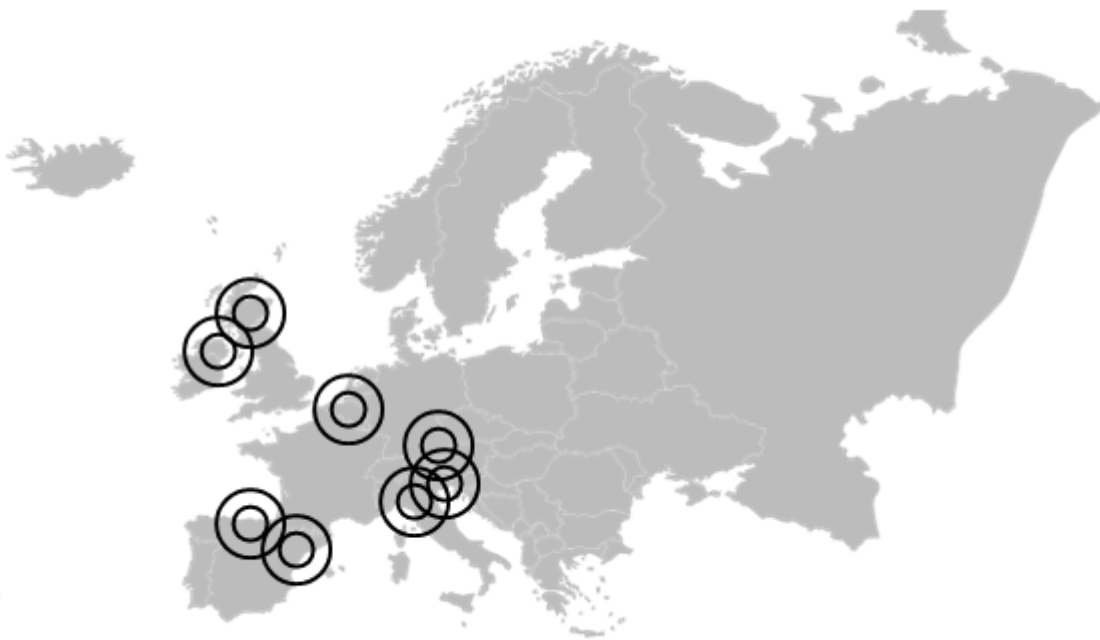




Bachelor thesis

*Europe's colonial past backfiring into the regions:
Spain and Catalonia*



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Europe's colonial past backfiring into regions: Spain and Catalonia

The changing relationship between European countries and their regions in a postcolonial Europe

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Preface

Finally, this is my bachelor thesis. It was difficult to figure out what I wanted to investigate. I wanted to combine history and geography with something modern and present. Something that everybody hears about on the news, something that is a real problem in present Europe. Then two components came together: Europe's colonial past and the constantly news reports on the Scottish referendum and Catalonia's independence struggle and the way. These two components came together to formulate my hypothesis that Europe's colonial past is in some way 'backfiring' into its own nation states. I have always thought that the current map of Europe would not change because I haven't seen the border change like my parents or grandparents have. I haven't seen and live through the collapse of the Soviet Union, the unification of East and West Germany and the breakup of Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Europe's borders are not and have never been steady or a fact. That's why I wanted to investigate a new threat to Europe's borders, the threat from the regions inside Europe's nation states to seek greater autonomy or independence, just like Indonesia, India, Congo, Algeria and other colonies once did. Spain is the country that I am using in this thesis to extract my hypotheses on and gain insight if Catalonia is a colony of Spain and if Europe's past is repeating itself. As one of the most diverse countries in Europe, within Spain there is a powerful region who wants to separate themselves and create an independent Catalonia. This research will especially focus on Spain, because Catalonia's independence struggle is currently on a boiling point.

Furthermore, the aim of this research came together with the help of Olivier Kramsch, who supported my idea, hypotheses and philosophy on this matter. I want to thank my supervisor Olivier T. Kramsch for his professional and academic guidance and for directing me in the right direction.

I wish you a pleasant reading.

Nijmegen, August 11 2016,

Wouter Hunnekens

Inhoud

1	Introduction.....	9
1.1	Historical framework.....	9
1.1.1	The Spanish case.....	10
1.2	Research goal	11
1.3	Research question	12
1.4	Relevance	14
2	Theoretical framework.....	15
2.1	Michael Hechter's theories	15
2.1.1	The diffusion model of national development.....	15
2.1.2	The internal colonialism model	16
2.1.3	Internal colonialism on the Spanish case	16
2.2	A Europe in crisis	17
2.3	The "backfiring" Europe's colonial past	19
2.4	Conceptual model	21
3	Methodology	23
3.1	Literature study	23
4	The history of Spain.....	25
4.1	Al Andalus and the Reconquista.....	25
4.2	The beginning and fall of Spain's empire	27
4.3	The loss of the colonies	29
4.4	Civil Wars.....	30
4.5	From Franco to Juan Carlos I	31
5	The development of Spain's national identity	33
5.1	The core and the region	34
5.2	Industrial Revolution in Spain.....	35
5.2.1	Success factors of the Industrial Revolution in Britain.....	35
5.2.2	The industrialisation of Spain	36
5.2.3	Spain's industrialisation delay, unequal industrialisation and national development .	40
5.3	The formation of a national identity	43
5.3.1	Early Spanish state and decentralisation	43
5.3.2	Centralising the Spanish state	44
5.3.3	Franco state.....	45
5.3.4	Towards democracy	46

5.4	National development and regionalism	47
5.5	Conclusion chapter 5	50
6	Europe's past backfiring: decolonisation within Spain.....	53
6.1	A Europe in crisis: growing regionalism	55
6.1.1	A Europe in crisis: a chance?	58
6.2	Europe in the past: identity crisis's	59
6.3	Present Europe: Colonialism shaping Europe	61
6.3.1	Colonialism and imperialism as the foundation of modern Europe	61
6.3.2	Western imperialism in Europe.....	63
6.4	Internal colonialism in Spain	65
6.4.1	Michael Hechter internal colonialism theory.....	65
6.4.2	Catalonia as an internal colony of Spain	68
6.4.3	Not an internal colony?	69
6.4.4	Conclusion chapter 6.....	74
7	Conclusion	75
8	Reflection.....	79
9	Bibliography.....	81

Summary

Several historical elements heavily hampered the Spanish national development process to establish a solid, unitary nation state and the creation of one identity towards the people from the peninsula could relate to. With the end of the Reconquista and the marriage of the two Catholic Monarchs, Spain became one of the first 'modern' day nation states in Europe. It was still during this time, that the Spanish regions had a large degree of self-governance. Under Habsburg rule, Spain ruled a glorious empire on which the sun never sets. Fully 'modern' state building began in Spain during the reign of the Spanish Bourbon Kings through centralization, absolutism, political homogenization and the abolishment of regional autonomy and institution. Attempts of Catalonia to restore these political status and re-establish self-government were suppressed and failed. Moving to the 19th century, Spain went into decline and became a somewhat peripheral country in Europe. Carlist war, revolutions, the foundation of the first Spanish republic, the Bourbon restoration and numbers of coups d'état, the 19th century was turbulent period in which conservative and liberals clashed together. It was during this period that the Spanish empire ceased to exist Spain and lost, as the first European nation state, all their colonies. The loss of the colonies was a major component in that influenced the nation building process heavily. The 19th century had an enormous impact and brought Spain in an identity crisis and greatly hampered the creation of a unitary nation state in the 19th century.

The Spanish industrialisation started with a delay, partly because of the turbulent 19th and 20th century, compared to other western nation states. The Spanish industrialisation started in Catalonia and Barcelona became the economic powerhouse. Uneconomic development, the legacy of the ancient regime, political instability, internal and external wars, uprisings and unstable governments slowed or undermined economic progress and the creation of a stable, modern, unitary state. It prevented a stronger development of the Spanish nation and society, which was in a crisis, and impeded a solid nation building process, as happened in other European countries like Britain, Italy and Germany. While Britain grew as a major colonial world power and had all the advantages and components to make the industrialisation successful and build a solid nation state, Spain became the opposite example of that. The troubling nation building process and the aftermath of the Franco regime stimulated the already existing regionalist movements in the most modern industrialised and well-developed region: Catalonia. Regionalism in Spain has been met whenever centralization or the creation of one unitary state became to occur, especially during the reigns of the Spanish Bourbon's and General Franco. It was the political and social context in which these revivals of regional nationalism took place and a divide between the political dominant core and peripheral regions became ever clearer. The Catalanian conflict against the centralized Spanish state has laid the groundworks for the establishment of powerful regional movement which eventually would become the foundation of strong feelings of Catalan nationalism in the 20th century.

Nowadays, Catalonia wants to leave the Spanish nation state because they feel Catalan instead of Spanish. The situation of Catalonia as a colony who wants to be independent and the central state as the colonizer who is trying everything in its power to stop it this from happening corresponds how European nation states tried to remain to their precious colonial possession after the Second World War. According to Hechter's internal colonialism thesis, Catalonia does not fit the terms of an

internal colony but can be looked upon as a peripheral region because it's submissive towards and still ruled from Madrid which is the political dominant core in Spain and Catalonia was the first industrialized region in Spain and still is the economic powerhouses in Spain.

However, if looking to the cultural, social, political and emotional (suppression) part of a colony, Catalonia can be looked upon as an internal colony of Spain. Over the course of history, kings and governments have sought to 'colonize' Catalonia and in-cooperate the regions into one centralized nation state by attempting to suppress its culture and identity through the imposition of a homogeneous Spanish identity. The revive of Catalan regionalism and separatism are immediately result from these attempts. During Franco's reign, the Catalans were 'forced' to abolish their Catalan culture and become Spanish. These historical attempts are building the argument of a 'suppressed' Catalonia, which was not an internal colony because of its economic strong position, but who got suppressed not economically but politically. Also, Catalonia can be looked upon as a region that was for thirty years forbidden to express their own cultural and distinctive language. This fact corresponds with colonies from Asia, Africa, the America's and the Middle East who got suppressed by a country from an old, imperial and proud continent far away who thought they could civilize the rest of the world. Powerful, imperialistic states, like Spain and the United Kingdom, have lumped together different disparate groups of people into postcolonial nation-states. This is now causing conflicts between core region and peripheral region. Backfiring suggest that something that has haunted you in the past is coming back at you. In modern time, Europe's colonial past is backfiring into its own nation states. Nowadays, in the context of a Europe in crisis where numerous European regions like Catalonia, Wales, Scotland, Corsica, Flanders, Britany, Lombardi, Venice etc. have developed strong regional and ethno territorial identities and want to seek greater voice, greater resources, and greater autonomy or independence, a modern form of 'decolonization' is possibly happening in Europe. However, not every region is comparable to the Catalonia case. It is because of the nationality of someone that people are willing to act in a certain way and ultimately vote for Catalan independence to 'decolonize' from Spain. Nowadays Spain is a modern nation state and people in Catalonia can openly be Catalan and speak the language. But it is from this aspect, were Catalonia's independence struggle originate from. Catalonia can therefore be regarded as an internal colony, not according to Hechter's principles, and not because it was a poor peripheral regions with an unequal economic development compared to other regions but because Catalonia can be looked upon as a region who wants to have greater autonomy, sayings about their own affairs and even want fully independence. This overlaps with the way how the colonies in Asia, Africa, the America's and the Middle East wanted to gain independence.

1 Introduction

This chapter will seek to explain the historical context on which this thesis is based. It will lay the groundworks for the overall hypothesis that European regions can be looked upon as internal colonies in combination in a time when independence movements are spreading across a Europe in crisis. Furthermore, the research goal and the research question, which is separated into smaller research questions, will be presented. Besides the goal of the research, the academic and social relevance of this research will be discussed.

1.1 Historical framework

Once, countries like Spain, and the United Kingdom, were great colonial empires. Spain conquered large parts of North and South America. The British Empire was once the largest empire that ever existed and therefore called as 'the empire on which the sun never sets'. However, in the 20th century these empires began to crumble down and countries within these empires gained independence. In 1960, The United Nations called for the end of colonialism in all its manifestations and end all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith (The United Nations, 1960).

Currently, Europe is in a place of relatively 'peace'. The continent has for generations been divided. Extreme rivalries and war about the expansion of nation have been sources of conflict. From the fall of the Roman Empire, the glory days of Napoleon's French Empire until the Great War of 1945, Europe has been geopolitically chaotic and quite a bloody continent. From the Italian Wars, the Eighty Years' War and the Franco-Spanish War, new alliances, conquests, and marriages merged the territories of the many kingdoms in Europe's over the centuries (Pfeiffer, 2015). The Kingdom of Aragon, along with Catalonia, and the Kingdom of Castile merged together under one unified Spanish crown. The same happened with Scotland and England, where a kingdom was composed of two distinct cultural groups.



Figure 1. The Spanish Kingdoms: with the Kingdom of Castile & Leon and the Kingdom of Aragon in 1360

This map is from Atlas To Freeman's Historical Geography, Edited by J.B. Bury, Longmans Green and Co. Third Edition 1903

Over the course of time, effective bureaucratic administration arose in certain regions of the territories that later to become the modern states of Western Europe (Hechter, 1999). Each of the regions that formed larger kingdoms had, to varying, degrees, distinct cultural practices from those of the regions that they joined (Hechter, 1999). It was in the core regions of Castile in Spain and London in England where strong central governments were first established. As the core regions advanced, so did their political influence and control extended to the eventual boundaries of their modern state (Hechter, 1999). In this process, the local and regional cultures are gradually replaced by the establishment of one national culture, such as Spanish or British (Hechter, 1999). However, minority groups were caught in the middle of the process of unification and extension of political power. This was leading to internal conflicts and territorial claims that worsened existing conflicts among European states over time. Notable examples include Scotland, Catalonia, Flanders, Wallonia, Northern Ireland, and the Basque Country (Pfeiffer, 2015). Nowadays, the way that led to the independence of the colonies of Spain and the United Kingdom is “backfiring” into their own nation states. The way to independence for former colonies as Congo, India and Indonesia was, partly, structured by strong movements of nationalism. Nationalism is therefore held as a predominant social force. Nowadays everyone has a nationality and this clearly has special significance to individuals. It is in the name of nationality alone that individuals are willing to act and achieve things in a certain way (Hechter, 1999). In 2014, Scotland rejected the plans to separate themselves from the UK in a referendum with the No-party winning with only 55% of the votes (Carrell, Watt, Mason, & Brooks, 2015). In September 2015 the Catalonians voted massively for the political parties who promised, if they got elected, that they would strive towards the Catalonian independence from Spain (Stobart, 2015). Catalonia and Scotland are trying to leave the old unions, to establish their own nation state because they feel Catalonian and Scottish instead of Spanish and British.

1.1.1 The Spanish case

Early colonialism brought wealth to the Kingdom of Spain and caused strong form of nationalism in Spain (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). However Spain’s colonial empire has long been gone, colonial rule has ended, the wealth from American colonies has disappeared and regional nationalism has been increasing (Harris-Quinney, 2012). Nowadays, Europe, just as Spain, is in a political crisis, the uneven distribution of wealth has caused ruptures in the fundamental brick, solidarity, where modern Europe is based (Henk van Houtum, *Internal and external border crisis?*, 07-10-15). Economic inequalities, uneven effects of economic development and no national recognition can cause a divide in modern nation states (Hechter, 1999). This forms, together with differences in culture, language, and politics, the situation that Spain is facing right now with Catalonia’s independent struggle. The internal colonialism thesis of Michael Hechter describes the distinct divide of the dominant core, from the periphery (Hechter, 1975) and in the Spanish case Madrid or the region Castile can be looked upon as the political dominant core and Barcelona or Catalonia can be looked upon as the region. Although Catalonia is seen as the region it is clearly one of the most vibrant and strongest economies in Spain and the European Union. Michael Hechter states in his thesis that the core and peripheral culture must ultimately merge into one all-encompassing cultural system to which all members of the society have primary identification and loyalty. This could be the case if we look back in time but today the primary identification and loyalty to one cultural system is questionable in Spain.

1.2 Research goal

Over the centuries countries merged together, changed from monarchies to republics and vice versa, revolutions brought new countries on the map and wars changed European borders. The Old Continent is a diverse continent where many people have different backgrounds and identify themselves with different cultures. In the past the Spanish State has sought to 'colonize' Catalonia by attempting to suppress its culture and identity through the imposition of a homogeneous Spanish identity (King & Browitt, 2004). It is because of the nationality of someone that people are willing to act in a certain way and ultimately vote for the Catalanian independence movement.

With the turning of the 21st century, Europe and the world is looking back at Europe's colonial past. Looking back what Europe or the West did, changed and transformed in other places far away and looked upon the Orient, "the weaker, less civilized, savage, lazy Other" (Said, 1978). With the study of postcolonialism, Europe is looking back at his colonial past. Postcolonialism is the study of the ideological and cultural impact of Western colonialism and in particular of its aftermath (King & Browitt, 2004). But nowadays Europe's colonial past is "backfiring" into its own nation states. Although, the way to independence for some of the regions in Europe is in not comparable to the way how the former colonies in Asia, Africa and South America got independence. No more brutal and barbarian wars or guerrilla movements between colonizer and colonized, but the rooted reasons why they want to achieve independence are fundamentally the same. The same thing is happening only in a different context, in a modern, Western, civilized postcolonial world. Instead of looking what Europe did in the other place far away from the Old Continent. Let's dive in Europe's history for internal colonialism inside itself and investigate the hypotheses about the backfiring of Europe's colonial past. The theory about internal colonialism differs from postcolonialism and is about the distinct separation of the dominant core, from the periphery in an empire (Howe, 2002). Internal colonialism is applicable to geographically close locations that are different in terms of culture (Howe). The goal of this thesis is to rethink Europe in a postcolonial world. Link internal colonialism with Europe as a postcolonial state and see the regions as a modern colony and the political power in the nation as the core. Nations states don't have the same power over the regions like in 1970 and the solidarity between regions is under pressure. Therefore it's important to rethink the debate and look from another aspect to the regions of Europe. Currently, Catalonia is in the very process of achieving their independence of Spain, therefore, the situation with Catalonia and Spain will be used as the example to apply internal colonialism onto a specific case.

1.3 Research question

A good formulated research question guides the research process and helps to devise efficient search strategies. A research question should be clear, efficiently and focus on the subject that is described in the research goal (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2015). The efficiency of the research question refers to the extent to which the knowledge provided by answering the question, contributes to achieving the research goal (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2015). Linked to the research goal of this thesis, the research question should be dealing about the Spanish case study on which Michael Hechter's theory of internal colonialism thesis will be applied. Therefore the main question for this research is formulated as an open question in which I can investigate the internal colonialism thesis on the Spanish case in the context of a postcolonial Europe.

The main research question is as follows:

What is the postcolonial relationship between Catalonia and the Spanish state in a context of a Europe in crisis ?

This research focuses on the postcolonial relationship between Catalonia and the Spanish case. It sought to explain if Catalonia can be looked upon as an internal colony and if the independence struggle of Catalonia is a form of decolonisation that used to happen outside of Europe but this time has entered Europe in the 21st century. The main research question will give an inside in the postcolonial transformation of Spain and answers, together with the sub-questions, the following question: Is Catalonia decolonizing from Spain?

The part about a Europe in crisis reflects on the internal problems that Europe is facing in present time. The formation of the European Union was intended to create an "ever closer Union" but it has been proven that Europe is struggling for years to form one voice to harmonise, for example their asylum policy. A deeper integrated global economic union has been faced with internal conflicts between EU-member states, internal conflicts between nation states and their regions, the increase of independence movements across Europe, the growing phenomenon of regional nationalism, the increasing Euroscepticism, and the lack of solidarity between countries European countries (Downs, 2002). *Chapter 2.2 A Europe in crisis* will give a deeper elaboration on what is exactly meant with a Europe in crisis.

To answer the main question it is important to know which information is needed to answer the central question in this thesis. Therefore, sub-question are formulated to support and argument the main question.

- **What do the two theories of Michael Hechter, the diffusion model of national development and the internal colonialism theory, exactly mean and how are these applicable in this research?**

It is important to investigate if and how Hechter's theories are compiled and applicable for this research. The diffusion model describes the development of a national identity within a nation states over the course of industrialisation in the 19th and 20th century while the internal colonialism is about decline of national unity and seeing the regions as a 'colony' of the political dominant core region. More on the diffusion model of national development and the internal colonialism theory in *chapter 2.1 Internal colonialism*.

- **How is the process of backfiring of Europe's colonial past happening and applicable to the Spanish case?**

The "backfiring" of Europe's colonial past refers to the fact that rooted reasons why former colonized countries wanted to gain independence is exactly the same as the reason why some of the regions in Europe want to gain independence. The process of why Catalonia and other regions in Europe want to gain independence is a historical one and important for this research to take into account when addressing the change in relationship between Catalonia and Spain. This sub-question further substantiated the hypotheses about the Catalonian independence movement as a form of modern decolonisation in Europe. *Chapter 2.3 The "backfiring" Europe's colonial past* will give a deeper elaboration of what is meant this term.

