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Separatism and the politics of regionalism in Spain
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The issues of the politics of regionalism and separatism in the contemporary Spain provide an interesting and important topic for the current political research. This work will examine the cases of Catalonia, Galicia, and Andalusia. The selection of these three regions is primarily based on the assessment of their economic development and of their degree of self-determination. The main goal of this work is to understand how certain major factors, such as the socio-economic situation, the politicization of national and regional identity and the nature of the political conflict affect the politics of self-determination in the selected regions of Spain. As far as the temporal scope is concerned, I choose the last 15 years of the Spanish political developments, because I suppose this period has had a particularly strong impact on the current situation in the question of self-determination in the Spanish Kingdom. The method of research used in our work is a method of comparative historical analysis, through which the common and distinctive features of historical and political phenomena are revealed through comparison in extended temporal settings. It also allows us to identify and compare the levels in the development of the cases under examination and the changes that have occurred. The theoretical framework of this research will be derived from the theory of separatism elaborated by Anthony Smith in his book "National Identity". Problematika politiky regionalismu a separatismu v současném Španělsku představuje zajímavé a důležité téma pro současný politický výzkum. Tato práce bude zkoumat případy Katalánska, Galicie a Andalusie. Výběr těchto tří regionů je založen především na posouzení jejich ekonomického vývoje a stupně sebeurčení. Hlavním cílem této práce je pochopit, jak některé zásadní faktory, jako je socioekonomická situace, politizace národní a regionální identity a povaha politického konfliktu, ovlivňují politiku sebeurčení ve vybraných oblastech Španělska. Co se týče období, zvolila jsem posledních 15 let španělského politického vývoje, protože předpokládám, že toto období mělo obzvláště silný dopad na současnou situaci v otázce sebeurčení ve Španělském království. Metoda výzkumu použitá v naší práci je metoda srovnávací historické analýzy, pomocí níž jsou společné a charakteristické rysy historických a politických jevů odhaleny prostřednictvím srovnání v rozšířených časových podmínkách. Rovněž nám umožňuje identifikovat a porovnávat úrovně ve vývoji zkoumaných případů a změnách. Teoretický rámec tohoto výzkumu bude odvozen z teorie separatismu, kterou vypracoval Anthony Smith ve své knize "Národní identita".

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Declaration of Authorship

I hereby attest that this thesis and its content is based on my own work, unless stated otherwise. All the references and sources of information used to compose this thesis have been quoted and acknowledged, under the supervision of my supervisor.

In Hradec Králové 28.6.2019

Signature

Abstract

MEDVEDEVA, DIANA. *Separatism and the politics of regionalism in Spain*. Hradec Králové, Philosophical Faculty, University of Hradec Králové 2019, 60 pp. Bachelor thesis.

This thesis tries to describe the problematic of separatism and the politics of regionalism in contemporary Spain where currently exist several independence movements. The main purpose of the work is to compare and analyze factors that can influence the question of separatism in chosen regions, such as Catalonia, Galicia, and Andalusia. In the present study, the last 15 years of the political life of Spain (2003-2018) will be examined.

The method of research used in this work is a method of comparative historical analysis, through which the common and distinctive features of economic, cultural and political factors are revealed through comparison in extended temporal settings.

Our research could be considered significant because Catalonia, Galicia, and Andalusia have not been studied together before in a framework of one research on the topic of the policy of regionalism and separatism.

Key words: separatism, regionalism, Spain, Andalusia, Galicia, Catalonia

Anotace

MEDVEDEVA, DIANA. Separatismus a politika regionalismu ve Španělsku. Hradec Králové, Filozofická fakulta, Univerzita Hradec Králové 2019, 60 s. Bakalářská práce.

Problematika politiky regionalismu a separatismu v současném Španělsku představuje zajímavé a důležité téma pro současný politický výzkum. Tato práce bude zkoumat případy Katalánska, Galicie a Andalusie. Výběr těchto tří regionů je založen především na posouzení jejich ekonomického vývoje a stupně sebeurčení. Hlavním cílem této práce je rozebrat a porovnat faktory, které mohou mít vliv na otázku separatismu ve vybraných regionech. Práce se zabývá obdobím posledních 15 let španělského politického vývoje (2003-2018).

Metoda výzkumu použitá v této práci je metoda srovnávací historické analýzy, pomocí níž jsou relevantní rysy historických a politických jevů posuzovány a srovnávány v rozšířených časových úsecích. Uplatněný přístup umožňuje charakterizovat a srovnat vývoj zkoumaných případů (Katalánska, Galicie a Andalusie) v adekvátním časovém rámci, umožňujícím identifikaci a srovnání kombinací dlouhodobě působících faktorů ovlivňujících politiku regionalismu a separatismu. Tato práce usiluje o rozvíjení takto orientovaného komparativního výzkumu dané problematiky.

Náš výzkum může být považován za závažný, protože Katalánsko, Galicie a Andalusie nikdy nebyly zkoumány dohromady v rámci jednoho výzkumu na téma politiky regionalismu a separatismu.

Klíčová slova: Španělsko, separatismus, regionalismus, Andalusie, Galicie, Katalánsko

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BNG – Galician Nationalist Bloc
CHA – comparative-historical analysis
CIS – Centre for Sociological Research
CiU – Convergence and Union
Cs – Citizens (political party)
CUP – Popular Unity Candidacy
E. g – for example
ERC – Republican Left of Catalonia
EU – European Union
GDP – Gross domestic product
IGE – Galician Institute of Statistics
Mln. of EUR – millions of euros
PP – People's Party
PSC – Socialists' Party of Catalonia
PSdeG – Socialists' Party of Galicia
PSOE – Spanish Socialist Workers' Party
PSOE-A – Socialists' Party of Andalusia
Th. of EUR – thousands of euros
UNPO – Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization

Introduction

Nowadays we can see that our world is changing, particularly taking into account the current situation in the countries of the European Union. Prosperous future of EU right now remains questionable due to the several political issues such as Brexit, the influx of migrants, raising of populism and surely raising of separatist movements inside of the EU in countries such Spain, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Italy, and France. Without a doubt, the degree of representation of the separatist movement is quite dissimilar in mentioned countries. Still, the most relevant and the strongest self-independent movements we can find in Spanish Catalonia where, in 2017, was held the Catalan independence referendum that provoked a protracted political conflict between Catalonia and the Spanish government. The Catalan conflict is an important issue and it can be extremely dangerous in terms of how strongly pronounced and widespread it is. This conflict took place on the land of the prosperous state of the EU and carries with it many questionable topics that can easily destabilize the integrity of Spain and subsequently the integrity of the EU in general. Also, we have to stress that on the map of Spain, we can find other autonomous communities whose regional parties favor greater independence or even separation from Spain. First of all - the Basque Country, Galicia, Valencia as well as a number of other autonomies where regional radical powers have the support of the population. Furthermore, Spain is an example of a unitary highly regionalized state that by its structure reminds the federal model of governance. Spanish regions are quite distinguished from each other in a social, economic, cultural and ethical way and thus; a high level of inequality characterizes Spanish autonomies.

Separatism is a complex and controversial phenomenon that is naturally connected to self-determination and nationalism. From one point of view, separatism is justified by an internal feeling of self-identification, characterized by a sense of self-uniqueness, but at the same time, it can be dangerous if it is expressed in radical ways (Fonseka, 2013: 170). Separatism can exist in countries with quite different political structure and can have various causes of origin, but (1) what if, in the case of Spain, because of regionalism and big differences between the regions in such aspects as socio-economical level, culture and history, each region has its own reason to seek

independence and there is an absence of a single common cause (1)? And could an economical aspect be a defining one among the causes of separatism in Catalonia (2)?

To answer those questions, three regions are chosen: Catalonia, representing the rich region with a high level of self-determination where the current political crisis is; Galicia, with an average degree of economic development and independent sentiments and Andalusia, a region with low economic development and a low degree of ideas of independence. The degree of difference between chosen regions will be defined by using three aspects such as socio-economic development, the politicization of national and regional identity and the specific nature of the political conflict. Those three factors A. Smith uses in his book “Nationalism and modernism” as the main factors to describe a nationalist problematic. Potentially, (1) Spain’s autonomous regions, which are seeking greater independence, have their specific causes rather than one reason common to all regions. As reported by Walker Connor, economic factors only favor the incitement of ethnic separatism (Catalan case) and there is no a model of a clear connection between economic factors and ethnic nationalism (Smith, 2004: 126). According to this, we might suppose that economic factors cannot be determined as the main cause of separatism in Catalan case, however, they could catalyze self-independent sentiments (2).

This research could be considered significant because Catalonia, Galicia, and Andalusia were not taken before in the framework of one research on the topic of the politics of regionalism and separatism. This could be explained by the fact that scholars are more attracted by the regions with a high degree of self-determination such as Catalonia and the Basque Country (R. Balcells, D. Conversi, J. Diez Medrano) whereas the causes of separatism are more obvious. Supposedly, it is worthwhile to pay attention to regions with a smaller measure of self-determination because they could demonstrate with clarity how factors contributing to separatism could be strengthened or weakened under various circumstances (such as socio-economic level, the politicization of national and regional identity and the specific nature of the political conflict).

In the present study, the last 15 years of the political life of Spain (2003-2018) will be examined, starting with 2003, when the first political contradiction occurred in the Parliament of Catalonia. Based on this period of time, we will create graphs of socio-economic development in chosen regions and graphs with results of the regional elections over the last 15 years, as well as, results of surveys on the question of the self-determination. We will trace the dynamics of nationalist movements in the chosen region over the past 15 years to see how some factors were changing under certain

conditions and over time and how they affect nationalist sentiments. For this reason, a comparative-historical analysis (CHA) will be used during our work.

CHA is quite popular in social sciences due to its technique of analyzing events at certain time intervals, by taking various factors under consideration and revealing differences in the results of the examined objects. This method has been chosen due to the presence of several variables in our work and it could be helpful to evaluate those variables under certain circumstances within a time frame.

Since in our research we will work with economic indicators, elections results, main regional and statewide political parties, public opinion on the issue of self-determination and language preference, it can be assumed that this work could significantly expand the reader's knowledge on the questions of nationalism, regionalism, and separatism in general but most certainly in Spain.

Our work will be divided into six parts. At first, the theoretical background should be considered to highlight the exact definitions we are working with, such as separatism and regionalism and, briefly, Spanish history will be reviewed to see origins of regionalism and separatism in this country. Furthermore, Catalan social-economic development, the degree of self-determination, nature of political conflict and public opinion on the topic of language usage will be stated. Moreover, we will catch the topic of Galicia following the same structure we created for Catalonia. In the fourth part, Andalusia's case will be considered. An assessment of the results is following to evaluate the similarities and difference between the regions in a case to answer our questions. In conclusion, the most important findings will be marked in order to emphasize and summarize our study.

In our practical part, we will use mostly primary sources, such as economic regional statistics, which demonstrate the level of economic development (Idescat, Ministerio de Hacienda, Datosmacro, Country Economy), the results of parliamentary elections in the chosen regions (Idescat, El País), the results of public opinion polls on the topic of national self-identification and preferences in language usage (CIS, Statista, Idescat, IGE). The historical and theoretical context of this work will be described by the aid of existing professional literature.

1. Theoretical background

First of all, to get closer to the essence of the work, the theoretical background should be determined. Such terms as regionalism and separatism are connected to the phenomena as secession, decentralization and nationalism, which are having the character of being difficult described, but we will try to define them objectively and to specify their peculiar properties.

The section 1.1 of this chapter will be devoted to the problematic of regionalism; the definition of the term will be specified. In the section 1.1.1 will follow the case of Spanish regionalism. In section 1.2 will be reviewed a problematic of separatism and its origins, after, in section 1.2.1 Spanish case will be considered more closely. In chapter 1.3 two main hypotheses will be pointed out and after, in chapter 1.4, we will consider methodology we are planning to work with.

1.1 Regionalism

Unfortunately, we cannot say that regionalism is a well-developed research topic. For the most part, regionalism is not given enough attention, although regionalism is a very important element of modern European politics. Regionalism as a phenomenon was born presumably in the early 20th century but became widespread only in the period since 1950-1960 (Hettne, 2005: 546). Initially, regionalism began to spread mainly in the countries of Western Europe, where regional problems, interests and needs have become the focus of national governments (Shipkov, 2017: 13). Among of the authors who were working on the topic of regionalism we can find such as M. Farrell, V. Strzelecky, V. Shipkov, B. Hettne, R. Turovsky, A. Baranov, A. Makarychev. But what is exactly a regionalism? Hettne in his work “Globalism and the New Regionalism” considers regionalism as a complex phenomenon that occurs at various levels, from the political to the socio-cultural, on macro and micro level. Based on this definition we can say that regionalism has a different nature and it is a multifaceted phenomenon. Surely it is not the only definition and different authors have its own interpretation of regionalism. But the most common interpretations of this term should be classified and deviated into three branches:

1) Regionalism as an answer on centralism, which can be considered as economical regionalism: Strzelecky in his work “Cultural regionalism” characterize its

phenomenon as a kind of ideology and political doctrine of the central authorities in relation to the regions, designed to effectively counteract excessive centralization (Strelecky, 2012: 9). He as well describes approach of other authors at the issue of regionalism and gives an example of definition of T. Hueglin which offers to identify regionalism as emerging, developing regions in the protest movement against the political-administrative and economic centralism that is focused on achieving cultural and political autonomy, and in some cases, even secession or irredentism. However, one of the most famous concepts of this phenomenon was developed by Rokkan and Lipset (1967) and described in a conflict model called “centre-periphery”. According to Rokkan, the conflict centre-periphery was formed at the time of establishing national centers where was concentrated the most power and, as a response to it, regional powers were raised (Hlousek, 2002: 399).

2) Regionalism as an answer to globalization, which we can consider as a political regionalism: several researchers follow this position, for instance, V. Shipkov believes that regionalism is also one of the types of the modern ideology of globalism, which aimed to combat the historical phenomenon of the nation-state. The main task of regionalism in this case is to deprive primacy of the concept of the national state in the system of modern international relations; the goal is to create a new world order that would contribute to deeper globalization of the world space (Shipkov, 2017: 10). M. Farrell supposes that regionalism is a response to globalization and a reaction to the diverse aspects of global processes in their entirety (Farrell et al. 2005: 2). A. Hurrell at the same work claims that the region is the most appropriate and viable level to reconcile the changing and intensifying pressures of global capitalist competition on the one hand with the need for political regulation and management on the other (Farrell et al, 2005: 42).

3) Regionalism as an answer to the regional differences, which we can consider as the cultural regionalism. For instance, Turkovsky describes regionalism as a result or an effect of the regionalization, which is getting formed in countries within the areas with a significant difference (Turovsky, 2006: 46). Strelecky determines regionalism as an approach to the problems of society from the standpoint of the interests and needs of the regions and unification based on their regional difference (Strelecky, 2012: 9). Furthermore, Strelecky underlines that regionalism can be perceived as an ideology of regional elites by which they are trying to get more cultural independence. Quite important that by using the aspects of cultural regionalism regional elites can satisfy their ambitions in economic and political questions against the central government.

