1. Introduction

During the Franco dictatorship of Spain from 1939-1975, Franco-appointed Civil Governors to rule Catalonia and Spain's other regions, repressing regional identities and languages, Catalan chiefly among them (Bollens, 2007). One of the core policies was to promote a strong Spanish nationalism, this resulted in one of the slogans of the regime "si eres Español, habla español" which translates to "If you are Spanish, speak Spanish" (Pons, 2019). The way in which the Franco regime achieved this was banning the use of non-Castilian Spanish. Catalan national movements strengthened in line with what has been described as an "attempt at "cultural and identity genocide against Catalonia" (Casademont, 2020, pp. 69). With a population of around 7.8 million people and control over some local authorities but the repression of their bid for independence by Madrid has raised some concerns (Statistica Research Department, 2023). Catalonia held a referendum to declare their freedom, but Madrid denied this despite a 43% voter turnout with 90% of voters in favour of independence (BBC News, 2019). Looking back on this in 2023, it is interesting to investigate how the separatist movement has reorganised themselves despite the repression from Madrid.

After Franco's death and with the creation of the constitution in 1978, Catalonia once again became autonomous, but a lot of the independence granted by the constitution and amendments made in 2006 was reversed by Spain's constitutional court in 2010 (BBC News, 2019; WIPO LEX, 2006). Considering the long and complicated history within Madrid and Catalonia, we were interested to see how this manifested itself in the cities of Barcelona and Madrid and how leadership decisions by both governments represented themselves within these spaces. The leaders of the separatist movement in Catalonia made the decisions to hold a referendum and fight for the independence of his region and the people who voted for this. The government in Madrid chose to repress it by imprisoning the leaders of this movement, sending police to Barcelona where videos show them beating voters and dissolving Catalonian parliament to regain power. These leadership decisions and events have been discussed, reported on and researched but often not through spatial and linguistic analysis. The aim of this research is to provide a comparative analysis of Regional and National leadership in the competing spatial environments of Catalonia and Madrid. In this report, the literature review will outline the key historical aspects of the conflict between Catalonia and Madrid and key literature on public space. Through the collection of primary data in Barcelona and Madrid we hope the display the connections between language, culture and space; especially how all of this has been affected by past and present leadership decisions. All of which will be discussed in our results and analysis section.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Nationalism, Identity, and Leadership

While there are many competing articulations of nationalism, this essay finds Jonathan Hearn's most convincing, and will employ it, because it names both identity and top-down leadership as crucial factors in the formation of nationalism. Crucially, Hearn begins by challenging 'primordial' interpretations of nationalism for situating it within kinship and premodern forms of

ethnicity alone and modernist accounts for creating a "static notion" of a 'peak' nationalism, both of which fail to address the complexity and origin of Catalan identity (2004, p. 230). Instead, Hearn bolsters the claim that nationalist tendencies between 'ethic' groups are "sharpened by competition between groups for advantages within a specific urban and/or state context… and/or by resistance to the state and dominant ethnic groups" (2004, p. 8). Subsequently, and more distinctly, Hearn argues that nationalist movements are the modern way for lower-level elite and middle classes to pursue power in light of contemporary urbanization and the normative legitimacy in the pursuit of equality and democracy (2004, p. 169). These claims are quite evidently demonstrated in Spain where, as Olivieri claims, Catalonian sub-state nationalism is related to "the assertion of the distinctive features of a politically salient actor from the perceived threat of another" and, as as Kenneth McRoberts has argued, an "explicitly Catalan nationalism" was first developed related to the side-lining of its elites within Madrid (2015, p. 1611; 2022, pp. 21-23). Therefore, given the appropriateness of Hearn's articulation of nationalism and the constituent components of identity and top-down leadership for analyzing Catalonia-Madrid competition, this essay will utilize his definition.