- **Is the region of Catalonia subjected to the Spanish state in the context of a Europe in crisis?**

This sub-question ties together with the previous subjects and will answer if and what way Catalonia is subjected to the Spanish state and how this forms the image of Catalonia as a modern day internal colony of Spain.

- **Which conditions have caused the separatist movements in Catalonia, Spain to originate from?**

In his work, Hechter's dictates that the persistence of separatist political movements in societies suggest that the successful incorporation of peripheral groups occurs only under certain conditions (Hechter, 1999). It is therefore important to investigate these certain conditions to gain knowledge about the relation between Catalonia to the Spanish state.

- **How has the emerge of regional nationalism effect the relationship between European states and their regions?**

The growing phenomenon of regional nationalism in Europe is putting pressure on the relationships between European states and the regions (Harris-Quinney, 2012). Nationalism in Europe has already been increasing over the years but with the with the change towards regional nationalism it is important to take this into account when to address the change in relationship between European countries and their regions in a postcolonial world.

1.4 Relevance

The map of Europe has been changing constantly over time. The formation and unification of powerful empires to the fall of these empires in a dozen smaller countries. For the last 20 years the borders of Western Europe have stayed the same. We have taken it almost for granted, and certainly don't expect, that the current borders of Europe won't change. However this could change in the future. European minorities as the Scots and Catalans have launched high-profile independence movements that have even captured global attention. Even now when the UK voted to leave the European Union, the majority of the leave-votes came from England and Wales while Scotland voted mainly to stay in the Union, the Scots are determined to stay in the Union and call for another referendum to leave the UK` (NOS, 2016). The Scots are being forces to leave the Union against their own will and a new discussion about Scotland's within the United Kingdom is rising.

Although the way how certain groups of people want to achieve the change in the borders is totally different from the past, the reasons stay in some cases the same. This has threatened to alter European geopolitics in numbers of ways. Suddenly Europe didn't seem as the stable and unified continent that it once was during the years of the formation of the European Union. Apparently, the borders of Europe are still not taken for granted and still continue to change. Therefore it is relevant to rethink Europe in and debate on how the relationship between Europe and the regions has changed in a postcolonial world , with the concept of internal colonialism. This thesis will concentrate on the Catalanian case, because this region is in the very process of separating themselves of Spain, with a sufficient chance of achieving this.

2 Theoretical framework

In this theoretical chapter, the concepts Hechter's theories will be explained in an exploratory way to get a first impression on the general meaning of this theory. As well as how this theory can be applicable on the Spanish case. First a comprehensive explanation about the two models from Michael Hechter's internal colonialism theory will be given, to understand what his theories exactly mean. Secondly, a deeper elaboration of the political crisis that Europe is facing in present time will be given. The term "backfiring" of Europe's colonial past shall be explained and discussed in the third paragraph. And finally, the conceptual model will be shown and explained at the end of this chapter.

2.1 Michael Hechter's theories

Internal colonialism seeks to explain the social origins of ethnic solidarity and change. In his book *Internal Colonialism*, which was first published in 1995, Michael Hechter's seeks to explain the social origins of ethnic solidarity and change. Therefore, Hechter uses in two alternative models of national development. The first one is a diffusion model of national development followed by the internal colonialism model.

2.1.1 The diffusion model of national development

Alfred L. Kroeber defines diffusionism, part of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* from E.R.A Seligam and Alvin Johnson, as process usually but not necessarily gradual, by which elements or systems of culture are spread, by which an invention or new institution adopted in one place is adopted in neighbouring areas, and in some cases continues to be adopted in adjacent ones (Hechter, 1999). In his book Hechter describes three important temporal stages occurring in the process of national development.

- Pre-industrial. In this stage the core and peripheral regions exist in virtual isolation from one another. Events in the core have but slight influence in the periphery. The core and the periphery are almost mutually isolated; there are many significant differences in their economic, cultural, and political institutions.
- The second stage in the model of national development is, at the beginning of industrializations. This stage marks the initiation of more intensive contact between the core and peripheral regions.
- The final stage of national development regional wealth should be in balance, cultural differences should cease to be socially meaningful, and political processes will occur within a framework of national parties, in a democratic setting, thereby insuring representation to all significant groups.

The rise of industrialisation causes structural differentiation in the regions that used to be more isolated. Values, interaction, relationships change and the changes of a modern social system cause a breakdown of previous social arrangements (Hechter, 1999). One of the implications of this change is that industrialization favours the inclusion of previously excluded groups into the society (Hechter, 1999).

2.1.2 The internal colonialism model

The second model the internal colonialism model. The internal colonial model posits an altogether different relationship between the increasing core-periphery contact that results in social structural convergence (Hechter, 1999). The core is seen to dominate the periphery politically and to exploit it materially, except under exceptional circumstances. The spatially uneven wave of modernization and uneven distribution of wealth over state territory creates relatively advanced and less advanced groups (Hechter, 1999). A divide between the advance, wealthy core and less advanced periphery where the wealth lags behind.

2.1.3 Internal colonialism on the Spanish case

The two models that Hechter's has defined in his book are contradicting each other in a few ways. The first model, the diffusion model of national development, is about the creation of one common identity within a nation state. Along with the rise of industrialization saw the creation of this common national identity, that conducive the inclusion of previously excluded groups into the society (Hechter, 1999). The core and peripheral regions will tend to become culturally homogenous because the economic, cultural and political foundations for separate ethnic identification disappear (Hechter, 1999). The second model, the internal colonialism model, contradicts the first model and is about the changing relationship between regions. Cultural differences between the core and periphery could lead the probability that the disadvantaged, minority group will, in time, seem and aim for its own culture as an equal or superior to that of the relatively advantaged core. This helps the peripheral region to conceive of itself as a separate nation and seek independence (Hechter, 1999). Thus, the first model is about the creation of one common identity and the second model is about the cracks that occur over time within the common identity because of the uneven wave of modernization over state territory and the way the core has treated the peripheral regions in a disadvantaged way (Hechter, 1999).

This thesis will go deeper in the internal colonialism theory and even, if necessary, adjust this theory for the Spanish case. The research on the Spanish case study is therefore build on the foundation of Michael Hechter's internal colonialism thesis. Although it needs to be taken into account that Hechter's application of his theory is sometimes not comparable to the Spanish case and perhaps needs to be adjust to use it in this case. In his book Hechter arguments that:

'the core is characterized by diversified industrial structure, the pattern of development in the periphery is dependent, and complementary tot that in the core' and 'Peripheral industrialisation, if it occurs at all I highly specialized and geared for export.' Michael Hechter, 1999: 9)

The core-periphery relationship between Catalonia and Madrid cannot be compared entirely with the case in the UK. Catalonia may be the region but not a periphery with an economic disadvantages because it is currently one of the economic powerhouse in Spain and the European Union. Therefore, Hechter's second model about internal colonialism, in which he suggests that the wave of uneven economic disadvantages causes a divide between the core and the peripheral region, needs to be adjust, if necessary, to use it in this thesis.

2.2 A Europe in crisis

Over the course of history rulers from Napoleon and Hitler to communist leaders in Eastern Europe tried in one way or another to unify Europe. All of those efforts resulted in one way: war. In 1914 Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, heir to the Austro-Hungarian crown, was assassinated in Sarajevo by Gavrilo Princip. When Serbia declined the Austrian ultimatum, the Austrian Empire declared war on Serbia. A domino effect occurred and other countries got dragged into the war that soon became known as the First World War. One of the reasons for the start of the Great War can be traced back to the lack of solidarity between European countries (Henk van Houtum, *Internal and external border crisis?*, 07-10-15). After the Second World War, solidarity became one of the foundations stones in the creation of the European Union. More than 100 years later the solidarity is hard to find, yet again, on many different subjects between member states, and also non-EU member states, of the European Union.

The European Union is struggling for years to form one voice to harmonize, for example their asylum policy. This is difficult with 28 member states, each with their own interests and policies. In the era of globalisation, Europe has driven toward a wider, deeper and global economic union but this strive towards a "ever closer Union" has been met in many European countries by parallel process of disintegration: destabilisation of relations between the political dominant national governments and regional governments, and division of citizen loyalties by claimants at local, regional, national, and supranational levels (Downs, 2002). In recent years, the European Union has inspired scholars in various academic fields to question the relationship between nation and state, centralization and decentralization, and even the existence of the nation-state itself in a future Europe (Keating, Loughlin, & Deschouwer, 2003). Montserrat Guibernau, Professor of Politics at Queen Mary University of London, looks upon the European Union as a:

"living laboratory in which experiments about 3 new ways to understand sovereignty, territoriality and identity are currently being tested" (Guibernau, 1999: 146)

Nowadays, minority groups in the regions take a part in the testing of the sovereignty, territoriality and identity in Europe (Olsson, 2006). The concept of 'Europe of the Regions' goes all the way back to the 1960s, the new wave of regional integration has its roots in the mid-1980s and opened the way to so called "new regionalism" (Olsson, 2006). The new regionalism literature stresses the importance of social construction of the region, and the role of collective identities in facilitating social change (Olsson, 2006). Identity and nationalism are one of the key elements for minority groups to speak up for themselves and to seek greater voice, greater autonomy and if not outright independence and statehood (Downs, 2002). Michael Keating, a political scientist and dominant figure in the field of minority nationalism literature, has defined the term New Minority nationalisms, which is also called regional nationalisms, as:

"post-nation-state in inspiration, addressing a world in which sovereignty has ceased to be absolute and power is dispersed" (Keating, 1996: 53)

"the denial of exclusive claims on the part of the state nationalism and the assertion of national rights of self-determination for groups within it" (Keating, 1996: 18)

Europe has been struck by crisis after crisis and it is no coincidence that the global financial crisis has led up to an increase in the popularity of, for example, the Scottish National Party (Harris-Quinney, 2012). The growing phenomenon of regional nationalism has grown in strength, and together with the political unstable situation in Europe an increase in the number of constitutional regions and stateless nations aggressively seeking autonomy has occurred (Downs, 2002).

In a world in which colonialism has ended, absolute sovereignty of states has been significantly altered and (regional-)nationalism is on the rise, a new form of decolonisation is now possibly happening in Europe's. The end of colonialism has brought new problems to the once divided continent. To investigate the relationship between the Spanish state and Catalonia, with the two models of Hechter's theory, it is important to take the present day problems within Europe into account that could have effect on the Spanish relationship. The growth of regional nationalism and the shift in power balance between states and their regions overlaps with Hechter's second model and can therefore lead to alterations in his theory and models to make them contemporary and applicable with the Spanish case.

2.3 The “backfiring” Europe’s colonial past

“Consider that in 1800 Western powers claimed 55 percent but actually held approximately 35 percent of the earth’s surface, and that by 1874 the proportion was 67 percent, a rate of increase of 83,000 square miles per year. By 1914, the annual rate had risen to an astonishing 240,000 square miles [per year], and Europe held a grand total of roughly 85 percent of the earth as colonies, protectorates, dependencies, dominions, and commonwealths. No other associated set of colonies in history was as large, none so totally dominated, none so unequal in power to the Western metropolis.” (Said, 1993)

- Edward W. Said

The 15th century is marked as the era in which modern global colonialism has begun. The first European nations to explore other parts of the world were the Portuguese and Spanish. Later, during the 16th century, England, France and the Netherlands went to explore other parts of the world and established their colonies in the Americas, Africa, Asia and Oceania. The 18th and early 19th century marked the era of the decolonisation of most European colonies in the Americas and Spain lost quite a lot of their colonies in central and south America. After the First World War in the 20th century, the colonies of the losers were distributed amongst the victors, but it wasn’t until the end of the Second World War that the era of decolonisation had truly started (De bosatlas van de geschiedenis van Nederland, 2011).

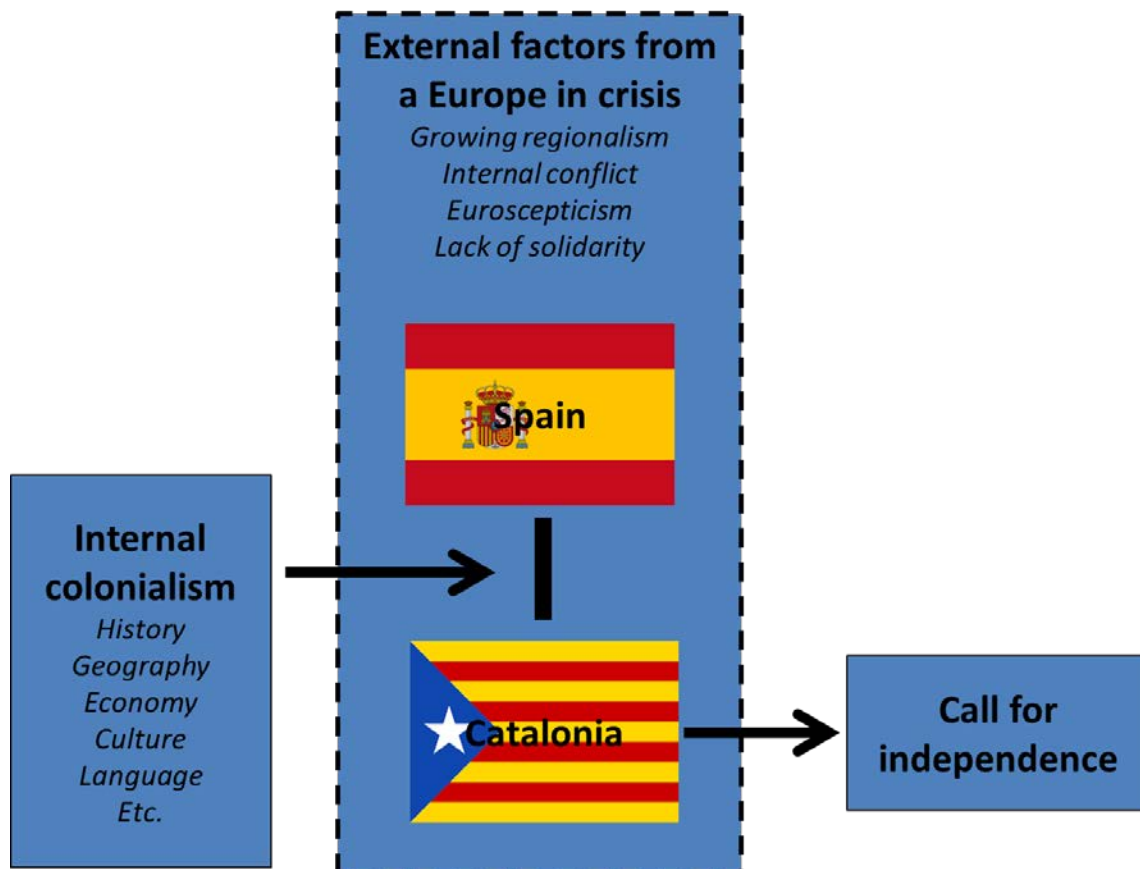
Backfiring suggest that something that has haunted you in the past is coming back at you. Nowadays, the way that led to the independence of the colonies of Spain and The United Kingdom is “backfiring” into their own nation states. The beginning of the twentieth century marked a period in which European countries were strongly nationalistic and everybody was proud at their origin and country. After the loss of the colonies through the years that lead to 1970, the level of nationalism was changing in Europe. This simultaneously caused an increase of the independence movements across Europe and a division between regions and the dominant core in their nation state. Belgium is an excellent example in this case. In the 1900’s Belgium was proud of their colony Congo which mad the country, especially King Leopold II, very rich. People from Flanders and Wallonia felt Belgian, worked together and no clear divided or quarrel between the two regions was present at that time. The nation was held together with colonialism but after the end of the Belgium colonial rule in Congo, the national cohesion was put to question and over time caused the division between Flanders and Wallonia as we know it today.

Peo Hansen, Professor of Political Science the Linköping University in Sweden, writes about European integration and the colonial connection with it. He argues that the significance of colonialism and decolonization for the drawing of European integration and a European identity is still a largely unexplored field. In his article he seeks to explain that theoretical and empirical studies on European integration need to pay more attention to question about colonialism and decolonisation (Hansen, 2002). Hansen claims that the multitude of structures, conceptions and legacies that are bound up with European colonialism and imperialism not only have a bearing on the individual member states and the various historical and contemporary discourses on Europe and European identity, but that they also weigh heavily on the project of European integration in its own right (Hansen, 2002). The traces that European colonialism has left behind could affect the European identity and the process to a “ever closer Union” but the possible decolonisation of Catalonia from Spain is another matter

that could affect the European identity and Union. The call for independence in the former colonial world could come back into the regions of the Old Continent itself. The process of the Catalonian independence from Spain may very well be a form of modern decolonisation inside Europe. The way to independence for some of the regions in Europe is not comparable to the way how the former colonies in Asia, Africa and South America got independence, however the rooted reasons why they want to achieve independence are fundamentally the same. The reason that no 'foreign' power can determine their life, decision and country. This is where the term "backfiring" refers to.

2.4 Conceptual model

A conceptual model is a simplified representation and description of the goal of the research. The conceptual model below shows how this research can be seen in such a model;



The conceptual model shows the relationship between Catalonia and the Spanish state. The external factors from a Europe in crisis illustrate the difficulties that Europe Union is facing today and which could have effect on the relationship between nation states and their region, in this case Catalonia and the Spanish state. The growing regionalism in Europe and the increasing Euroscepticism are factors that could affect the relationship between region and nation state. This relationship can be looked upon from an internal colonialism perspective, which takes aspects such as history, geography, economy and culture into account. The history reflects on the stages, pre-industrial, beginning of industrializations and the coming together of one national identity, defined by the model of national development from Hechter internal colonialism thesis. Together with the factors from a Europe crisis and the difficult relationship between the Spanish state and Catalonia results in a call for independence for the Catalonia region.

3 Methodology

This chapter will focus on the research strategy. The research strategy will be fabricated together with the research goal, research questions and the theoretical framework. The research strategy will be a way to gain and absorb relevant information in order to answer the sub-question and the main question (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2015).

In their book, Verschuren en Doorewaard describe five different research strategies: survey, experiment, case study, fundamental theory approach and desk research. The research strategies for this thesis will be a comprehensive desk research and in which the researcher will gain a detailed insight in how the process and relationship between Catalonia and the Spanish state are constructed through an internal colonialism lens. A good conducted desk research is a study that presents in-depth and comprehensive understanding of a process.

3.1 Literature study

A large literature study will be done to get an insight in the relationship between the Spanish state and the Catalanian region, through an internal colonialism lens, and in a context of a Europe in crisis. During the desk research I shall use existing literature and possible other material gathered. To answer the research questions and achieve the research goal, literature of other writers will be used.

The section on the relationship between the Spanish state and Catalonia through, will be the empirical part of the research and exists mostly out of literature. The literature from Michael Hechter's book about internal colonialism will be used to apply his thesis on the Spanish case. Besides, Edward Page article about some theoretical and methodological problems with Hechter's internal colonialism thesis will be used to perhaps change Hechter's thesis so it will be applicable in this desk research. The two models from Hechter's theory help to understand the relationship between the Spanish state and Catalonia from an internal colonialism perspective. Model one can help to understand how Spain has tried to make a common Spanish identity throughout history. The second model ensures how the relationship between state and region has been fallen apart and how the call for Catalanian independence results from the past. As was mentioned before, the two models of Hechter's theory may need some adjustments to make them more applicable to the Spanish case.

4 The history of Spain

This chapter will provide a short introduction on the most important aspects of the early and modern history of Spain. The early Middle Ages and the Moorish conquest until the Franco regime in the 20th century are some of the aspects that will be discussed in this chapter.

This chapter has been compiled from 'A Short History of Spain and Portugal' by the late Brigadier G.O.M. Jameson, who worked at Stanford University and wrote a number of short series of world history. Jameson's work has also been compiled from a number of works including H.A.L. Fisher's "History of Europe", W.L. Langer's "Encyclopaedia of World History", and the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

4.1 Al Andalus and the Reconquista

In 1100 the Spanish peninsula was largely conquered and ruled by Moorish Muslims, apart from the Spanish March and the Christian strongholds in the North-West. The Moorish domination was strongest in the South, in Andalusia. The power of the Moors was at its peak, especially when they took Barcelona and Santiago at the end of the 10th century.



Figure 2. Historical and schematic map of Al Andalus (from around the 10th century) with the Muslim territories and the Christian Kingdom of Asturias. Source: part of University of Texas Libraries
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/d1/Map_Iberian_Peninsula_750-en.svg/827px-

Al Andalus, the name of then Muslim Spain, fell apart little by little during the 11th century because of internal struggles and with the death of Almansor, the Chief Minister, in 1002. The Moorish territories fell apart into different and independent city-states (taifa's). This enabled the Christian Kingdoms in the North to start the Reconquista.

