date traditionally linked to the recovery of political independence, in 1640, from the Spanish Monarchy, the negative imagotype was particularly active in the years that followed the entry of both peninsular states into the EU, when the Portuguese suspicions emerged regarding Spanish economic power (*cf.* Lourenço 1995; Oliveira 1995; Chislett 2004).

More recently, based on the reluctance of the Portuguese government regarding the plans of the Spanish government to connect Madrid to Lisbon, the *Spanish danger* appeared to allow us to use the expression, adopt the form of a railway.[15]

The long trajectory of this imagotype or the existence of relatively recent episodes that activate this discursive construct in the Portuguese social space does not prevent us from understanding that, nowadays, it is possible to see it decreasing within the Portuguese imaginary. Despite not being as

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[14] Therefore, I. Chato identifies Portuguese Hispanophobia as: "O antiespanholismo, enquanto movimento baseado na alteridade, pôs em ação um prolongando jogo de caracteres e estereótipos em confronto com os quais se definiu a própria identidade portuguesa. Isto implicou o desenvolvimento de um longo e intenso processo de construção do outro, como o objetivo de tornar credível esse pretenso carácter expansivo e dominador de Espanha e de justificar, por isso, uma atitude receosa por parte de Portugal. Assim se foi gerando, na cultural liberal, um mundo de imagens antagónicas e de olhares cruzados, e se foi erguendo, perante o Espanhol *arrogante*, *orgulhoso*, *soberbo*, *violento*, *rude*, *fanático*, *intolerante*, *reacionário* e *cruel*, a imagem avançada, afável, adaptável, civilizada, cosmopolita e tolerante do Português" (Chato 2018, 633; emphasis added).

[15] Recently, in the scope of the *X Forum Parlamentar Luso-Espanhol* (University of Minho, 17/10/2022), together with the Spanish counterpart, the president of *Assembleia da República*, Augusto Santos Silva, presented the Portuguese views as "o TGV Lisboa-Madrid pode implicar um risco de satelização de Lisboa". On the other hand, in the 19th century, in particular in 1866, Alexandre Herculano discussed the issue that derived from the connection of the peninsula by railway: "se punha assim Lisboa a 24 horas de uma hipotética invasão espanhola" (in Sardica 2012, 24).

important, it is still very present in the people's imaginary, mainly in areas with an older population.

Lastly, there is no doubt that this discourse is closer, qualitatively speaking, to the negative pole than to the positive pole.

Fig. 4.2 Imagotype of the enemy. General scheme

Origin	• Portuguese (from the Middle Ages) • close to the illustrated archetype
Regarding	• Spain/Castile • Spaniards/Castilians
Effectiveness	• in formulation since the Middle Ages • in retreat today; but present, mainly in areas with an older population
Roles	• identity, Portuguese singularity affirmation vs. *Spanish danger*
Attributes (imagosemas)	• enemy, invader, braggart, arrogant, violent, disrespectful, etc.

Source: prepared by the author

Neo-romantic imagotype

Understood as the derived or updated romantic archetype (*cf. above*), we refer to another grand discursive construct that is increasingly dominant in the Portuguese imaginary as the neo-romantic imagotype (See Figure 3). With Portuguese origin, but mainly western, this discursive construct seemed to become stronger in the democratisation period of the peninsular states and, in particular, since the entry into the European Union, in 1986; i.e., the need of the Iberian Peninsula to become European (promoting, for example, the so-called single market) seemed to have fostered this imagological

narrative. In this respect, one would think that this is a response to an explicit political (or economic) interest to create an opinion state, ideal to intensify the economic and political relations, at an initial stage, and then social and cultural, in a second stage.

The data from *Barómetro Imagen de España* from the Real Instituto Elcano, regarding fieldwork carried out in January/February 2021, show a Portuguese perception aligned with the neo-romantic imagotype, in which Portugal is the country that offers the best evaluation of Spain:

- Regarding different aspects, the Portuguese perception is highly positive, in particular as a tourist destination (See Table 2). On the other hand, together with Italy, the Portuguese people have the most positive image of Spain (Real Instituto Elcano 2021, 21) and are the people who visited the country the most (94% of the respondents) (Real Instituto Elcano 2021, 11).

Table 4.1 Evaluation of different aspects

Aspect of Spain	Evaluation
Tourist destination	7.9
Infrastructures	7.7
Athletes	7.3
Country for shopping	7.2
Technological level	7.2
Country that contributes to development	7.1
Democratic country	7.0
Citizens	7.0
Quality of the education system	6.9
Companies present in the country	6.9
Economy	6.9
Safe country	6.7
Cultural production	6.7
Food	6.6
Country to invest in	6.3
Commitment to climate change	6.3
Political life	6.1

Source: adapted from Real Instituto Elcano 2021, 14.