1.1.1 Regionalism, Spanish case

Spain is considered a highly regionalized state. Having the features of a federation, the Spanish Kingdom is formally a unitary state. From the historical point of view, Spain has never been a centralized state and always was considered as a country with political and cultural pluralism (Smishenko, 2011: 280). Smishenko as well mentions that during the 19th century there have been different time periods in Spanish history when attempts were made to create a centralized state (Constitution of 1812) as well as the attempt of creating a federalization (Constitution of 1873). However, the First Republic did not last long due to the radical way of decision making of authorities, in 1876 was restored the centralized state. In the period before the civil war, there was another attempt to decentralize Spain, the constitution of 1931 created an “integral state” where was a possibility to get more autonomy for such provinces as Catalonia, Basque country and Galicia. Coming to the power of general Franco, autonomies lost their statuses, Spain became for 40 years centralized state, where internal integrity was playing a key role.

Modern outlines of the Spanish political model began to emerge in 1976 with the transition to democracy and with acceptance of Constitution of 1978 that was trying to reflect on the aspiration of regions to obtain more legislative and institutional autonomy (Smishenko, 2011: 280). This Constitution made possible the creation of autonomies and gave more freedom to the regions; nevertheless, this Constitution prohibits the creation of a federation of autonomous communities (Article 145). A new model of the territorial structure was called the state of autonomy. It is very important to note that the Spanish Constitution does not specify the number or names of autonomous communities, but only the ways in which individual provinces or their associations can create such communities. The Constitution also does not define the level of authority of each autonomous community, limiting itself to a list of powers and defining two possible ways to achieve autonomy: a fast one, provided for historical regions and allowing to obtain the maximum level of authority at once, and a slow one, when regions expand the scope of authority gradually, as they are ready. The competence of the autonomies includes a wide range of regional issues (Article 148), but such questions such as international relations, economics, different forms of regulation remained under the jurisdiction of the central government (Article 149).

The political-territorial system of Spain suffers, claims Bogatyreva, from the lack of effective mechanisms of cooperation between the centers and the regions, which

confirms a number of conflicts between the central government and Catalonia. Spanish administrative model is the intermediate and compromise form placed between unitary state and the federation (Bogatyreva, 2018: 14). At the same time, we should take into account huge distinctions between the Spanish regions in an economic and cultural way. Regionalism, which mainly was formed based on cultural and language differences, within time was getting transformed into the movement, under the political and economic circumstances, that is perceiving a state more as an obstacle rather than a protector and representative object.

1.2 Separatism

The problem of separatism remains in varying degrees in almost all countries and primarily perceived as a negative phenomenon due to the question of national integrity and sovereignty. Separatism by itself it is a multifaceted phenomenon that connected to such terms as nationalism, secessionism, irredentism, nation, territory, to the right of the self-determination etc.

Despite the fact the separatism as a phenomenon was raised in the 20th century we can say that its root is going deep to the history where had started the process of formation of a national state (Makarenko, 2009: 46). In the middle of the 1980 separatism had been considered as unpromising but in 1990, with the establishment of new states connected to the fall of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Bloc separatism gained momentum due to the effectiveness of national movements (A. Smith 2004: 12). The right of the self-determination nowadays becomes a doctrine of many nationalities that did not feel enough satisfied with their home states (Makarenko, 2009: 49).

In the modern typology, it is quite hard to give only one interpretation on the term of separatism because in the scientific literature has not yet developed a general concept of separatism as a phenomenon.

At the same time, if separatism will be considered as a case without a qualitative assessment, separatist movements are the result of using the right of the self-determination that been declared as one of the principle rights that is embodied in the Article I of the Charter of the United Nations (UNPO 2017). Indeed, the reference to the right of self-determination of nations is the most popular argument for separatism. According to this right, all nations have the right to form their own state where political and cultural (or ethnic) borders must coincide. Based on this, the right of self-determination of nations is understood as a requirement of full political sovereignty.

However, this right is questionable because of the ambiguity of the term nation and difficulty of the question of sovereignty.

Reasons for the emergence of separatism could be quite different, mainly depends on the region and continent, the most common reasons for rising separatism in European case are:

1. Different level of development in the economic and social sphere. Here we must say that separatism can exist in prosperous regions that want to get rid of the policy of the center and the supply of other areas and against the background of the crisis in the backward regions;

2. Protection of cultural and national identity;

3. Ethnic heterogeneity (Manoilo, 2014: 11-20).

This classification can be considered quite comprehensive but it might be important to disassemble more in details how economic factor can affect separatist tensions. Walker Connor argued that economic factors only favor the incitement of ethnic separatism, he describes that apparently there is no model of a clear relationship between economic factors and ethnic nationalism (Smith, 1998: 126) that presents us a concept of correlation of many factors. Factors of separatism are inextricably linked. As shown on the basis of sociological methods A. Lijphart, the interaction factors can "mute" their overall effect or reinforce destructive consequences. From the point of view of regionalism, all the factors of separatism are refracted and aggregated in the form of center-peripheral relations (Baranov, 2005: 111).

Also, it is quite important to emphasize the reasons that are not main but can affect the level of radicalization of the separatist movement. Some of them can increase the level of radicalization of separatist movements, such as:

- Presence of strategy because strategically powerful minorities are likely to mobilize around extreme demand that are weak minorities;
- The territorial concentration of the regional minority with political, social and economic self-sufficiency;
- Presence of external supporters of greater independence of the region.

Other factors can decrease the level of radicalization of separatist groups, for instance:

- Presence of power that institutionally represents minorities;
- Lack of clear regional minority;
- Lack of external sources of power for supporting the separation of the region from the home state (Erin K, 2007: 541-542).

According to presented factors, which can affect the degree of intensity of main reasons of separatism, we can see how complicated and multifaceted the phenomenon of separatism is. By its nature separatism is connected to the territory, economic, social, political and institutional aspects, which, by interconnection with each other, form a unique type of this phenomenon.

1.2.1 Separatism, Spanish case

Separatism in Spain had been formed by the end of the 19th century when the first Catalan separatist groups emerged. The existence of nationalism in the developed regions and regionalism in peripheral provinces was the reason to express a desire for autonomy, which at this time had become the basis of the political programs of many parties. The first formal autonomy granting in Spain was during the Second Republic. The Constitution of 1931: "The Republic is an indivisible state, compatible with the autonomy of municipalities and regions" (Article 1). Thus, separatism was perceived as an enemy of the Spanish state.

By the activity of national movements, Spain regions can be placed in this order: the Basque Country, Catalonia, Galicia, Canary Islands, and Andalusia. The widespread of nationalist ideas on the territory of such autonomies as Catalonia and the Basque Countries, in addition to the factors of cultural identity and features of development, can be explained by the fact that in these regions historically has been formed a tradition of political self-government.

The theory of modern Catalan separatism is based on clear interaction between the prosperity of the region and its independence movement (Amat et al., 2017:13). The economic theory of Catalan separatism is quite popular whereas nowadays Catalonia produces around 20% of the Spanish GDP. In the modern historical region of Galicia, there is also a struggle for self-determination and independence, but with less activity and often in conjunction with the center-left ideas of anti-globalization. Andalusia, whose population does not appear to be an independent nationality, occasionally becomes a center of advocacy for greater autonomy.

1.3 Hypothesis

Based on our theoretical concepts we can make a claim: different potential and speed of development in economic, political and social sphere (formed by policy of regionalism) can be a reason of separatist tensions that leads us to the main hypothesis of this work: because of regionalism and big differences between the regions in such aspects as socio-economical level, culture and history, each region might to have its own reason to seek for the independents and there is an absence of a single common cause in a frame of one state (1).

The theory of modern Catalan separatism is based on clear interaction between the prosperity of the region and its independence movement, however, according to Walker Connor economic factors only favor the incitement of ethnic separatism but cannot be the main reason from what follows the second hypothesis that economic factors cannot be determinate as the main cause of separatism in Catalan case, however it can catalyze self-independent sentiments (2).

1.4 Methodology

As the methodology for the work has been chose a comparative-historical analysis (CHA) that can help us to answer thesis questions.

The method of comparative-historical analysis is quite popular in social sciences due to its feature to analyze events in certain time intervals with the help of various factors in order to reveal differences in the results of the objects under study or a common similarity. To trace those similarities will be used graphs with variables such as socio-economic development, presence of regional identity and language identification. The long-term impact of comparative-historical analysis lies primarily on its defining features: emphasis on empirically grounded facts, deep case-based research, and its attention to the process (Mahoney, Thelen 2015: 3).

Also, it is worth mentioning three defining links of the comparative-historical analysis, which are:

1. A macroscopic orientation – working with socio-economic, political and cultural policy;
2. Case-based research – 3 cases of regions, Catalonia, Galicia, Andalusia;
3. Temporally oriented research – 15 last years of Spanish political life.

Macro-configuration orientation primarily indicates that the use of CHA in research gives us the opportunity to study global problems in a sufficiently long period of time. So, as issues of separatism and regionalism can be fully perceived as large-scale, this method will help us in the research (Mahoney, Thelen 2015: 5).

Mainly, CHA is based on working with primary and archival data, which fits perfectly into the context of our work since statistics, results of elections and surveys will be used as a practical base of our work. In addition, CHA is focused on combining several factors, in order to form errors of combination (Mahoney, Thelen 2015: 8). In our case, this will be a combination of factors that are determinative in matters of self-determination in chosen regions

Furthermore, CHA focuses on issues that are significant at the global level, which have socio-political importance (Mahoney, Thelen 2015: 12-13), as Catalan crisis is.

Perhaps, one of the most important features of CHA is a time-oriented study. The study of temporal processes is crucial for understanding of political processes since it formed by the individual variables (Mahoney, Thelen 2015: 22). For these variables, we will indicate the results of the regional elections in Spain, which took place over the past 15 years.

2. Catalonia

This historical region and autonomous community nowadays is an example of one of the most active units of Spain seeking independence. In 2017 in Catalonia held an independence referendum that was declared illegal by the side of the Spanish government. However, this referendum had an important impact on the current political situation in this country and it demonstrated a political position of Catalonia towards the central government and also it raised the question of the integrity of European state such as Spain.

The region of Catalonia has a strong historical background and its own language. Formation of Catalan nationalism began at the turn of the 19-20th centuries after the industrial revolution when Catalonia becomes a rich and promising region, and, therefore, a powerful one (Baranov, 2014: 98). For the first time in the 20th century, Catalonia became autonomy in 1930 but, however, lost this status in 1934 for the next 40 years due to of being a part of the centralized state of general Franco. Exactly during this period of time was forming a strong political idea of Catalan identity (Bukowski, 2002: 149).

Nowadays, Catalan nationalists emphasize the uniqueness of Catalan autonomy. Local Catalan government – the Generalitat, also plays a significant role in nationalist propaganda.

The main players of Catalan politics are political parties and political blocks. Catalonia's party system was formed based on two cleavages: the socio-economic cleavage and the centre-periphery cleavage (Medero, 2011: 2). In general, the party system construction of Catalonia represents a developed type of the regional party systems with more than one relevant regional party and as well with the presence of branches of the statewide Spanish parties (Strmiska, 2005: 49)

It is quite important to mention a political system of Spain and the main parties as far we are going to work closely with political actors of Catalonia and the central government. After the collapse of the regime of general Franco the political system slowly was transforming into a two-party system with two main parties: PP and PSOE (Richova, 2009: 230). Those two political parties have been replacing each other's positions (government and the opposition) already for a long period of time.

PSOE is one of the oldest active Spanish political parties, at the time of establishing had the biggest support in rural areas, initially, was presenting federalist

ideas (Richova, 2009: 235). Thus, PSOE is supporting autonomy construction of Spain; PP is a conservative party, was established by members of Franco's regime, the main political direction was to keep national integrity, to minimize autonomy of regions, the party supports ideas of centralized state (Richova, 2009: 236). During the period of time (1996-2004), when PP was forming a government, there was deterioration in the relationship between the central government and regions, PP had an opinion that administrative construction of new state of autonomy is completed, but however, the opposition (PSOE) had an opinion about continuing reforms (Torkunov, 2012: 245).

2.1 Socio-economic features of Catalonia

The geographic position of the region played an important role in forming favorable conditions for the development of the economic sector. In Catalonia live 16% of the Spanish population, here is produced around 20% of GDP, 24 % of industrial output and 28% of the export of the whole of Spain. Catalonia has the 4th (out of 17) place on the level of life among the autonomous communities. The region gives to the national budget around 16 billion euros per year (8% of regional GDP) (Idescat).

Also, it is quite important to mention that Catalonia is one of the regions that pay to the central government more than finally receive for development of the region (Table No. 1).

Table No. 1: Total expenditure and income and absolute fiscal balances in 2014 (mln. of EUR)

	Total income	Total expenditure	Total absolute balance	Total absolute balance/GDP (%)
Andalusia	53,6	67,9	14,2	10,25
Catalonia	70,3	66,3	-4,046	-2,06
Galicia	20,2	26,1	5,8	10,80
Madrid	68,1	53,9	-14,189	-7,25
Basque Country	21,052	26,143	5,091	7,96

Source: Ministerio de Hacienda

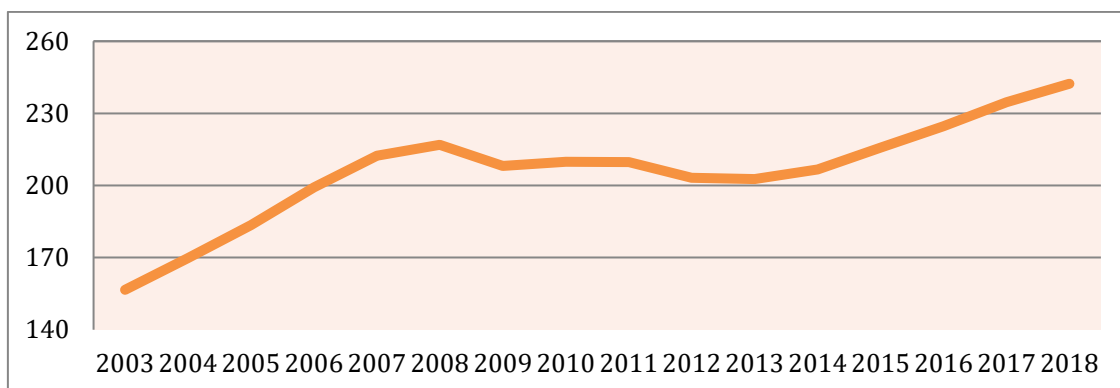
Based on the table No. 1 we can see that Madrid also pays more than receive. However, the Basque country has a positive absolute balance since this region can

redistribute its finances not only downward to municipals but also upward to the central government (Zubiri Oriá, 2010: 17). Catalonia does not have this economic freedom.