In the 10th century the kingdom of Asturias moved its capital from Oviedo to Leon and the Kingdom of Leon became the leading Christian state on the peninsula. However, during the middle of the century the county of Castile broke away from Leon and became independent. In the early 11th century Navarre formed a union with Castile and conquered most of Leon. This union, however, did not last for long because with the death of Sancho the Great of Navarre, became a divided into the two kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon. The King of Castile, Ferdinand I, conquered the rest of Leon and Castile became the founding father of the Reconquista. In 1085, the most important taifa,

Toledo, fell into the hand of the Christian Kingdom of Castile, which marked the first signal success in the Reconquista. The Muslim rulers slowly began to lose their territory and influence. The Islamic taifa's made room for the Christian Kingdoms in North of the peninsula and in 1350 the only territory under Islamic rule was the emirate around Granada in the South of the peninsula, which remained under Moorish rule for another two centuries. With the conquest of the last Muslim emirate of Granada saw one of the last stages of the Reconquista, to re-control the Iberian Peninsula under Christian rule. The Reconquista became to an end in 1492 with the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, uniting the two kingdoms. The Kingdoms of Aragon, along with Catalonia, and the Kingdom of Castile merged together and formed the Kingdom of Spain. In The Moors have clearly left their influences in Spain in the form of architecture in Southern Spain, which can be seen in palaces and fortress they built over the centuries in Granada and Seville (see the pictures below).



Figure 3. The Alhambra in Granada, Andalusia. A former royal palace, build in the 13th century, with Moorish rulers. <https://500px.com/photo/395763/alhambra-by-arnd-lawrenz>



Figure 4. The Real Alcázar in Seville, Andalusia. A still in use royal palace build by Moorish Muslim kings. The architecture clearly reflects Moorish style influences. <https://nl.pinterest.com/pin/547750373409913219/>

4.2 The beginning and fall of Spain's empire

With the death of Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon in the early 16th century, the throne of Spain then passed, via their daughter, to their grandson Charles I. Charles inherited Spain, the American colonies and Southern Italy. From his paternal grandfather, the Habsburg Emperor Maximilian I, he inherited the Habsburg domains of Austria and the Netherlands. Besides, in 1519 Charles was elected Holy Roman Emperor and thus becoming the Emperor Charles V and adding Germany to his empire.

From the beginning of the 16th century, Spain was under Habsburg rule, and at the same time the Spanish Empire began to expand to New World. Spain became, briefly and crudely, the dominant seagoing imperial powers in the first phase of expansion. This process started roughly between the first voyages to America and the European Thirty Years War. The dominant propaganda theme of Spain's imperial expansion in the world was a religious one, and no doubt often the genuinely dominant preoccupation (BOOK 84). The Kings of Spain thought that the new world should be won for sake of Christendom. The reign of King Philip, the great defender of Catholicism, was marked the Spanish golden age and Spain became the strongest European power. Their strength was the incomparable infantry of her standing army, mainly volunteers and with a large noble element.

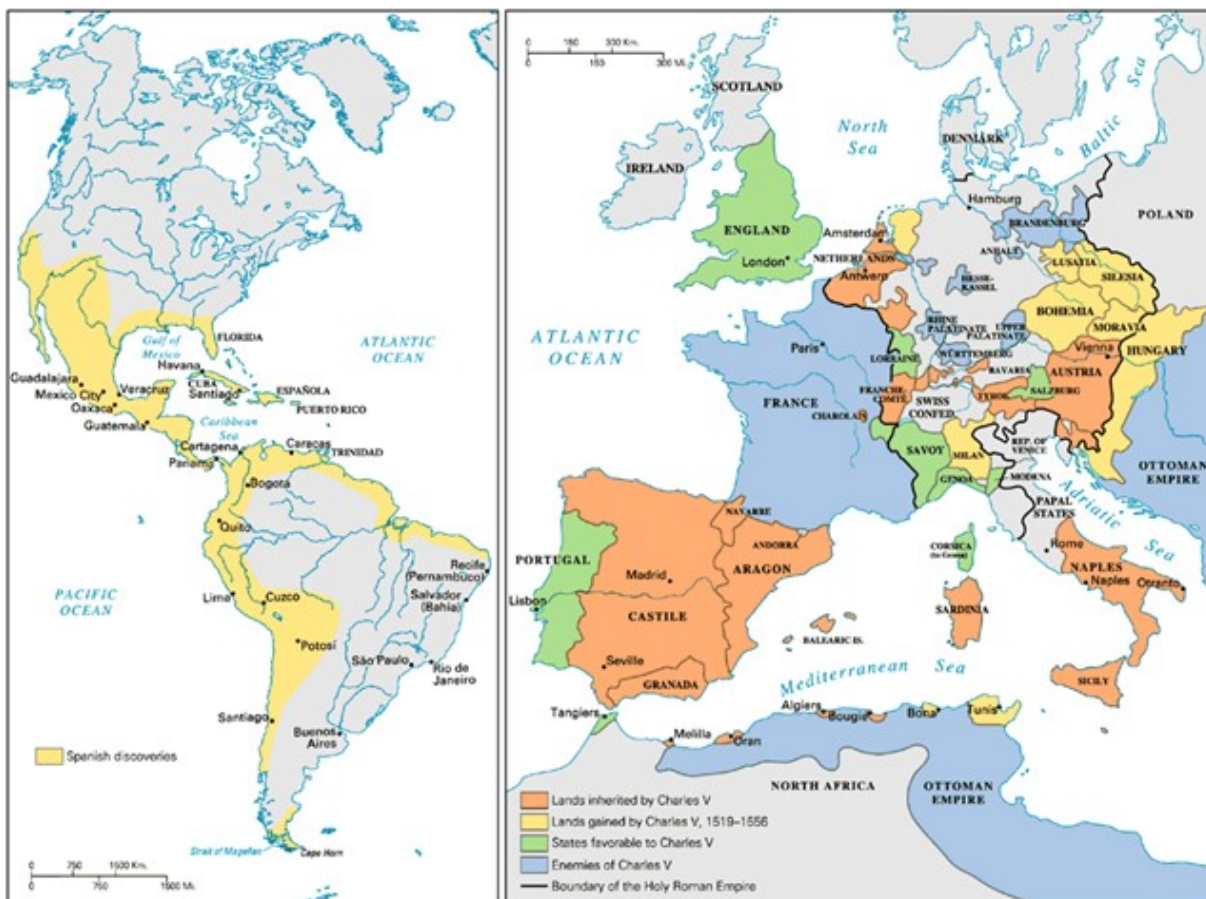


Figure 5. The global empire of Charles V (sources: Bailey Hurley <http://slideplayer.com/slide/726890/>)

During the 16th and 17th century, Spain was involved in all the major European wars Italian wars, the Eighty Years' War, the Thirty Years' War and Franco-Spanish War. Spain and England were in constant threat, but when King Philip decided to attack and invade the English island, the Spanish army was defeated by the English fleet. This marked a turn in the Spanish golden age and showed that they were not invincible.

With Spain's finances in disorder Spain needed a period of peace and retrenchment. The Kings of Spain still tried to play a leading part in European affairs. Philip IV wanted to restore Spain's prestige and wanted to achieve his goal by victories in war. The Twelve Year's Truce against the Dutch was resumed in 1621 and the Thirty Years War, a war between the Catholic and Protestant European nations, broke out in which Spain took a part. The rule of Philip IV didn't achieve the prestige that he had in mind and resulted in further disaster. The Treaty of Westphalia concluded the Thirty Years War and saw the international accepted independence of the Dutch Republic. In 1659, France overtook Spain as the leading European powerhouse.

During Philip IV rule, the polity of centralisation of power and high taxation to pay for the wars had led to a serious revolt in 1640 of the independent-minded Catalans of the North-East. The Catalans always had a considerable measure of autonomy. France supported the revolt, and it was twelve years before Barcelona finally submitted. With the Treaty of the Pyrenees, the Catalans retained most of their former privileges.

Charles II, last Spanish Habsburg monarch, died in 1700 and with his dead the War of Succession started. The war came to an end with the succession of Philip of Anjou as the King Philip V of Spain, and thus founding the dynasty of the Spanish Bourbons. Therefore, Spain lost a lot of their European "colonies" and lost their Italian and Dutch possessions to the Austrian Emperor and Sicily went to Savoy. In Spain itself the Catalans continued the struggle against King Philip. The Catalans were seeking independence, but their rising was put down. Therefore, they lost most of their ancient privileges, and the use of the native Catalan language was banned in the courts. Spain's status became to crumble down to a second-rate power with a reduced influence in European affairs.

Spain was involved in wars during the 18th century with Austria and England. Over time the Seven Years Wars in Europe broke out, with Spain joining France against Britain. The result was a triumph for Britain. The end of the 18th century saw the French Revolution, Napoleon conquest and the Peninsular War. It was after, these wars that Spain never regained their former strength and prestige. Spain was conquered by Napoleon in 1807 and made both Charles and Ferdinand abdicate their rights to the throne, on which he placed his brother Joseph. But, national pride and devotion to their religion were the ruling passions of the Spaniards. This led to a revolt against the hated French. In 1811 the British and Portuguese forces led the War of Independence on the Iberian Peninsula. French forces were driven out of Madrid in 1812 and by the end of 1813 the French were driven out of Spain.

Spain went into long-term decline during the 17th and 18th century, with their military and naval resources overextended and their domestic economies stagnating. This decline was characterised by Spain's continuing visions of world empire without the military or economic means to sustain it and a rigid Catholic orthodoxy.

4.3 The loss of the colonies

During the 18th century the growing discontent grew in the Spanish colonies. Towards the end of the 18th century, revolutionary French ideas reached Latin America and thoughts of independence were encouraged by the successful revolt of the British colonies in North America.

When Napoleon was defeated in 1810 and Ferdinand was back on the throne with his vision to restore Spain to its former old colonial system of absolute authority, the rebellious colonists now made their aim complete separation from Spain. In the course of the next ten years they were everywhere successful, taking advantage of Ferdinand's troubles in Spain which prevented his from sending forces overseas. Two important figures in the South America independence rise were Jose de San Martin and Simon Bolivar. In 1818 he defeated the Spanish army and liberated Chile. Two years later he moved an army by sea to Peru, the centre of Spanish authority, and declared the independence of Peru (1821). Bolivar, helped by the British, freed Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and in 1825 went to establish another independent state Bolivia. Mexico gained their independence in 1821 as a result of the liberal revolution against Ferdinand in 1820. The successful independence of Mexico inspired other American colonies and soon Central America (later the states of Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica) and what is now the South- Western United States (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California) gained their independence from Spain.

What is now known as the Louisiana in the United States had taken by France during the Napoleonic Wars. The remaining North American colonies of Spain, like Florida, had been sold to the United States. Further the, Trinidad had been taken by the British and in 1821 Santo Domingo proclaimed their independence and became the Dominican Republic. There was not much left of the once large, imperial Spanish empire, only the small island of Cuba en Puerto Rio remained loyal to Spain.

4.4 Civil Wars

The middle of the 19th century was the start of civil wars in Spain which would last for almost a century. With Ferdinand's death, the liberals supported the accession of his infant daughter Isabella. Others supported the old regime and backed Ferdinand's brother as King. This quarrel brought the first Carlist War, which would last from 1834 until 1839. The liberals won and Isabella remained on the throne for another 30 years.

However, the liberal regime took the intensity of the attachment of Spaniards to individual independence and local and regional privileges little in account. The Catalan revolted and the violence of the Carlist Wars was intensified by the Basques for their Castilian (Spanish) rulers. Together with the first civil wars in Spain saw the rise of the influence of the army as one of the strongest political influences. The army even dictated state affairs for 35 years after the first Carlist war. In 1868, Queen Isabella was deposed because neither conservatives nor liberals found it possible to govern effectively under her reign. Prince Amadeo of Savoy was offered the Spanish crown but abdicated after two years and a republic was founded in 1873. The Spanish provinces wanted to reclaim their self-government, when the new republic was founded. The army eventually took on when the lower classes started to revolt and when the Carlist movement was on the rise. This resulted in the restoration of the monarchy by the army with Isabella's son, Alfonso, as King.

Under the reign of Alfonso XII (1874-85) and his son Alfonso XIII (1886- 1931) some economic progress was made, but no real progress towards solving Spain's political problems or the conditions of the working people. This period saw the total end of Spain's overseas empire. A brief war with the United States resulted in the loss of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, in 1898, thus completing the dissolution of the Spanish overseas empire.

In 1923, an army coup happened because of the disastrous campaign in Morocco by Alfonso XIII. The constitution was suspended and the government's power was handed over to the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera. This dictatorship held until 1925 when Rivera's position was changed to prime minister, with a mainly military cabinet. Rivera brought some reforms to Spain and enjoyed popular support. Rivera's "reign" was a period of internal peace, but his economic policy, of industrial expansion and vast public works - collapsed with the world-wide depression of 1929, and in 1930 he resigned. Without Rivera, Alfonso was unable to form a government and left Spain which caused the establishment of the second Spanish Republic in 1931 under Manuel Azana leadership. Under Azana's reign, Catalonia gained a large measure of large self-government and recognizing of the Catalan as an official language.

The growing violence in Spain culminated on in July 1936 in a military rising. General Franco fled to Morocco and from there brought an army to Spain, where he became the insurgent leader. This marked the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, which took place from 1936 to 1939. The Nationalists supported Franco. Against the Nationalist were Loyalist or Republicans exciting of the supporters of Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, lower paid workers and some of the middle classes. The Republicans also enjoyed the support of the Catalan and Basque separatists. Catalonia had enjoyed varying degrees of independence since 1932 and the Basques were given home rule by the republican government soon after the outbreak of the Civil War.

4.5 From Franco to Juan Carlos I

The Civil War resulted in the triumph of the army, the Church, and the landed gentry, and of the Spanish brand of Fascism over Communism. Franco's regime paved the way for 35 years of dictatorship. It was a victory for centralism over regional autonomy. This resulted in the crush of any independence ideas of the Catalans and Basques. During the years before and during the Civil Wars and Franco regime, the autonomy of Catalonia and Basque country, that was developed over the course 18th and 19th century, was taken away to make room for centralisation and effective political integration.

The existence of multiple territorial identities in Spain was in Franco's eyes a threat to the national unity and the integrity of a great power. Therefore, Franco attempted to impose the model of homogeneous indivisible, almost eternal nation united by a single Castilian (Spanish) language, culture and spirit. The Franco regime relied on strategies of violent cultural and linguistic assimilation to suppress regional identities and eliminate their deepest roots.

Franco's regime came to be accepted by the majority of the Spanish people, who preferred his rigid authoritarianism to the misery of the Civil War or the chaos which had preceded it. Franco kept Spain neutral during the Second World War. After the Second World War, Spain was an outcast among the democratic nations in Western Europe and barred from membership of the United Nations. But in 1955, Spain was admitted to the United Nations because of the growing breach between Soviet Union and Western powers.

Spain's economy got a boost with American aid the industry got expanded. However less progress was made in agriculture, which was still the main occupation of the people. 1960 saw a softening of the whole Franco regime this saw an increase in industrial progress, increase in tourism, rise of the middle class, right to strike, press censorship lifted and political prisoners were released from jail.

The last of Spain's 'colonies' got their independence after the Second World War and during the Franco regime. Spanish Guinea was given full independence in 1968 and the Spanish Sahara in Africa was handed over to Morocco and Mauretania.

Towards 1948, it became clear that Franco wanted to name Prince Juan Carlos, son of Don Juan's son, as his successor and restore the monarchy. The young prince got trained for the throne, training military academy and in government ministries, and in 1969 got official appointed by Franco as his successor. On Franco's death in 1975 Juan Carlos became King of Spain. Juan Carlos ignored his Fascist training and moved Spain towards democracy. Political parties were legalised, Adolfo Suarez was named prime minister and general election were held, the first before the Civil War. The first elections in 1977 resulted in a comfortable victory for Suarez's "centre-left" coalition. Together with drastic reforms from the new government, saw the first moves towards the restoration of the autonomy for the Catalans and the Basques.

5 The development of Spain's national identity

"A nation is not defined by its borders or the boundaries of its land mass Rather, a nation is defined by adverse people who have been unified by a cause and a value system and who are committed to a vision for the type of society they wish to live in and give to the future generations to come."

— Fela Durotoye

The diffusion model of national development contains three temporal stages occurring in the process of national development: pre-industrial stage, beginning of industrialisation and the post-industrial stage. In the pre-industrial stage, the core and peripheral regions exist in virtual isolation from one another. Events in the core have but slight influence in the periphery. During this stage there are many significant differences in economic, cultural, and political institutions between the core and the periphery. However, with the rise of industrialisation marks the increase of more intensive core-periphery contact. From this stage, Hechter counters the assumption that from interaction will come commonality (Hechter, 1999). Social structures found in the developing core regions, will after some time, diffuse into the periphery (Hechter, 1999). Because the periphery has lived in isolation from the core, the contact with the modernizing core regions will transform the cultural forms by updating them (Hechter, 1999). In the final stage of national development, regional wealth should be in balance cultural differences should cease to be socially meaningful, and political processes will occur within a framework of national parties, in a democratic setting, thereby insuring representation to all significant groups.

The Industrial Revolution caused structural differentiation in regions that used to be more isolated. Besides the changes, that industrialization brings in values, interaction, relationships, it also favours the inclusion of previously excluded groups into the society (Hechter, Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966, 1999). Thus, industrialization is usually conceived to be a necessary condition for intensifying contact between core and peripheral groups and the transformation of the social structures in the peripheral region. Industrialisation stimulates economic, cultural, and political interactions of all kinds between the core and the periphery (Hechter, 1999). This is because heightened core-periphery interaction, and ongoing structural differentiation, should encourage the development of regional economic equality, national cultural homogeneity, and a national politics dominated by functional, rather than status group, orientations to political action (Hechter, 1999).

As what has been described above, industrialisation stimulates the core-periphery contact and encourages the formation of one national identity. To identify the postcolonial relationship between Catalonia and the Spanish state with Hechter's thesis, the model of national development needs to be taken into account and applied on the Spanish case. By doing this, a clear image can be created on how the development of a Spanish nationality, with the rise of industrialisation, could have affected the relationship between modern day Catalonia and the Spanish state.

5.1 The core and the region

The diffusion model of national development is a model to illustrate the process of national development in industrial societies. Hechter defines two collectivist or objectively distinct cultural groups in this model, the core and the periphery, and describes these cultural groups as:

“the core, or dominant cultural group which occupies territory extending from the political centre of the society (e.g. the locus of the central government) outward to those territories largely occupied by the subordinate, or peripheral cultural group.” (Hechter, 1999: 18)

In this thesis the core, or dominant cultural and political group in the Spanish case is the region of Castile. Nowadays the historical boundaries of the former region and Kingdom of Castile are roughly the same as boundaries of modern, autonomous regions Castile-Leon, Castile-La Mancha and Madrid. The core or dominant region will be addressed as Madrid in this research because Madrid is clearly the political dominant region and the locus of the central government in Spain.



Figure 6. Map of Spain with the autonomous regions

The subordinate, or peripheral cultural group in this case is the region of Catalonia, also referred to as Barcelona. In this research the boundaries of the region of Catalonia are the same as the modern day boundaries of the autonomous region of Catalonia. Catalonia is seen as the peripheral group because historically looking, they got merged into the Kingdom of Spain, lost their independence, over time got “suppressed” in various ways by the dominant cultural group and now want to seek independence because they feel Catalan instead of Spanish.

5.2 Industrial Revolution in Spain

From Britain the Industrial revolution spread across continental Europe and the rest of the world. However, the industrialisation process in Spain started later than other Western nations and did not begin until the second half of the 19th century. To make a clear image of the development of Spain's national identity, it is important to take the reasons for this delay, in comparison to other Western nations, into account. The failures that could have caused the delay in the Spanish industrialisation process could have affected the formation of one national identity in Spain and the relationship between the Spanish state and Catalonia.

The industrialisation process within a nation can be influenced by geographical, demographic, political another factors. First, the factors why the industrialisation started in Britain and why it was so successful will be discussed. Secondly, the reason for the delay of the Spanish industrialisation process and the unequal industrialization in Spain will be addressed.

5.2.1 Success factors of the Industrial Revolution in Britain

The start of the Industrial Revolution in the late 18th century resulted in a game changer of modern day history. As Gregory Clark, economic historian at the University of California, Davis, noted: *"The British Industrial Revolution is the key break in world history, the event that defines our lives. No episode is more important"* (Clark, 2012). The birthing place of this Revolution began in Britain after 1750. Several factors on the geographical, demographic and political field made Britain the ideal place for industrialisation. The so called "Agricultural Revolution" in the 18th century created the groundworks of the Industrial Revolution. New corps from foreign colonies came to Britain and new techniques and tools were invented to increase the agricultural productivity in Britain and ensured major food supplies for the people (Nadal, El fracaso de la revolución industrial en España, 1814-1913, 1975) (Montesinos, 2015). It was during this time that Britain's population significantly increased, from 9,1 million in 1800 to 35,8 million in 1900 (Montesinos, 2015). With the Agricultural Revolution, more people moved from the country side to the ever growing cities. This increase in population meant more people who could work in factories. Another important factor for the start of the Industrial Revolution in Britain was the political climate. The absolute monarchy was replaced by a constitutional monarchy a long time ago and switched the power from the crown to the government (van Neuss, 2015) (Montesinos, 2015). The British government supported the industrialist financially and passed laws to promote investments in businesses. The new form of government also grew in favour of property and against customary rights all over the 18th century. This change in, for example land property, led to more efficient economic organizations in Britain, better allocation of resources and spurred economic growth (van Neuss, 2015). This positive political climate, together with the growing bourgeoisie society, helped to grow the British economy. With invention like the spinning Jenny, Edmund Cartwright's power loom and the steam engine Britain was leading the way in the cotton industry and was far ahead of other Western countries.