2.2 Representations of the Madrid and Barcelona Conflict

Anderson Benedict's concept of 'imagined communities' greatly informs this essay's use of the Catalan language as a proxy for Catalan nationalism, and accordingly this essay will contribute to nationalism studies by highlighting a robust, contemporary example of a constructed nation. The role the Catalan language plays within the Catalan independence movement's claims to legitimacy and distinctiveness greatly aligns with Benedict's idea of 'imagined communities', which claims that nations are an "imagined political community" constructed by its members and language forms a crucial role in constructed national boundaries (Benedict, 1983, p. 16 & 61). Following Spain's transition to democracy, Catalan intellectuals and civil war combatants sought to consolidate and expand a Catalan consciousness through the spread of the Catalan language identity (Miller & Miller, 1996, pp. 116-117). Crucially, Catalan became the primary language of instruction in Catalonian schools in 1983, and, according to Clots-Figueras and Masella, this has solidified Catalan as distinct language and cultural identity from Madrid and Spain's other regions (2013, p. F333 & F344). The threat and consolidation of this 'imagined community' has been revealed through the resistance of the Spanish state, with the Spanish Supreme ruling that at least 25% of school must be taught in Castilian Spanish (Cata Giguls, 2021). Given that Benedict's concept of 'imagined communities' accounts for the role of language in constructing Catalonian regional identity and tensions, this essay will treat language as a symbol of Catalan nationalism and observe its presence in public spaces, providing useful insights into the emergence of nationalism.

In accordance with linguistic anthropology, this essay places the exacerbation of Madrid-Catalonian competition in the differing degrees of institutional power awarded to Catalan and Castilian Spanish and will further expand on his dynamic in contemporary public spaces. Bourdieu's idea of 'symbolic domination', meaning "the ability of certain social groups to maintain control over others by establishing their view of reality and their cultural practices as…

the norm" has usefully been applied to the study of language by linguistic scholars (Bourdieu 1977 & 1982 cited in Heller, 2009, p. 373). Grillo and Auer argue that language norms and contestations in multi-lingual states "illuminat[e] the relationship between institutional relations of power and those connected to forms of social organization in the broader society" and that the imposition of language by the state is "neither arbitrary nor neutral, but concerns relations of power" (Grillo and Auer 1989 cited in Heller, 2009, p. 374). In the case of Catalonia, Robert Vann convincingly suggests that Francoist Spain's Catalan exclusionary language policy "inculcate[d] centralist ideologies at the expense of regionalist political" beliefs, preventing Catalans from embodying a distinct cultural identity and opposing the Castilian Spanish mainstream (Vann, 1999, pp. 200-201). These anthropological concepts, which are largely underemployed in English-language research, will be used in this essay to evaluate the presence of Catalan in contemporary Spanish public spaces, contributing to emergent literature regarding on-going Catalan resistance. In sum, this essay will utilize and contribute to linguistic anthropological literature regarding the Castilian Spanish-Catalan antagonism and its power in perpetuating Madrid and Catalonia difference contemporarily.

Further, supplementary sociological and sports history scholarship has highlighted football team allegiance as a site of contestation and differentiation between identities, and this essay will elaborate on critical sports scholarship by evaluating the presence of Football Club Barcelona's (FC Barcelona) symbols in public spaces (Berdún, 2019, p. 104 & 108). Scholars across the social sciences have emphasized the crucial role sports play in shaping identity. Bale said it best in *Sport, Space, and City*: "[s]port… provides the major focus for collective identification in modern Britain and in much of the rest of the world" (Bale, 1993, p. 55). This was particularly true during Francoist Spain when, as Quiroga and other historians have noted, sports, music, dances, and regional festivities were used by the regime to "indoctrinate the population through ultra-nationalist postulates" while leaving a limited degree of regional variation (Quiroga, 2015, pp. 66-67). Berdún's excellent scholarship has persuasively applied Bairner's claim that sports contribute to the rise of nationalism using contemporary F.C. Barcelona and citing its symbolic power and the participation of prominent football team leadership in 2010s independence protests (2019, p. 104 & 108). This essay will build on these studies, revealing how football rivalries have moved beyond the political realm and impacted the contemporary public spaces and landscapes of Madrid and Barcelona. Accordingly, sociological and sports literature has appropriately highlighted football's role in articulating regional differences and bolstering Catalan nationalism, and this essay will further expand on football's impact on Madrid-Barcelona conflicts through evaluating its depictions in the public space.