The global economic crisis of 2008 led to the fact that Catalonia owed to the national budget more than all other regions (34% of GDP). The consequences of the economic crisis were a reason for the confrontation between the center and the autonomy in the spring of 2012. Another reason for the conflict was an anti-crisis measure: central authorities significantly cut benefits and raised taxes for this region. It dramatically increased the level of social discontent. That caused on September 11 of 2012 a rally in Barcelona of 1.5 million people under the slogan: “We are an independent country”, “Catalonia is not Spain» (Baranov, 2013: 31). According to it, we can surely say that economic problems only aggravated more and more a political conflict between Catalonia and the central government.

Nevertheless, to carry out the subsequent correlation of factors at the end the socio-economic indicators need to analyze more detailed. As the main indicator of socio-economic development, we will consider GDP over the past 15 years (Graph No. 1).

Graph No. 1: GDP of Catalonia 2003-2018 (millions of EUR)



Source: Idescat

We can see that GDP of Catalonia was mostly growing up during the last 15 years; the two highest values on the ascending scale are the first one in 2008 (216,9) and the second one in 2018 (242,3). Also, two moments on the graph demonstrates where GDP was declining, the first decline just right after the economic crisis and occurred in between 2008-2009 (GDP fell by approximately 8 points, from 216,9 to 208, 1), the second one in between 2011-2013 (from 209,7 in 2011 to 202,6 in 2013).

2.2 Specific nature of political conflict in Catalonia

Catalan political conflict has a long history. Central authorities of Spain over a long time were trying to assimilate Catalonia's citizens. The Constitution of 1978 and the Autonomous Statute approved in 1979, granted to Catalonia rights and freedoms. According to these documents, Catalonia has its own parliament and government, police, radio, etc. But, however, a new round of political confrontation began after the fall of the authoritarian regime.

In 1977 the Generalitat was restored and in 1979 was adopted the Statute of Catalonia. This decision was perceived as a weakness of the central government and Catalonia saw the opportunity to extend their nationalist goals up to independence (Baranov, 2014: 98).

Until the beginning of 2000th, the position of Catalan authorities was considered as moderated regionalism. "Catalan people feel like Spanish, but at the same time they want to retain their language, culture and traditional political intuitions" – said the chairman of the Generalitat in the 1990th J. Pujol (Baranov, 2014: 100). But the situation started to change, the first political crisis in Catalonia occurred in 2003. It was an internal Catalan political crisis connected to elections to the Generalitat. *Convergència i Unió*, which won the regional elections, could not form a coalition, a coalition was formed by three other parties that could not work effectively on Status of Autonomy of Catalonia that needed to be elaborated at the time. However, the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia was approved and finally signed in 2006. Surely, it was a big success for Catalonia because it allowed to the region to participate in the policy-making on the international level (in the frames of EU) (the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, 2006: Article 3). Nevertheless, the Statute of 2006 brought also a lot of problems. It demonstrated the "privilege" position of Catalonia towards other Spanish regions. The government of Rodriguez Zapatero (PSOE), which initiated the reform of the state of autonomy on the path of federalization, was able to resist the excessive claims of Catalonia. However, PP, which formed an opposition at that time in the central government, appealed to the Spanish Constitutional Court against the Status of Catalonia. The Constitutional Court of Spain started the process and in 2010 several articles were recognized as unconstitutional and were rewritten (Torkunov, 2012: 250).

After this, the crisis was turning more and more into a separatist type of conflict neither than regionalist one. Since 2012, the problem of Catalan separatism has become one of the most discussed in the international community. In 2012 happened one more confrontation between the central government and Catalonia: due to the question of forming a Catalan financial intuition that would control local taxes. Madrid declined this project and on September 11 occurred a big manifestation in Barcelona with calls to get separated from Spain.

The consequence of the demonstration was early regional elections (November 25, 2012) where the majority of votes won party *Convergència i Unió*. In January 2013, the Catalan Parliament voted by a majority to hold a referendum on the independence of the region from Spain. The Spanish authorities immediately after the decision noted that the referendum would be illegal because it is going against the Constitution of Spain. In 2014, instead of a referendum, was held a consultation about the status of Catalonia, the majority of the result was in favor of total independence of Catalonia, this “consultation” was considered by the Spanish central government illegal in 2015.

One of the most recent political conflicts between the Spanish central government and Catalonia’s Generalitat happened in 2017 and let Spain to a deep political crisis that is present until nowadays. The Generalitat approved a referendum of independence that was held in 2017. According to the results of the referendum, about 90.09 % of Catalans voted for separation from Spain and Catalonia was formally proclaimed independent. The referendum was considered illegal by the Constitutional Court of Spain, Madrid enacted article 155 of the Spanish Constitution, suspended the Autonomous status of Catalonia until early elections. Catalan politicians and public figures were arrested. 2017 ended by the elections to the Generalitat where supporters of independence won again.

To sum up this chapter we can say that the conflict between Catalonia and the central Spanish government had the cultural nature that had to be delaminated by signing the Status of Autonomy of Catalonia. However, in 2010 several articles of this document had to be rewritten, that provoked massive demonstrations and the conflict started to have political nature, the dialog between the central government and Catalonia get lost and as a consequence of it - the attitude of Catalonia became more radical. Catalonia tried to bargain with the central government by using economic ambitions in 2012 to get more financial freedom. All subsequent events were only consequences and

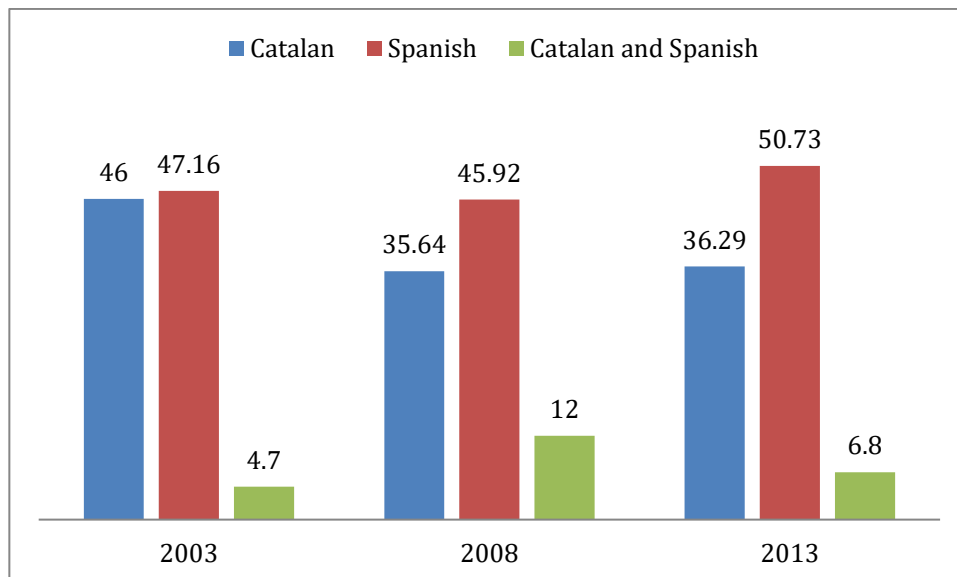
demonstrated a huge lack of collaboration that provokes a crisis in the Spanish political system. Even if it seems that for Catalonia it is more an economic and political issue the roots of this conflict going to 2006, to the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia, to recognition Catalans as a nation and also to refuse to give them more economic independence.

2.3 National and regional identity of Catalonia

Catalonia historically has a strong identity that is represented by its own language and culture. Despite the fact, that Catalonia became a part of Spain in the 15th century, this region always was trying to keep its legacy.

The region of Catalonia has its own language, which arose at the confluence of French and Spanish languages (Baranov, 2013: 30). The most important is that the Catalan language is actively used and protected by its carriers. Nowadays the region is actively implementing a program to support the Catalan language. However, we can see that supporting programs are not enough since the value of Catalan and its usage is decreasing over time (Graph No. 2).

Graph No. 2: Habitual language in Catalonia (%)



Source: Idescat

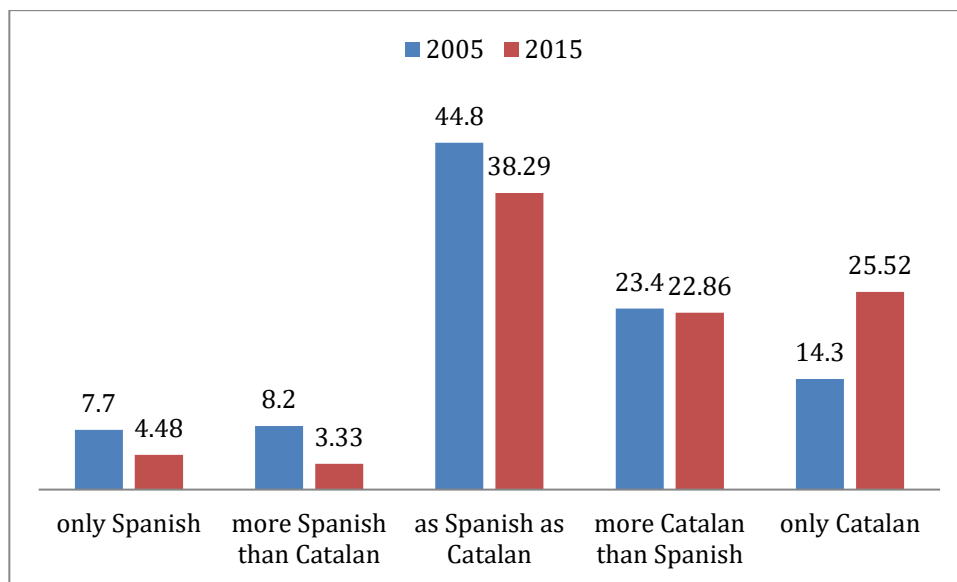
According to graph No. 2, we can see that from 2003 to 2013 measure of the use of the Catalan language has decreased and the Spanish language became more popular despite the fact that Catalan nationalist and independent attitudes were increasing.

However, Catalan and Spanish languages are coexisting with obvious, but not a significant conflict.

It is quite important to understand that language difference playing a significant role in establishing separatist sentiments in the region by the nationalist authorities.

A crucial impact on the separatist movements has a question of the self-determination of Catalan people. Survey about the national identity of people who lives in Catalonia clearly demonstrates changes that wrought from 2005 to 2015 (Graph No. 3).

Graph No. 3: National identity in Catalonia (%)



Source: Statista

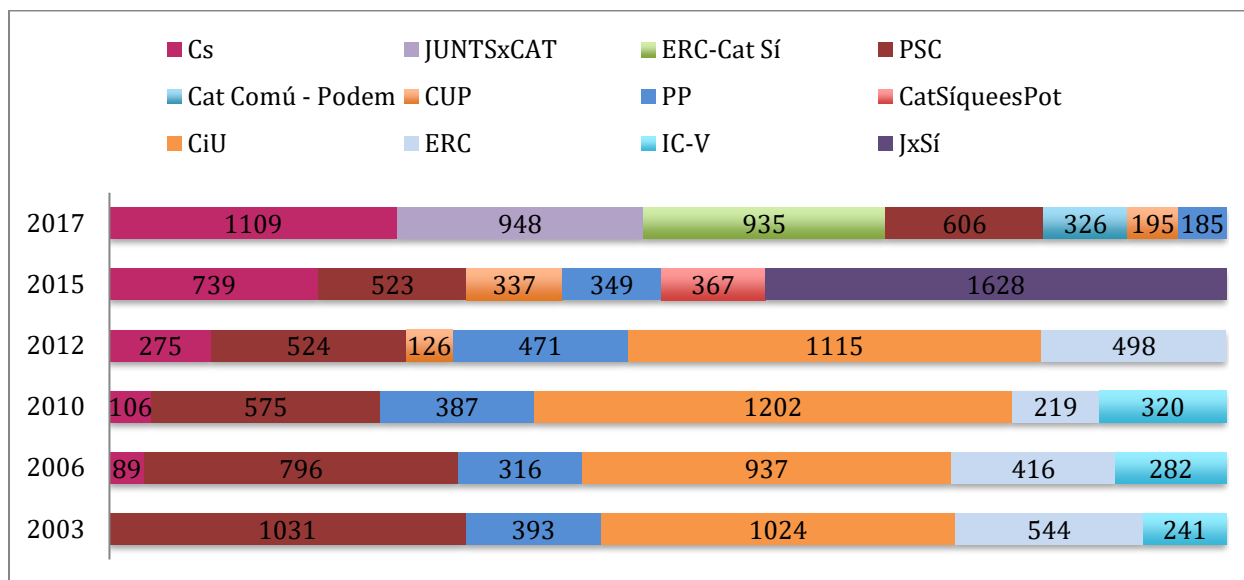
By result of a survey in 2005, we can see that only 14.3% of respondents consider themselves "only Catalan"; "more Catalan than Spanish" – 23.4%; "as Spanish as Catalan" – 44.8%; "more Spanish than Catalan" – 8.2; "only Spanish" – 7.7. Nevertheless, multiple identity answers prevailed. We can clearly see how the situation changed in 2015, the percentage of response “only Catalan” significantly increased, other indicators slightly decreased.

We can suggest that significant increasing of «Catalan identity» in 2015 can be a result on political actions taken before because the central government and the Constitutional Court of Spain stubbornly refuse to recognize Catalans as a nation with its right to self-determination, although by all generally accepted criteria they have their own language, territory of compact residence and national self-identification.

To determinate national and regional identity, it is important to have a look at political parties and political preferences of Catalans. To the most popular current regional parties of Catalonia we can include: Junts per Catalunya (JuntsxCat), Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) - mostly they are presenting a nationalist idea of Catalan independence based on economic aspects of it and on cultural and political uniqueness of Catalonia. To the statewide parties, which support the integrity of Spain, we can include: Partido Popular (PP), Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), Ciudadanos (Cs).

The most recent and active political parties (2018) in Catalonia are: 1) Ciudadanos (Cs) – centre-left political party, originally Catalan party, but during time consistently becomes the statewide political party, also, Cs became the largest in the Catalan parliament after elections in December 2017, ideologically supports Spanish unity (M. Magone 2017: 140). 2) Junts per Catalunya (JxCat) - Catalan political party with an idea of Catalan independence. Lider of the party is Carles Puigdemont. 3) Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya–Catalunya Sí (ERC–CatSí) – political block of several parties with nationalist and independence idea. Currently has a coalition with another nationalist party – JxCat and present government. 4) Socialists' Party of Catalonia (PSC–PSOE) - regional part of the statewide central-left political party PSOE. 5) Catalunya en Comú–Podem (CatComú–Podem) – left-wing regional Catalan block of two parties. Also, we should mention *Convergència i Unió* (CiU) that was dissolved in 2015. CiU was a Catalan national political alliance of two parties existed from 1978 to 2015, can be perceived as a moderate nationalist party, collaborated a lot with the central government during 1990th, used to be a ruling party for 23 years in a row. However, since 2001 party started to have an internal problem, lost elections in 2003, in 2006 this political alliance could not get the absolute majority and only in 2010 CiU returned to the government, it was their last elections, in 2015 CiU collapsed. During the last term CiU faced the internal structure problems, it started officially to support the idea of independence (Anwen, Ludger, 2017:147-148). Also, it is necessary to trace the results of elections of the period time we are working with (Graph No. 4).