Geographical and geological conditions have contributed a great part in the industrialization process in Britain. The fact that Britain is an island, surrounded by sea, has many rivers and no place is more than 120 km located from the sea benefited the water transport (van Neuss, 2015). Geologically, Britain has vast supply of mineral resources, especially coal and iron. It was these large supplies of coals that made Britain into the first industrial society (Wrightson & Levine, 1991 T). This proved to

be essential for the success of the industrialisation in Britain and the development of new machinery with iron and to power up steam engines with coals. Human power got replaced with cheap and powerful energy from coals. To distribute coals to the factories new efficient transportations systems began to developed in 18th century Britain. Britain had plenty decent roads and good navigable rivers but the creation of an efficient national railroad and canal network mad it possible to transport goods and resources much faster. It was this change in transportation systems and the invention of railroads and steam powered, iron ships that contributed a great deal in the success of the Industrial Revolution in Britain and the creation of the global economy (Allen, 2006). Lastly, Britain's colonial empire supplied lots of resources and raw materials, India for example supplied cotton. However, the colonies also created a market for consumers to purchase Britain's finished goods.

5.2.2 The industrialisation of Spain

This chapter will illustrate how Spain industrialized with a delay compared to other nation states. Four different elements will discuss the problems that Spain encountered when the country tried to industrialize with other Western nation states. These four problems are: agriculture, demographic trend compared to other Western states, the very important political climate in Spain and the decline of the empire. After discussing these four elements, a chapter is dedicated towards the time when Spain began to industrialize and where this revolution occurred.

5.2.2.1 Agriculture

One of the foundations were the Industrial Revolution was built on in Britain was the prior Agricultural Revolution. With the Industrial Revolution the agricultural sector got transformed, the productivity of the land increased which resulted in large amount of food supplies, an increase in the population and more people that moved from the country side to the city. However, this process started very late in Spain. Although the agricultural sector was the most important economic activity in 19th century Spain, with two-third of the population working in this sector, Spain's agricultural sector was far behind the British and other European countries. Besides, the limited role of innovative entrepreneurs and the lack of a supportive government on agricultural reforms, the Spanish agriculture was technically backward, inefficient and unprofitable in economic terms (Nadal, *El fracaso de la revolución industrial en España, 1814-1913*, 1975). One of the main problems of the Spanish agricultural sector was the unequal land distribution. The agricultural farmlands in Spain belonged to the nobility, the church or other large landowners, also called "manos muertas" or "the dead hands" (Montesinos, 2015). These land owners were one of the reasons why the agricultural productivity in Spain was far behind that of other Western nations. Therefore, land and property reforms were necessary to make technical improvements possible to increase the productivity of agricultural lands. The so called *desamortizadoras* laws were a set of laws that allowed the land, that used to be unprofitable, to be exploited and bought by new buyers (Montesinos, 2015). This way enterprises of small-land owning middle classes could be encouraged since much of the lands owned by the "manos muertas" was underused. The idea was that these new owners could exploit the lands and thereby stimulate the economy, which was necessary to change and bring the Spanish agricultural sector into the 19th century. Unfortunately, this new situation failed because the new land owners continued to use the old techniques and did not apply new innovations or improvements to increase the agricultural productivity, and thus in the 19th century the Spanish

agricultural sector remained to use its existing agricultural structures and stayed behind that of other Western nations.

5.2.2.2 Demographic trend

In Britain, the Agricultural and Industrial Revolution led to a population increase, but this was not necessary the case in Spain. As other nations encountered a population growth, Spain's population didn't grow as much as other industrial, Western nations. Table x and figure x shows the demographic trends in Spain, Italy, France and England from 1500 until 1900 in millions. The Spanish population grew from around 11 million in 1800 to 19 million in 1900 (Nadal, La población española, siglos XVI a XX, 1976). Compared to other Western nations whose industrialisation process started earlier, Spain had a little population growth. The Spanish population did, however, increase but not because of the industrialisation (Montesinos, 2015).

Demographic trends in four European countries since 1500 to 1900 in millions

	1500	1600	1700	1800	1900
Spain	7,0	8,5	7,5	10,5	19,9
Italy	10	12	13	19	37
France	16	18	19,3	26,3	39,5
England and Wales	4	4,5	5,8	9,1	35,8

Figure 7. (Nadal, La población española, siglos XVI a XX, 1976)

5.2.2.3 Political climate

A very important factor why the industrialisation in Spain started with a delay compared to other Western was because of the political and administrative climate in 18th and 19th century Spain. In Britain the government ensured political stability and secured property rights and individual liberties. These factors contributed greatly to the economic growth and the creativity of British inventor (van Neuss, 2015). However in Spain, the political climate at the beginning and throughout the turbulent 19th century was not a stable won and was full of continuous political changes. The legacy of the old, absolute regime of the Spanish Kings clearly left their traces behind. King Ferdinand VII, who came back on the throne after the defeat of Napoleon followed by the Independence War, abolished the constitution and restored Spain to its former old system of absolute authority. Stanley George Payne, historian of modern Spain and former professor at the Department of History at University of Wisconsin, says in his book, History of Spain and Portugal, the following about Ferdinand:



Figure 8. King Ferdinand VII. Who brought Spain back in time.
Source: Vicente López. 1814.
Óleo. Museo del Prado. Madrid.

“He proved in many ways the basest king in Spanish history. Cowardly, selfish, grasping, suspicious, and vengeful, he seemed almost incapable of any perception of the commonwealth. He thought only in terms of his power and security and was unmoved by the

enormous sacrifices of Spanish people to retain their independence and preserve his throne. Spain went back in time with the reinstating of absolute government.” (Payne, 1973)

The absolute rule by the Spanish Kings was one of the fundamental reasons for the delay in the industrialisation process. The size of the economy, the unequal distribution of land, the inefficient transportation system, the “outdated” skills among workers and the lack of technological innovations were some of the heritage from the old regime which had a fundamental effect to the economy of each of the Spanish regions (Montesinos, 2015). The Spanish state became to favour the industry by protectionism and domestic regulation because of the lack of budgetary resources. It became therefore impossible to promote the industry through public spending (Montesinos, 2015). Jordi Nadal argues that: "The best formula for industrial development was not the tariff protection, but the direct subsidies to innovative companies, which were not abundant. In Spain, there was a lack of entrepreneurship and prioritized the absence of capitalist dynamism and conservatism. " (Nadal, El fracaso de la revolución industrial en España, 1814-1913, 1975).

As the 19th century progressed, the impact of the Ancient Regime slowly disappeared, following the liberal reforms that had great importance in the industrialisation of Spain. Also, the rise of capitalism in Spain erased much of the traces of the Ancient Regime (Montesinos, 2015). Economic and social changes occurred, improved infrastructure, communication and administrative networks, the start of state interventions in the economy and the connections between regional markets were some of the changes that slowly started to change the nations (Montesinos, 2015). The role of the Spanish state, like in any other industrialised nations, is a fundamental element in the process of industrialisation. The changes that occurred over the 19th century had helped to stimulate the industrialisation process, promote private investments and to create a national market in Spain.

5.2.2.4 Wars and decline empire

Under Habsburg rule, Spain ruled an empire on which the sun never sets. But in the background of the Carlist war, revolutions, the foundation of the first Spanish republic, the Bourbon restoration and numbers of coups d'état, Spain went into decline and became a somewhat peripheral country in Europe. The 19th century was turbulent period in which conservative and liberals clashed together. The clashes of these groups expressed in many coups d'état, regime changes and new constitutions. These constitutions, and Spain's political colour, changed from being liberal to conservative vice versa. It was during this time that Spain lost almost all of its colonies with the last one after the American War. Spain no longer had an empire on which the sun never sets, that role was taken over by the British. The colonies of European countries served as suppliers of resources and raw materials and gave access to goods which were not available at home or could not be domestically produced with the same level of efficiency. Besides, colonies and international trade opened up new markets which were necessary for industrial expansion and progress (van Neuss, 2015). The loss of the Spanish colonies in America also saw the loss of a large export market.

The turbulent economic situation of Spain during the 18th and 19th century was largely influenced by the political system. The fact that Britain had no civil wars and the absence of important armed conflicts on the national ground was all elements that helped Britain's industrialization (van Neuss, 2015). Spain, however, encountered these problems, armed conflicts, coups d'état and civil wars

took place in Spain in the 18th and 19th century and strongly influenced the delay of industrialisation in Spain. The War of Succession at the beginning of the 18th century saw the loss of Spain's European "colonies". Gibraltar and parts of the Netherlands and Italy were lost. Slowly, Spain's influence in European affairs became constrained. From the 15th century, Spain was involved in almost every war in Europe, the War of the Succession, Napoleon's invasion, the Independence War and the Carlist War were destructive for Spain and harmed the economy. Although it was not until the second half of the 19th century that Spain, in the background of the loss of the colonies and the civil wars that Spain endured, did see the initiation of an industrial revolution that contributed to the modernization of society and the State.

5.2.2.5 The first industrialisation

The first stage in the Spanish industrial development occurred from the middle of the 19th century to the Civil War in 1936. When the industrialisation finally began in Spain the region of Catalonia, and later the Basque Country, became the first areas in Spain with increasingly concentrated industries (Rosés, 2003). In the 19th and 20th century, Spain had an enormous disparity in economic growth (Rosés, 2003) (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). Of all the cities in Spain only Barcelona, who had been an important port-city linking the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, had the capacity to replicate on a certain scale the industrialisation process characteristic of North and central Europe (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). It was also the only industrial city in the Mediterranean world in 1870 and emanating from it a large network of manufacturing centres was being established (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). Also Barcelona had been a major depot for colonial goods together with the Southern port of Cádiz, before the loss of the Spanish colonies. The Industrial Revolution gave a major impact to Catalonia with numbers of industries that got developed and settled down, including textile production and heavy engineering (Montesinos, 2015). The cotton industry was the first real industry to come off the ground. This sector introduced new technologies, attracted other industries and brought an abundance of labour. It was in these years, throughout most of the 19th century, that Barcelona got to concentrate a third of the Spanish industrial output (Tirado, Pons, & Paluzie). Other regions in Spain even failed to industrialised during the first industrialisation wave and even de-industrialised (Montesinos, 2015) (Tirado, Pons, & Paluzie).

Joan R. Rosés, Professor in Economic History at the London School of Economics and Political Science, describes in one of his works why the whole of Spain wasn't industrialized. He uses data from Spain's Population Censuses to back his work and shows the increase, in for example manufacturing employment, to clarify the most industrial areas in Spain. The regional distribution of manufacturing employment varied significant in Spain from the end of the 18th century to the early 20th century. The share of manufacturing employment of Catalonia and the Basque Country, these regions had roughly 17% of the Spanish labour forces, expanded from 17% in 1797, to 22% in 1860, and 33% in 1910 (Rosés, 2003). A reason for this increasing concentration of manufacturing employment can be explained by the location of the more modern and sophisticated industries (Rosés, 2003). Catalonia's manufacturing employment increased from 12% in 1797 to 25% in 1910 (Rosés, 2003). This stands in sharp contrast with other regions in Spain, such as Northern Castile and Aragón, which lost their shares in manufacturing employment and de-industrialised from 1797 until 1910. Southern Castile, Madrid is part of this region, maintained with small changes their relative participation in overall

figures. By the early twentieth century Catalonia and the Basque Country accounted for over 61 per cent of total employment in metallurgy, engineering, chemicals, and textiles (Rosés, 2003).

Barcelona may have been Spain's first industrial centre but with the beginning of the 20th century, the role of Barcelona eroded, in relative terms, because of the progress of new industrial centres, Guipuzkoa, Biscay, Saragossa and Madrid (Tirado, Pons, & Paluzie). At the end and beginning of the 20th century, Catalonia's weight in the Spanish industry, aside from some exceptional situations like the First World War, reaches a point of slowing down. The Catalan contribution to the Spanish industrial production "only" increased from 27.63% in 1913 to 28.55% in 1929. The abandon of a liberal trade policy at the end of the 19th century, especially along the interwar period, resulted in a weakening of Barcelona's prestige and the relative growth of other industrial locations, like Madrid, with backing of the Spanish state and elite (Tirado, Pons, & Paluzie). Madrid's most important industrial advance occurred during the period between the First World War and the Great Depression. Madrid grew as one of the industrial centres in Spain because it was the capital city, the main communication hub and a new trade regime led to the weakening of the role of coastal regions, like Barcelona (Tirado, Pons, & Paluzie).

5.2.3 Spain's industrialisation delay, unequal industrialisation and national development

However, the 16th and 17th century laid the groundworks for Spain's decline as one of the most powerful nations in Europe. Historical events from the past have resulted in a delay of the Spanish industrialisation process. The reasons for this delay have been given, but one reason is considered to have been a great influence in this delay: Spain's political climate. From the foundation of the early Spanish state, Spain had been taken part in almost every major European war. Spain underwent a turbulent and violent period in the 18th with a power vacuum, the Carlist Wars, civil wars, succession disputes and the foundation of a republic. While Spain has known several civil wars that delayed the industrialisation process Britain, the birthplace of the Industrial Revolution, had seen non over the last centuries. Above all Spain's empire began to crumble down and lost, as one of the first European countries, all their (American) colonies. While other European countries retained, and therefore retained resources, a foreign market and wealth, their colonies during the industrialisation process, Spain did not. All these historical events damaged and drained the Spanish economy heavily and caused a delay in the industrialisation process in Spain. While, Britain installed a constitutional monarchy, Spain remained an absolute monarchy. The legal, political and administrative framework can determine the success or failure of economic activities in a nation and in Spain the legacy of the old regime prevented the Spanish state to modernize and to successfully industrialize with other Western nations. Also, the absence of a strong supportive government, lack of a strong bourgeoisie class, little investments of public money and insufficient communication and infrastructure all took part in the delay of the Spanish industrialisation process (Montesinos, 2015). Other factors for the delay in the Spanish industrialisation process was the agricultural sector. The Agricultural Revolution in Britain strongly influenced the success of the Industrial Revolution in Britain. However, in Spain the agricultural sector during the beginning of the first industrial wave was largely traditional, the farmers lacked knowledge and innovate techniques to improve the productivity were missing. The largely traditional agricultural sector was unable to lay the groundworks for the industrialisation of Spain. This affected the Spanish industry greatly, which was unable to follow the trail of England and brought a delay compared to other European nations (Montesinos, 2015).

In the Spanish case, the industrialisation began late and with a delay compared to other Western nations, like Britain, Belgium and the United States. Furthermore, when the industrialisation of Spain came off the ground it wasn't the capital or the core region that got industrialised. The region of Catalonia, especially Barcelona, became the very first industrial region and till today the industrial and economic powerhouse in Spain. All these factors provide a unique experience of a wealthy and industrialised city in the "periphery" of Spain far away from the political core region which wasn't even on the same level industrialised like Catalonia. Over the course of industrialisation, the Spanish regions have experienced regional variants in income but also in economic growth. While other regions industrialised other regions in Spain even de-industrialised. According to Hechter, regional variations in income and rates of economic growth can become obstacles in the realisation of political stability and the creation of one cultural identity within a nation state. In Spain, the uneven distribution of economic growth has been an obstacle. Industrialisation should stimulate transactions between regions within a nation state which could narrow differences between these regions (Hechter, 1999). This leads to a more homogeneous national culture, but also to a more equal distribution of regional income in the long run (Hechter, *Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966*, 1999). However, in Spain the industrialisation began with a delay and did not start in the political dominant core. The industrialisation in Spain did eventually lead to an internal market and transactions between regions but did not result in a more equal distribution of regional income (Rosés, 2003) and in the encouragement of a more homogeneous national culture (Lecours, 2001). Hechter argues that there is a strong positive association between economic development and national political integration. However, effective political integration can come about only when regional inequality decreases to a level which can be socially defined to be tolerable (Hechter, 1999). In the most ideal circumstances, economic benefits should be equally shared throughout the society to minimize political disaffection (Hechter, 1999). Over the course of industrialisation, the unequal industrialisation between the Spanish regions could have effected national political integration and therefore effect the establishment of one national identity in Spain. Industrialised societies face many of the same kinds of political cleavages thought to be characteristic of the new nations. Despite the advent of industrialisation, the intensity of ethnic and regional cleavages in industrial societies suggests that problems of regional inequality may continue to have considerable political salience (Hechter, 1999). Regional separation movements are typically based on the win claims of economic and cultural discrimination against peripheral areas perceives as emanating from the central government (Hechter, 1999). In Spain, Catalonia can be looked upon as a discriminated area, although a very powerful and economically strong region, Catalonia contributes more the Spanish treasury than it offers, a form of 'financial discrimination' (Lecours, 2001). These consequences of industrialisation, which translated in unequal distribution of regional income, growth and other factors, effect the realisation of political stability and the creation of one cultural identity within a nation state.

Nation states that got successfully industrialised have effective central governments with a relatively high degree of political centralisation (Hechter, 1999). National political integration is therefore in a strong positive association with economic development (Hechter, 1999). In his work, Hechter uses England as the first example of such nation states where the successful industrialisation has led to an effective central government, also with characteristics of a more laissez-faire economy (van Neuss, 2015) (Hechter, 1999). However in Spain, regional variations in income, economic growth and

industrialisation between Spanish regions could have, to a certain degree, affected the development of one national identity and the creation of a strong effective central state in Spain. Hechter argues that there is a link between industrialisation, economic development and increasing state power, national political integration and effective central governments. The increase in state power, an effective central government and unequal distribution between regions are three important factors that are the result of industrialisation within a nation. However these three important factors can trigger separatism. These three concepts will be taken into account in the next chapter, which will focus on how the Spanish state tried to unify the country and establish a national identity through centralisation and decentralisation, during periods in which some regions were disadvantaged compared to other regions.

5.3 The formation of a national identity

When other nations industrialised in the early 19th century Spain did not. However, the rise of industrialisation in a nation state stimulates the core-periphery contact and encourages the formation of one national identity. The fact that the industrialisation started with a delay and did not occur in the core until the peripheral region was already industrialised, are two factors that could have influenced the formation of a national identity. This chapter will focus how the Spanish state tried to create a national identity. From being Catalanian, Basque or Castilian towards being one identity: Spanish. To do this, four time periods from André Lecours work *'Regionalism, Cultural Diversity and the State in Spain'* will be used to address how the Spanish state tried to unify the country over history. These four time periods are:

- The early, decentralized Spanish state, after the Reconquista, with territorial autonomy for regions
- The centralized Spanish state of the 19th century
- The Franco state from the 20th century, whose cultural repressed regional identities
- The Spanish way to democracy with the framework of Autonomous Communities

The four time periods will especially focus on the dominant core, the Spanish state or Madrid, and the periphery, Catalonia, to understand how their relationship has grown over the centuries w

5.3.1 Early Spanish state and decentralisation

During the early stages of the formation of the Kingdom of Spain, Spain was a state with a loose structure generated a tradition of territorial autonomy which rendered difficult subsequent attempts at national integration. The Reconquista triggered a new organisation of the territorial boundaries. Some political communities were allowed to further develop while others were established, by the loose structures of the early Spanish state. The territories of modern day Catalonia came under the influenced of the powerful counts of Barcelona and it was this period that the integration and creation of a set of legal and social rules and the development of a spoken languages first came to order. When Catalonia underwent a union with the Kingdom of Aragon in 1137, the two regions remained independent but Catalonia was the powerhouse. The union strengthen Catalonia and the region encountered great economic progress and became the most powerful power on the Western Mediterranean. The formation of the Catalan identity developed with the union with the Kingdom of Aragon, the developments it fostered and the Reconquista (Balcells & Walker, 1996). However after the Reconquista, the different regions under the Spanish crown were still largely independent from one another. Political unification and the early stages of the Spanish unification began with the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs. Abroad the monarch was known as the King of Spain, but internally as the King of Castile, León and Navarre, Count of Barcelona, Lord of Vizcaya and so on. Internally the term of 'Spain' was at most a geographical designation (Schrijver, 2006). The union did however not lead to effective state centralisation and did not threaten the integrity of the other political entities on the peninsula. There were a few consequences for the political and legal for most regions but Spain remained well into the 17th century, a loose arrangements of multiple semi-autonomous areas.

With the beginning of the 18th century, the Habsburg ruled Spain and a struggle between the king and the parliaments of the old crowns of the Spanish Kingdoms occurred. Xavier Coller, who was the

Prince of Asturias Chair, Georgetown University, prepared the paper 'Society and Politics in Spain. A Comparative European Perspective' for the American Marshall Memorial Fellowship Fellows in which he writes about Spanish political climate throughout history. Xavier writes that the Spanish kings had more influence and freedom in regions like Castile and less in other regions that belonged under other crowns before the unification. Castile was the most dominant region while the Crown of Aragon was decentralised and other regions, like Catalonia and Valencia, had their own parliaments. This imbalance of power influence and unequal weight in supporting the government and the king's campaigns resulted to absolute rule of the monarch. The absolute rule of the Spanish kings resulted in the change from decentralisation to centralisation. According to Xavier Coller, the Spanish regions, who had autonomy to a certain degree, and whose power depended upon autonomous structures reacted to this change in the Spanish state.