2.3 The Study of Public Space

This essay's evaluation of regionalist symbols in Madrid and Catalonian public spaces will aid in expanding Bourdieu's 'symbolic power' literature within critical urban studies, contributing to a richer understanding of the propagation of identity through cities both covertly and over time. The concept of 'symbolic power' was developed by Bourdieu, who claims that spaces represent and affirm social hierarchies through naturalizing and translating social space (Bourdieu, 2018,

pp. 106-107). The role of the state in this naturalisation of space is central, with the state "claim[ing] the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical and symbolic violence" and consequently determining certain languages and symbols as foreign or inappropriate in public spaces (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 3, cited in Loyal & Quilley, 2017, p. 431). The state's power in determining regional spaces in Catalonia has been historically pronounced, particularly during Francoist Spain (Bollens, 2007, p. 37). While scholars have analysed and quantified the linguistic 'indoctrinations' and transformations in Catalonia since Franco's death in 1975, the framework of 'symbolic power' has not been central to these projects. Further, the discussion related to Catalonian public spaces and their 'symbolic power' is largely dualistic, ignoring the emergence of coterminous Castilian-Catalan identities and representations in public spaces. Therefore, this essay will contribute to the literature regarding the 'symbolic power' represented within Barcelona's public spaces to evaluate power and identity struggles between regional and national government.

Further, the crucial role public spaces play, per Soja's 1996 'Thirdspace' and Lefebvre's 1968 'right to the city', in consolidating competing identities between Catalonia and Madrid remains underexplored in English-language scholarship and this essay seeks to contribute to that literature. Firstly, Soja's work argues that spaces are constituted by a 'Thirdspace' which encompasses both imagined and lived experience in spaces (Borch, 2011, p. 114; Soja, 1996, p. 57). This approach challenges dualist approaches and acknowledges spaces as products of physical landscape, social and political practices produced and ordered within physical places, and the subversion and protestation over prescribed order within space (Soja, 2008, p. 52). Secondly, Lefebvre's concept of the 'right to the city' sees urban spaces as a site of 'alienation' of the working class and non-state actors (Purcell, 2013, p. 149). As such, urban inhabitants must "take urban space as their own" and turn it into a "constitutive element in the web of cooperative social relations" instead of an expression of capital and the state's aims (Purcell, 2013, p. 149). Given Catalonia's, particularly Barcelona's, experience with both top-down Madrid-influenced public spaces and local resistance efforts, Catalonia would be a productive subject for a 'Thirdspace' and 'right to the city' analysis. Yet, there is a gap in the literature with little to no contemporary analysis of this kind in English. As such, this essay seeks to utilize Soja's 'Thirdspace' and Lefebvre's 'right to the city' to evaluate the competing identities and power dynamics between Barcelona and Madrid within public spaces.

2.4 Relevance to the Literature

While the above three sections of the literature review each correspondingly illuminate a facet of nationalist or urban studies, the intersection between the contemporary urban experience and its role in shaping nationalism remains underexplored due to disciplinary boundaries. Further, English-language scholarship on the contemporary Madrid-Catalonia conflict is hardly conclusive or convincing. Given this gap in the literature, this essay will place these varied approaches in conversation with each other in its methodology and discussion sections to contribute to an emergent and interdisciplinary literature. Stemming from the novelty of this approach, this essay will be uniquely able to evaluate the contemporary Madrid-Barcelona conflict and how it is perpetuated in public spaces.

3. Methodology

To compare the leadership styles in Catalonia and Castilian Spain, we visited Barcelona and Madrid to conduct ethnographic non-participant observation. We chose these two cities because they are the capitals of both regions of Spain thus, they are the most accessible and adequate representations of leadership. To investigate this, we will compare the presence of non-Castilian Spanish and other symbols of autonomous communities in three locations across both cities. We chose the locations based on the following parameters, cultural heritage, tourist population and accessibility. Using research which analysed the digital footprints of Tourists in Madrid, we chose to visit Plaza de Espana, Torres Kio/ Plaza de La Castellana and La Latina police station (Salas-Olmedo et al., 2018). In carrying out our non-participant observations, we walked around our chosen area for 30-45 minutes in the afternoon, noting the things that we observed. A member of our group will document the area by taking photos and videos of areas of interest. We compared these photos with our original notes to draw conclusions of the effects of leadership styles in the architecture and spatial geography of our chosen areas. We chose this method not to interfere with our area of observation and gave ourselves the opportunity to reflect upon and develop our original observations. This approach will mitigate any ethics concerns by blurring out the faces of anyone who enters the photos and/or asking for their consent to record and video the space.