- Regarding perceptions of the Spanish-Portuguese relational framework, the *Barómetro Imagen de España* presents very interesting data: (i) Portugal is the country that shows the "mayor valoración de la importancia de mantener buenas relaciones con España" (Real Instituto Elcano 2021, 31) and (ii) is the only country subject to analysis that does not identify Germany as the main ally of Portugal, but, instead, it identifies Spain (Real Instituto Elcano 2021, 33).[16]

Other, certainly less robust, data (*cf*. Martins & Pazos-Justo 2018; Pazos-Justo & Costa, 2022), confirm the increasingly positive perspective regarding Spain. Therefore, the neo-romantic imagotype is based on attributes (that, in a way, are also determined by the Portuguese tourist mobility to the neighbouring state), such as: *paella*, bulls, flamenco, *tapas*, naps, parties, beautiful women, sensuality/passion[17], etc.; and also, ideas, such as: modernity, individualism, informality, monolingualism or *carpe diem*. As a whole, it is a positive representation (of admiration?), as we say, in an expansion phase within the imagination of the younger Portuguese population, which sometimes seems to consider the Spanish or the Hispanic as a whole. One may also consider that the neo-romantic imagotype is the only active imagological narrative in the imagination of the young Portuguese population[18]. Lastly, as for other western cultural communities, the main symbol of this imagotype would be, in our opinion, the Spanish fighting bull.

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[16] The survey applied to the Portuguese people included an extra question: "Cree usted que las relaciones entre su país y España… Están bien como están/ Debería existir una relación más estrecha/ Debería existir menos relación" [Do you think the relations between your country and Spain… Are good the way they are/ Should have a closer relation/ Should have less relation]. The answers "se dividen prácticamente por la mitad, entre el 52% de los entrevistados que eligió la primera opción ("Las relaciones están bien como están") y el 48% que eligió la segunda ("Debería existir una relación más estrecha"). Sólo una persona (sobre 400) eligió disminuir las relaciones" (Real Instituto Elcano 2021, 32).

[17] Probably, the Portuguese perception regarding Spanish women is conditioned by the fact that, during the contemporary period, in Lisbon and other cities, prostitution was frequently carried out by women from the south of Spain (*cf*. Reis 2005, 176; Fernández 2019, 29, n. 40).

[18] This is confirmed by our experience with young Portuguese university students. To many, the imagotype of the enemy is distant or non-existent.

Figure 4.3 Neo-romantic imagotype. General scheme

Origin	• Portuguese and Spanish/western (romantic archetype) • expanding from 1986
Regarding	• Spain (south) • Spaniards (south) (Hispanic people)
Effectiveness	• Currently and expanding • dominant (hegemonic?) in younger segments of the population
Roles	• Ambition of getting closer (admiration?) • Useful to eliminate economic borders in the European Union
Attributes (imagosemas)	• *paella*, bulls, flamenco, *tapas*, siestas, parties; sensuality/passion, modernity, individualism, informality, monolingualism, *carpe diem*, etc.

Source: prepared by the author

Concluding summary

Despite not being analysed here, the proximity of the Portuguese imaginary regarding the *other* Iberian must consider the presence of what we could call polyphonic imagotype or the Iberian picture. With this in mind, we could support the diachronic existence of a particular view of the Catalan world, aligned, in a way, with the 19th century Iberism and the Catalan elaborations. On another note, there is no doubt about the existence, with varying degrees of vitality, of a specific discursive construct regarding

Galicia and the Galician people, historically marked by a long migration process (that led many emigrants from the south of Galicia to different Portuguese towns, mainly Lisbon) and by the elaborations of Galician people and Portuguese groups interested in affirming and/or developing cultural relationships.[19]

In light of the information previously presented, the Portuguese imaginary about Spain and the Spaniards would currently be comprised of great discursive constructs, largely contradictory—*imageme*—. and that respond to different relational frameworks and interests. If, on one hand, the imagotype of the enemy has a large projection over time, in a way parallel to the historical path of Portugal as an independent community (or with the ambition to become one), on the other, the neo-romantic imagotype seems to be gaining traction, in particular since the entry of the Iberian states into the European Union. Additionally, without underestimating the continuity of these narratives, we have no doubt that, in the present time, the neo-romantic imagotype is qualitatively and quantitatively more robust and functional in the Portuguese imaginary. The imagotype of the enemy, in turn, is clearly present in the Portuguese cultural repository and, to many members of the community, it seems not to be very accessible, or even unknown.

In conclusion: in response to the logic of the imagotype of the enemy, characterised by openly negative features, we suggest that the imagological capital of Spain in Portugal is increasingly positive, given that, if the presentation contained here is correct, the dominant discursive construct, hegemonic in certain social groups, is openly positive. It is, however, more complex to establish what is thought to be the relational framework in the Portuguese perspective: (i) if, according to the perspective of the imagotype of the enemy, the idea of inferiority regarding Castile/Spain (the *Spanish danger*) is evident, updated in the 1990s, when big companies from the Spanish capital started operating in the Portuguese market, (ii) according to the sign of the neo-romantic imagotype, the relational framework would probably still be determined by the idea of inferiority. Thus, and given the centrality of the neo-romantic imagotype in the Portuguese imaginary, the Spanish imagological capital in Portugal is characterised by being increasingly positive and relationally marked by the idea/belief of superiority.

Finally, the three hypotheses presented should be confronted with robust studies that allow us to verify (or not), with other information, its viability

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[19] We focus on the Portuguese image of Galicia and the Galician people in Pazos-Justo 2016.

for explaining the complex operation of the Portuguese perspective regarding Spain and the Spaniards.

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