5.3.2 Centralising the Spanish state

Xavier writes that the transformation of Spain to a centralising state during the 17th and 18th century Spain was met with a strong opposition from Catalonia and the Basque country. Towards the 19th century, the creating of a centralising state grew stronger and the emerge of Madrid as the strong political dominant core with a liberal elite who sought to transform Spain into a united centralised state. It was the first attempts unify the former kingdoms on the Spanish peninsula and to create a common Spanish identity. Xavier Coller writes in his paper that the attempts to create this common identity threated the power of regional institutions, elites and their distinct identities. The new elite favoured centralisation and saw regional autonomy and privileges as the backward, even reactionary, residues of the Old Regime (Lecours, 2001). In Spain, the new political structure eliminated regional parliaments and customs among the former kingdoms were eliminated by political and economic integration. Madrid tried to build a centralized, modern and homogeneous state. Local elites in different regions in Spain saw their own power threatened because and fought back at the liberal elite in Madrid. The local regional elites invoked the historical autonomy and cultural distinctiveness of their community, formally and explicitly articulating group identities in the process (Lecours, 2001). On the opposite side of these new elite was the Carlist movement who stood for traditionalism, regional autonomy and absolutism (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). This movement threated the centralising and unification process of Spain and eventually the struggle between the two different parties resulted in the Carlist Wars.

The reaction of Catalanian against the centralising model of the Spanish state came from the bourgeoisie wary of the development of institutions they considered backward and associated to rural interest (Lecours, 2001). Catalonia was the most industrialised region in Spain with a powerful bourgeoisie society who had distinctive trade and business interest in comparison of other regions in Spain. After time the bourgeoisie tried to abandon the Spanish framework invoking an historical tradition of autonomy and a distinctive identity as a means of disengagement and resistance (Lecours, 2001). It was during this time that the first significant Catalan "nationalist" party, Lliga Regionalista, was formed. The struggle of Catalonia, which also occurred in Galicia and the Basque provinces, against centralisation provided an opportunity and change for promoting the existence of a wider community ethnically, culturally and socially unified, and distinct from the rest of Spain (Lecours, 2001).

The legacy of semi-autonomy for some Spanish regions after the Reconquista combined with formal political unification from the 18th century and the uneven distribution of industrialisation made it difficult to strongly centralise the Spanish regions. Political integration failed largely in 19th century Spain because the state ignored the patterns of several centuries of territorial structuring (Lecours, 2001). The centralisation attempts contributed to the creation of Catalonia as a well-developed political communities and the stimulation of regional identities instead of the reaction of one common Spanish identity. The change from a decentralized state towards a centralized state, promoted regional identities, the making of regional symbols (flags, anthems, promoting of regional language) and the development of regional parties. Catalonia and other Spanish regions that had relived a strong increase in regionalism and fought against centralisation. Peripheral nationalism led to the development distinctive political parties and could have threatened the centralisation of Spain. The claim for autonomy from Catalonia and the recognition of regional/peripheral cultures eventually led to recognizing of the Statutes of Autonomy in 1932 during the Second Spanish Republic. However, these laws and privileges were abolished by General Franco after the Spanish Civil War.

5.3.3 Franco state

The Spanish Civil War during 1936-1939 was won by the forces of General Franco and paved the way for 35 years of dictatorship. It was a victory for centralism over regional autonomy. This resulted in the crush of any independence ideas of the Catalans and Basques. During the years before and during the Civil Wars and Franco regime, the autonomy of Catalonia and Basque country, that was developed over the course 18th and 19th century, was taken away to make room for centralisation and effective political integration (Lecours, 2001). The existence of multiple territorial identities in Spain was in Franco's eyes a threat to the national unity and the integrity of a great power (Schrijver, 2006). Therefore, Franco attempted to impose the model of homogeneous indivisible, almost eternal nation united by a single Castilian (Spanish) language, culture and spirit (Moreno, 1977). The Franco regimes tried to suppress regional identities and cultural and to remove linguistic aspects that could affect the formation of one Spanish culture and identity. It was during Franco's regime that political parties and cultural organization were forbidden and public usage of the Catalan language, culture and Catalan self-government were harshly suppressed.

Franco's regime had the means to remove regional identities and culture and replace this with one Spanish identity, however the opposite of this occurred. The policies of the authoritarian regime had the dual unintended consequences of strengthening and spreading the regional identities they tried to erase (Moreno, 1977). Regionalism and democracy became a form resistance against Franco's regime. The regimes repression brought a rise in the claims of political autonomy, cultural expression and symbolic recognition of regional identities (Moreno, 1977). In Catalonia, an underground network of associations who fought against the regime developed of the course of 1950 until Franco's dictatorship was weakening in 1970. It was during the last decades of the regime that leaders of cultural and political organisation, such as Comunitat Catalana, became powerful symbols of the Catalan identity and democracy. Mass gatherings in Barcelona and powerful Catalan symbols were used to stimulate further nationalist mobilisation. The Spanish state during the years of Franco's regime was not seen as a reflection of the Spanish identity but more as a violent force who tried to suppress the nations and mold the nations into the Spanish identity that the nation state so

desired. The authoritarian regime of Franco had an enormous impact on Spain's territorial identities. The opposite what Franco did want to achieve in fact happened, mobilisation of regionalist movements were only stimulated by the violent regime. The followers of regional nationalism in Spain were not so much present or existing in the 19th and early 20th century, it was only during and after the consequence of the dictatorship that the followers of regional nationalism came to be known and heard.

5.3.4 Towards democracy

The transition of Spain towards democracy was heavily shaped by political resistance to the authoritarian state (Moreno, 1977). Newly democratic Spain had to make room for regional autonomy of regions that heavily fought against the authoritarian state. The opposition against Franco's regime was the strongest in Catalonia and the Basque country. Their elites tried to use this as an argument, along with references to the Statues of Autonomy of the Second Spanish Republic, to (re-)claim a different status with in newly founded democratic Spanish state. With the transition towards democracy, the new Spanish state replaced the old Statues of Autonomy with the State of Autonomous Communities and officially recognized Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia as historical nationalities while the other Autonomous Regions were simply remained regions (Lecours, 2001). Each one of the regions would have its own regional parliament and elects its own regional president. The new Statues sets the legal framework within which the autonomous regions exist function and determine their level of power. However, not all autonomous communities have the same level of power. The creation of the Autonomous Community system saw the emerge of regional party systems. In Catalonia, the party system is also dominated by a nationalist party, Jordi Pujol's *Convergència i Unió CiU*, which won every election, held since the re-establishment of the Autonomous Community system (Moreno, 1977). The CiU heavily promotes the Catalan language, culture and identity in schools, television, radio, newspapers and music. Also, the party's continuous power in the regional parliament has succeeded in the implementation of strong policies of 'Catalanisation' (Moreno, 1977).

The legal framework of Autonomous Communities led to a strengthening of regional cultural identities in several different regions in Spain. But with the creation of Spain autonomous regions came territorial competition among the regions. Catalan nationalist wanted to create an independent taxation system. This was also negotiated in 1980 by Basque representatives. Catalan politic elite eventually denounced the concepts of an independent taxation system, so providing the Basque country with an uneven advantage (Agranoff, 1993). Catalan nationalist argue that the lack of similar agreements, the independent tax system example that the Basque country has, involving Catalonia harms the region's development as the autonomous regions contributes more to the Spanish treasury than it offers. Catalonia names this 'financial discrimination' and the inefficiency of the Spanish state to develop the Spanish state as a whole (Lecours, 2001).

5.4 National development and regionalism

Modern day Spain is a diverse country, with one official language, Spanish or Castilian, and at least four regional dialects and co-official languages, Catalan, Galician and Basque. Although Spain is one of the oldest states in the Western world, neither the Habsburgs, Bourbons or Franco could attempt to homogenise the country through centralizing policies. Linguistic and cultural differences have been at the heart of the problem of the Spanish unification process. Experiences of other countries don't necessarily mean that linguistic and cultural differences translate into identities and conflicts. Switzerland has four official languages, German, French, Italian and Romansh, but this has not produced hard claims that could threaten the Swiss identity (Hechter, 1999) (Lecours, 2001). However, the two most spoken regional languages in Spain are namely spoken in the most industrialised areas in Spain, Catalonia and the Basque Country. Economic and social changes in the 19th century, which were essential for the national culture unification in other nation states as in France, had the opposite effect in Spain and even nourished regionalism (Schrijver, 2006).

The growing trend of regionalism can be explained because of the growing self-awareness of regional societies. This growing self-awareness was made possible by the erosion of tradition structures of regional societies through the process of industrialisation and social and economic modernisation (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). Industrialisation and urbanisation began to change regional societies and culture. The growing trend of regionalism saw the replacement, partly because of industrialisation, of the local notable's dominance by a more democratic sphere (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). Regionalism arose from the transformation of Spain towards a modern, industrialised society. Alon Confino, history professor at the University of Virginia, understands regionalism as a 'response to modernity' and to 'political economic and cultural homogenisation' (Confino, 1997). The modernisation of a nation state results in the erosion of tradition state structures (Hechter, 1999). It is these state structures that have been one of the single most important factor in the Spanish unification process and the establishment of one national identity. The transformation of state structures are central to the construction of regional identities and the consequences they have on other institutional forms and the behaviour of political actors (Lecours, 2001). It is by the transformation of state structures and political unification that regional political elites begin to resist the state structures that come from the core region. The action of these actions can provide and generate other forms, regionalism, political parties, regional political structures, anthems, flags, that could represent and promote regional identity (Lecours, 2001). In this way, culture can become a weapon of resistance and can spread or strengthen regional identities. In Spain the first attempts to transform its century's old state structures through centralisation were met with difficulties. The territorial organisation of the early Spanish state created a not so effective centralised state with loose arrangement of multiple semiautonomous regions and political communities who had their own identity. Throughout history, the Spanish state has encountered various different forms. The Spanish state has been centralised, decentralised and has even been an authoritarian regime, these different forms of governing provided the cultural and linguistic distinctiveness in Spain to flourish in an already diverse territorial identity landscape (Lecours, 2001). Regionalism in Spain is a result of a historical process of institutional change, the product of specific historical periods whose different stages correspond to specific historical forms of the Spanish state (Lecours, 2001).

At the beginning of the 19th century, Spain was an empire in crisis, an empire that was losing its colonies and wealth. This opened the path for the construction of a liberal nation. In Spain, there was a widely felt need for a unified state to reconstruct the nation in order to give new life to an empire in crisis (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). After the liberal revolution the first concern was restructuring of the political system along the lines set by the liberal factions that became hegemonic in Spain (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). However after years of civil wars and the liberal revolution, deep social division became (re-)surface between Catalonia and the other parts of Spain. The new liberal Spanish state altered the already existing, and sometimes traditional, structures of regional societies and caused tension within these regions, especially between the core region of Madrid and the previous historical semi-autonomous regions of Catalonia and the Basque country. Large parts of the Catalonians rose up against liberalism and the region experienced local rebellious movements (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). Compared to the Basque Country, Catalanian movements did not evolve into military conflicts. According to Joost Augusteijn and Eric Storm it was not the aim of the regions, which fought against centralisation, to threaten the formation of a national identity, but it was the political and social context in which the revivals of regional identity took place. The new centralising state had a side effect that it promoted the regional identities in Catalonia and therefore also promoted the making of regional symbols. The new Spanish state invested little in national symbolism. There was no generally used national flag and there were a number of different national anthems, each backed, by a different political movement (Schrijver, 2006).

During the 19th century, industrialisation finally began to take a foot on the peninsula but the disparity of the Spanish industry and economy growth was enormous. Catalonia was the very first, and early compared to other regions, industrialised area in Spain this resulted in regional inequalities, social tension rural violence (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). This is a unique experience in Spain, Catalonia is seen as the periphery but developed as the most industrialised region while other regions, the region around Madrid, failed to industrialize early. The fact that Catalonia was the most powerful region in Spain, did not translate into the fact the Barcelona industrialists were for decades kept away from the state decision making in Madrid, especially when important decisions needed to be taken, while other important industrial cities like Lyon and Manchester were allowed to do (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). These existing state structures have consequences for the behaviour of political actors and could generate actions or other structures that could promote regionalism. The Catalanian elite relied on the Spanish state for social order in their region. However, no real responses from Madrid to help the conflict in the region resulted in the lack of trust in state policies from the Catalonia elite against the Spanish state. The Catalanian elite and bourgeoisie were a crucial factor in the relationship between the Spanish state on cultural and political level. The Catalanian relation with the Spanish state deteriorated and as a response Catalonia wanted a revision of the centralisation of the nation state and developed strong movements of regionalism. Catalanian politics were prepared to abandon the language and practice of shared Spanish nationalism in order to move into the unknown territory of explicitly political regionalist demands (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). It needs to be taken into account that the Catalanian politics were prepared to abandon the common Spanish language and practice but were not, by and large, secessionist (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012).

Following the beginning of the 20th century, the transition towards effective state centralisation and the establishment of a unified Spanish nation state have failed and resulted in the creation of an authoritarian regime. National unity became an obsession of the Franco government. Regionalism,

alongside communism and atheism, were seen as a threat to and were repressed harshly (Schrijver, 2006). For Catalonia it also meant, again, the complete repression of the Catalan culture and language, the prohibition of Catalan institutions and the annulment of the Statute of Autonomy. Franco wanted to suppress regional identities and promote the Spanish identity, however the opposite effect did occur. As a result the unintended consequence of the authoritarian regime was the strengthening and diffusion of the regional identities, especially in Catalonia, they tried to erase. The strengthening of regional identities led to the mobilisation against the regime and the foundation of multiple underground organisations fought for both democracy and the right of cultural expression (Lecours, 2001). Regionalist movements were among the main forces of resistance against Franco's regime. The authoritarian centralisation regime failed to erase Spain's linguistic and cultural diversity. It even had the opposite effect and a revival and diffusion of regionalism. Unitary centralism for the sake of national unity and dictatorship became concomitant concepts (Schrijver, 2006). With the Spanish transition towards democracy, the suppression of the Franco regime resulted in the very idea of Spanish national unity being regarded by many as synonymous with repression (Schrijver, 2006). Regional autonomy and the restoration of regional self-government is therefore regarded as an inevitable and naturally key issue in the democratic transition after Franco's death. With the transition towards democracy, Spain established the system of Autonomous Communities which generated more regional political structures, political parties and strengthening of the already existing regional identities.

Peripheral nationalism and political regionalism changed the way in which Catalan societies looked upon the Spanish state and how they regarded themselves within the nation state. Centralisation or decentralisation had serious social, political and economic implications and consequences that brought opportunities and new modern structures to Spain but also resulted in limitations and abrupt change to a nation in an identity crisis.

5.5 Conclusion chapter 5

With the marriage of the two Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella II of Castile, the Reconquista came to an end and Spain became in fact one of the first modern nation states in Europe. After the Reconquista, the early Spanish state established a powerful nation with a growing relevance in Europe and the world. A state that discovered and conquered large parts of America's and created a vast empire that brought wealth to the homeland. The Spanish Kings were preoccupied with the splendour of the conquest of the Americas and the defence of the Catholic unity of the Empire (Schrijver, 2006). Little internal centralisation was happening during this time. It wasn't until the reign of Phillip II that made Madrid the capital of the Spanish Empire. Madrid's power and importance grew rapidly and the Bourbon Monarchs began to centralize royal authority.

In the 18th century, Spanish economy depended mostly on traditional agriculture. The Catholic Church and the monarchs still reigned supreme. However, the Napoleonic invasion was a turning point in the Spanish history that devastated the country. The aftermath of the Napoleonic invasion affected the early attempts to industrialization and led to chronic political instability. The restoration of the absolute monarchy meant that Spain latterly went back in time. Spain underwent a turbulent and violent period in the 19th with a power vacuum, the Carlist Wars, civil wars, succession disputes and the foundation of a republic. Spain lost all the American colonies, which even worsened the economic situation. Jordi Nadal reflects on the loss of the colonies as followed:

"Since this period (the loss of the Americas), Spain finds itself reduced to its own means, battling the sins of its ancient wealth as well as the bad habits that this situation brought to its domestic rule; without a congress, without finances and without government, the abandonment of the educational system, industry, agriculture, the arts as well as all that may constitute the happiness of a country."

Spain became politically and culturally isolated from the rest of Europe and became, if it were, a peripheral nation in Europe. Although, Spain is one of the very first modern nation state it missed to take part in the first wave of industrialisation. The Industrial Revolution made progress in Catalonia with Barcelona as the economic powerhouse and first industrialised city on the Mediterranean coast. Historical events have damaged and drained the Spanish economy heavily and caused a delay in the industrialisation process in Spain. The region of Catalonia, especially Barcelona, became the very first industrial region and till today the industrial and economic powerhouse in Spain. All these factors provide a unique experience of a wealthy and industrialised city in the "periphery" of Spain far away from the political core region which wasn't even on the same level industrialised like Catalonia.

Economic and social changes in the 19th century, which are essential for the national cultural unification, had the opposite effect in Spain. Unequal distribution of industrialisation and economic growth translated effected the realisation of political stability and the creation of one cultural identity within Spain. The legal, political and administrative framework can determine the success or failure of economic activities in a nation and in Spain the legacy of the old regime prevented the Spanish state to modernize and to successfully industrialize with other Western nations. The Spanish state in the 19th century was not the economically successful (re-)builder of the once mighty and powerful colonial empire, but a state that had lost its empire in a time of defeat and economic backwardness. Different aspects from the colonial time helped to hold the nation state together, but

now Spain was brought back to its own resources and old wounds became to resurface in a time when the nation was in an identity crisis. The level of nationalism was changing and shifting towards regionalism and the division between regions and the dominant core became clearer. The most modern industrialised and well-developed region began to developed stronger movements of peripheral nationalism while looking back at its own past. The past were the “peripheral” region of Catalonia was somewhat more privileged than other regions and had large amount of autonomous. It was the political and social context in which the revivals of regional identity took place. The Catalonian conflict against the centralized Spanish state has laid the groundworks for the establishment of powerful regional movement which eventually would become the foundation of strong feelings of Catalan nationalism in the 20th century. Spain’s territorial and internal wars, political instability, the early loss of its colonies have drained the Spanish economy and caused a delay to industrialise with other European nation state. It prevented a stronger development of the Spanish society in crisis and impeded a solid nation building process, as happened in other European countries like Britain, Italy and Germany. Other nation states, for example the Britain and later Belgium, who successfully industrialised were colonial empires and developed a strong feeling of national unity. However, Spain had lost all of its prestigious colonies in the 19th century and industrialised with a delay compared to other Western nations. The structures and actions from the early Spanish Golden Age in the 16th and 17th century have led the groundworks for Spain’s ultimately decline as one of the leading world powers and to establish a solid, stabile and unitary nation state.

The first part of this report was compiled to lay the groundworks for the second part. The first part was about the making of a common Spanish nationality throughout history that has shaped and affected the current relationship between the Spanish state and Catalonia. The next chapter will focus on the internal colonialism thesis of Michael Hechter and how this is applicable to the Spanish case and to determine if Spain’s colonial past is backfiring because of the independence struggle of the ‘modern day colony’ of Catalonia.

6 Europe's past backfiring: decolonisation within Spain

"Consider that in 1800 Western powers claimed 55 percent but actually held approximately 35 percent of the earth's surface, and that by 1874 the proportion was 67 percent, a rate of increase of 83,000 square miles per year. By 1914, the annual rate had risen to an astonishing 240,000 square miles [per year], and Europe held a grand total of roughly 85 percent of the earth as colonies, protectorates, dependencies, dominions, and commonwealths. No other associated set of colonies in history was as large, none so totally dominated, none so unequal in power to the Western metropolis." (Said, Culture and Imperialism, 1993)

- Edward W. Said

The Great War, the Second World War, the fall of European colonial empires, the Cold War and the fall of the Berlin Wall are all historical events that have shaped and affected how each country on the world map, as we know it today, looks like. European colonialism is one of those examples that have drastically shaped the world. The 15th century is marked as the era in which modern global colonialism has begun. European powers spread across the world and conquered exotic places far away from the old continent. Europe's civilisation mission has transformed other faraway places and looked upon the Orient as "the weaker, less civilized, savage, lazy Other" (Said, Orientalism, 1978). European imperialism had its peak around 1914, but soon history took Europe into a war that became to be known as the Great War. The First World War was the very first conflict among industrialized global powers and forever changed geopolitical boundaries. The colonies of the losers from the Great War were distributed amongst the victors, however it took the aftermath of another more devastating war that changed Europe's global influence and led to the decline of the European empires. The period after 1950 became to be known as the era of the decolonization of Africa and Asia.

