LEBANESE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

The Long Road to Independence:
Regional and Separatist Movements in Europe

by

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To the brightest star of my life.

To my mother.
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The Long Road to Independence
Regional and Separatist Movements in Europe

Sebastian Delogu

Abstract

This thesis examines the current situation of separatist and secessionist movements in the EU area, taking into consideration both political parties and regional national movements. It seeks to analyse the possible similarities between the different movements by focussing on the characteristics they have in common and those that most differ from each other in order to understand whether or not it is possible to point to a more general trend followed by the different movements. The thesis first examines what scholars have written about the issue, and then it moves to a general overview of the EU political panorama by listing the major movements and political parties that seek a higher degree of self-autonomy or the radical solution: secession. It then presents three study cases from the list, two, Catalonia and Scotland, that are perfect examples of separatist movements, and the third, Trieste, which represents a very particular case far from the established standard. The thesis shows that, despite the fact that each case possesses specific characteristics that distinguish it from the others, it is possible to generalise to a certain level by categorizing a range of policies undertaken by different movements in specific key areas (education, economics, regional self-awareness, and promotion of national history).

The research presented reveals that the present political movements have interests in different areas and wish for more independence to very different degrees: starting from cases in which greater autonomy is sought to cases in which a total separation from the central government is the desired goal. Nevertheless it is possible to find common areas shared by most of the separatist movements. The upcoming referendum for independence in Scotland and Catalonia, as well as the growing interest in this new wave of regionalism, leads to the conclusion that separatist movements will pose a serious challenge to the EU as well as to the central governments in the country in which they are located in as, regardless of the final outcome, it will generate legal precedents that could give rise to a domino effect of greater autonomy and/or secession.

Keywords: Secession, European Union, Regional Nationalism, Independence, Autonomy, Self-government.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CiU - Convergència i Unió / Convergence and Union
EU – European Union
ERC - Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya / Republican Left of Catalonia
FTP – Free Port of Trieste
MP – Member of Parliament
UK – United Kingdom
UN – United Nation
CHAPTER ONE
Overview of the Thesis

Introduction – 1.1

This research will seek to analyse the nature of independence movements, or separatist movements, and their increasing spread and seeming revitalization through Europe. It is important to understand why in this moment in history we are witnessing what seems to be a marked increase in the number and strength of independence movements and which factors are playing a role in the political arena.

The thesis will try to present a possible definition of what an independence movement is and which characteristics it must possess, as well as which political, social, linguistic, and economic policies it undertakes in order to pursue its goals. It is worth mentioning at this point that the thesis will try to give a possible definition, among others and in the broad sense of the term, that will encompass and frame the different factors that most often are part of modern independence movements. The research will be based on pertinent literature on the topic, as well as examples taken from present and past independence movements.

A very interesting piece by Siobhan Harty\(^1\) provides a great theoretical frame to the topic by analyzing the institutional aspects of nation-building and political legitimacy towards sub-state nationalistic movements which seek to preserve and promote the regional/local culture. Some are looking for more independence from the central governments or the recognition of special rights and benefits; others’

objective is a more clear and distinct separation from the State through and independence process. In addition to this the Catalan, among others, will be discussed, given the amount of literature on the Catalanian independence movement and the fact that it can be regarded as one of the best organized, mature, and clear example of modern independence movements in Europe.

Although it is possible to encounter independence movements all over the globe, this paper will discuss mostly those located within Europe. This choice was made taking into consideration the present democratic political contexts under which the diverse movements will be discussed. Many interesting cases (the case of Tibet and China; the push for Kurdish independence in Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Iran; or Chechnya in Russia are just possible examples) which are geographically not in Europe would make great research topics, but this research will deal with independence movements within a democratic-liberal context, to different degrees and types. In addition, the thesis will focus only on countries in the EU as membership in this supranational institution structures politics in ways that are distinct from other world regions.

The case of Turkey—and its absence in the thesis—is a bit out of the ordinary and should be explained. Although in many classifications Turkey is placed within Europe, there are also classifications that put it outside of Europe. Most important for this thesis, Turkey is not a member of the European Union and furthermore, geographically speaking only 3% of its territory is in Europe. Thus, perhaps the term *transcontinental* better describe the situation of Turkey. Furthermore the Turkish government did not undertake democratic means to solve the controversies

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2 Atlante Online, geography of Turkey, retrieved Nov 24th from [http://em.atlante.unimondo.org/Paesi/Asia/Asia-occidentale/Turchia/(livello)/conosci](http://em.atlante.unimondo.org/Paesi/Asia/Asia-occidentale/Turchia/(livello)/conosci)
when dealing with its issues with minorities and separatist movements. Turkey itself defines its territories located west of the Bosporus as Anatolian, as opposed to European. The lack of a democratic or semi-democratic state, as opposed to a regime, as well as the absence of Turkish membership in the EU, places these cases under a different category.