Graph No. 4: Results of regional elections in Catalonia 2003-2017



Source: Idescat

Political views of Catalans significantly changed over the last 15 years. There is clearly a trend of polarization of public opinion and public political preferences. In 2003 votes were deviated almost equally between two political parties with quite similar views on regional policy (PSOE and CiU - the expansion of the region's autonomy). This trend is continuing until 2010 when CiU is winning the majority of votes (decision of the Spanish Constitutional Court about the Statute of Autonomy of 2006) and after that, we can see how highly polarized results became. In 2012 CiU again won the biggest number of votes, 2012 characterized by the excitement and demonstrations, political conflict gain momentum and too moderate views of CiU together with internal problems of this alliance destroyed the union. Elections of 2015 showed a fast-rising new political power (JxSí) that was focused on achieving the independence of Catalonia from Spain. After elections of 2017 electorate became highly polarized: supporters of the unitary state against of supporters of the independence. Thus, the modern party system of Catalonia can be considered a specific type of a polarized pluralism.

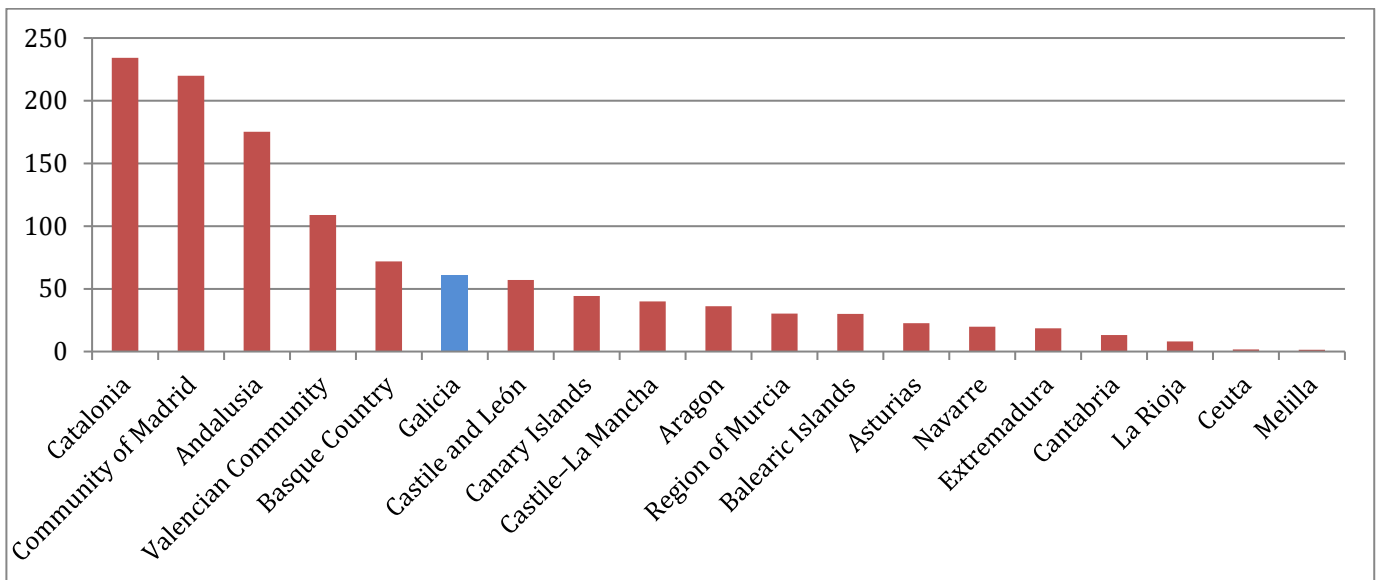
3. Galicia

Galicia is the region with a moderately developed nationalism. This region, as well as Catalonia, has a few regional political parties, however, they cannot find the same support by the Galician population. Galician nationalism has two main characteristics. First, Galician nationalism is a type of non-conflict one. And secondly, it has two ideological centers: the first one and stronger is an ideological center with an idea of wider autonomy, the second one is the center with an idea of Galicia's independence. A common feature of those two movements is the protection of the Galician language (gallego) and its culture (Diéguez Cequel 2014: 38). The roots of Galician nationalism are going to 1916 when was created "Irmandades da Fala" – nationalist organization with a goal to preserve Galician identity; in 1931 this organization was transformed into the regional political party. After the Spanish civil war, nationalist movements of Galicia were forced to suspend their activities. Nevertheless, the fall of the regime of General Franco revived regional political parties. In 1981 Galicia obtained the Statute of Autonomy, Galicians were accepted as a historical nationality, Galician became an official language in the region together with traditional Spanish (Castilian). Also, Galicia has its own parliament (Parlamento de Galicia) and regional government (Xunta de Galicia).

3.1 Socio-economic features of Galicia

Galicia is the 5th largest autonomous community of Spain in terms of population and it is the 6th economy of Spain by volume of GDP. Galicia nowadays can be characterized as the region with an average level of socio-economical development (Graph No. 5).

Graph No. 5: GDP of Galicia in comparison to GDP of other Spanish regions 2017 (mil. of EUR)

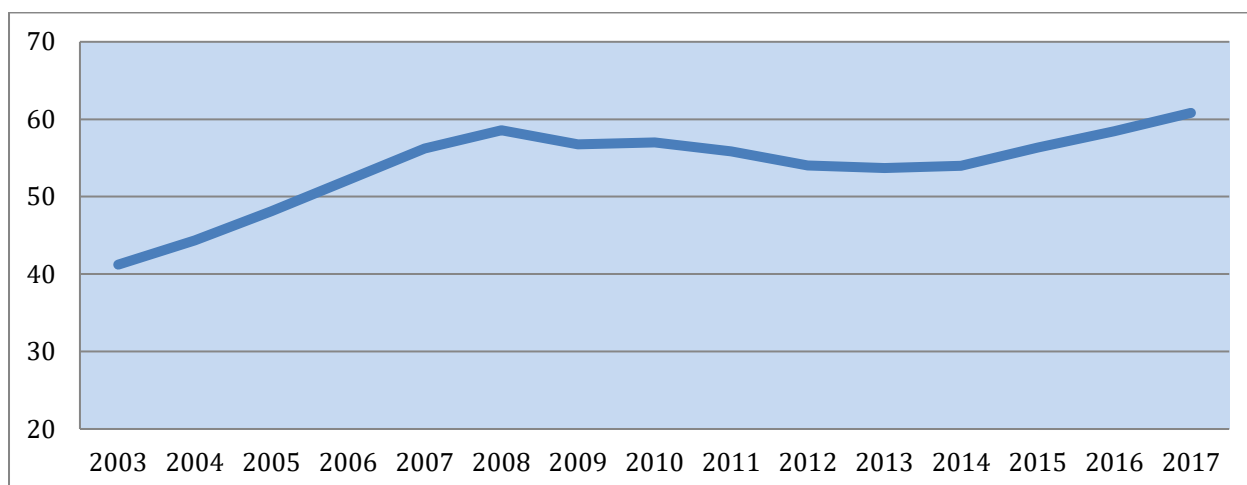


Source: Datosmacro

From the historical perspective, Galicia has never been a dominated region in the Spanish economy whereas the region is located in the unprofitable location from the geopolitical point of view. The main sector of the Galician economy is agriculture. More than 50% of the Galician population is engaged in agriculture and fishery (Alonso Álvarez 2010: 38). In contrast to Catalonia, Galicia is one of the regions that receive more subsidies from the Spanish government than pays taxes.

According to 2017, GDP of Galicia amounted up to 60 millions of euros, we can see this is one of the highest rates over the last 15 years in Galician economy (Graph No. 6).

Graph No. 6: GDP of Galicia 2003-2017 (mln. of EUR)



Source: Country Economy

In 2008, just before the economic crisis, rate of GDP of Galicia was so close to the rate of 2017; however, on the graph, we can observe that after 2008 until 2014 GDP index was decreasing (except the period 2009-2010 where we can see a slight increase).

3.2 Specific nature of political conflict in Galicia

In comparison to Catalonia, the intensity of political conflict in Galicia is quite low. Likewise, a conflict between the regional government and Madrid does not have that big degree of tension.

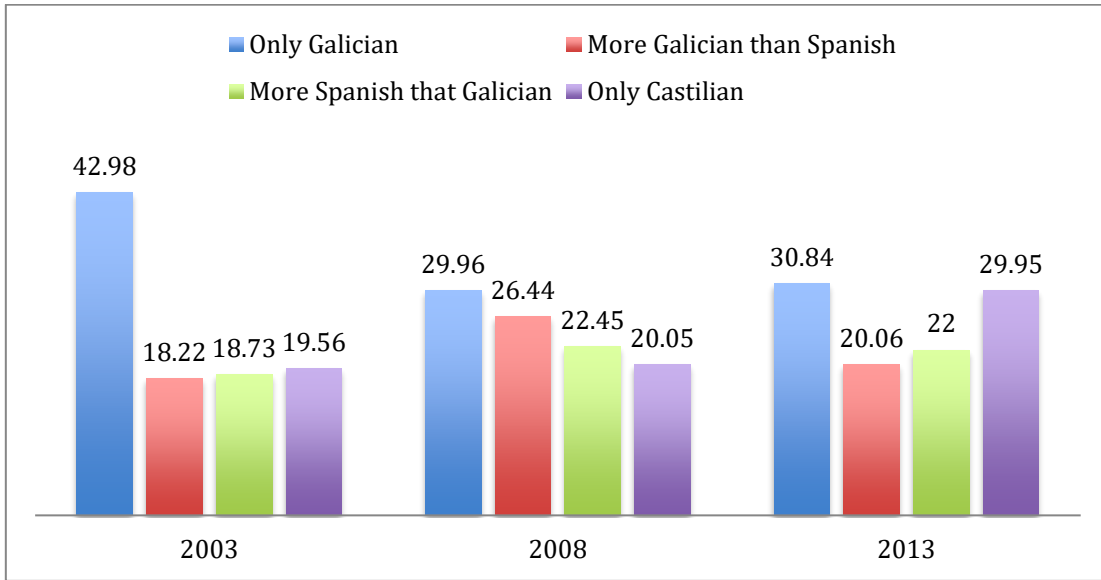
In 2005 occurred a conflict of interest between BNG (Bloque Nacionalista Galego) and the central government. The main issue was a question of supporting usage of Galician language in provinces around the region, such as Asturias and Castile and León. From the point of view of Galician authorities, Galicia has the same rights to promote and spread Galician language since Madrid is promoting Spanish around the whole of Spain (Faro de Vigo 2005). Thus, Galicians tried to increase its political influence out of the borders of Galician autonomy by the meaning of language. We can say that language is the main sources of conflict in Galicia toward the central government. For instance, Galician journalist X. A. Taboada suggests that the question of language is the main leitmotif of the Galician political life at the beginning of the 21st century. Mainly, because he believes that politicians are trying to politicize the Galician language in order to protect it, but the methods causes controversy in Xunta de Galicia (Regional Government of Galicia) (Faro de Vigo 2009). One of the controversies was a restriction in Galician education system that in schools the main language was Galician and kids or their parents did not have an opportunity to choose

Spanish language for education; Xunta de Galicia did not agree on this method of protecting the language since it was making impossible education for kids who moved to Galicia from other provinces or because of other reasons. Partido Popular, which had a majority in Xunta de Galicia in 2009, wanted to reform such a restriction. As an answer to it was a big manifestation in Santiago de Compostela the same year: Galician believed this kind of regulation was infringing the region language (La opinion 2009). In 2018 occurred one more political confrontation inside of the Xunta de Galicia, the statewide party PP formed a majority in the regional government (already two terms in a row); opposition (En Marea and BNG) believed that Feijoo (president of Xunta de Galicia, member of PP) does not represent the interests of Galicia at the national level but tries to keep himself in power by the meaning of concessions to the central government (La Voz de Galicia 2018). On this basis we can suggest that regional parties are making attempts to dominate in region.

3.3 National and regional identity of Galicia

In general, Galician national movements are based on the culture of the region, its historical development and on a political and religious legacy that is identifying its uniqueness. Modern Galician nationalism underlines the ethnic difference of Galicia from regions and countries located close by such as Portugal and other parts of Spain. Language for Galician nationalists plays a significant role, they underline that, although Galician is so close to Spanish and somehow to Portuguese, it is an independent language (Warf, Ferras, 2015: 261). Graph No. 7 demonstrates below how the Galician language is coexisting with Spanish and how the popularity of each is changing over the years.

Graph No. 7: Habitual language in Galicia 2003-2013 (%)

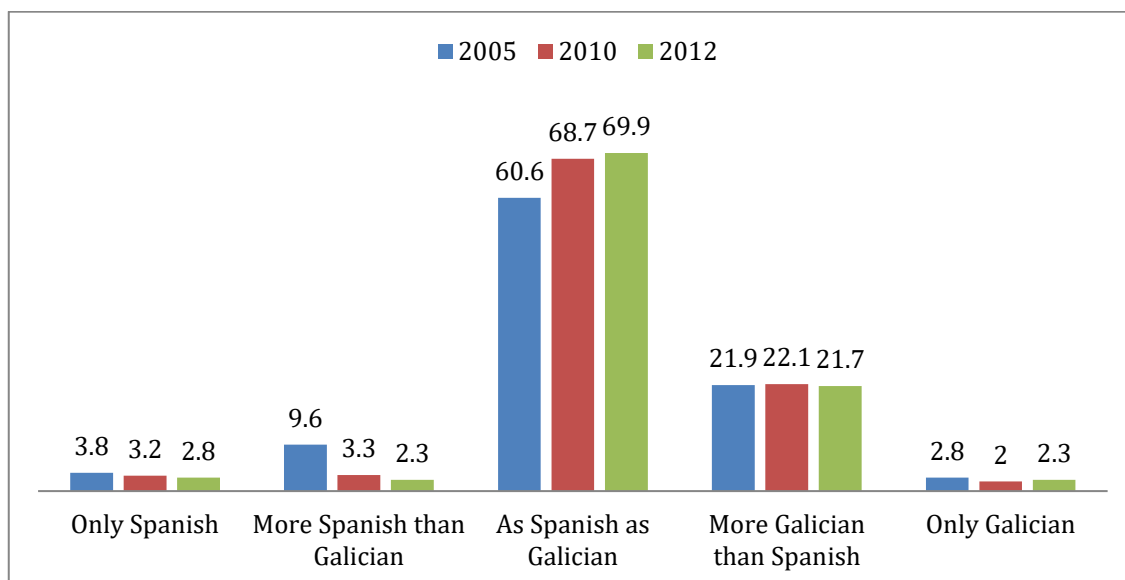


Source: IGE

We can see that from 2003 to 2013 the percentage of people who use only Galician as a habitual language visibly decreased; at the same time, percentage of response “Only Spanish” increased by 10%.

Galician identity started to develop in the early 20th; institutionally the national movements, political parties, and different Galician organizations supported it. Exactly at this time was formed first Galician nationalist organization -“Irmandades da Fala” (1919) that has created a base of modern Galician nationalist party - Bloque Nacionalista Galego ((Diéguez Cequel 2014: 149). Nevertheless, we cannot say that this regional party is dominative in the Galician party system. Probably it is because the majority of Galician do identify themselves as much Spanish as much Galician (Graph No. 8).