The way to independence for the former colonies of the United Kingdom, France, Belgium and the Netherlands was, partly, structured by strong movements of nationalism. Those forms of nationalism, that has deeply marked Europe in its own experience, had caused the independence of its own colonies. Nationalism is therefore held as a predominant social force. Nowadays everyone has a nationality and this clearly has special significance to individuals. It is in the name of nationality alone that individuals are willing to act and achieve things in a certain way (Hechter, Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966, 1999). In Europe, after the loss of the colonies through the years that lead to 1970, separatist movements in Europe who demand greater autonomy or even independence caused a division between regions and the dominant core in their regions. Nowadays, the way that led to the independence of the colonies of Spain and the United Kingdom is "backfiring" into their own nation states. Regions like Catalonia are trying to leave the old unions, to establish their own nation state because they feel Catalanian and Scottish instead of Spanish and British. This may very well be a form of 'modern decolonisation' inside Europe. The legacy of European colonialism and imperialism has affected the European nation states, identities and integration laid the groundworks for the creation of the modern European Union in a time after the Second World War when Europe faced an identity crisis and needed to rethink and transform itself (Hansen, European Integration, European Identity and the Colonial Connection, 2002). The possible 'decolonisation' of European regions from the respectively nation states can therefore affect the European identity and Union.

This chapter is about the term 'backfiring'. Backfiring suggest that something that has haunted you in the past is coming back at you. Something is coming back to old continent. Europe and the world is looking back at Europe's colonial past. Postcolonialism is the study of the ideological and cultural impact of Wester colonialism and in particular of its aftermath (King & Browitt, 2004). But nowadays Europe's colonial past is 'backfiring' into their own nation states. Only now the same thing is happening in a different context, in a modern, Western, civilized postcolonial world. This chapter will focus on European nation states and their regions to investigate the hypotheses about the backfiring of Europe's colonial past. This chapter will therefore sought to explain how historical events, colonialism is one of those events, have affected the national identity of nation state and have stimulated, perhaps still do, the rise of regionalist movements in European regions, which in modern-day Europe, a Europe in crisis, have eventuality resulted in claims of greater autonomy or independence. Besides, this chapter will sought to explain how colonialism has changed Europe and contributed to the European integration. This chapter will elaborate on that in a context of a Europe(ean Union) in crisis where regions want to gain independence and establish their own nation states. The region that will be most focused on is the Spanish region of Catalonia.

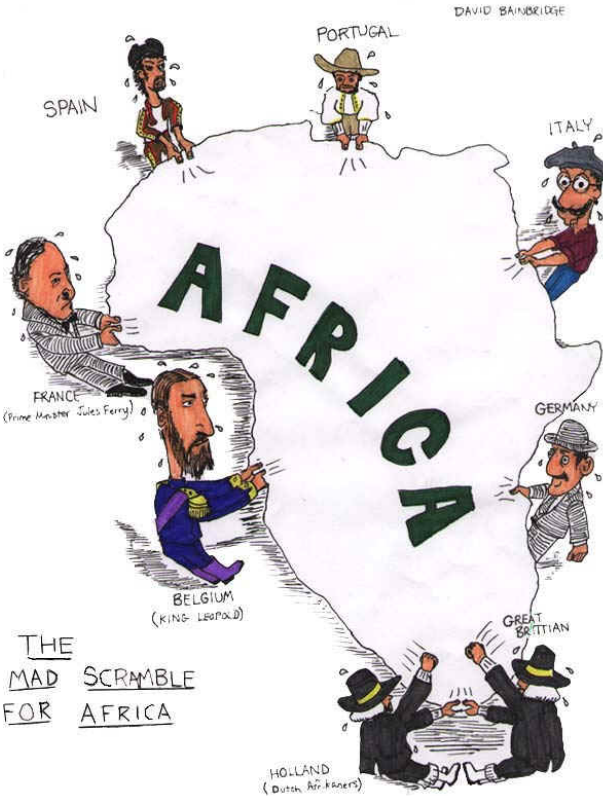


Figure 9. The Scramble of Africa was the invasion, occupation, division and colonization of African territory by several European powers between 1881 (10% of Africa under European rule) and 1914 (90% of Africa under European rule). Source and artist: David Bainbridge.

6.1 A Europe in crisis: growing regionalism

"Yes, the European spirit is built on strange foundations." - Frantz Fanon

In 2012, European Union received the Nobel Peace Prize for the stabilising role the Union has played in transforming most of Europe from a continent of war to a continent of peace (The European Union, 2012). Herman Van Rompuy, President of the European Council, said in his speech after the EU received the Nobel Peace Prize:

'War is as old as Europe. Our continent bears the scars of spears and swords, canons and guns, trenches and tanks, and more. Yet, ... after two terrible wars engulfed the continent and the world with it, ... finally lasting peace came to Europe.'



Figure 10. Presidents Herman Van Rompuy (President of the European Council), José Manuel Barroso (European Commission) and Martin Schulz (President of the European Parliament) receiving the Nobel Prize medal and diploma for the European Union (EU) during the Nobel Peace Prize Award Ceremony at the Oslo City Hall in Norway, 10 December 2012. Copyright © The Nobel Foundation 2012. Photo: Ken Opprann

According to the Norwegian Nobel Committee the EU's most important achievement has been *"the successful struggle for peace and reconciliation and for democracy and human rights"*. The establishment of the EU helped the reconciliation of the rivalry between France and Germany. As German novelist Heinrich Mann, already in 1923, wrote in his article 'Anfänge Europas':

'Will Europe ever become one: then the two of us first. We form the root. Starting with us, the united continent - the others could not but follow us. We carry the responsibility for ourselves and for the rest. Through us there will be a state above states and that will last. Or else, no future will be valid for us nor for Europe.'

As far as you can go back in history, Europe has been a divided, geopolitically chaotic and quite a bloody continent. After the devastating World Wars, solidarity, freedom and democracy became the foundations stones in the creation of the European Union and a message to the outside world. More than 70 years later the solidarity is hard to find, yet again, on many different subject between member states, and also non-EU member states, of the European Union. This chapter will focus on a Europe in crisis which is facing a growing level of regionalism and the demand of region to gain more autonomy or independence.

After the Second World War, the process of national integration was seen as a historical inevitability as 'pre-modern' territorial particularities broke down in the face of the market, mass culture and bureaucratic uniformity of the state (Keating & Pintarits, 1997). However, this idea changed completely in the late 1970s with the revival of territorial politics in industrialized European countries. Territorial distinctiveness has not disappeared but survived, from an earlier era before the industrialisation and the great wars of the 20th century, and reproduced in the wave of modernity (Keating & Pintarits, 1997). Michael Keating argues that the first territorial crisis in Europe occurred in the late 19th century as the continent continued to industrialize and modernize but encountered resistance in peripheral territories that produced counter-nationalist or regionalist, and in the cases of Norway and Ireland succession occurred (Keating & Pintarits, 1997). In some cases in the 20th century, regionalist movements that were established became a key part in the transition towards democracy in countries such as Spain, France and Italy (Keating & Pintarits, 1997). It was in the late 1980's, that a new wave of regional integration and a crisis of territorial representation began to transcend the boundaries of the state, which cannot be resolved by internal accommodation (Keating & Pintarits, 1997). This new form of regionalism, which is named as "new regionalism", places its demands and strategies in a global and continental context rather than a purely national one (Keating & Pintarits, 1997). The new regionalism literature stresses the importance of social construction of the region, and the role of collective identities in facilitating social change (Olsson, 2006). Identity and nationalism are one of the key elements for minority groups to speak up for themselves and to seek greater voice, greater autonomy and if not outright independence and statehood (Downs, 2002). Minority groups in the regions take a part in the testing of territoriality, identity within a time when sovereignty has ceased to be absolute sovereignty in Europe (Olsson, 2006).

An important factor in "new regionalism" is the collapse of the old regional policy and fiscal restraint. National competitiveness and lack of support from the national governments have resulted that regions have fallen back on their own resources and begun to emphasize indigenous development (Keating & Pintarits, 1997). Some regions, Scotland and the Basque Country, insist that European integration has reduced the cost of national independence and thus want to separate from their nation state and join the EU as a member state (Keating & Pintarits, 1997). Other, regions, like Catalonia, seeing Europe as an arena in which their nationalist aspirations can express and legitimated while pressing for influence at whatever points are available (Keating & Pintarits, 1997). Nowadays, territory is still fundamental to the evolution of the modern state. Michael Keating, a Professor of Politics at the University of Aberdeen and a dominant figure in the field of minority nationalism literature, therefore does not witness the end of territory as a principle of organization but its reconfiguration and re-emergence as new regionalism in Western Europe. Thus it can be said that Europe has become a new arena of the expression of regional and minority nationalist aspirations in an era when globalization and European integration pose challenges to the European territorial states (Keating & Pintarits, 1997).

In the era of globalisation, Europe has been driven to a wider, deeper, and global economic union but this has been met by a parallel process of disintegration: the destabilisation of relations between the political dominant national governments and regional governments and a division of citizen loyalties by claimants at local, regional, national, and supranational levels (Downs, 2002). Dr. William M.

Downs, Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Georgia State University, writes about European integration and the divide between nation states and their regions:

After half a century of formal integration, Europe remains an amalgam of multinational states. From Scotland to Wales, Catalonia to Corsica, and Flanders to Brittany, strong regional and ethnoterritorial identities seek greater voice, greater resources, and greater autonomy – if not outright independence and statehood. Given the rise in regional assertiveness, it is no surprise that interest and speculation in a ‘Europe of the Regions’ has grown. In brief, the now-familiar suggestion is that nation-states will fade away in favour of regions and super-regions that can survive and thrive within the EU and in the global economy. This vision is reinforced by the increasing tendency of both the EU and the regions to try to by-pass the central state. (Downs, 2002)

In the Netherlands a recently emerged and unknown group who call themselves ‘Kantocigno’ endeavour an independent Brabant. This group smeared a statue of Willem of Orange, also called “Father of his Fatherland” in the Netherlands, with red paint because they started a champagne against symbols who have no place in an independent Brabant.

As can be drawn from William Downs’s work in *Regionalism in the European Union key concepts and projects* is that the process of disintegration in Europe encourages, in some situations Scotland and Catalonia, the already growth of strong regional identities and greater demands of autonomy or independence (Downs, 2002). The rise of new regionalism can be seen as a world-wide phenomenon, however no were else has it seen so strongly present in modern, Western, democratic European countries such as: Germany, Belgium, Catalonia, the Basque Country, Galicia and Northern Italy. After the turn of the century, Europe was and is still facing with crisis after crisis. The possible Brexit, terrorism, Russian aggression in Eastern Europe, the disagreements over the mass influx of refugees and years of currency, debt, and financial crisis, especially in the Southern nation states, in combination with threatening regionalist movements, have weakened the fragile stability of the European Union and set Europe’s wealthy countries against the poor. This two way division is currently is becoming increasingly more visible and present in the Union. The enlargement of the European Union was for most years unchallenged when Eastern and Mediterranean countries joined the Union of peace, stability and prosperity. However, the further enlargement of the Union and the boundaries that keep on expanding to the East and South have been met with difficulties. Until the years after the global financial crisis the enlargement of the Union faced no real boundaries, but now it actually does. Within the Union two constricting poles are starting to form: one Western, liberal and democratic pole and one Eastern, statist and autocratic. This divining line between the poles in Europe has become sharper and threatening the very foundation where the European Union is based upon.

A Europe in crisis reflects on the internal problems that Europe is facing in present time. The creation of a deeper integrated global economic union has been faced with internal conflicts between EU-member states, internal conflicts between nation states and their regions, the increasing

Euroscepticism, and the lack of solidarity between countries European countries (Downs, 2002). These crises have in one way or another led to an increase in the popularity for example the Scottish National Party (Harris-Quinney, 2012). Global economic integration and the restructuring of Western nation states have contributed to a resurgence of regionalism, most clearly manifested in Western Europe and the development of the European Union (Kramsch, van Houtum , & Zierhofer, 2005). However, the desire to create an “ever closer Union” is faced with the opposite phenomenon. In a world of globalisation and interdependence, it has stimulated the growth of sub-national regionalism, and giving rise to what some now call a Europe of the Regions (Kramsch, van Houtum , & Zierhofer, 2005). Besides, the process of a united Europe has been faced with an increase in the number of constitutional regions and stateless nations seeking autonomy or independence, partially because of this growing divide in Europe and within the nation states. It is important to sketch the present day problems within Europe when investigating about regions as modern, internal colonies within European nation states and to understand the motives of some of these regions to seek independence. The growth of regional nationalism and the shift in power balance between states and their regions overlaps with Hechter’s second model of internal colonialism, which will be discussed in *chapter 7.4 Internal Colonialism in Spain*. A Europe in crisis will serve as a context to investigate the assumption that Europe’s colonial past is backfiring into its nation states.

6.1.1 A Europe in crisis: a chance?

In this research regionalism in Europe regionalism is seen as a threat and what is causing Europe to be in a crisis. However, can this crisis be looked upon as an opportunity, a chance for Europe to reinvent themselves? This current fragmented post-Brexit Europe is in need of a self-assessment. With the UK’s ‘independence’ from the European Union, Europe could wake up and have a chance in reinventing themselves. The growing regionalism in Europe regions is currently met with fear, however it can also be looked upon as a chance and embraces this growing phenomenon as a sign of European strength, vitality and health. A Europe of regions as a possible phoenix rising from the ashes? However, in this research regionalism will be used as a threat to the stability of current nation states and how this could affect the ‘decolonisation’ of some European regions from their respectively nation states.

6.2 Europe in the past: identity crisis's

In the 19th century, a German philosopher Friedrich Engels said that since the end of the Middle Ages, history has been moving towards a Europe mad of up of large national states (Hechter, *Internal colonialism: The celtric finge in Britisch national development 1536-1966*, 1999). History has shown us that this assumption came actually true. The view of the 19th century nation-building process was: regions were something from the past and nation states belonged to the future. The regional identities were slowly replaced by a more modern identity of a larger nation state. This corresponds with Michael Hechter's theory about the diffusion model of national development, the process of nation-building and the intensifying contact between the core and peripheries, both stimulated by the industrialisation of nations states in the 19th century, encouraged the replacement of regional identities and the formation of one national identity. However, the in cooperation of a regional periphery into the nation states could also oppose the nation-building efforts emanating from the state's centre (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). This already happened a decade before the outbreak of the Frist World War. Some regional movements within various European states, for example Catalonia, the Basque Country, Ireland etc., increasingly demanded political autonomy, home rule or even independence, which some have successfully achieved. This chapter will therefore focus on how regionalism has played a role in the nation-building process of various European nation states in the 19th century and where this form of regionalism originates from

Regionalism stems from specific local or national historical background (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). The industrialisation of a society, rapid socio-economic change or lagging economic development can all encourage regionalism as well as a centralised nation state, like France, and incomplete national unification, like Spain (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). Even the democratisation of nation state can cause forms of regionalism, as what happened after Franco's regime ended in Spain. However, some scholars see regionalism as a short of identity crisis (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). An identity crisis within a nation can be linked to specific developments within the national context and particularly to events that were seen as having

an enormous impact on the course of national history, such as humiliating military defeat (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). Both military defeat and victory could lead to regionalism or to unification of nation states. At the beginning of the 19th century, it was the lack of national unity that stimulated regionalism in Germany. However, after the German victory in the Franco-Prussian war in 1871, the German Empire was proclaimed that resulted in the national unification of the many kingdoms, principalities and dukedoms. The German



Figure 11. The many German states before the unification. Source: 1994 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc

unification, together with the mass and rapid industrialisation, are defining moments in the German history. The defeat of France after the Franco-Prussian war saw the fall of the Second French Empire. France's disastrous defeat, and economic decline, brought forth deep rooted regionalism and became increasingly important when France's position as a global superpower became to question. In 1866, Austria was surpassed by Prussia as the dominant German-speaking power following its defeat in the Austro-Prussia war. Austria's decline in strength and power resulted in the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 which inaugurated the empire's dual monarchy structure in place of the former unitary Austrian state. Scholars see this as a similar turning point as what happened in France, because of military defeat and power decline, Austria encountered an identity crisis and regionalism began to grow in the nation state which had a wide variety of ethnical groups (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012).

French Historian Pierre Vilar described in one of his work that the last decades of the 18th century was the period when the Spaniards felt most united within the empire (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). Strong imperial unity was the result of economic growth and the opening of the American market to regional interest that had previously been excluded (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). The wealth that was generated because of the colonies did not encourage separatist feelings or movements within the Spanish regions or doubts regarding the unity of the state even though the Spanish monarchy was in a crisis (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). Napoleon's invasion in 1808 and the great national crisis followed after the Peninsula war had devastating effects on Spain and saw the demands of the American colonies for political independence from Spain. All these events, together with the Carlist wars, civil wars and the start of the loss of the American colonies in the 19th century, had an enormous impact on the course of Spain's national history and national development which brought Spain in an identity crisis and al greatly hampered the creation of a unitary nation state in the 19th century. Also the fact that the Spain was still an absolute monarchy did not initiate a transformation to a modern nation state (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). After the Napoleonic war, Spain lacked the unifying element of a common exterior enemy (Schrijver, 2006). Spain had a short war with the United States in 1898, but for the most part fought only colonial wars in the Americas, during which the empire slowly crumbled down. Colonialism held the Spanish nation together in the 18th century, but the loss of the last major colonies in 1898 caused a nation-wide identity crisis that stimulated the already existing regionalist movements. Combined with Spain's industrialisation delay, disparity of economic growth across the peninsula and unsuccessful economic development, Spain became a somewhat "peripheral" state in Europa that had lost its colonies in a time of defeat and economic backwardness which caused a nation-wide identity crisis that stimulated the already existing regionalist movements (Schrijver, 2006) (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012).

In some 19th century nation states, a division between regions and the dominant core in their nation became to occur. Nationalism was on the rise but also regionalism began to grow in the regions. Regions and regionalism were in fact among the victims of the nationalisation of history and historiography in the nineteenth century (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). It was seen as a result of modernisation and the nationalisation processes (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). The rise of European nationalism and imperialism will go on until the two world wars in the 20th century and the eventual breakup of the European colonial empires. These two historic events in European history brought Europe into an identity crisis which changed Europe's territorial borders and world influence. The

next chapter will sought to explain how these two events drastically transformed the European nation states and eventually resulted in the establishment of a European community.

6.3 Present Europe: Colonialism shaping Europe

European colonialism and imperialism has drastically shaped the borders of world. The Scramble of Africa or the Great Game in central Asia were European imperial powers fought supremacy in these regions and creating new countries and new borders which would correspond to their (economic and political) interest without taking the interest of the indigenous people into account. Europe 'created' new nation states in the far corners of the world which had previously now existing before colonization. The structures that European colonialism, and Soviet policies, have left behind when the colonies gained their independence is, partly, the source of many conflicts which now take place in the former colonized world.



Figure 12. An illustration from supplement to "Le Petit Journal", 16th January 1898. This reproduction is from Bibliothèque nationale de France

European colonial power changed the world and structured it the way that would satisfy their interest. However, European colonialism had an enormous impact on historical events and still has an impact on current notions of Europe and the European identity (Hansen, 2002). Therefore, colonialism had a crucial role in the formation of national identities in Europe (Hansen, 2002). This chapter will focus on Europe's colonial past and how this past of imperial pride, racial superiority and world power came back to 'haunt' the old continent. First, work from Peo Hansen, Professor of Political Science at the Linköping University in Sweden, will be used to seek to explain how the decolonisation of European empires gave an impulse to European integration and caused the creation of a European unity. Secondly, work from Michel Foucault's *Society Must be Defended*, a series of lectures Foucault gave in 1975, will be used, in combination with parts of Edward Said's *Orientalism* and Frantz Fanon *The Wretched of the Earth*, to illustrate that colonialism had a factor in the shaping of Europe and that Western imperialism came back to the old continent itself.

6.3.1 Colonialism and imperialism as the foundation of modern Europe

Colonialism has been an important factor in the economic development of European powers. The old colonial world order had an enormous impact on historical events and still has an impact on current notions of Europe and European identity (Hansen, European Integration, European Identity and the Colonial Connection, 2002). However, colonialism also had a crucial role in the formation of national identities in Europe (Hansen, European Integration, European Identity and the Colonial Connection, 2002). In fact, colonialism held the European nation states together, such as with Spain in the 18th century, a nation with strong imperial unity and a large colonial empire. European national identities were built on imperial pride, racial superiority and the sense of partaking in a communal European civilizing mission of 'the weaker, less civilized, savage, lazy Other' (Hansen, European Integration, European Identity and the Colonial Connection, 2002). Africa was in this era described as "submerged in pre-historical darkness" and the 'the dark continent'. In 1879, French writer Victor Hugo exhorted his compatriots to capture the empty spaces in Africa:

'To remake a new Africa, to make the old Africa accessible to civilisation, that is the problem. Europe will solve it' (Hansen & Jonsson, 2015).