Due to our lack of firsthand knowledge on the subject as none of the researchers in this study have grown up in Spain, we contacted an industry expert who informed and advised us on the areas of to observe and to look at leadership from a *"top down"* perspective. Therefore, we included this by going to a government building, a cultural / historical site and local and more informal environments like café's, schools and police stations. As a team, we wholeheartedly understand the prevalence of implicit bias and the fact that secondary research may not inform of us of everything we need to know about the area. Therefore, we hope that our consultation with this expert will help reduce this and provide us with objective data and conclusions. Following our ethnographic study, we compared the field notes with the photographs we took at the locations. We analysed the data based on how government and local leadership groups affect the things we observe; the inclusion and representation of different autonomous communities and common themes that are present throughout our observations. Finally, we separated the ideas which arose from our discussions and observations into *The Political Nature of Language; English Hegemony* and *Public Space and Culture.* Our conversations will be recorded, printed and stored in the LSE H: Space but the name and contact details will not be used to ensure anonymity. Using our understanding and analysis of preliminary readings, the areas that we have visited and the conversations with the industry expert, we will draw conclusions into the role leadership plays in reflecting culture-based antagonisms between autonomous communities in Spain and the Spanish government.

4. Results and Discussion

To reiterate, the aim of our investigation, to explore and compare how language and cultural symbols cultivate leadership decisions in Madrid and Barcelona. This section will be split into

two thematic headings that revolve around language and space which intertwine with the study of culture.

4.1 The Political Nature of Language

Language is a powerful tool to express leadership regimes and both these cities in Spain utilise it. On the surface, a similarity between both Madrid and Barcelona was how multi-lingual the cities were. Through observation, we could see that both cities tended to offer information in a variety of languages so that it was accessible to everyone. However, upon further analysis, it was evident that how they utilised language differed; places that gave contextual information in Madrid only had information in Castilian Spanish meanwhile places with historical importance in Barcelona were only written about in Catalan.

There was no display of the Catalan language in Madrid despite the fact that it is spoken in many parts of Spain. Figure __ displays a tourist hub for foreigners coming into Spain. It was interesting to see that even though four main languages are spoken in the country, Castilian Spanish is the only one that acts as a guide to welcome people. In fact, when researching tourist trends in Spain, Brown (2023) notes that very few tourist hubs promote visiting Catalonia in addition to Spain. This re-emphasises Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic domination" because, despite Madrid seeming inclusive of languages from face value, top-down leadership has ensured that Catalan is nothing but a rumour in the capital city; the state holds enough power to indirectly limit knowledge about Catalan to those who probably have little understanding about linguistic disputes in Spain.

When speaking to our sector expert, a leading political analyst in Spain, he advised us to use our senses to interpret the language – not only what we could we see, but what could we hear too. So, using sight, we could clearly see that Catalan didn't exist in written form in Madrid but when listening into conversations people were having, the same trend was apparent – people weren't speaking Catalan. Instead, various European languages could be heard. It would be naïve to justify this finding by saying the government limits people speaking Catalan therefore we alluded to the fact that Madrid is quite a touristic city. According to Statistica (2023), over 6 million international tourists stayed in Madrid overnight in 2022 making them the 5th most visited city in Europe. Consequently, it does provide an explanation as to why we could hear more European languages than Catalan.

Unlike Madrid, Barcelona made more of an effort to incorporate both Castilian Spanish and Catalan however Catalan was still the most prominent language. For example, accessing basic navigational information and instructions such as city maps and train signs were easy because they could be translated from Catalan using a QR code or an English/ Castilian Spanish translation was provided underneath (as seen in Figure 2 and 3). This gave the impression that Barcelona was an easier city to independently interact with than Madrid. To support this idea, when in the town centre, there was an active, peaceful protest happening to avenge Iranians and bring awareness of what was happening in the country. In figure __ below, you can see the plethora of information given but this was in various European languages. The people wanted to make sure that a language barrier would not interfere with the understanding of the issue at hand – a gesture we deemed as extremely thoughtful and empowering.

On this note, Barcelona seemed more culturally diverse than Madrid. In some restaurants/shops we visited, staff tended to be of Asian (specifically Filipino) descent and were very bilingual too. This reinforces that, from our fieldwork, this city was more accepting to differences in culture. The two members in our group who visited Barcelona were black women, one of which didn't speak any type of Spanish at all, and they didn't feel any animosity when in the town centre. An interesting finding made however was the intentional placement of where only the Catalan language was used. This will be explored more in 'Space' section of our analysis. In summary of this theme though, we started by observing where language was physically used in both Madrid and Barcelona. We saw that Madrid only display Castilian Spanish meanwhile Barcelona prioritises Catalan but still displays Spanish too. However, both of these regions additional value the English language and this has given the thought to whether an English hegemony exists.