Graph No. 8: Self-identification in Galicia 2005-2012 (%)



Source: CIS

On this graph we can see that quite a small percentage of the population of Galicia have a polarized self-identification (Only Spanish/Only Galician), the percentage of that measure almost did not change over 8 years. As we mentioned before the majority of the population consider themselves as both. Changed but not significantly the percentage of response “More Spanish that Galician). A big group of responders of “More Galician than Spanish” did not change their opinion.

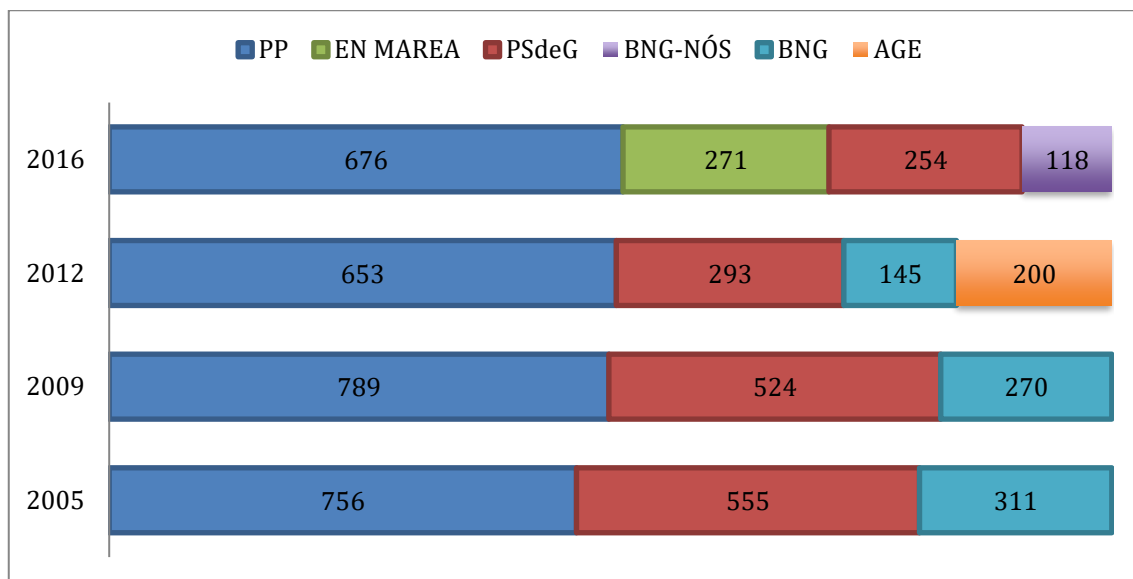
For better understanding national and regional identity it is quite important to have a look at the regional parties that were formed there and which main ideas they have. As we already mentioned, for Galicia is typical existence of two ideological centers (presented by regional parties), the first one and stronger is ideological center with the idea of wider autonomy of the region, the second one is an idea of Galicia’s independence. Galician separatism is mostly strong among left-wing parties. The main ideologist of Galician separatism in the region is Nationalist Bloc of Galicia (BNG, Bloque Nacionalista Galego) is a block of the regional left parties, one of the most famous Galician political player, representing ideas of Galician nationalism and Galician independence, from 2005 to 2009 BNG was presenting the government in coalition with PSdeG-PSOE) majority members of which are supporters of Galician independence. (Warf, Ferras, 2015: 263). The idea of wider autonomy currently presented in Galician parliament by political party En Marea - Galician political coalition formed by the regional Galician parties such as Anova, Podemos, Esquerda

Unida, Equo Galicia y Espazo Ecosocialista Galego. The nationalist block is presenting an idea of federalism and social democracy, left wing.

Also, we need to mention other parties that currently are active in the region: 1) Partido Popular de Galicia (PP) is a regional branch of statewide center-right political party, since the first election in 1989 to Galician parliament PP de Galicia almost always had the absolute majority of seats (except of the election of 2005); 2) Partido Social de Galicia –PSOE (PSdeG-PSOE) is a regional part of statewide central-left political party PSOE.

According to this we can see that the party system of Galicia in equal measure presented by local representation of statewide parties such as PP de Galicia and PSdeG-PSOE and at the same time regional national blocks of parties such as: En Marea and BNG, however, we need to look closely at regional election 2005-2016 to trace better the party representing of regional interests (Graph No. 9).

Graph No. 9: Results of regional elections in Galicia 2005-2016



Source: El País

Results of elections demonstrate that in Galicia exist a big dominance by a current ruling party – statewide PP, the second most popular is PSdeG-PSOE (exception in 2016 where regional party En Marea won the second place for the first time over the last 15 years). Nationalist BNG is losing its position and influence. It is also worth noting how small the number of parties gaining enough votes to get seats in the regional parliament.

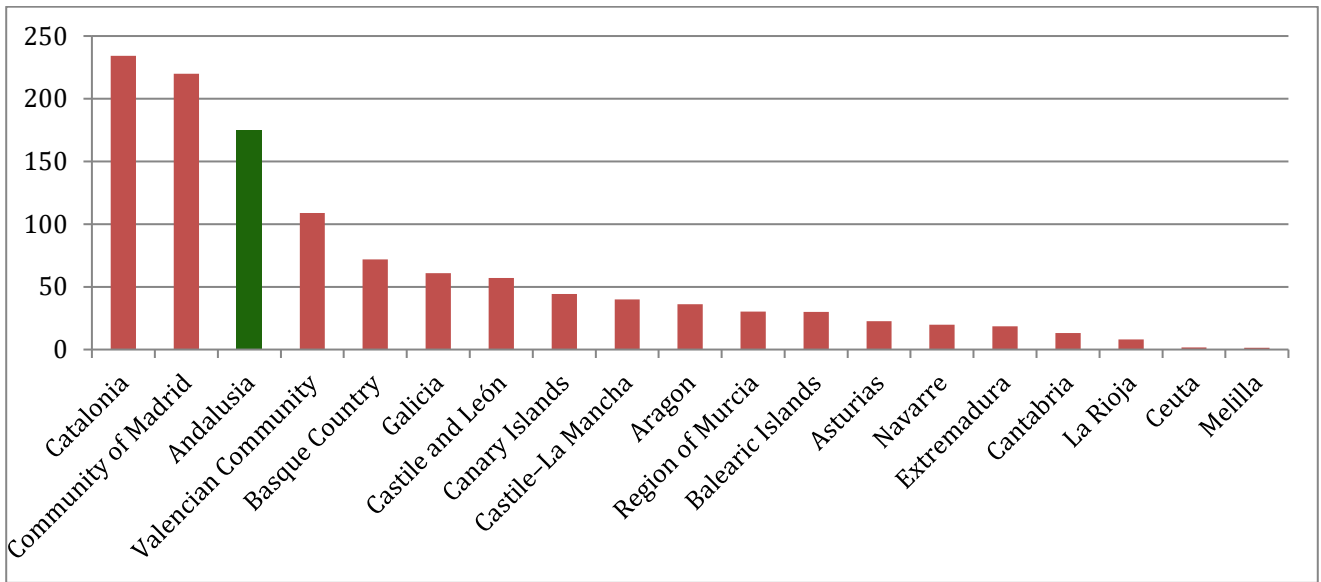
4. Andalusia

Andalusia is a historical region and autonomous community in the south of Spain. Despite the fact that Andalusia has an advantageous geographical position and a huge territory, this region can be characterized as a region with a low socio-economic development (in comparison to other parts of Spain). Andalusia has a rich and unique history, for 400 years this autonomy belonged to the Arab world and Andalusia became the main platform for Reconquista. The history of the region inseparably linked with the identity of Andalusians and how they identify themselves nowadays. Nationalist movements of Andalusia differ from the Catalan's and the Galician's movements mainly for the reason of absence a language difference and by a low level of political conflict within of state. Andalusian national identity started to form at the beginning of the 20th century as a part of the cultural life of the region. "El ideal Andaluz", which is presented by a collection of articles written by Andalusian intellectuals in 1915, can be perceived as a base of Andalusian nationalist and political movement (Bukowski, 2002:148). In 1933 was published a document that supposed to be a base of the Statute of Autonomy of Andalusia, it had to be signed in 1935, nevertheless, raising of power of Franco ruined the plan of autonomy and suspended the process for the next 40 years. The autonomous community of Andalusia was approved in 1981 and has entered into force in 1982; the historical identity and the right of self-government, which the Spanish Constitution grants to each region, justified Andalusia's autonomy (Soto Fernández et al. 2015: 11). Andalusia has its own regional government – Junta de Andalucía and parliament - Parlamento de Andalucía.

4.1 Socio-economic features of Andalusia

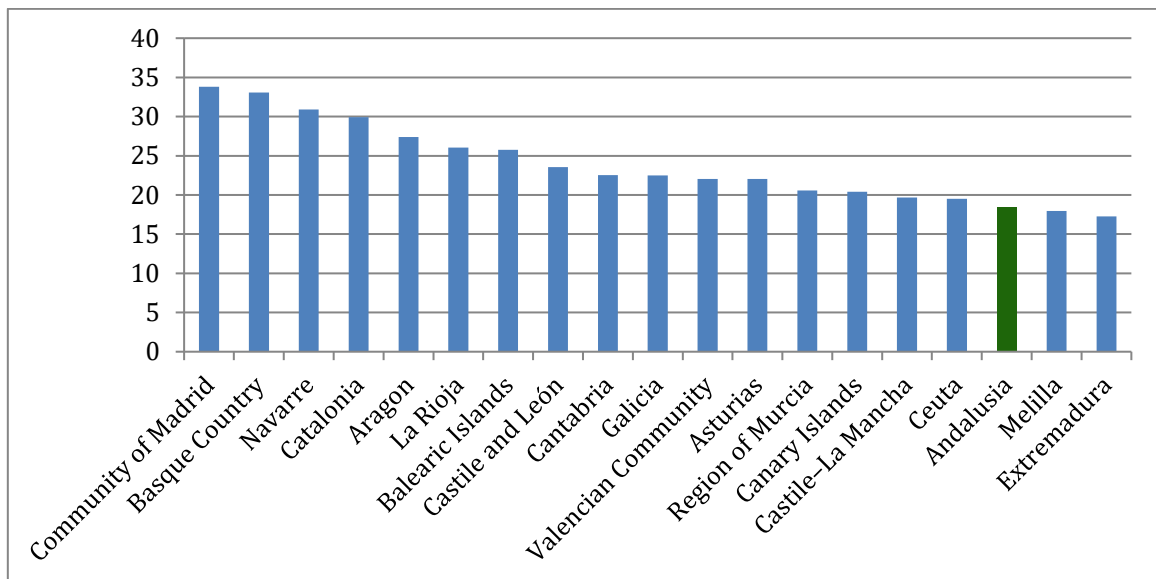
Andalusia is the 2nd biggest region of Spain with 8, 384 millions of habitants (2018), but at the same time, this autonomy is considered as one of the less economically developed regions. Although the GDP of Andalusia in comparison to GDP of other Spanish regions in 2017 (Graph No. 10) has quite a high rate it is also important to stress Andalusia's GDP per capita, which has one of the lowest rates in Spain (Graph No. 11).

Graph No. 10: GDP of Andalusia in comparison to GDP of other Spanish regions in 2017 (mil. of EUR)



Source: Datosmacro

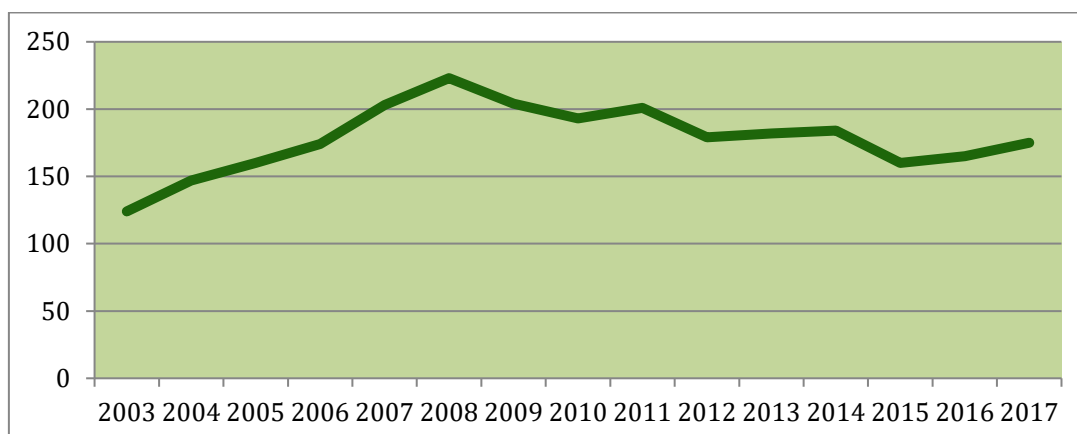
Graph No. 11: Andalusia's GDP per capita in comparison to other Spanish regions in 2017 (th. of EUR)



Source: Datosmacro

The two traditional main sectors that form Andalusian GDP are tourism and agriculture (Economic report of Andalusia 2005). Also, for better understanding of the economic situation of Andalusia, we will have a look of Andalusian GDP over the last 14 years (Graph No. 12).

Graph No. 12: GDP of Andalusia 2003-2017 (mil. of EUR)



Source: Country Economy

Andalusia's GDP was actively developing and increasing from 2003 to 2008, at the point of 2008 Andalusia's GDP had the highest rate over the last 14 years, since 2008 we see a predominant decline with a short-term growth at some points (2010-2011; 2012-2014; 2015).

4.2 Specific nature of political conflict in Andalusia

Political conflict presence in Andalusia does not have such degree of tension as in Catalonia or even in Galicia. First of all, in the Parliament of Catalonia, the most influential political parties are statewide parties such are PSOE, PP, Cs, and regional parties do not have the power to promote their interest and accordingly, to enter into conflict with the central authorities.

Since 2015 the political situation in Andalusia is very specific. This region with a historically strong left tradition and distrust of the right is considered as a stronghold of PSOE. In the last 36 years, unlike the vast majority of regions of Spain, there has been no alternation of parties of different ideological orientations in power — socialists have constantly formed regional governments.

On the elections 2015, the head of the government of Andalusia and the leader of the Andalusian branch of PSOE (PSOE-A) Susana Díaz won a simple majority of seats. The vote's cast was not enough to form a government. Three attempts of approval ended unsuccessfully due to a presence in the regional parliament such parties as PP, "Podemos" and Cs, they voted against of candidature of Díaz. S. Diaz was approved only on the fourth attempt, 81 days after the elections. This became possible thanks to the support of Cs that concluded with the socialists an agreement, it provided for the

implementation in the regional government 72 actions proposed by Cs in a case to change and democratic renewal (Simón, 2016: 502).

However, in 2018 Cs declared the termination of the agreement, the main reason was that measures for the restoration of democracy were not implemented.