However, with the start of decolonisation in 1950, the national pride of European nation was severely damaged. Europe lost a sense of national direction and their international prestige was fading away. But above all they got humiliated and defeated by an "inferior races" (Hansen, European Integration, European Identity and the Colonial Connection, 2002). When the Netherlands lost their precious and major colony of Indonesia in 1949, the Dutch phrased it as: *Indië verloren, rampspoed geboren*. Meaning when the nation would lose the colony of Indonesia, disaster would be born.

A new world order was set into play and that shifted the power over world affairs away from European countries to a more a US-led world. The Old Continent and its nation states faced an identity crisis that impeded their national development. The independence demands of the European colonies and the general shift in global influenced forced the colonial powers to reconsider and transform the future of their empires (Hansen, 2002). After the 1950's, a growing realization spread across Europe about the preservation of the colonial system that was becoming budding economic burden for the major European colonial nations (Hansen, 2002). The cost and stakes to keep the colonies within the empires became an ever more lasting burden. Both Belgium and the Netherlands were briefly wracked with anguish over the loss of their colonies, but both then appeared rapidly to sublimate the experience and turn enthusiastically to Europeanization instead (Howe, 2002). The decolonization of the colonies would soon serve as an incentive for the European integration and the creation of the European Community by the Treaty of Rome in 1957. The recreation of the European Community, was making up for the European nation states who saw their global influence decline and had to adjust to the changing political and economic circumstances brought forth by decolonization (Hansen, 2002). This saw a new opportunity, the building of a new national purpose in a new European project. Thus, traditional colonial relations and domination have facilitated some of the initial steps taken towards integration in Western Europe (Hansen, 2002). The conservative British government in 1960 saw the creation a European Common Market as a 'replacement' for their empire and a new source of international prestige and influence which would restore Britain as a dominant world power (Hansen, 2002). The legacy of European colonialism and imperialism has laid the groundwork for the creation of the European Union. According to Peo Hansen it are the multitude structures, conceptions and legacies that not only have a bearing on the individual member states, but they also weigh heavily on the project of European integration on its own. The traces that European colonialism has left behind have affected the European identity and the process to an "ever closer Union". Nowadays, the European Commission is intensifying its 'propaganda' campaigns to instil a sense of 'European identity' into its 'European citizenry' (Hansen, 2002). The possible 'decolonisation' of regions, like Catalonia from Spain, is another matter that could affect the European identity and Union. The call for independence in the former colonial world could come back into the regions of the Old Continent itself.

6.3.2 Western imperialism in Europe

“Orientalism” is about the inaccurate cultural representations and the differences of the culture of Oriental people as compared to that of Western world (Said, Orientalism, 1978). Professor Edward Saïd draws from Foucault’s belief that power and knowledge are the components of the relationship between the West and the East. The West has the knowledge and the understanding of the “other” and therefore the power to influence or control the “other”. This allowed Europeans to rename, re-define, and thereby control the people in their colonies people, places and things (Sharp, 2008). Said draws from Michel Foucault’s notion of a discourse to identify Orientalism because without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage, and even produce, the Orient politically, sociological, military, scientifically, and imaginatively (Said, 1978). The power-knowledge relation, based on Foucault concepts, is essential to identify and understand colonialism and especially European colonialism (Said, 1978). European countries extended their nation-state rule and authority over territory beyond its own nation borders. In 1830, German George Hegel wrote a book called: “The African Character”, in which he described that some cultures lagged in their development and need European rule to develop into mature civilisation. Western nation state forced their culture, practices and institution on the native people in the colonies. However, according to Foucault Western imperialism did not merely force Western practices and institutions on colonial subjects but also on the West itself: (Silverman, 2012)

“At the end of the 16th century, we have, then if not the first, at East an early example of the sort of boomerang effect colonial practice can have on the juridical-political structures of the West. It should never be forgotten that while colonization, with its techniques and its political and judicial weapons, obviously transported European models to other continent, it also had a considerable boomerang effect in the mechanisms of power in the West... A whole series of colonial models was brought back to the West, and the result that the West could practice something, resembling colonization, or an internal colonialism, on itself.” (Michel Foucault, 1975: 103)

The studies of postcolonialism have demonstrated that the relationship between European modernization and colonialism is not simply a historical accident (Güven, 2015). There are mutual constitution between the colonization of South America, Asia and Africa and Europe’s social, political and economic development (Güven, 2015). Franz Fanon was a prominent writer and, still is, a dominant figure in the fields of postcolonial studies. He writes in his book, called *The Wretched of the Earth*, that: “*Europe is literally the creation of the third world*” (Fanon, 2001). Thus, the third world as the creator of Europe. Fanon further points out a fundamentally economic relationship between the colonizer and colonized: “*The wealth which smothers her is that which was stolen from the underdeveloped peoples*” (Fanon, 2001) (Güven, 2015). With “her” he means Europe that saw the colonies as a foreign market, a place for resources and a place where diamonds, oil, silk, cotton, wood and exotic products have flow away to the European continent for centuries (Fanon, 2001).

Edward Saïd also writes about the mutual relationship between Europe and its colonies. In his book, Saïd tries to explain how the Western colonizer looked upon the “Orient”, the Other, weaker and less civilized. However, just like Fanon, Saïd writes about the fact that the former colonized world forms an integral part of European society, culture and civilization:

“The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe’s greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European material civilizational and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles.”

The Western world wanted to change, transform and discipline the colonial states into a society that is comparable to ours, because we thought that our way of life is the right way. However, this overlaps with the fact that dominant core regions within European nation states wanted to incorporate their peripheral regions into their state society. The political dominant core wanted to expose and subject the peripheral regions to one common national identity. Regions as Castile in Spain and London in England developed strong governments and spread their political influences and control to the eventual borders of their modern nation states. The way how several Western nation states tried to achieve this has been different in every country. In Spain, the previously strong, dominant and centralized state or Franco’s authoritarian regimes used their power to control and ethnic homogenised the nation state to create one national identity.

Colonialism in Asia, Africa, the America’s and the Middle East is an integral part of the West. Western colonialism and imperialism have left traces behind in the world, however, also in Europe. ‘Colonialism’ in Europe in the form of internal colonialism is another part of Western society, which effects, growing regionalism, separatism etc., began to (re)surface in the regions of a modern-day Europe in crisis. In "Society Must Be Defended", which was a series of lectures at the College De France, Foucault calls the practices and structures that came from the colonial peripheries to Europe a “boomerang”, in this research the term “backfiring” is used to seek to explain and suggest that Europe’s colonial past is backfiring into its own nation states. The next chapter will focus on Michael Hechter’s thesis about internal colonialism and how this is applicable on the relationship between Catalonia and the Spanish state.

6.4 Internal colonialism in Spain

As has been discussed in the previous chapter, European colonialism left traces behind that affected the European identity and the process to an “ever closer Union”. The European Union is based on solidarity between its nation nations, a Union of peace, stability and prosperity. But recent years have shown that solidarity between nation states and the identification of people as a European citizen is changing. The member states of the Union are starting to encounter conflict, transformation and an anti-European attitude in their own countries. Nations states don't have the same power over the regions like in 1970. Some of the regions of Europe, seek to gain more autonomy or even independence from their respectively nation states. The possible decolonisation of some of Europe's regions, Catalonia and Scotland as current examples, from Spain the United Kingdom are factors that could affect the European identity and the very foundations were our Union is based on. The call for independence in the former colonial world could come back into the regions of the Old Continent itself. However, the dominant political cores of Madrid, London and Brussels want to hold the nation state together.

In this chapter. Michael Hechter's theory will partly be used on the current conflict between the dominant cores and 'peripheral' regions within European nation states. The thesis of internal colonialism will be linked to European regions that are looked upon as modern-day 'colonies', in a time of Europe as a postcolonial state, and the capitals within the respectively nation state that are the political dominant. Currently, Catalonia is in the very process of achieving their independence of Spain, therefore, the situation with Catalonia and Spain will be used to seek out their core-periphery relationship in a post-colonial world.

6.4.1 Michael Hechter internal colonialism theory

The internal colonialism theory of Michael Hechter describes the distinct divide of the dominant core from the peripheral regions within a nation state or an empire (Hechter, 1999). The periphery exists within an unequal and dependent economic and political relationship with the dominant core. There is also a basic cultural conflict, usually over language and religion, between the core and the periphery. The core is seen to dominate the periphery politically and to exploit it materially, expect under exceptional circumstances (Hechter, 1999). This can be seen as similar relationship between the metropole and colony or the European colonizer and the former colonized nations of Africa. However, according to Michael Hechter the term internal colonialism derives from colonialism which is “the subjugation by physical and psychological force of one culture by another through military conquest of territory” (McMichael, 2012, p. 27). The spatial uneven wave of modernization, uneven distribution of wealth and political and economic inequalities between the core and peripheral regions within a state territory create relatively advanced and less advanced groups.

Internal colonialism has different forms, so is slavery an extreme form of internal colonialism. Other forms of extreme colonialism are the old South African apartheid system and the suppressing of the native Americans by the Portuguese and Spaniards.

Michael Hechter partly rejected the philosophy of the diffusion model and developed the theory of internal colonialism. Hechter's internal colonial model posits an altogether different relationship between the increasing core-periphery contacts that results in social structural convergence (Hechter, 1999). In the diffusion model, as is explained in chapter 5, the increasing core-periphery interaction as a result of industrialisation will lead to commonality and ethnic homogenization and the creation of one national identity (Hechter, 1999). The diffusion model of national identity is about the creation of one national identity, the intensifying contact between core and peripheral groups, the development of regional economic equalities and national cultural homogeneity in peripheral regions. All these processes are set in action alongside the course of industrialisation. In his diffusion theory, Michael Hechter maintains the fact that industrialisation and modernization lead to an increase in the interaction between ethnic minority groups and the core region within a state territory. However, this process will not necessarily mean the creation of an ethnic unity within nation states. In the diffusion model, inequalities between the regions within a nation state would fade away or become less when the nation would modernize and become a more unitary state. However, industrialisation has a tendency to create more or enhance regional inequalities between regions. This leads to the unequal distribution of resources and power between two groups. Therefore, the economic, cultural and political foundations for separate ethnic identification will not disappear but will be enhanced (Hechter, 1999). The diffusion model predicts a lessening of regional economic inequalities, the internal colonial model predicts that these will persist or increase (Hechter, 1999). Therefore, the already existing differences between the regions can put the peripheral regions at another inferior position which leaves the core regions dominant (Nbeta, 2012). The internal colonial model puts a different relationship together between the regions because the model does not predict national development following the course of industrialisation (Hechter, 1999). Cultural differences between the core and periphery could lead to the probability that the disadvantaged, minority group will, in time, seem and aim for its own culture as an equal or superior to that of the relatively advantaged core. This helps the peripheral region to conceive of itself as a separate nation and seek independence (Hechter, 1999). Thus, the two models contradict each other. The diffusion model is about the creation of common identity and the internal model about the cracks that occur over time within the national identity because of the spatial uneven wave of modernization over state territory and the way the core has treated the peripheral regions in a disadvantaged way.

Michael Hechter posited his internal colonialism theory in the course of his study of British nationalism (Nbeta, 2012). He writes that his book is: "very much a product of its time. It too is about the problem of integration, about the persistence of Irish, Scottish and Welsh nationalism in the oldest industrial society. In his book Michael Hechter argues that the exploitation of Scotland, Wales and Ireland by London and other parts of Southern England is a form of internal colonialism (Hechter, 1999). His study concerns the persistence of separate ethnic identity in the Celtic regions of the British Isles, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland during a century of industrialisation and modernization. In his work, Hechter seeks to explain the 'relative' failure of national development in the United Kingdom. He does not only indicate the independence of Southern Ireland in 1921, but perhaps more importantly the existence of a social base of separate ethnic politics and a separate ethnic identity in the peripheral regions of an advanced industrial nation in a modern-day society (Hechter, 1999). In this Hechter, sees Scottish, Welsh and Irish nationalism as the outcome of internal colonialism. His first book came out before the emergence of Scottish and Welsh nationalism in 1960. However, he

has made some important modification in his second publication. The differences lie in the modification of his 'cultural division of labour theory' as a hierarchical stratification of that of 'segmental' cultural division, which he explained as a vertical stratification (Nbeta, 2012) (Hechter, 1999). While the diffusion model predicts ethnic change will occur as long-term consequence of structural differentiation, namely the cause of industrialization. The internal colonial model suggests that peripheral ethnic identity will persist following differentiation, given the institutionalization of cultural division of labour (Hechter, 1999). In this situation there will be a social stratification of ethnic or cultural groups, with the core group occupying the best class positions and the peripheral group the inferior positions (Hechter, 1999). This corresponds to a colonizing nation state with the Scots, Welsh and Irish as the colonized and the English as the colonizers (Hechter, 1999).

However, in fact this seems too contrary with the theory of cultural division of labour (Nbeta, 2012). Scotland has been as much industrialized and imperial nation as England from the 18th century (Nbeta, 2012). After the publication of his first book the reception from Scotland was far different form that from Wales and Ireland. By one Scottish reader it was argued that "Scotland had reached the peak of its Industrial Revolution before the U.S.A. had even started. The U.S.A. did not start properly until after the Civil War and consequently had a flying start as a result of the creative efforts of the Scots" (Hechter, 1999). In the modification of his second book, Michael Hechter in-cooperated the fact that the Scots had long been innovators in the British context, in education, finance, technology, and the physical and social sciences (Hechter, 1999). Hechter therefore writes that:

"these are hardly the accomplishment of colonies, whether internal or external. And the image of the Scots as an energetic and industrious people is far from the usually ascribed to colonial subjects. Let Scotland be consider unique, Catalonia could be offered as another example of an economically advanced peripheral region which also developed strong nationalist sentiments".

The Scots are therefore in practice, not related to inferior social position (Hechter, 1999) However, there is no denying that Britain had uneven economic development and to government and commercial policies favouring the South of England (Hechter, 1999) (Nbeta, 2012). Some criticisms have therefore levelled against Hechter's theory based on which he later revised the cultural division of labour thesis, a hierarchical stratification, as regards Scotland to a 'segmental cultural division', a vertical stratification, in which Scots occupy 'occupational niches' deriving from the distinctiveness of their national institutions, such as law and education (Nbeta, 2012). From his investigation Hechter concludes that the Scottish case corresponded the East well to the internal colonial model. This is because the Scottish case was more complex. The rulers of the Scottish state were, themselves, culturally anglicized, their English counterparts felt it unnecessary to insist upon total control over Scottish cultural institutions, as they had done in Wales and Ireland (Hechter, 1999). England's colonial incursion of Ireland and Wales raised the problem of culture in another way. The Anglicization of the regions was stimulated and many took advantage of this new opportunity. The old, agrarian social structure became confounded by parallel cultural and class distinctions (Hechter, 1999). However, such re-identification with another ethnic identity was possibility for only a small elite within these peripheral regions. The bulk of the inhabitants of these regions kept closer to Celtic cultural forms. The existence of Celtic culture resulted in the formation of a weapon in the 19th century. A weapon that could be used as a basis for anti-English political mobilization in these

traditionally disadvantaged regions (Hechter, 1999). Thus, according to Hechter the Scottish case corresponds the least with his internal colonial model while the other peripheral regions of Wales, Ireland and Northern Ireland come closer to the core of his theory. The internal colonialism model has a compelling validity in many contexts around the world including Nigeria, Brittany with France, Colombia, Italy, the United States and South Africa.

6.4.2 Catalonia as an internal colony of Spain

In Michael Hechter's work industrialization is an important aspect in the development of nation unity. The diffusion model of national development indicates that over the course of industrialization of state territory, peripheral culture and identities will fade away and make room for a nation identity and culture. In Michael Hechter's book, the diffusion model suggests that modernization and industrialization leads to the decline of peripheral sectionalism. This has however not been demonstrated for the Celtic fringe (Hechter, *Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966*, 1999). After the course of industrialization in Britain, the peripheral regions continued to define themselves in cultural terms as Welsh or Scottish instead of British, this challenges the generality of the diffusion model of core-periphery interaction (Hechter, *Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966*, 1999). This has simultaneously happened in Spain where industrialization did not result in the decline of peripheral sectionalism. The Industrial Revolution began with a huge delay compared to other Western nation states. The region of Catalonia, especially Barcelona, became the very first industrial region and till today the industrial and economic powerhouse in Spain. Other Spanish regions industrialized with a delay or failed to do so. Thus, Barcelona became the wealthiest and industrialised city in the "periphery" of Spain.

The internal colonial model posits altogether different consequences resulting from heightened core-periphery interaction. Individuals of the political dominant core culture are expected to dominate high prestige roles in the social structure of the peripheral regions, as the situation in overseas colonies (Hechter, *Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966*, 1999). According to the internal colonial model, structural inequalities between the regions should increase, as the periphery develops in a dependent mode (Hechter, *Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966*, 1999). Catalonia developed on an independent mode but not as full periphery that "exists within an unequal and dependent economic and political relationship with the metropolitan core". The internal colonial model suggests that industrialisation does not necessarily lead to the establishments of a national identity. But how can this even occur in a country where the core was the periphery when the industrialisation started in the first place? Sure, Madrid was the political dominant region within Spain but Catalonia was wealthy and industrialised. According to the internal colonial model, industrialisation has a tendency to create more or enhance regional inequalities between regions. This enhances of regional inequalities leads to the unequal distribution of resources and power between groups. Therefore, the economic, cultural and political foundations for separate ethnic identification will not disappear but will be enhanced (Hechter, *Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966*, 1999). This is very accurate in the Spanish case, industrialisation created more regional inequalities, Catalonia and the Basque Country had their prime moments and developed strong regionalist movements while other regions de-industrialised which resulted in an enormous economic disparity between the Spanish

regions. Uneven economic development occurred all over Spain but Catalonia was the most and first developed region. However, the internal colonial model suggests that unequal development and regional inequalities can put the peripheral regions at an inferior position which leaves the core region dominant. This is in fact partly true in the British case, but not in this Spanish case. Unequal economic development in Spain didn't put Catalonia at an inferior position. Contrary, Catalonia became a threat to an united Spanish nation state and the Catalan culture became a weapon for the regionalist movements against the centralisation efforts of the Spanish state to create the unitary Spanish state. These cultural, politic and economic differences between the dominant, political core region of Madrid and the peripheral region of Catalonia eventually helped the Catalans to conceive itself as an equally important region and too demand greater autonomy or seek independence. It is therefore the question if Catalonia can be seen as an internal colonial of Spain. Michael Hechter defines three concepts of peripherally, *colony*, *internal colony* and *peripheral region* (Hechter, Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966, 1999). These concepts may tentatively be sorted out by their relationship to five particular variables:

- (1) the degree of administrative integration
- (2) the extensiveness of citizenship in the periphery
- (3) the prestige of the peripheral culture
- (4) the existence of geographical contiguity
- (5) the length of association between the periphery and the core.

Economic dependency is absent from this list because it is a common feature of all three concepts (Hechter, Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966, 1999). A *colony* would generally be ranked low on all five variables. An *internal colony* is given high rank on (1) the degree of administrative integration, (2) the extensiveness of citizenship in the periphery, (4) the existence of geographical contiguity and medium rank on the length of (5) association between the periphery and the core. *Peripheral region* would be ranked highly on all the variables. Hechter argues that from this perspective the internal colony has more in common with a peripheral region than with a colony (Hechter, Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966, 1999). Yet the existence of a culture of low prestige within a peripheral region is justification enough for the establishment of an internal colony (Hechter, Internal colonialism: The Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966, 1999). Scotland is in this aspect a peripheral region and does not fit the 'requirements' of an internal or external colony because Scotland already had a high level of instructional autonomy since the establishments of the Union in 1707. The economically advanced region Catalonia follows Scotland in this matter and does not fit the internal colony terms. Catalonia has, just like in Scotland, developed strong nationalist sentiments.

6.4.3 Not an internal colony?

Thus, Catalonia is not an internal colony but a peripheral region. But where, do the regional movements in Catalonia originate from? Michael Hechter's internal colonialism resembles the colonial situation between the European colonizers and the African or Asian colonized countries: a cultural different peripheral region within a nation state that is economically and politically controlled by the dominant core (Schrijver, 2006). Uneven development between the core and periphery can lead to the periphery elites to mobilize popular support to defend the backward region from uneven development (Schrijver, 2006). However the opposite is possible. Not all regions, like Catalonia and Scotland, are economically backward and under developed. On the contrary,

regionalism can also stem from relative economic advanced regions (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012) (Schrijver, 2006). It suggests that regionalism can also originated from regions that are economically better off than other parts within the state. A 'got-it-alone' attitude is simply more credible in economically more developed regions in Europe, which could survive on their own economically, like Catalonia, Flanders, Bavaria and Northern Italy (Schrijver, 2006). Thus, it can be said that not all cases of regionalism and the strive for independence of some of these regions are from poor regions. In his book, *Regionalism After Regionalisation: Spain, France and the United Kingdom*, Frans Schrijver writes about a approach of Stein Rokkan and Derek Urwin to overcome the problem that regionalism only happens in peripheral poor regions. They created a 'centre-periphery model' (Schrijver, 2006). This model suggests that tension between centre and periphery can be the result of a territorial imbalance in any or a combination of three major social dimensions: economy, culture and politics (Schrijver, 2006). It does not necessary mean that a poor, weak peripheral regions triggers a conflict on these dimensions. Schrijver suggest that sometimes a relatively strong position can be a reason for protest, if the relationship with the centre on the other dimensions does not reflect this position. It can be conducted that the region of Catalonia does not fit with the 'requirements' of an internal colony, according to Hechter's thesis, and with the term colonialism because Catalonia has been the most developed region in Spain from the 19th century. However, the cultural, social, political and emotional (and suppression) part of colonialism is something else.