The last part of the thesis will try to underline common characteristics or factors among the different movements, and address whether it is possible to organize them by similar factors. Observations reflecting the data will be presented and organised according to geographical, economic, socio-linguistic and historical factors, as well as other considerations that do not match this division.

The conclusion will wrap up the discussion, indulging on the concept of self-determination and posing questions on the future of this new wave of regionalism.

**Research Questions – 1.2**

The thesis sets out to ask: Is it possible to find a common set of characteristics and factors that are shared by most of the separatist movements in Europe or that at least are essential to define a movement as pro-independence/separatist? If this is the case, can they be categorized according to their most prominent and important characteristics (for instance, ethnicity driven nationalism, economic driven nationalism etc.), keeping in mind that a some percentage of all these factors is always present?

Most of the literature about the topic focuses on single case studies but does not tackle the issue at a general level. Given the great number of differences between each single case study criticising this approach should not be considered as incorrect,
nevertheless it is possible to formulate general assumptions by confronting a significant number of case studies.

Further research, presented in the following chapters, shows that it is not possible to give precise and exclusive answers to the research questions presented here, as often happens to be the case in most social science disciplines. On the other hand it is possible to engage in critical and constructive discussions over several aspects that are particularly inherent to the topic.

**Methodology – 1.3**

Different types of sources will be used in order to collect different types of data.

For the theoretical structure of the thesis, a review of academic articles and books will be privileged. The main aim of the literature review is to analyse, discuss, and report what has been written on the topic of regional nationalism, separatist movements, and independence movements in general. This is necessary in order to provide a solid base for the research at a general and more conceptual level.

In addition to the scholarly articles, I will also look into the official and unofficial internet sites of separatist and independence movements. Some of them are very official and institutionalized, while others are more informal as blogs, internet forums, or unofficial gatherings and clubs that promote regional nationalism, separatist ideas and discuss possible politics that encompass cultural, social, linguistic, economic and political issues.

Furthermore analysis of polls related to the topic will be included, to grasp an idea of what is the general opinion of the citizens of the area in which the movement
is located and operates about any possible regional secession.

Last but still important, sources such as online newspapers, television, social media, as well as non-internet based means of information will be taken into consideration in order to collect the most recent and fresh data as possible. The framing of the last series of events regarding Scotland and Catalonia, as well as many others, will require verifying the newest polls, political speeches, and policies of any kind which have been undertaken in the last period of time. The data collected will be both of general interest and from the specific separatist movements that will be nominated, discussed and analyzed within the paper.

Map of Thesis – 1.4

At this stage it is worth providing a map of the thesis that should hopefully convey a general idea of how the thesis will be structured.

The introductory chapter includes some short information related to the main findings, the core questions of the paper as well as hints of theoretical and empirical data further discussed at a second stage. The discussion is divided between the theoretical and the empirical contents.

The second chapter deals with the concepts of independence, separatism, nationalism, regionalism and identity, and it tries to define what a separatist movement is by looking at the literature on the topic and at the same time as the characteristics of existing movements located in Europe. In addition to this, in the third chapter, I will try to list or to name all the separatist movements located in Europe, but it is important to notice that the list of movements will be influenced by the set of characteristics and factors that are tackled in the theoretical part. In other
words some movements may be left out because they do not possess the minimum criteria to be defined as so, according to the literature. The empirical part, chapter four, rather discusses real examples of policies and frames the characteristics mentioned above into study cases taken from European regional national movements.

The following section, chapter five, highlights common features, characteristics, goals and typical activities undertaken by the different movements, discussing a possible subdivision or categorization according to the analysis.

The conclusion, included in the same chapter, discusses the findings, and will wrap up the contents as well as the main achievements of the research.
CHAPTER TWO
The Theoretical Framework

Introduction – 2.1

This chapter of the thesis proposes a theoretical framework for the themes that will be discussed more in-depth in the next chapters. Before entering more detailed study cases and examples from EU countries, it is necessary to have a grasp of what has been said by academics and researchers on the topic. Proposing a precise and universal definition of what constitutes a separatist movement is critical for our purposes, but unfortunately despite many previous attempts, it is not possible to generate a single definition that encompasses the vast multitude of cases all over the globe. Instead of trying to add another incomplete definition, it is better to focus on the different aspects that are embedded in the topic of separatism and then focus the present study on Europe. Given the fact that it is not possible to deal with the subject without embracing themes such as nationalism, ethnicity, self-determination and language policies, this chapter will present partial definitions and approaches of scholars who engaged the subject.