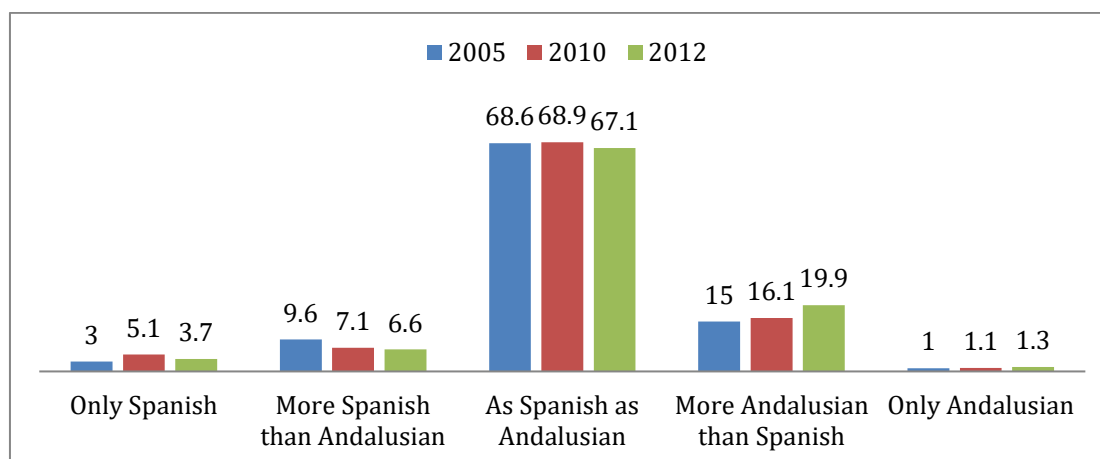
Hence, we can suggest that in Andalusia, due to some species in the regional party system, political conflicts are occurring mainly inside of the regional government nether that on the state level.

4.3 National and regional identity of Andalusia

Andalusian nationalism is quite a young phenomenon that appeared after the collapse of the regime of general Franco. Nevertheless, the roots of Andalusian nationalism are going deep into the anarchist movement that was established in the middle of the 19th century and into the first Spanish Republic when the first Constitution of Andalusia was drafted as a constitution of Autonomous Republic within Spain. In 1918, Andalusian idealist Blas Infante developed the theory of Andalusian nationalism, along with the flag and coat of arms of modern Andalusia (Gonzales de Molina, Sevilla Guzman 1987: 75). During the time of the Second Spanish Republic, Andalusian nationalists established political party “Junta Liberalista” that was led by Infante.

One main feature of Andalusian nationalism is that this region does not have its own language; the main language is an Andalusian dialect of Spanish, so it means that in Andalusia’s case language was not a factor around of which was formed a national identity (in contrast to Catalonia and Galicia).

Graph No. 13: Self-identification in Andalusia 2005-2012 (%)



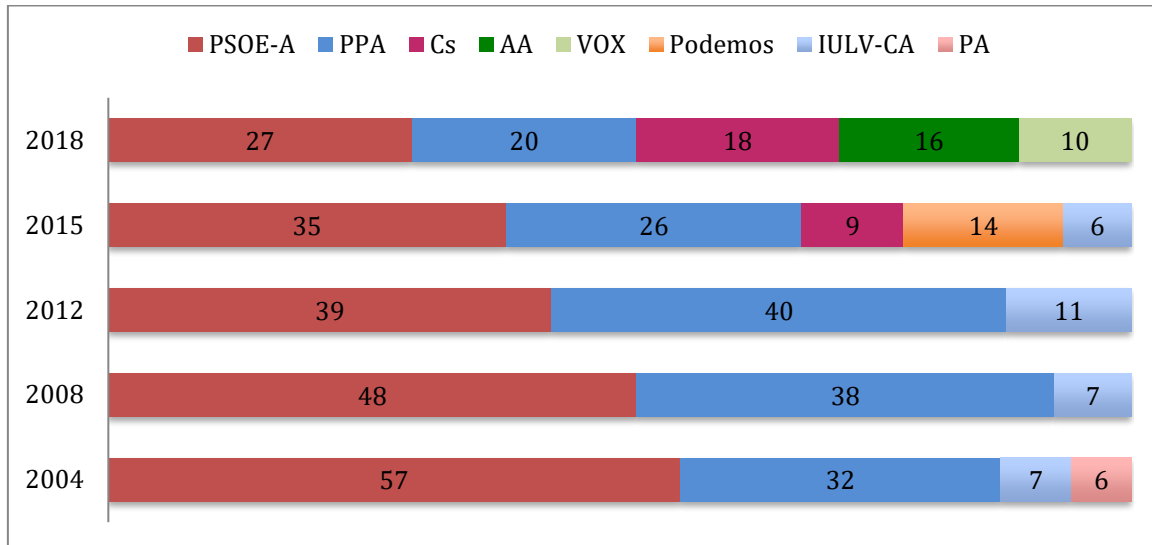
Source: CIS

On the graph we can clearly see that answers «As Spanish as Andalusian» are prevailed in results, the measure only slightly changes in percentages from 2005 to 2012. Also, it is clear that there is almost no polarization of answers, the option «Only Andalusian» and «Only Spanish» chose a very small number of responders. Over those 8 years changed the value of the option “More Spanish than Andalusian”, it fell by 3%. By 4% increased value of the option “More Andalusian than Spanish”.

As well we should go into current political parties of Andalusia to analyze its arrangement. Regional and the statewide political parties present the political spectrum of the region. The most recent political parties in Andalusia are: 1) PP de Andalucía is a regional branch of the statewide center-right political party, since 2018 forming the government in a coalition with C’s for the first time, from 1990 to 2018 was presenting an opposition in Andalusia’s parliament; 2) C’s is a center-left political party, originally Catalan party, but during time consistently becomes the statewide political party, also, ideologically supports Spanish unity (M. Magone 2017: 140). 3) Partido Socialista Obrero Español de Andalucía (PSOE–A) is a regional part of statewide central-left political party PSOE, one of the most popular political party of Andalusia, had a parliamentary majority from 1982 to 2018 and was forming a government. 4) Adelante Andalucía (AA) is a left-wing political block consisted of four political parties: Podemos Andalusia, United Left/The Greens–Assembly for Andalusia, Andalusian Left and Andalusian Spring. Representing ideas of Andalusian regionalism. 5) Vox is a far-right populist political party, was formed as a new party in 2003, this party is presenting ideas of unitary state without the autonomous communities with only one central government and parliament.

To understand better national and regional identity we need to have a look at the results of the regional elections (Graph No. 14) and to trace to which parties people were giving a right to represent them in Andalusia.

Graph No. 14: Results of regional elections in Andalusia 2004-2018 (%)



Source: El País

As shown on the graph, PSOE-A over the last 5 elections was the most popular party choice among Andalusia's voters. However, from 2004 to 2018 it was slightly losing its percentages of votes. Another significant moment, we can see that Andalusia's party system reminds the Spanish political system with two of the most powerful political parties (PP and PSOE). Regional parties are not having enough support to have a real power.

5. Assessment of factors of independence

In previous chapters, we examined the main values of the different factors that we believe can influence the question of separatism in chosen regions. But also, it is necessary to sum up them all together in order to trace similarities and distinction, which can help to answer the research questions of the thesis.

5.1 Socio-economic factors

Table No. 2: The main socio-economic indicators of the selected regions (2017)

	GDP (mln. of EUR)	GDP per capita (th. of EUR)	Overall GDP trend (after economic crisis 2008)	Absolute balance (%)
<i>Catalonia</i>	234,6	29,9	Increasing	-2,06
<i>Galicia</i>	60,8	22,4	Increasing	10,8
<i>Andalusia</i>	175	18,4	Decreasing	10,25

Source: Datomacro; Author, Ministerio de Hacienda

According to the table No. 2, we can say that Catalonia is the most prosperous economic region among of chosen, GDP of Catalonia after the economic crisis of 2008 is mostly increasing, the same as in case of Galicia. However, in the case of Andalusia GDP is mostly decreasing. Galicia can be considered as the region with an average degree of socio-economic development, it has a positive absolute balance, as well as Andalusia; Catalonia is one of the rich regions with a negative balance, as far it has not economic mechanisms to control how much finances will be distributed to the central government. Based on it, we can state that Andalusia and Galicia, although those regions are not the most economically prosperous, have more benefits of being a part of Spain. In case of Catalonia, table demonstrates a negative absolute balance, however, -2,06% is not a sufficient value to become a determinate reason among of the causes of Catalan separatism.

5.2 Specific nature of political conflict and regional identity

Catalonia has the highest degree of political confrontation as inside of its own community as in the frames of state-periphery. A high level of social mobilization can characterize conflict inside of Catalonia and, also, a political polarization; on the state level, conflict is considered as the constitutional one and it significantly affected by the central government. In contrast to Catalonia, Galician political conflict has more features of intraregional conflict, which occurs inside of regional elites. First of all, because regional parties cannot get the majority seats and traditional strong in the region, PP has a power monopoly in the Galician parliament. One of the most controversial issues of recent years in Galicia is the protection of their own language. Andalusia, with a low the measure of political conflict in the framework of concept centre-periphery, can be characterized as a loyal one to the central government, the main elements of the political conflict (ethnic identity and different language) are missing, however, the conflict is present inside of the Andalusian parliament between different branches of statewide parties.

Catalonia can be characterized as one of the communities with the strongest regional identity, it has a high rate of use its own language, but however, from 2003 to 2013 measure of the use of the Catalan language has decreased. As well, Catalan people have the highest number of people who do associate themselves as “More Catalan than Spanish” or “Only Catalan” and those measures, also, have decreased significantly from 2005 to 2015. One of the main differences of Catalan case is that the majority of the regional Catalan parties, whose goals are Catalan independence, are represented quite sufficiently in the regional parliament. Even although, Cs won the majority of votes in 2017, it could not form a government and fully affected its decisions. Over the last 15 years, we can see that regional Catalan political parties always played a significant role in decision-making at the regional level. Also, in the last years, Catalonia demonstrated a high polarization of the Catalan society that can be a result of mobilizing them by the central government and by the regional elites.

Galicia can be described as well as a community with its own unique properties. Nevertheless, the degree of self-determination in this region is lower. Usage of Galician language has significantly decreased in the region. Also, grew up the measure of usage of the Spanish language over the last years. Quite a small percentage of Galician people can consider themselves as “Only Galician”, the most common answer is “As Spanish as Galician” that might mean that Galicians do not perceive Spanish nationality as a

different one. Another important feature is that statewide political party PP has the biggest influence in the regional government and current regional parties such as En Marea and block BNG-NÓS cannot be a significant power in regional political life. Also, just a few political parties are presenting a view of the population in the regional parliament of Galicia.

Andalusia does not have its own language; the degree of difference between Andalusia and the whole of Spain is minimal and mostly based on historical identity and background. The majority of the population identify themselves “As Andalusian as Spanish”. Nevertheless, the number of response “More Andalusian than Spanish” has increased from 2003; polarized answers such as “Only Andalusian/Only Spanish” are not that clearly expressed. One main characteristic of the Andalusian party system is the prevalence of statewide political parties and a small presence of regional parties.

Consequently, we can see that each chosen region has its own a combination of factors that affect the independent and nationalist sentiments and there is an absence of one predominant factor for each. For instance, Catalonia always was one of the most prosperous autonomous communities of Spain but the political conflict has never had that big tension. It might mean that socio-economic factors were not the determinant; a determinate one was mobilization and polarization of Catalan identity by the regional authorities through the conflict with the central government. At the same time, we should mention that the central government also played a crucial role in the mobilization of national sentiments of Catalans by the meaning of the absence of any compromise.

Conclusion

As the thesis clearly demonstrates, the question of separatism is a complex and controversial issue. The Catalan crisis showed how widespread and influential the idea of independence could be. And, also, how it can be easy to mobilize the society under certain conditions. Especially, within a framework of a state with such explicit regional difference as Spain.

In the present study were examined the last 15 years of the Spanish political life (2003-2018). The main goal of the thesis was to analyze and compare factors that can influence a measure of self-independence movements in chosen regions, such as Catalonia, Galicia, and Andalusia, which are representing examples of autonomous communities with different degree of socio-economic development, the politicization of national and regional identity and political conflict.

The main objective (1) of the work was to find out if, in the case of Spain, because of regionalism and big differences between the regions in such aspects as socio-economic level, culture, and history, each region has its own reason to seek independence and there is an absence of a single common cause. The research demonstrated that each of chosen regions has its own combination of factors that determine their levels of separatist movements. Those combinations are representing and clearly illustrating how factors and their interaction play a key role in forming nationalist and separatist orientations. Since we tried to assess those factors in a long-term framing, can be stated that, without a strong national self-identification in the region, it could be quite hard to mobilize the society in a case to involve it into the conflict in a frame of the centre-periphery model (Andalusia). Moreover, a crucial role can play the fact that if the region has a national self-identification but its national identity is not politicized, most probably regional elites would not get political support of the society as far as statewide elites present the main interest of the society in general (Galicia). An average or low economic development of regions can create a dependency relationship towards the central government if it supports them financially (Andalusia and Galicia). The political position of the central government and, also, its possibility to dissolve problems on the regional level, affect separatist movements substantially; the inability of the central government to conduct a dialog with regional authorities can be

served as a catalyst in the question of self-determination (Catalonia).

The second objective of the work (2) was to figure out if an economical aspect can be a defining one among the causes of separatism in Catalonia. Catalonia always was one the most prosperous autonomous community of Spain but the political conflict and separatist sentiments have never had that degree of tension. It might mean that socio-economic factors were not the determinant; a determinate one was a mobilization and polarization of Catalan national identity by the regional authorities via the conflict with the central government.

To answer the main questions of this work a method of comparative-historical analysis was used, CHA helped to trace the presence of the factors that can influence nationalist or separatist attitudes and subsequently to compare them and analyze.

In a practical part of the thesis, mostly, were used statistics, results of elections and surveys that demonstrated the exact value of the variables, which we analyzed. The sources of statistics and result were primary sources, such as economic regional statistics, the results of parliamentary elections in the chosen regions, the results of public opinion polls on the topic of national self-identification and preferences in language usage.

This thesis has defined the main features of the politics of regionalism and separatism in Spain. Furthermore, were traced factors such as socio-economic development, the politicization of national and regional identity and the nature of the political conflict in order to understand how they and their correlation can affect nationalist and separatist sentiments in chosen regions.