6.4.3.1 Suppressed as a colony

The powerful and dominant core regions of Castile, or Madrid, expanded their political influences and control around the world from the early 15th century, however simultaneously, they also expanded their rule in peripheral regions on the old continent itself:

"The prime aim of the new rulers in their expansionist efforts was to bring under sway all territory not already theirs within the 'natural frontiers' dimly coming to be perceived... small nationalities which had failed to developed as States were swallowed up: Brittany (1492), Granada (1492), Navarre (1512), Ireland. Their languages and cultures persisted nevertheless and none of the governments succeeded fully in its program of unification. England strove vain to absorb Scotland, Spain was only briefly able to absorb a reluctant Portugal. Frontiers thus reviving helped by mutual irritation to generate a corporate sentiment on both sides. By the 17th century an Englishman who did not look down on a Scotsman would have been only half an Englishman; a Scotsman who did not hate an Englishman would not have been a Scotsman at all." (Kiernan, 1965)

Castile expanded its influence to the far corners of the peninsula. The early Spanish government did not succeed to create and effect centralised state which resulted that Spain remained a loose arrangements of multiple semi-autonomous regions until the beginning of the 18th century. Towards the 18th century, Madrid emerged as the strong political core region who sought to transform Spain in a united centralized state. Regional autonomy was seen as backward and regional parliaments and customs were eliminated. Catalonia lost their historical autonomy and became in 1714 fully ruled from Madrid (Achankeng, 2015). Catalonia elites saw their historical autonomy been taken away and their power severely threatened. The centralization attempts of Madrid promoted regional identities,

the making of symbols (flags, anthems, promoting of regional language) and the development of national parties in Catalonia.

Franco's authoritarian rule of the 20th century, tried to suppress regional cultures and identities and impose a homogeneous indivisible, almost eternal nation united by a single language and culture (Moreno, 1977). Franco's regime aimed to remove linguistic aspects that could affect the formation of one Spanish culture and identity. Catalonia was one of these regions that got heavily suppressed and exposed to the horrific treatments of the regime that wanted to impose a different culture, identity and language. Catalonia had to adopt to use elements of the Spanish culture and became Spanish. Regional identities were caught in the middle of Franco's process of to create a unitary nation state. It was also during this time that the Catalan culture became a weapon of resistance that strengthened regional identities. The authoritarian regime contributed to stronger forms of regionalism that eventually resulted and laid the groundworks of more recent claims of separatism.

6.4.3.2 Recent events in Catalonia's independence struggle

Franco's reign has ended a long time ago and other attempts of the Spanish government to in-cooperate the regions into the unitary state are from the past. Spain is a modern, democratic country now. As has been discussed before, economic, cultural or political territorial imbalance can cause tension and conflict between political dominant centre regions and their wealth and economic strong periphery. Catalonia has a strong economic position in Spain and other region do not reflect the same position. The dominant core region of Madrid is of course another economic power house but 'financial discrimination' strengthens the conflict between Catalonia and Madrid. Spanish and international media insist that Catalonia pays between 6 and 9 percent of its GDP each year (per saldo) to Madrid, and often consider the opposition to this drain as egoistic (Achankeng, 2015). Even Catalanian left wing parties consider the financial 'regime' to be unjust. Madrid as the political dominant core can be regarded as somewhat of a "parasite". During the glory days of the Spanish Empire it would suck resources and money from the colonies without directly generating wealth (Herr, 1989). When the empire ceased to exist and the country began to industrialized, a form of financial discrimination occurred. Catalonia is the wealthiest region and contributed more to the Spanish treasury that it offers and returned (Lecours, 2001).

However, more recently other factors came to emerge why Catalonia, suddenly, had the desire to establish their own nation state. The unequal relationship between Catalonia and the Spanish state, national recognition and the financial system are important aspects in the independence struggle of Catalonia. In 2005, the Spanish and Catalan parliament agreed on a draft of a new statue of autonomy. The Catalans wanted to in cooperate the definition of Catalonia as a Nation, just like Spain. Furthermore, Catalonia wanted to improve the financial system and previewed bilateral relations with Madrid in some issues (Nagel & Rixen, 2015). However, a large part of the central government in Madrid and the Spanish people were against this new change in the constitution. After much consideration, the final draft of the new statue passed by the majorities of the central government. In this new draft, Catalonia remained a nationality and an autonomous community, because within Spain that was only one nation, Spain itself (Achankeng, 2015). No national recognition. In fact the new Statue brought no change to the state of autonomies (Achankeng, 2015).

Also the financial regime remained unchanged, but the Spanish state promised to invest more in Catalonia according to their share of Spain's total GDP (Achankeng, 2015).

Continues attempts of Catalonia to get gain more self-rule, more autonomy and national recognition have been blocked by the Spanish government or the Spanish constitutional court, stating it is not possible under the current constitution (Nagel & Rixen, 2015). The Spanish government is trying hard to keep Catalonia within the nation and one way in doing that is through Madrid's modern recentralization efforts. Former President of the Generalitat of Catalonia Artur Mas describes these efforts as:

"Self-government in the regions of Spain, and especially in Catalonia, is being reduced because there's a very harsh campaign of recentralization of power in Madrid...There are more independence supporters today than a few years ago because it's evident that this process is occurring. And accompanying this process is a great lack of respect for Catalan identity, language and culture."

With the Catalan 'defeat' and the Spanish central state closing the way toward a more meaningful autonomy, new leaders led to the mobilization for a referendum on independence (Achankeng, 2015). This new form of mobilization moved the Catalan national movement parties toward claiming a referendum on independence, which the central government is totally unwilling to grant (Achankeng, 2015). According to Catalan Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, independence was the most favoured single choice in 2013, remaining just short of 50% (Achankeng, 2015). The last couple of years, elections campaigns in Catalonia were mainly fought one the issue of a referendum on independence. In 2012, a time when the economic crisis was hitting Spain really hard, the parties that stood for such a referendum won. This recent quick, and thorough independent turn has surprised many Spanish and foreign analysts. Fokem Achankeng has phrased this recent quick and thorough independent turn as followed:

"Catalan nationalism had been considered regionalist, a dog that barked but never bit".

Catalan identity had never been based on blood and descent, but on language. Today, it is based on will and civic compromises with the country (Achankeng, 2015). Seven years after the Spanish transition towards democracy, one million people had taken to the streets too claim more autonomy while only 2% of the people preferred independence, more people were in favour of a federated state or a more power for the autonomous communities, as the solution for the future of Catalonia (Achankeng, 2015). This stands in sharp contract compared the situation in 2014 when, according to the Catalan Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, around 50% of the people in Catalonia favoured independence as the single choice (Achankeng, 2015). Since 2006, and particular since 2010 around the years of the global finical crisis and the start of a series of crises in Europe and the Union, Catalan nationalist turned from autonomism to independentism (Achankeng, 2015). In 2013, the CIS Sobre el Estado de las autonomías, CIS State of the autonomies, published the result form a survey (the results were not published until after the Catalan election in 2013) which reflects on the differences between Catalonia and the whole of Spain. 13.9% of the Catalans are in favour of a state without autonomy or autonomous regions with less power than currently, while in the whole of Spain the percentage is 37% and in Madrid, remember the dominant political core, the percentage is 56% (Tapia, 2013). In contrast stands the 65% of the Catalans who want to have more autonomy or even eligible for

independence (Tapia, 2013). In the whole of Spain, this percentage is only 23% and 11% in Madrid. Besides, in the whole of Spain, 31% support the current system of autonomous regions and 23% support the increase of the regions autonomous power (Tapia, 2013). This does not occur in Catalonia where 68.8% of the people want more autonomy for Catalonia while the number in the rest of Spain is only 28.9%. It can be conducted that Catalonia is not in favour to support the current system or relinquish their autonomy, while in the rest of Spain these numbers vastly differ (Tapia, 2013).

From a survey done around the period since 1980, the group of Spaniards who felt equally identified with their regional identity as with their Spanish identity continued to grow to 53,6% of the inhabitants of Spain (Schrijver, 2006). Spanish and for example Asturias have therefore become equally measured as a source of identity (Schrijver, 2006). A clear line that can be drawn from this is that the Spaniards did not swap their Spanish identity with that of a regional one after the democratization of nation states and the establishment of the autonomous regions. The growing of the 'I feel equal' category has been to the expense of the 'I feel more Spanish' and the 'I feel only Spanish' categories (Schrijver, 2006). These categories are much smaller now and mean that the regional identities have become much more important and stronger, as one would suggest. The category of 'I feel only *for example Andalusian*' has been gradually the same over the years and means that the regional identities of Spanish citizens have become stronger after regionalization and decentralization (Achankeng, 2015). Territorial identities of Spanish citizens shifted towards more identification with region and less with Spain (Schrijver, 2006). More people are regarding themselves as a 'dual identity', seeing regional and Spanish identities as equally important. The regions where people regard themselves with two identities or just with a regional identity have a strongly regionalist movements and demands for more autonomy or even independence. This also reflects in the fact that Spain is a very diverse country regarding the preferred organization of the state and the feelings of identity. However, Catalonia is very plural; there is not overwhelmingly large party of the people that are for one specific goal. On the contrary, Madrid is very different of Catalonia in the aspect of preferred state organization. The Catalans feel the Spanish state is too centralized, the other population in Spain believes the state is too decentralized (Tapia, 2013). Especially the regions of Castile-Leon, Castile-La Mancha and Madrid, historically the core region of Spain where there is much support of more centralisation.

If the Catalans insist on independence, there would be no way fully compatible with international law and Union law to achieve it, other than reaching a negotiated agreement with the Spanish government (Nagel & Rixen, 2015). The way to Catalonia's independence, if constitutionally admissible and politically unavoidable, would necessarily be through Madrid (Nagel & Rixen, 2015). However, Catalonia would find itself outside the EU and without the consent of Spain, most states, if not all, would be reluctant to recognize Catalonia as an independent state (Nagel & Rixen, 2015). On the other hand, Spain would lose an economic powerhouse and influences in Brussels.

6.4.4 Conclusion chapter 6

In 2012, the streets of Barcelona were filled with Catalans who were holding signs with the text like "Catalonia, new State in Europe". In their strive towards greater autonomy or independence from Spain, Catalans have consider themselves a special entity distinct from the other regions of Spain (Nagel & Rixen, 2015). The emerge of Catalonia as a "nationality" within the Spanish Nation is due to several historical, linguistic and cultural reason and is now based on will and civic compromises with the country (Achankeng, 2015) (Nagel & Rixen, 2015). After the terrible reign of Franco, Spain's transition towards democracy provided decentralization, autonomy and led to a strengthening of regional cultural identities in Catalonia. 'Catalanisation' of the region flourished. Linguistic policies, the mass media, and education, the symbols of Catalan identity have all been reinforced on the onset of regionalisation. Catalonia claims they can be nation in respect of cultural and social reality, but this has no merit in the constitutional and legal sense (Nagel & Rixen, 2015).



Figure 13. Protest in Catalonia.

Source: Reagrupament Internacional

As can be conducted from the previous information, Catalonia does not fit the terms of an internal colony, but can be looked upon as a peripheral region because it's submissive towards Madrid. Catalonia can be regarded as a peripheral region because it was the very first industrialized region in Spain and Barcelona became the wealthiest and industrialised city in the "periphery" of Spain. The industrialization wave created more regional inequalities within the country and did not result in the decline of peripheral sectionalism but, on the contrary, enhanced regionalism within the regions. The industrialization did not lead to ultimately merge the core and peripheral culture into one all-encompassing cultural system to which all members of the society have primary identification and loyalty, but centralization and suppression attempts were in some cases used to create this merge. The cultural, politic and economic differences between the dominant, political core region of Madrid and the peripheral region of Catalonia eventually helped the Catalans to conceive itself as an equally important region and too demand greater autonomy or seek independence.

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Thus, Catalonia is no internal colony however the cultural, social, political and emotional (and suppression) part of being a colony is another matter. In this way Catalonia can be regarded as an internal colony, not fully according to Hechter's principles, because it was a poor peripheral regions with inferior position towards the political dominant core but because Catalonia can be looked upon as a region who wants to have greater autonomy, national recognition and saying about their affairs. In this regard Catalonia can be considered as a colony because they are denied to establish their own nation state. The next chapter, *chapter 7. Conclusion*, will further elaborate on this matter and will give an overall conclusion on the relationship between the Spanish state and Catalonia and on the assumption if Europe's colonial past is backfiring.

7 Conclusion

"We are a great nation...We all have our place in this diverse Spain."

- King Felipe VI of Spain during his swearing-in ceremony

In this research it is assumed that Europe's colonial past is backfiring into its own nation states. Assuming regions as modern day colonies who want to separate themselves from their motherland. The relationship between the Spanish state and Catalonia is used as a case to investigate this assumption and too determine if Catalonia is an internal colony, in a certain way, and if Catalonia is in the very process of decolonizing from Spain. Michael Hechter's diffusion model of national development and internal colonialism model are used to seek to explain the Spanish nation-building process and why a region like Catalonia can be regarded as an internal colony that wants to separate themselves of Spain.

Several historical elements heavily hampered the Spanish national development process to establish a solid, unitary nation state and the creation of one identity towards the people from the peninsula could relate to. With the end of the Reconquista, Spain became one of the first 'modern' day nation states in Europe. During this time, the Spanish regions had a large degree of self-governance. Fully 'modern' state building began in Spain during the reign of the Spanish Bourbon Kings through centralization, absolutism, political homogenization and the abolishment of regional autonomy and institution. Attempts of Catalonia to restore these political status and re-establish self-government were suppressed and failed (Nagel & Rixen, 2015). It was during the glory days of the Spanish empire that the Spaniards felt most united because of strong imperial unity (Augusteijn & Storm, 2012). However, the once mighty Spanish empire ceased to exist in the 19th century after the Napoleonic invasion which left Spain in chaos. The Spanish colonies in the Americas all proclaimed their independence in the 19th century and Spain became one of the first European countries to loss all its colonies. The loss of the colonies was a major component in that influenced the nation building process heavily. The 19th century became a turbulent period which had an enormous impact and brought Spain in an identity crisis and greatly hampered the creation of a unitary nation state in the 19th century. Spain's industrialisation was greatly hampered, partly because of this turbulent period, and started with a delay, compared to other western nation states. The Spanish industrialisation started in Catalonia and Barcelona became the economic powerhouse. With the industrialization in Catalonia and the Basque Country, the country came 'closer' together. Economic and social changes were essential parts in the national cultural unification and occurred all over Europe when the continent industrialised, partly with the help from colonial resources. However, the opposite happened in Spain, uneven economic development, the legacy of the ancient regime, political instability, internal and external wars, uprisings and unstable governments slowed or undermined economic progress and the creation of a stable, modern, unitary state. It prevented a stronger development of the Spanish nation and society, which was in a crisis, and impeded a solid nation building process, as happened in other European countries like Britain, Italy and Germany. While Britain's grew as a major colonial world power and had all the advantages and components to make the industrialisation successful and build a solid nation state, Spain became the opposite example of that. The Spanish state in the 19th century was an economically unsuccessful (re-)builder of the once mighty and powerful colonial empire. Spain had lost its empire and prestige in a time of defeat and economic backwardness and became a 'peripheral' state in Europe which causes a nation-wide identity crisis which greatly affected the creation of a unitary nation state.

This identity crisis stimulated the already existing regionalist movements in the most modern industrialised and well-developed region: Catalonia. Regionalism in Spain has been met whenever centralization or the creation of one unitary state became to occur, especially during the reigns of the Spanish Bourbon's and General Franco. It was the political and social context in which these revivals of regional nationalism took place and a divide between the political dominant core and peripheral regions became ever clearer. The Catalonian conflict against the centralized Spanish state has laid the groundworks for the establishment of powerful regional movement which eventually would become the foundation of strong feelings of Catalan nationalism in the 20th century.

Throughout history, the Spanish nation building process was a, although it is a very tough process, difficult path and largely failed to create an unitary nation state. Solid nation building efforts and attempts to centralize the nation state have resulted in the encouragements of Catalan's independence sentiment. Nowadays, Catalonia wants to leave the Spanish nation state because they feel Catalan instead of Spanish. The central Spanish government is trying hard to block the way for Catalonia too separate themselves from Spain. The situation of Catalonia as a colony who wants to be independent and the central state as the colonizer who is trying everything in its power to stop it this from happening corresponds how European nation states tried to remain to their precious colonial possession after the Second World War. Thus, can Catalonia, in this current situation, be regarded as an internal colony that is decolonizing themselves from Spain?

Michael Hechter's thesis about internal colonialism is used to identify if Catalonia can be regarded as an internal colony, partly because of the failed nation buildings efforts of the Spanish case. From this research it can be conducted that, according to Hechter's internal colonialism thesis, Catalonia does not fit the terms of an internal colony but can be looked upon as a peripheral region because it's submissive towards and still ruled from Madrid which is the political dominant core in Spain. Also Catalonia was the first industrialized region in Spain and still is the economic powerhouses in Spain. According to Hechter's thesis about internal colonialism, Catalonia does not fit the terms of an internal colony. However, the cultural, social, political and emotional (suppression) part of a colony is something else. Over the course of history, kings and governments have sought to 'colonize' Catalonia and in cooperate the regions into one centralized nation state by attempting to suppress its culture and identity through the imposition of a homogeneous Spanish identity (King & Browitt, 2004). The revive of Catalan regionalism and separatism are immediately result from these attempts. Differences between Catalonia and other regions in Spain enhanced regionalism and eventually helped the Catalans to conceive itself as an equally important region and too demand greater autonomy or seek independence. During Franco's reign, the Catalans were 'forced' to abolish their Catalan culture and become Spanish. These historical attempts are illustrating an image of a 'suppressed' Catalonia, which was not an internal colony because of its economic strong position, but who got suppressed not economically but politically. A region that was for thirty years forbidden to express their own cultural and distinctive language. A fact they shared in common with colonies from Asia, Africa, the America's and the Middle East who got suppressed by a country from an old, imperial and proud continent far away who thought they could civilize the rest of the world.

Colonialism held Spain and other European states together. However, the Second World War weekend colonial powers and decolonization was inevitable because people simply wanted to be free. The decolonization of these empires and the independence of the former colonized countries outside Europe resulted in the establishment of the European Community. The way towards independence for these colonies was, partly, structured by strong movements of nationalism. Nationalism is therefore held as a predominant social force and it is in the name of nationality alone that individuals are willing to act and achieve things in a certain way (Hechter, 1999). Powerful, imperialistic states, like Spain and the United Kingdom, have lumped together different disparate groups of people into postcolonial nation-states. This is now causing conflicts between core region and peripheral regions, like what happened in Catalonia and Scotland. Backfiring suggest that something that has haunted you in the past is coming back at you. In modern time, Europe's colonial past is backfiring into its own nation states. Nowadays, in the context of a Europe in crisis where numerous European regions like Catalonia, Wales, Scotland, Corsica, Flanders, Britany, Lombardi, Venice etc. have developed strong regional and ethno territorial identities and want to seek greater voice, greater resources, and greater autonomy or independence, a modern form of 'decolonization' is possibly happening in Europe. However it must be noted that not every region is comparable to the Catalonia case. Nationalism struggles are as old as nation state itself and will not go away as can be seen with the situation in Catalonia. As Michael Hechter has put it to words:

"Since nationalism shows no signs of abating on the world stage, questions about its causes and consequences are likely to remain pressing in the foreseeable future". (Hechter, 1999: xxii)

It is because of the nationality of someone that people are willing to act in a certain way and ultimately vote for Catalan independence to 'decolonize' from Spain. Nowadays Spain is a modern nation state and people in Catalonia can openly be Catalan and speak the language. But it is from this aspect, were Catalonia's independence struggle originate from. They regard themselves as equal Catalan and Spanish or only Catalan. In this way Catalonia can be regarded as an internal colony, not according to Hechter's principles, and not because it was a poor peripheral regions with an unequal economic development compared to other regions but because Catalonia can be looked upon as a region who wants to have greater autonomy, sayings about their own affairs and even want fully independence. This overlaps with the way how the colonies in Asia, Africa, the America's and the Middle East wanted to gain independence. A modern form of decolonization inside Europe.

8 Reflection

Before I finalize this thesis, I briefly want to reflect on this research. When I was working on this report I began to realize how big this subject is, could be and how much I wanted to include in it. This was in one way the threat to my thesis because there is some much information that can be found on this subject. Also the research question could have been made sharper, so I would have worked more efficiently, differently and could have easily determined which information I wanted to include and which information was unnecessary.

Finally, the thing I very much regret is that I was not able to visit Spain and unfortunately was not able to include data from interviews with people from this particular subject. However, I am very, very satisfied with the final report.

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