An elucidation of the terminology is necessary to clarify any future misunderstanding. The words used to define concepts related to nationality and ethnicity are often vague and used interchangeably by non-scholars. If we take a look at newspaper or in the media, despite some necessary clarifications, a lot of the terminology is often misused when referring to the topic. In this chapter, definitions and conceptions of different scholars will be presented, and the use of the terminology could be differentiated for each single case.
Although a large combination of themes and topics are related, in a direct or indirect way, to separatism, for the purpose of this thesis only the main concept will be discussed in this chapter, so that a simple and practical scholarly framework will be provided. The four main points will revert around the concept of self-determination, nationalism and ethnicity, language policies and possible approaches to separatist movements.

The theoretical framework will engage with important concepts that are related to those of regionalism and separatism, in order to gather different views about the topic. These concepts will be then used to compile a chart of modern regional and separatist movements in Europe, and to define which movements are and which ones are not separatist to varying degrees. The presence, in different forms, of the concepts that are discussed in the theoretical chapter, constitutes significant indicators that are useful, for the purpose of this research, to better identify and distinguish regional and secessionist movements.

**The Concept of Self-Determination – 2.2**

The notion of self-determination is fundamental to dealing with the topic of separatism. The right of self-determination is one of the core principles on which the claims of separatism and independence is often made, and it also constitutes the legal ground on which these claims can be formulated and, when successful, implemented.

Cass (1998) discusses how the term self-determination has been undergoing a constant modification in the international law sphere. Two new terms, separatism and democratic entitlement, have been adopted because considered better to capture present realities. Separatism reflects the post Cold-War fragmentation of the Eastern European block and the Baltic area with the sub-sequential enlargement of the
European Union. Democratic entitlement places emphasis on the sovereignty of a
group of individuals through participation in the policy making. The modern
conception of self-determination encompasses very diverse aspects and disciplines,
hence a combination of state practice, self-determination theory and relations
between international and municipal law play a role in the modern definition of the
topic.

Cass underlines how self-determination is becoming constitutionalized and
how this new practice is not only new, but rather revolutionary. The development of
self-determination laws seldom occurs outside of the state. Still, even in the most
extreme and violent cases of self-determination claimed by a group must be enacted
through the state machinery and bureaucracy. Any failure in doing this will most
likely mark the claims as illegal and unconstitutional or, worse, terrorist. This new
constitutionalized nature of self-determination is often considered as what in modern
terms is regarded as desire for sovereignty, which is constantly being defined,
expanded and articulated by nation states. As a consequence, the constitutional legal
systems of some states are now managing to recognize some of the bundle of rights
entailed by a growing awareness of self-determination. Cass here defines
constitutionalization as the internal legal integration of particular attributes of self-
determination so that the concept itself will become a part of the constitutional fabric
of the state. In simpler words this means that a lot of the self-determination
principles and claims that are now taken for granted and recognized as essential in
any modern accredited democracy, were not implemented and sometimes not even
mentioned, in the past. If at the present time, the right to possess a distinct culture or
religion different from the majority is considered a basic human right, it is the result
This change must be acknowledged among the new political practices. This new trend recognises the interconnectivity of international and constitutional law, by taking into account democratic theory and accords with subtle yet fundamental changes in the state practice.

Dahbour (2001) engages with the idea of self-determination arguing the important role played by this concept in recent debates related to the ethics of international relations. He presents from a historical point of view the importance of the demands for statehood of European nationalities during the XIX century, followed by the national liberation movements in the ex-colonies during the XX century until the secessionist and separatist national movements at the present time. Furthermore Dahbour discusses an interesting model of interpretation of the principle of self-determination, based on three different aspects: democratic, national and regional.

By democratic self-determination the author refers to the right of self-rule by the people located on an already existing territory. This can be easily applied to the historical anti-colonial movements and their subsequent liberation struggles for self-determination. The term national self-determination is applied to the advocacy of separate statehood for national groups, regardless of whether these groups are located on and a territory defined by internationally recognized boundaries or not. This is in particular the aspect which is more related to the core topic of this research and which tries to provide a theoretical definition to separatist movements. By regional self-determination Dahbour refers to contemporary movements of groups of people whose lifestyle does not abide to the needs and tendencies of the mainstream market. This section deals with cases such as the indigenous people of America or, to a certain extent, the case of Tibet and its inhabitants. The author then builds a
continuum between the definitions presented above and the current situation by rephrasing the concept into the notion that no groups or categories can be excluded from the same degree of political participation within a democratic state.

When these pre-conditions are not respected, it is the often the case that some national movements will arise and make claims based on the right of self-determination discussed above. For the main purpose of this research the failed realization of these pre-conditions could be verified on real separatist movements located in Europe, to see whether or not this condition is mandatory or, on the other hand, it is just one of the conditions that facilitate the rise of national separatism.