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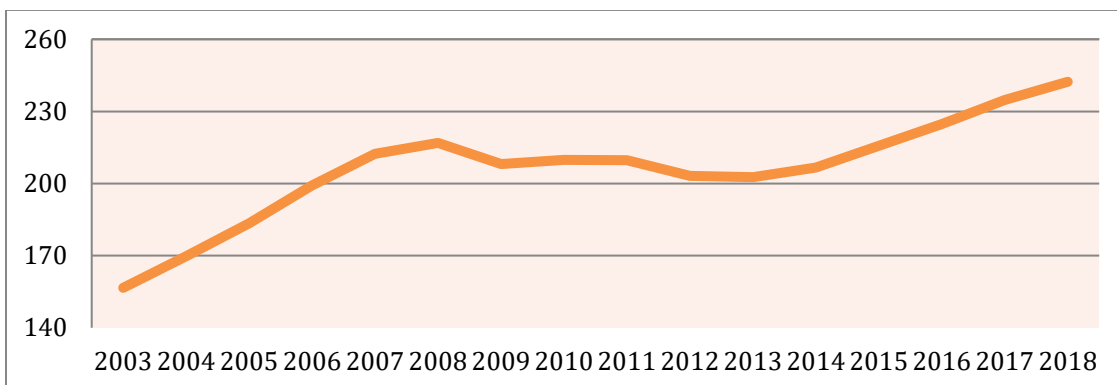
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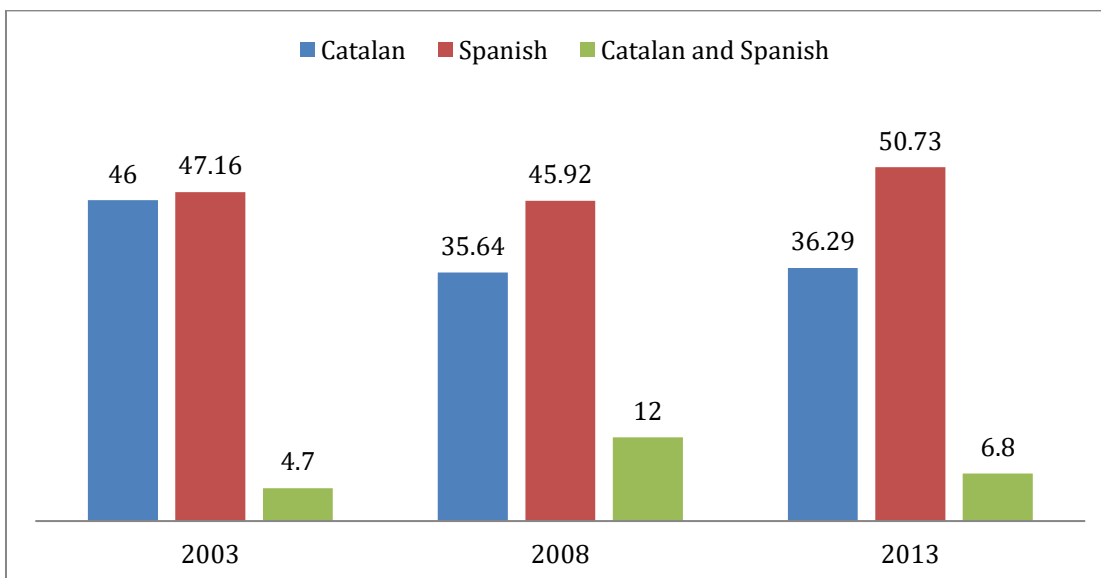
LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph No. 1: GDP of Catalonia 2003-2018 (millions of EUR)



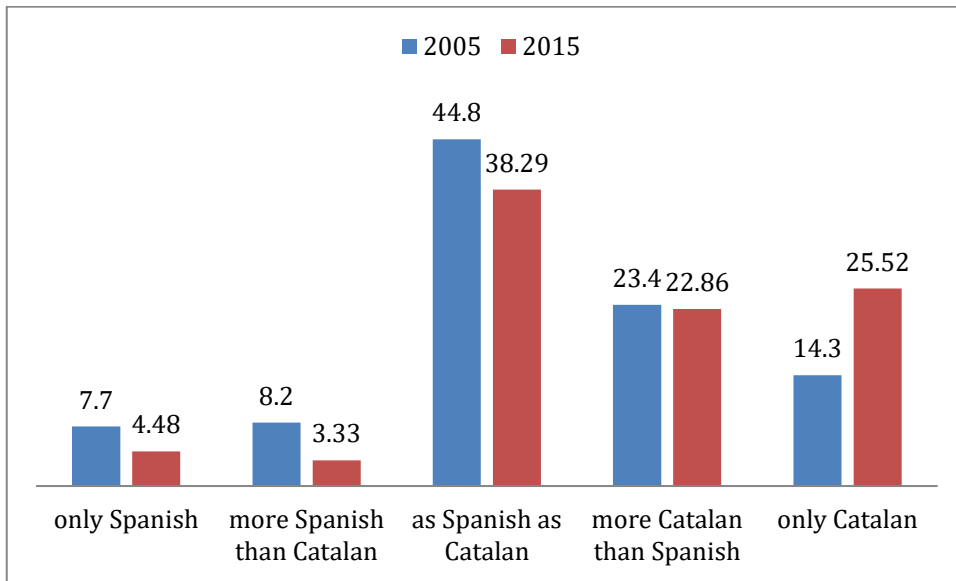
Source: Idescat

Graph No. 2: Habitual language in Catalonia (%)



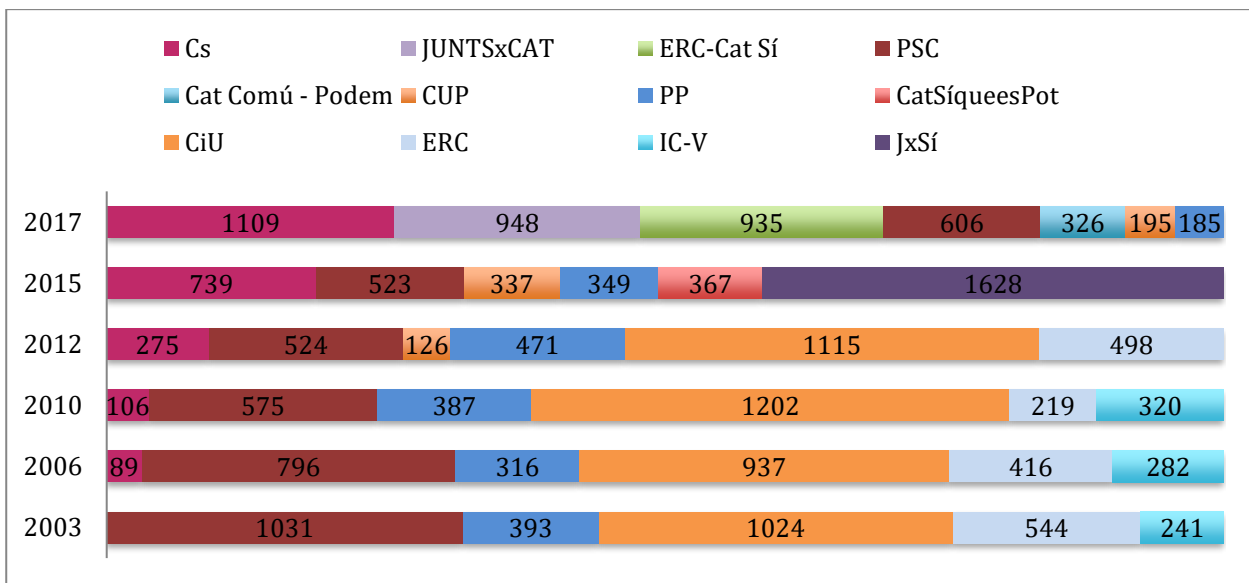
Source: Idescat

Graph No. 3: National identity in Catalonia (%)



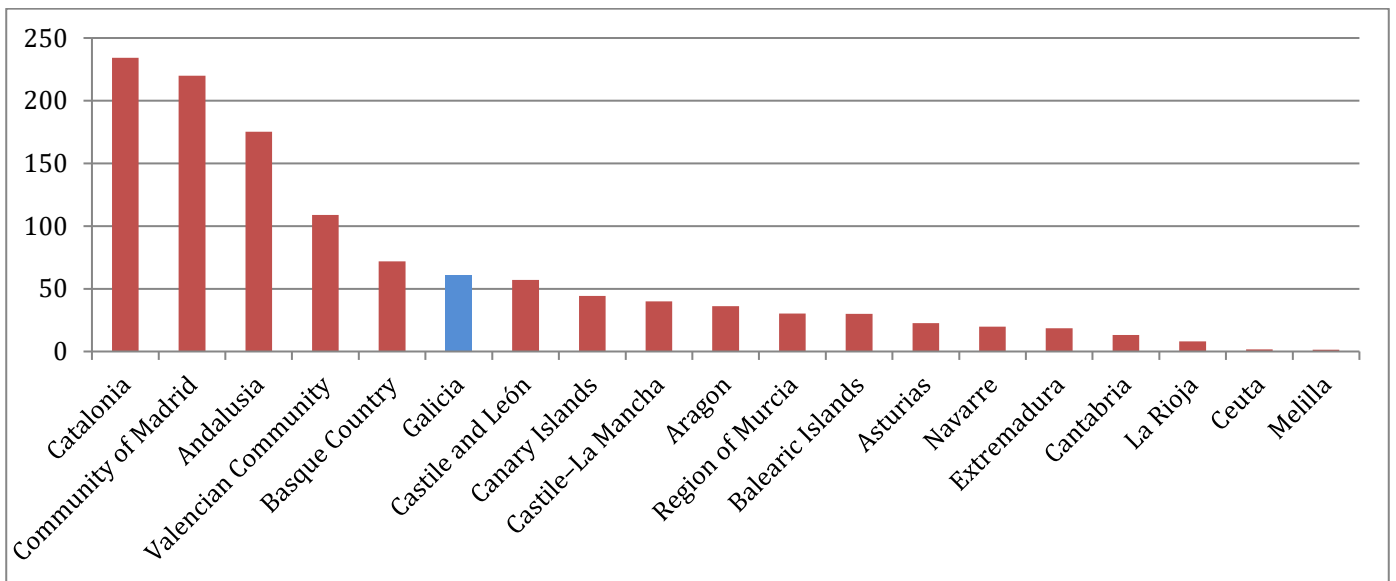
Source: Statista

Graph No. 4: Results of regional elections in Catalonia 2003-2017



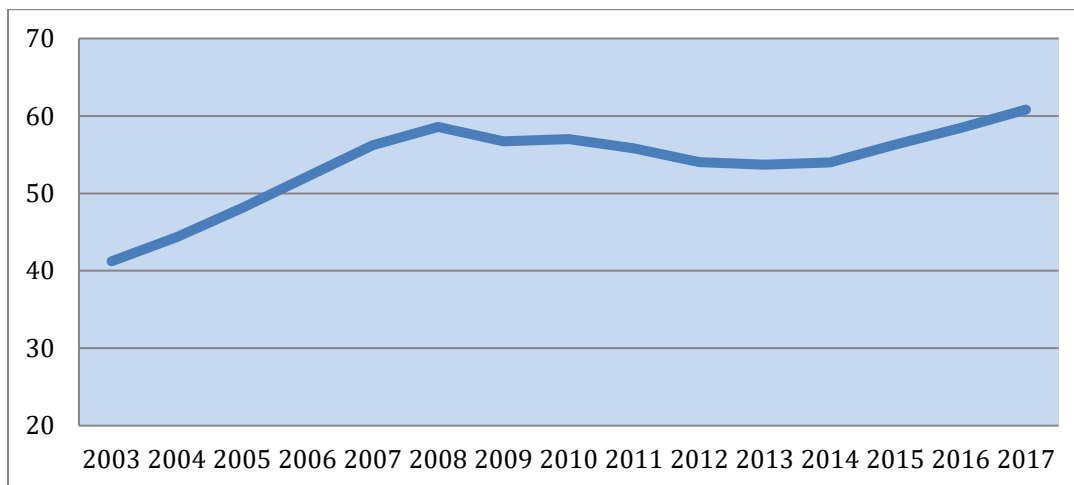
Source: Idescat

Graph No. 5: GDP of Galicia in comparison to GDP of other Spanish regions
2017 (mil. of EUR)



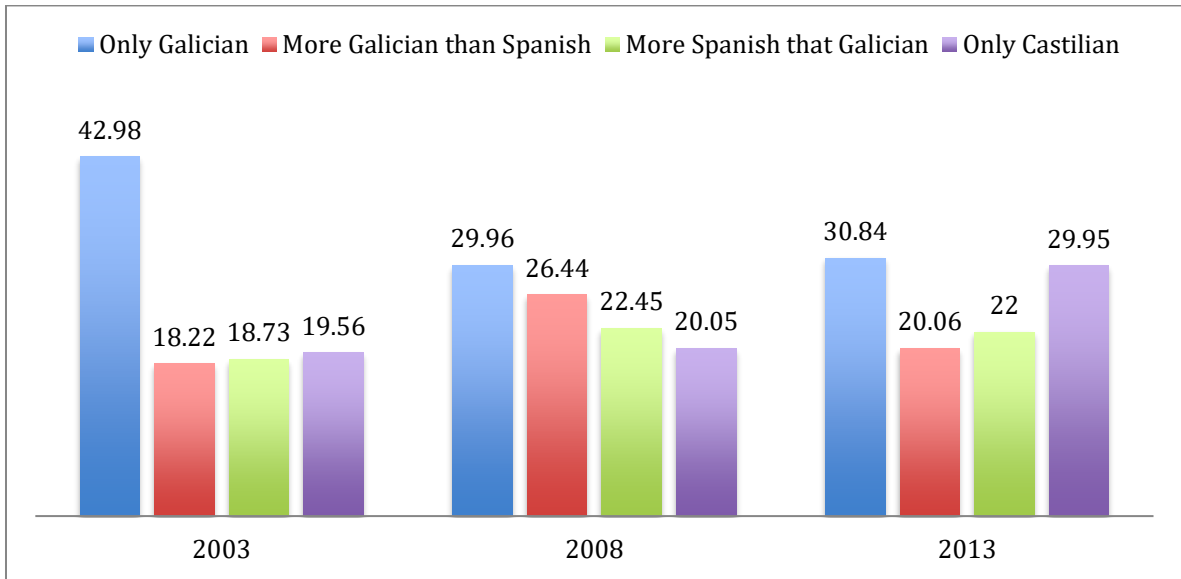
Source: Datosmacro

Graph No. 6: GDP of Galicia 2003-2017 (mln. of EUR)



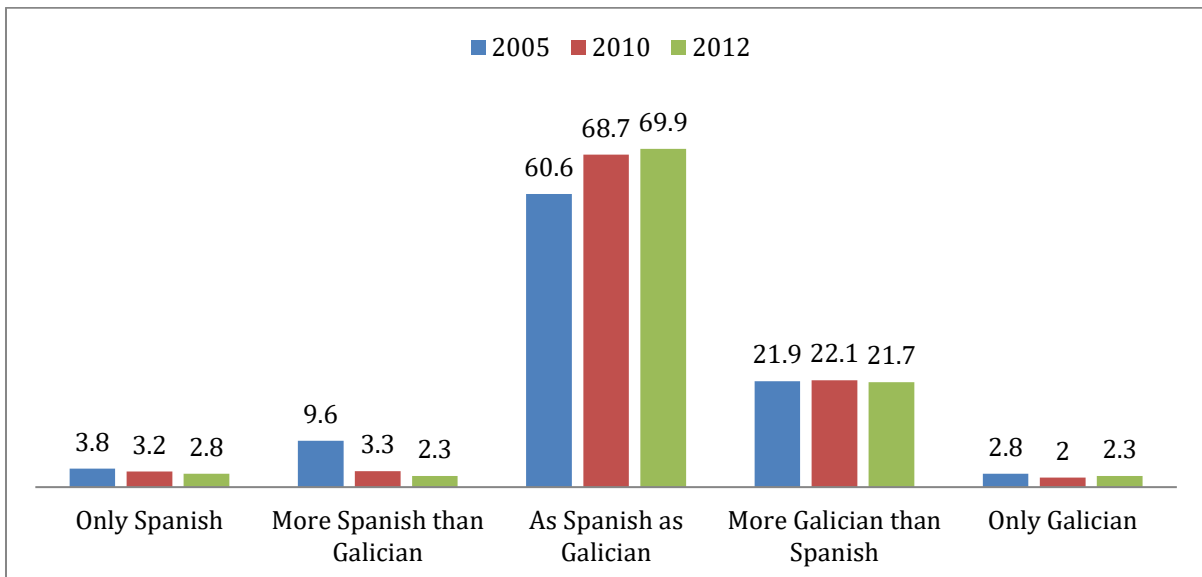
Source: Country Economy

Graph No. 7: Habitual language in Galicia 2003-2013 (%)