4.2 English Hegemony

In both Madrid and Barcelona, we mentioned that there were always translations available in English where a translation was offered. From observation, Figure 4 displays an example of how the English language is key in Spain – notice how Catalan/ Spanish is still the priority but the tertiary language is English. Using examples like this in both cities, we analysed it in the following way:

In Madrid, we found it quite interesting that there was a complete lack of Catalan, a language still local to Spain, meanwhile an English alternative was often offered at almost every opportunity. The explanation as to why English trumps every other international language in Spain is quite simple – British people are the largest groups of tourists to visit Spain annually (Statistica, 2023), so the government is accommodating for them. But, what is more complex to understand is why Catalan isn't given the same treatment. Our interpretation is that, being the main capital city, Madrid wants to display unity in language to shelter its 'messy' history

regarding it to tourists. Thus, it results in keeping one Spanish-based language as a reference in the city. This demonstrates top-down leadership because the government have controlled what languages can be publicly seen to represent Spain.

For Barcelona, English is written third (after Castilian Spanish) however, our most interesting encounter was with one of the shop owners there. She explained that she only spoke English and was learning actively learning Spanish as she lived and worked in the city. As previously mentioned, Barcelona seems welcoming to different nationalities of people but seeing her work knowing less Spanish than us was intriguing. In relation to micro-leadership, it exhibited confidence in the fact that, irrespective of how hard it may be, she chose to bring her own language to Barcelona knowing that it would have to be somewhat accepted. With the diversity we observed, this enlightened us of the fact that most of the people in Barcelona probably spoke Spanish/ Catalan and an additional language too. These people were all expressing leadership through language because, in a city that has been through disputes regarding language, they still felt comfortable to bring their own to the mix – something we thought was brave following the Catalan independence movement a couple of years ago.

So, what we have gathered from observing the overarching influence on the English language in both these cities is that there seems to be some kind of hegemony present. English is valued more than Catalan in Madrid and is still prominent in Barcelona through speech. We've justified its presence to be due to economic reasons (tourism) however, for its importance in Madrid in comparison to Catalan, we think it may be due to hiding it's history of language disputes.

4.3 Public Space and Culture

Public space can reflect the competing leadership and power dynamics between the Spanish State, regional Catalonia government, and Barcelona locals. Space is utilised through different mediums to project a certain image, and this is practiced by both top-down and bottom-up leadership, manifesting and contributing to the conflicting dynamics between the Spanish State and Catalan region. The propagation and consolidation of identity through Madrid and Barcelona can be supported by Bourdieu's 'symbolic power' literature. For Bourdieu, space represents and asserts social hierarchies, and is organised by top-down leadership as the state has a monopoly over the legitimate use of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 3, cited in Loyal & Quilley, 2017, p. 431). The public space contributes to shaping the distinctive culture of the two regions. Culture is a whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' (E.B Taylor, 1871, p. 1). This is significantly impacted by the surroundings of individuals and society, and how space influences this will be explored in the following paragraphs.

The top-down leadership as seen through state and government decisions on public space is significant as it accounts for the unconscious modes of cultural and social domination that occurs within everyday social habits and routines. The decision to curate public spaces in the centres of both Madrid and Barcelona was thought-provoking as it displayed the initiative of top-down leadership to implement a distinct image of the respective cities. The decision to saturate spaces

in the geographical centre of these cities is reminiscent of Soja's theory of Third space (Soja, 2008). By constructing a lived space top-down leadership can determine how people live and experience urban space. This contributes to the social and political practices of societies. Plaza Mayor in Madrid demonstrates the importance of spatial geography for organising and influencing societies. The Plaza is right in the middle of Madrid and is used by locals and tourists alike due to its central location and multi-faceted purposes. The Plaza enables individuals to congregate and interact, promoting diverse relationships and communications which contribute to forming society.

Significantly, public space can also represent competing leadership between macro and micro leadership. In Barcelona it was noted that in the city centre, public space was clean, orderly, and well-maintained. Further out, there are noticeable changes with the introduction of graffiti and unpleasant odours. This suggests that micro leadership acknowledges that the city centre is dictated by top-down leadership storytelling, but micro leadership takes control further out and expresses bottom-up dynamics. The process of urbanisation is not uniform, and the contrast of public space within the same city shows that the use of space is intentional and significant. Decisions made by the Spanish and Catalan governments to develop certain areas of their large cities suggests they are using space to promote a glorified image of their respective cities.