Dahbour also discusses what he defines as the right to culture of different groups. Given the fact that national self-determination is the idea that nationalities may rightfully determine the boundaries, membership, culture and political status of their own communities, asserting a right to statehood, the author pointes out how this right to maintain, preserve and promote their culture usually requires specific conditions to be fulfilled. First of all the survival of the culture cannot be assured without the existence of a state. The author here quotes Kymlicka (1995) by asserting that those cultures that are able to escape marginalization are increasingly “societal” cultures. In addition to this, institutions and the continuous exposition of the culture on a large scale must be provided in order for this culture to be fully enjoyable. This is an interesting claim, especially if we consider the importance placed here on enjoyment of one’s culture. This is why the right to a state follows from the interest that a group of individuals have in living with and within a culture of their choice.

The author concludes explaining how, in his views, when national cultures are suppressed or persecuted the measures to denounce and defend against these abuses
are just those applicable to any other cases of human rights violation, specifying how no separate principle of national self-determination is warranted. Dahbour also makes use of the term cultural genocide to indicate the forcible suppression of a group’s cultural practices. He then states that secession would become an option in cases in which there is no recognition what he defined, using Buchanan’s conception (1991), as discriminatory retribution. This concept can be easily applied to two different contexts: one regarding indigenous people, or more in general any group of people, who make different use of resources (American Indians or Tibetans for instance). The second concerns regions of a country subject to economic exploitation that disrupts the ability of such regions to sustain a way of life distinct from that of the rest of a country.

Therefore, for this thesis, when dealing with the concept of self-determination emphasis will be placed on the right that a group of individuals possess to be part of a state in which they recognize as their own. This also includes the right to actively participate in political life, as well as the right to ask for secession from the state if specific criteria are matched.

**Nationalism & Ethnicity – 2.3**

Nationalism and Ethnicity are two of the most complicated concepts to present with a single and universally accepted definition. As previously explained, the two concepts are often considered interchangeable although many scholars spent many pages in trying to define a clear line of demarcation between them. Furthermore the two concepts are tightly connected to separatism and independence claims, so that it is not possible to effectively engage in the topic without dealing with the notions of
nationalism and ethnicity. Needless to say, entire dissertations could be written on only one of the two concepts and yet there would be more to be said. The next discussion is not meant to propose an extensive analysis of the two, but rather to present a theoretical infrastructure to support the main topic of this paper.

Harty (2001) contributes substantially to the research topic. She argues how national culture is essential for a state to consolidate its political legitimacy as well as to facilitate the business of governing. She underlines how there is an inescapable linkage between national culture and institutions since its reproduction is their main task on a daily basis and on a large scale. Gellner (1983) similarly argues that the roots of modern nationalism lie in the importance of culture for industrial society. Harty agrees with this and presents at a conceptual level how this is happening. First of all it is important to point out that national culture provides some of the key tools that allow the national of a country to benefit from social and economic opportunities. The term tools is referring here to the set of language, education, culture and customs that citizens of the same state share and must use in order to correctly interact with each other, on a personal level, at with the institutions, on a public level. Furthermore the existence of a rather homogeneous background, which is usually reinforced by the central government with pacific and sometimes violent means, assures a higher level of acceptance of the laws and regulation imposed by the central government, as well as a perception of the political system to be fair. In the unlucky case, exactly what this paper will deal with, in which citizens of the same country possess distinct cultural backgrounds, the state will most probably try to impose its own institutions over any rival ones so that it can enforce a natural culture (recognized, sponsored and promoted by the state). In other words, when the national culture is not fully inclusive and being part of a minority culture leads to
economic and social discrimination, citizens’ compliance will not be present, hence rules will have to spend coercive means, or more democratic or semi-democratic, to enforce it.

Hobsbawm (1992) engages the theme of nationalism and ethnicity, taking into consideration the present European panorama. He first underlines how the notion of nationalism, hence the nation itself, is made by its past. The motivation that pushes, and justify, struggles between nations over territories, resources and demands for extensive sovereignty possesses an historical component that can be identified as past. According to Ernest Renan (1882) history plays a great role in nation formation processes but the progress of historical study is often dangerous to a nationality. Hobsbawm paraphrases this concept by explaining how it is extremely likely that historians who write about ethnicity and nationalism cannot but make a politically explosive intervention. Furthermore Hobsbawm states how every separatist movement in Europe is based on ethnicity, which could be linguistic or not, that is to say on the assumption of a difference between we and them.