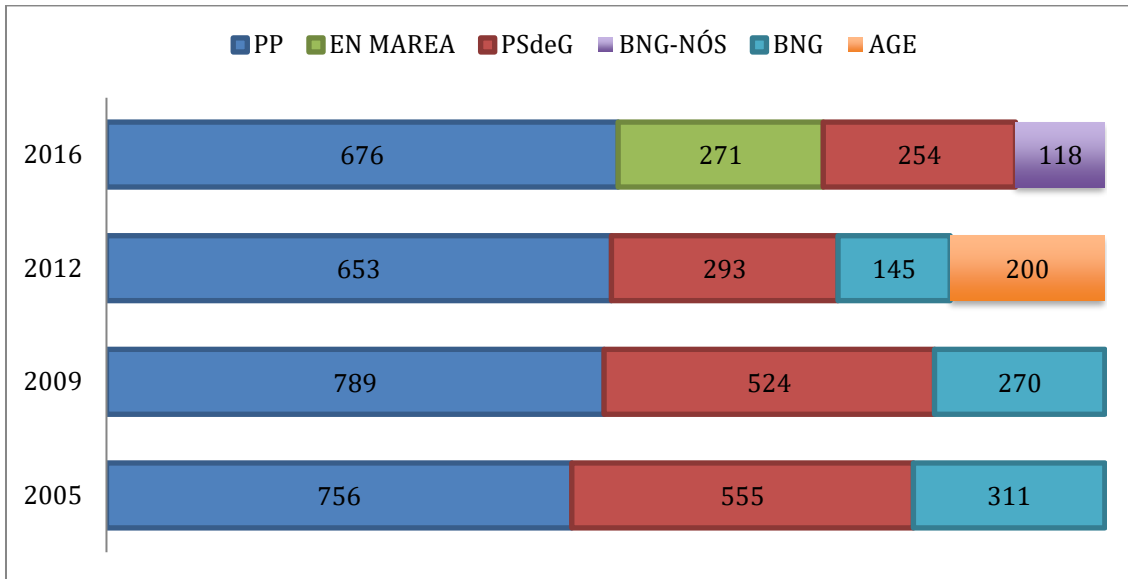
Source: IGE

Graph No. 8: Self-identification in Galicia 2005-2012 (%)



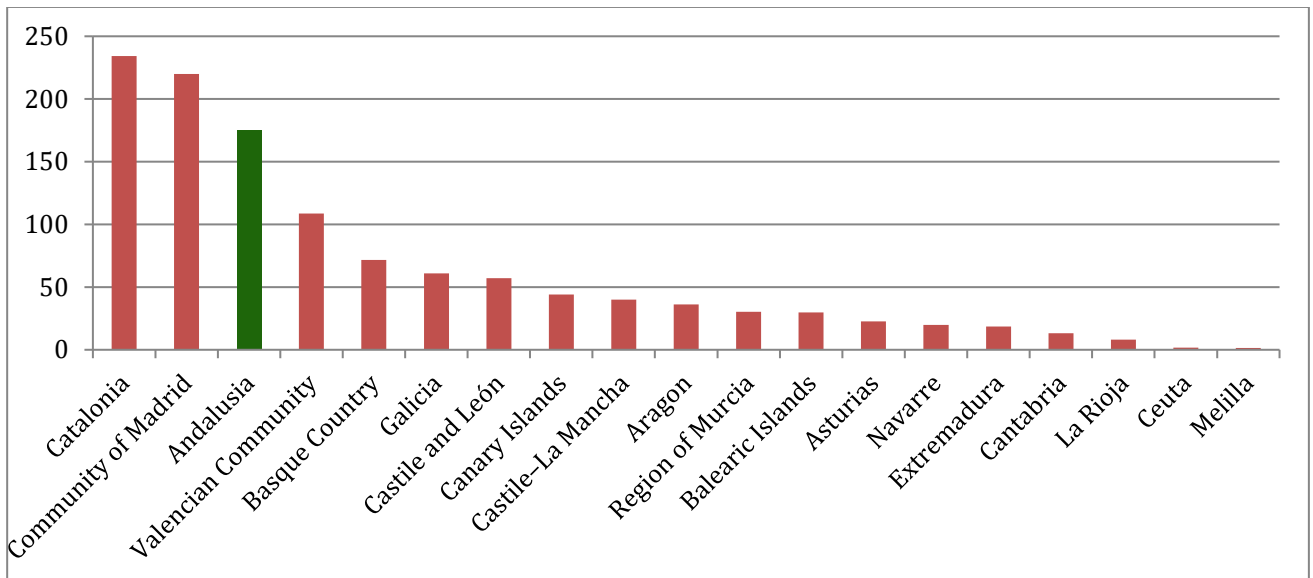
Source: CIS

Graph No. 9: Results of regional elections in Galicia 2005-2016



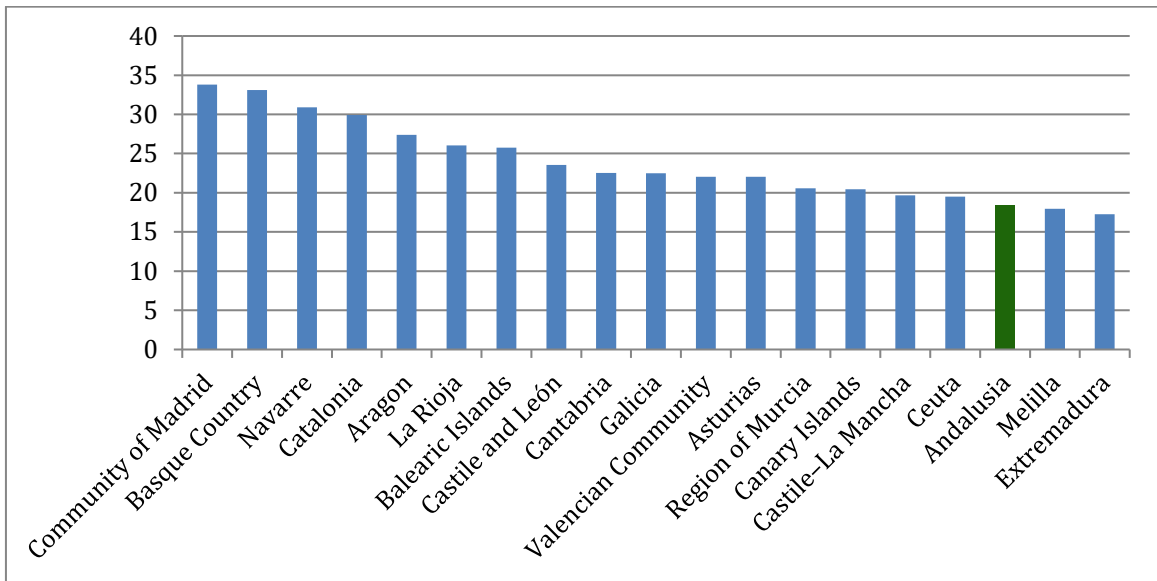
Source: El País

Graph No. 10: GDP of Andalusia in comparison to GDP of other Spanish regions in 2017 (mil. of EUR)



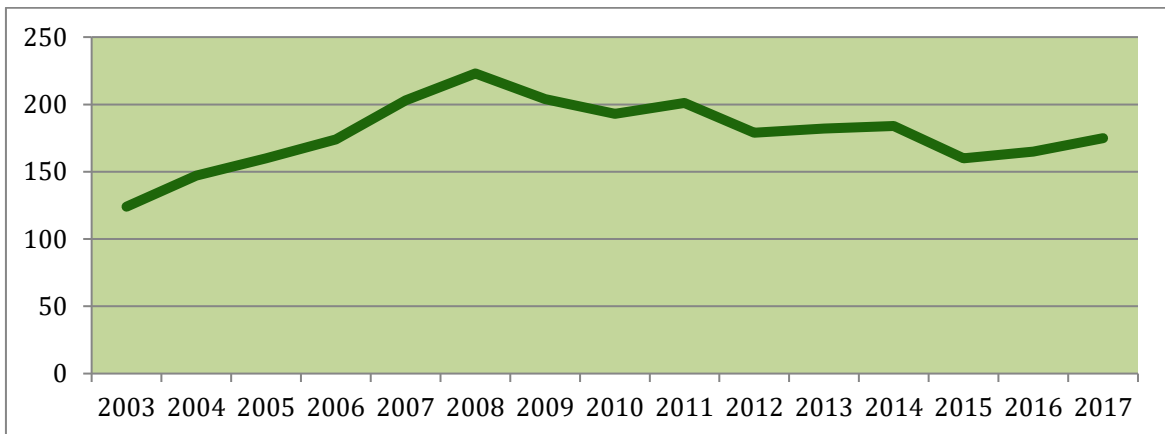
Source: Datosmacro

Graph No. 11: Andalusia's GDP per capita in comparison to other Spanish regions in 2017 (th. of EUR)



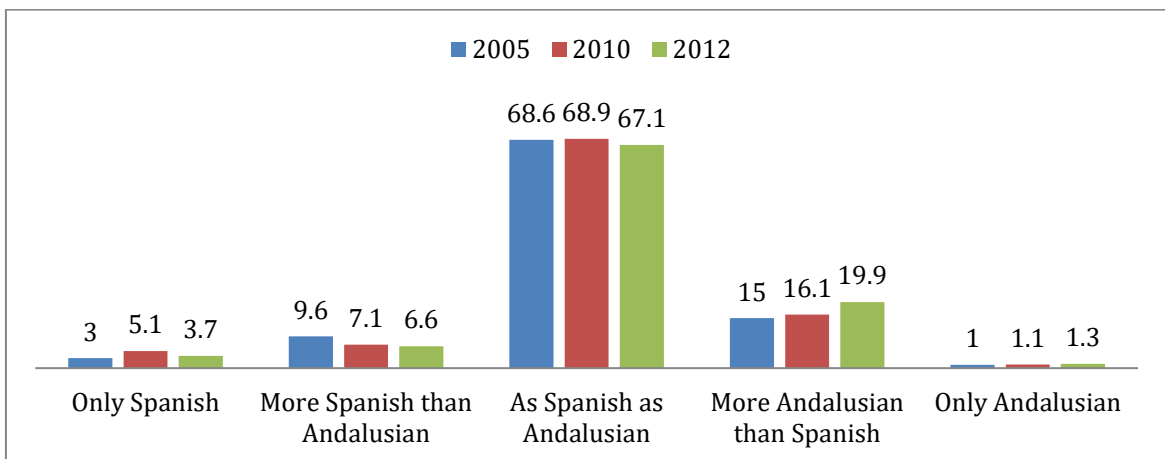
Source: Datosmacro

Graph No. 12: GDP of Andalusia 2003-2017 (mil. of EUR)



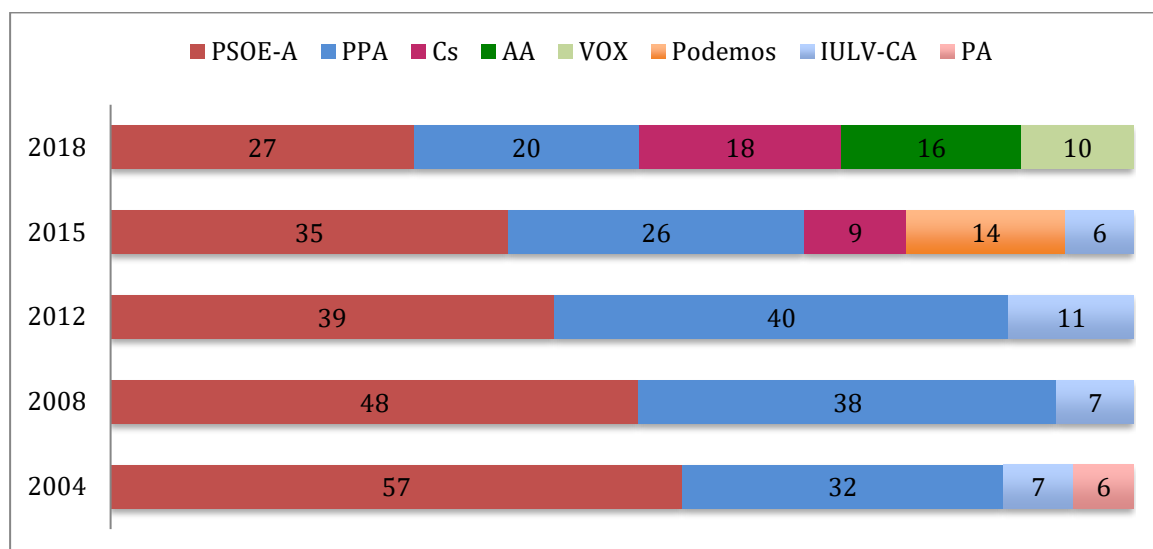
Source: Country Economy

Graph No. 13: Self-identification in Andalusia 2005-2012 (%)



Source: CIS

Graph No. 14: Results of regional elections in Andalusia 2004-2018 (%)



Source: El País

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Table No. 1: Total expenditure and income and absolute fiscal balances in 2014 (mln. of EUR)

	Total income	Total expenditure	Total absolute balance	Total absolute balance/GDP (%)
Andalusia	53,6	67,9	14,2	10,25
Catalonia	70,3	66,3	-4,046	-2,06
Galicia	20,2	26,1	5,8	10,80
Madrid	68,1	53,9	-14,189	-7,25
Basque Country	21,052	26,143	5,091	7,96

Source: Ministerio de Hacienda

Table No. 2: The main socio-economic indicators of the selected regions (2017)

	GDP (mln. of EUR)	GDP per capita (th. of EUR)	Overall GDP trend (after economic crisis 2008)	Absolute balance (%)
<i>Catalonia</i>	234,6	29,9	Increasing	-2,06
<i>Galicia</i>	60,8	22,4	Increasing	10,8
<i>Andalusia</i>	175	18,4	Decreasing	10,25

Source: Datomacro; Author, Ministerio de Hacienda