Space is used by top-down leadership to promote a certain image and is selective and concise when constructing public space. Top-down leadership can choose how to portray itself and this is significant for the context of the Spanish Catalan discourse. Catalonia states it is distinct from other Spanish regions and reinforces this by using public space to emphasize how distinct it is. As mentioned by Vargas in 2015, public space as designed by the Catalonian government for tourism purposes has helped to strengthen Catalonian national identity (Vargas, 2015). Vargas states that 'Catalanism and tourism are constructed one upon the other', this reinforces the importance of how space can influence culture. By maintaining and promoting tourists cites, the Catalonian government can engage individuals to see and experience how unique Catalonian culture is. This helps to strengthen the region's argument for greater self-autonomy due to the differences between the Spanish state and regional Catalonian government. In Barcelona, many public spaces which contained statues and other symbols were only described in Catalan or had no description at all. This would suggest that the top-down leadership had decided that those who should know the purpose of these symbols in these spaces will only be those that speak Catalan or have pre-existing knowledge of the region. This is somewhat exclusionary and interesting for explaining how the regional Catalonia government expresses its distinct nature. The lack of accessibility for non-Catalans in these public spaces would suggest that top-down leadership is not concerned with propagating history, rather building a façade that outsiders to the region are able to admire yet not connect with. This is a subtle and diverse way which power is transferred through top-down forces to the Catalan people, while maintaining its exclusivity. As seen with the large stainless-steel tower in Plaça de Sant Miquel, there was a lack of explanation for the inspiration of the structure. From secondary research, the structure is a tribute to the human towers that are a feature of public events in Catalonia. This reinforces the argument that the top-down leadership in Barcelona were not concerned with spreading awareness of their distinct culture with those not from the Catalan region, rather if an individual was familiar with the

public events of the region, they would be able to comprehend the structure in this public space more. This is a subtle way of reinforcing the competing power dynamics between the Spanish state and semi-autonomous region of Catalan.

In public space, the nature of the region and city is acutely displayed. As mentioned above what is displayed in central city spaces is determined by top-down leadership. It is interesting to see what the Catalan and Madrid government decides what is pertinent to show in these spaces, and the larger reflection this has on the competing leadership and power dynamics of the Spanish State, regional Catalan government, and Barcelona locals. In Madrid it is noticeable that the flags displayed are displayed in three with the flag of Spain, the flag of the European Union and the flag of the Community of Madrid. By including the flag of the Community of Madrid, there is a reinforcement in the public space of the regional identity. Similarly, in Barcelona the Catalan flag was heavily prevalent. Notably, these flags were displayed above shop windows. This can suggest that not only top-down forces use public space but also bottom-up to reflect a specific message. Space is a diverse concept with multiple mediums that allow individuals and institutions to organise and interact to form society and its image to external audiences. Space should be analysed with culture, and its ability to constantly influence culture.

The competing leadership and power dynamics between the Spanish State, regional Catalonia government, and Barcelona locals is crystalised through space and its influence on culture.

5. Conclusion

After our collection of primary data and extensive readings on the topic we conclude that public spaces represent the competing leadership and power dynamics between Castilian Spain and Catalonia through the organisation, interactions and choices made in the creation of these public spaces. The areas of research were Barcelona and Madrid which are the capitals of both regions and provided us with ample data and understanding of the differences between both regions. Through the analysis of the usage of language, signs, flags and football affiliations, we were able to deduce that Madrid presented itself to tourists and outsiders like an interconnected and multinational city with a lack of acknowledgement towards the other nationalities within the country. Therefore, the erasure of non-Castilian Spanish identities in the country's capital was not due to the amount of tourists that Madrid had to cater to but the historical repression and disenfranchisement of Catalan people by the Spanish government. These power struggles between both cities have resulted in an intense desire to protect and display the individualism within the Catalan identity on a global stage (Vargas, 2015). This has been reflected in policies made by those at the top of leadership hierarchy (parliament, politicians etc) and resulted in those at the bottom (local citizens) absorbing this and embodying it within their national pride. As discussed in our analysis section, public spaces reflect the historical disenfranchisement and necessity for representation and acknowledgement of national identities within Spain instead of the Francoist policy of grouping a diverse nation under the identity of ‘Spanish’. Further research should have more in depth conversations and interviews with locals, looking at those from different ethnicities and ages to see the disparities and similarities in nationalistic pride between the two regions.

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