Regardless of how ethnicity and nationalism are often wrongly considered interchangeable, the author spends time in defining a clear boundary between the two. He underlines how nationalism can be considered as a political program regarding different nation-states. Groups defined as nations have the right to form territorial states of the kind that have become standardized since the French revolution. This means that in practice nation-states can exercises sovereign control over a continuous stretch of territory with clearly defined borders, which is inhabited by a homogeneous (as much as possible) population that constitutes its essential body of citizens. The author criticizes the fact that the so called principle of nationality assumes that the nation is given without really providing a
comprehensive and universal definition of what a nation is. He discusses how the concept of nation is somehow artificially constructed, and there is no such thing as a primordial concept, nor a standardized one. Hobsbawn presented a famous statement of Massimo D’Azeglio about the creation of the Italian state: “we have made Italy, now we have to make Italians”, which clearly exemplifies the lack of any previous form of, to use his words, Italian-ness. The inhabitants of the peninsula not only had all sorts of identities, and languages, and after the unification (which was quite bloody and violent) a state came into existence over their heads.

Ethnicity on the other hand cannot be considered a political program as it is not a programmatic nor a political concept, although it may be associated with political agendas, including nationalist and separatist ones. It is often the case that nationalism needs ethnicity to be historically supported in its claims and statements, and nothing better than ethnicity could fulfil this crucial lack. The author emphasises how ethnicity, unlike nationalism, is a readily definable way of conveying a real sense of group identity by linking the member of the group in stressing their differences with those who are not part of it.

Calhoun (1993) engages with the historical roots of nationalism. He presents several hypothesis of the first forms of nationalism, that are part of an ongoing discussion by scholars: the British rebellion against monarchy (Kohn 1944, Greenfeld 1991, 1992); the eighteen century struggles of New World elites against Iberian colonialism (Anderson 1991); the French revolution of 1789 (Alter 1989, Best 1988); and the German reaction to the revolution and to German disunity (Kedourie 1960, Breuilly 1982). Kedourine (1960) sums up the concept of nationalism by stating that humanity is naturally divided into nations which are their selves known by certain characteristics that can be ascertained, and the only
legitimate type of government is national self-government. Despite of the disagreements over many different theories, academicians agree on setting 1815 as a date in which some forms of nationalism were already present.

Calhoun considers the possibility that the concept of nation is often used in rhetorical ways in order to make political claims and to manipulate mass sentiments in pursuit of power. Furthermore he seeks whether or not a possible prior existence of ethnicity would explain nationhood, exploring links between the latter and nationalism. As previously discussed, nationalism and corollary terms have proven very hard to define in a precise way, and it is important to consider that any definition will legitimate some claims while delegitimizing others. Nation and nationalism are among those terms used to refer not to any clearly definable set, and because of the instability of their definitions they are highly contestable. The authors recognise the flaw in the elements on which these definitions are usually based on: qualities which putative nations or nationalist movements share with admitted non-nations (for instance with ethnicity); or qualities which are not clearly present in all recognized members of the set of nations (such as the ambition to control a state for example).

The expansion of the direct rule throughout Europe caused the daily routine of Europeans to change according to which sovereign state they reside in. Each state imposed a national language, a national education system, a national military service and a set of others standardised national structures. Tilly (1990) summarises this concept pointing out how life was homogenised within states and heterogenised among states: single individuals, regardless of which state they belonged to, became restrained by the national rule; and all states set different structure, from each other, and institutions to influence the life of their citizens. In other words, people were
associated in being citizens, but they differed from each other according to the single regulations of the country they became nationals of.

Calhoun concludes that it is impossible to dissociate nationalism entirely from ethnicity, and that similarly it is not possible to explain nationalism as a direct and simple continuation from ethnicity. Nationalism stands as the preeminent rhetoric used to demarcate political communities, claim rights and self-determination. On the other hand ethnic similarities, as opposed to nationalist ones, are often claimed where groups do not seek national autonomy but rather a formal recognition internal, or sometimes cross-cutting, to the nation state boundaries.

Hah and Martin (1975) provide a different approach to the theme of Nationalism by discussing definitions of other scholars. Sauvigny (1970) found the term used in 1836, and defined it as a type of national sentiment, using a very Romantic connotation of the term. The authors stress how nationalism used to be considered as a communal spirit which infused a group of individuals with fellowship or rather as a demonic spirit which could only be controlled by the aggrandisement of the national power. Kedourie (1971) defined nationalism as a doctrine that held that humanity is naturally divided into nations, that nations are known by certain characteristics which can be ascertained, and that the only legitimate type of government is national self-government. The authors criticise these definitions as being too general and not being able to specify the cases in which the term nationalism can be applied to. The authors’ definition considers nationalism as ensemble of organizationally heightened and articulated groups demands directed towards securing control of the distributive system in a society.

The authors provided some conditions for the development of nationalism according to their definition. The first condition is that demands must be
organizationally heightened, and according to Fisherman’s (1972) approach a degree of organization among involved groups is essential for goal-directed activity. He suggests that nationalism is a structure response to common social influences. The second point is that nationalism is composed by articulated demands, rather than feelings of patriotism, and because of this it is observable and valuable to a certain extent. The third assumption is that groups are the real carriers of these demands of nationalism, rather then developing on their own within the society. The fourth condition is that these demands are for the control of the distributive system in a society meaning that the output will likely to be unbalanced between different groups within the same society. It is also worth mentioning that the character of nationalist groups will vary among societies with different principles of distribution, hence it is not possible to find a single common denominator to build a universal model capable to analyse the nature of the distribution discussed above.

Hah and Martin (1975) discuss some interesting integration theories of nationalism whose insights could be useful for the main topic of this paper. The idea of integration possess many different connotations but when dealing with literature on nationalism it can be regarded as the process of merging culturally and socially discrete groups into a single territorial unit with the subsequent creation of a national identity within that unit. Claude (1955) propose a definition linked to the concept of assimilationism. For Claude assimilation requires that minorities consent to abandoning their ethnic, cultural and linguistic characteristics which constitute the core of the differentiation between them and the national majorities they coexist with. Hence minorities are expected to merge into nationally uniformed communities with the majority, which on the other hand is expected to facilitate and stimulate this merger as much as possible. Needless to say, this concept clashes with some modern
principles of minority rights, built to ensure the cultural, linguistic and social heritage of the minority is safeguarded.

Hah and Martin present a large number of different theories of nationalism that analyse the concept from very different points of view, spacing from the economic sector to the social. It is not possible to provide an exhaustive summary of all the different theories listed by the authors, but some are worth considering for the relevance of this paper. Still, the definition proposed by Deutsch (1953) is among the most discussed theories of nationalism, saying that it essentially consists of wide complementary social communication. It is defined as the ability to communicate more effectively, and over a wider range of subjects, with members of one large group than with outsiders. The sense of group integration is constituted by the communication among its members. In the case the communication among members is hindered relative to that among non-members, the likelihood that group integration will develop is also hindered. It follows that the extent to which this communication among groups is disturbed depends on the balance between the rate of social mobilisation, as well as the assimilation rate, which can be measured by the proportion in a given area of individuals who possess language and historical traditions different from those of the majority. Modernisation here plays a key role in the process, since according to the balance of assimilation and mobilisation factors it can either facilitate or slow down the level of communication that is essential for the process by which a group of individuals become a nationality and, subsequently, a nation-state. This theory has been criticised by other authors that consider modernisation just one, and not the most important, of many factors that affect the process.
About the role of modernization towards nationalism Eisenstadt (1966) and Smelser (1968) all share the idea that modernization leads only indirectly to group integration, unlike the theory previously discussed. These scholars perceive the process of development of nationalism as being influenced by the presence of modernization and its process of structural differentiation, in the so called erosion theory of nationalism. In this theory nationalism is regarded to be the existence of shared positive affection towards the nation-state or towards the formation of the latter. Hah and Martin exemplified the theory by explaining how modernization entails structural differentiations that detach people from their traditional roles. Hence there is a need for a socio-psychological for security and new identity that will push social groups to transfer their traditional allegiances to the emerging nation. Because of this nationalism will bloom in a society for the simple purpose of connecting traditional models of social organization that will vary for each group taken into account, to the new roles created by the modernisation process previously discussed. Discussing the impact of modernisation is an important factor, as the separatist movements that are discussed in this paper present different characteristics from their predecessors, as the continuous modernisation is playing a crucial role in shaping new dynamics and both national and international level.

Language policies – 2.4

The large number of scholarly pieces that engage with the topic of separatism and independence movements often refer to language policies that have an influence, sometimes positive and sometimes negative, on the topic. Any work on the subject that would consciously ignore this aspect of the issue would fail in framing crucial characteristics that should be considered.
Fishman (1986), providing a historical reference, states that by the middle of the 1970s, governmental utilisation of minority languages came to be increasingly questioned by mainstream and leading figures who felt that they constituted a threat to the state of the union, the very central, integrating institutions and traditions of modern, supra-ethnic society. Needless to say that a language in this context does not represent just a medium of communication adopted by a certain group of individuals, but it also constitutes an integrative, socio-cultural and economic-technical medium, symbol of aggregate that is not integrated with or is differentiated from the power centre. Language policies play a fundamental role in integrating minority language into the fabric of the society, so that any issue or clash that may arise is avoided or softened.

Fishman connected the theme of bilinguism to separatism and spends time in providing an overview of the latter. According to him, separatism, especially when associated with political independence, would be the most extreme representation of the phenomenon. Lesser, and more common, degrees of separatism are forms of autonomy and self-government, such as various type of arrangements in which localities retain taxation privileges pertaining to local matters only to the extent that central authorities permit. This last point is often causing of internal clashes between central and regional governments.

Fishman (1966) also writes about the influence of the level of linguistic homogeneity on a society and its economy. As previously discussed, it is not rare that minority languages, the cause of linguistic heterogeneity, are blamed as a threat to the stability of a society, especially if the nature of the government is dictatorial or non-democratic. Fishman’s studies demonstrate how linguistic heterogeneity can be tied to a superabundance of social, economic and political problems. He then
proceeds to explain how all but two of the many advantages of homogeneous polities over heterogeneous polities shrink and disappear when per capita gross national product is controlled. According to this he hypothesizes that it is not linguistic heterogeneity per se that is the cause of various disadvantages to which it is associated but, rather a lack of economic development. He continues discussing how economic development has tended to undermine linguistic heterogeneity far more than vice versa.

Despite of the results of his research, these implications have been criticized by other scholars: Pool (1972) considers the evidence used as not sufficient to support Fishman claims. The two variables analysed deal with separate aspects: one with the presence of significant and politically non assimilated minorities in extreme opposition; the other deals with the same variable but on territorial bases. As one could easily infer, these variables do not reflect only linguistic aspects, but on the other hand they encompass religious and racial differences as well. Another scholar, McRae (1983), after further research on this relationship, claims that racial and linguistic heterogeneity is related to internal strife, while religious one is not. Fishman considers the extreme separatist solution, in its pursuit of a fully complete political independence, an extension of the territoriality principle to its extreme: the minority does not seek a major degree of autonomy but rather a fracture from the state they reside in, by gaining full sovereignty of a territory. While linguistic claims are very often connected to separatist movements, the success of a succession does not ensure a great improvement in the use of the minority language sponsored by the group.

An example of this is represented by the Irish case where the inability of this solution to foster ethno linguistic autonomy caused the language to languish even
after the independence. It is also important to say that the Irish case stands as an example, and there are many other cases in which the results were different. At a more general level, it is possible to claim that in those cases in which the autonomist solution has deepest historical roots, ethno-linguistic strife is extremely minimal. On the contrary when considerable re-ethnification has already occurred, the benefits to be gained by autonomy pressures for minority languages are less certain.

Keech (1972) claims that linguistic and religious differences are often presented as source of political conflict in democracies, as they have proved to be in Canada, Belgium and Northern Ireland. But his analysis of the Swiss situation shows that this presumption is not always true and that there are cases in which linguistic and religious differences can be overtaken. Despite of this, it is possible to generalise and point out how with the presence of variables, studied by Keech, the situation is likely to present political problems, even in the best cases. Although Switzerland has been proposed as a successful model, in four of his cantons, the one with the highest rate of mixed population, political and integration problems have arisen. The variables considered in the study of Keech could be summed up in three groups: conditions, perceptions and values that are directly related to linguistic differences; linguistic self-consciousness and prejudice between linguistic groups; and congruence of linguistic and other differences, with a direct perception of that congruence.

Calhoun (1993), according to Anderson’s (1991) studies, schematised that language figures in at least three different ways in accounts of nationalism. The first assumption is that a central part of the claim that nationhood is rooted in ethnicity. Fichte’s use of the German language, for instance, to claim a supra-historical status of German nationality perfectly exemplifies this statement. Furthermore shared
language constitutes a condition, or at least a facilitator, of claimed national community despite of whether it is ancient or distinctive. It follows that opposition to linguistic variation is a key way in which nationalists and national movements in power attempt to make the nation fit the state.

Paulston (1990) stresses how understanding the language maintenance and the social condition under which they occur represent an important means for understanding educational language policies. A language policy that is counter to existing socio-cultural forces is not likely to be very successful. Describing, explaining, predicting and, in the most lucky cases, correctly evaluating the success of language policies requires an in-depth study of socio-cultural forces and characteristics. The three outcomes that Paulston points out are: language maintenance, bilinguism, language shift.

In the case of ethnic groups perceiving the learning of the national language well and fluently as in their best interest, there are very few problems associated with the educational policies for minorities. On the contrary when these same ethnic groups instead of fruitful opportunity see stigmatisation, discrimination, economic exploitation or systematic unemployment, they will be much more likely to use their mother tongue, instead of the national one, as a strategy for mobilisation. A great example of language maintenance is the Catalan case, where language policies are implemented so that Catalan perfuses all aspects of daily life, spacing from social to economic context.

The most common scenario is that minority groups in situations of prolonged contact within nation state will eventually shift to the language of the dominant group, whether over generations or a larger time interval. Bilinguism and exogamy,
which represent the marriage between people belonging to different ethnic and social groups, is often common and natural in situations of prolonged contact.

Royce (1982) identified ethnicity as the sum total of feelings on the part of group members about those values, symbols and common history that identify them as a distinct group. Paulston links this concept to the language policies underlining how ethnicity alone is not sufficient to maintain a language in a multilingual setting if the dominant group allows assimilation and if incentive and opportunity of access to the national language are present. Paulston states that ethnicity is different from ethnic movements as it lacks a conscious strategy, typical of a political and social movement. Barth (1969) reinforced this idea by discussing how an ethnic movement is ethnicity turned militant, consisting of ethnic discontents who perceive the others on the model of us against them. Ethnicity stresses the culture, while ethnic movements are more concerned with boundary definition and maintenance. In addition to this, Paulston stressed how not even an ethnic movement alone will suffice in maintaining a language, although it will highly affect the rate of shift so that it becomes much slower and spans many more generations. A combination of a strong ethnic movement and effective language policies can succeed in integrating and maintaining the language by raising its status and importance within the community.

As correctly pointed out by Paulston, language is not just a possible means of communication but it is a prime symbol of the nation in ethnic nationalism but not necessarily in geographic nationalism. Kohn’s definition, taken from the *International Encyclopaedia of Social sciences* describes that the first one can be considered in the case of the ethnic group to be isomorphic with the nation-state; the latter is more territorially based and features a political society, constituting a nation
of fellow citizens regardless of their ethnic background. Cottam (1963) insists on nationalism to be interpreted as the manifestation of nationalistic behaviour; a nationalist to be considered as an individual who sees himself as a member of a political community, or a nation, entitled to independent statehood, and who is willing to grant that community with a form of loyalty. For the purpose of this paper, the link between nationalism, hence some forms of separatism, and language is exemplified by Paulston’s observation on geographic nationalism. Given the fact it is not possible to change one’s ethnicity, it is very well possible to learn a foreign language, and in those nations where language is an active and crucial part of membership, mastering the language has clear practical, as well as symbolic, significance. National languages can be the hallmark of memberships and a clear proof of in-group belonging, despite one’s genes.

The authors presented above discuss theoretically different characteristics and theme that play a role in separatist movements. Although identifying the phenomenon through a theoretical infrastructure is fundamental, some authors discussed the behaviour, to a certain extant, of separatist movements, as well as possible solutions and approaches to this situation.

Anderson (1988) states that despite of the particularity of each singular study cases; there is clearly something to be learned by a higher level of generalization of the topic, which is difficult because of the substantial differences in the dynamics of group identity and interaction from case to case. Mikesell and Murphy (1991) indentify a clear starting point: an expressed opposition to the established political-territorial order can be found in all separatist movements, with a different intensity of opposition varying from case to case. Perhaps the most benign form of minority
group aspiration occurs when a group wishes or welcomes formal recognition of its linguistic, or religious, identity without consequentially seeking proportional representation in a national government or in a national patronage system. There are also cases in which a group may desire fuller participation in a larger national society and yet also looking forward maintaining some degree of separation, or some type of autonomy, within that society. This dualism of trying to be more involved, but at the same time defend one’s autonomy creates confusion and is often contradictory and not easy to handle by authorities. Higher level of frustration and misunderstanding between the group and the central government will lead to suspend claims for autonomy, and become calls for independence.

Young (1986) provides a criticism to the modern state system, whose roots are located in the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. There is an assumption that states should only be political-geographical expressions of a single people, an ideal embodied in the nation-state concept and pursued in some forms by all states. It is important to state how advocacy of independence for a minority group is usually rejected by the ruling majority as an act of insubordination. However, desire for recognition alone may also entail conflict if such recognition is denied. By denying legitimacy to a group, or in the harshest cases its existence, national governments can assert counter-claims that the group is en route to assimilation, that its language is merely a dialect or that its faith is an unacceptable heresy. A good example of this anti-separatism attitude was used by Bulgaria against its Turkish minorities, as well as by Turkey against its Kurdish minorities.

Jan and Brigitta Tullberg (1997) hypothesised a model for solving separatist demands. Although the model cannot be intended as a universal manual on how to deal with separatist claims, it deals with categories of issues that frequently arise
that socio-political context. What is even more interesting is constituted by the fact that the authors think quite out of the social constraints, by analysing both the disadvantages, or the problems that prevent any form of separation, and the advantages, stating how in some cases separatism itself is one of the best possible solutions.

They underline how internationalism and separatism, and their socio-political consequences, are two developments that are opposed in some respects: one does not entirely excludes the other. Tullberg also speak about what Dahbour previously defined as right to culture: people have the right to possess a culture independent of the national one, and this separate culture is often the raison d’être of a separate state.

The authors focus on several problems that are the base of some of the weakness of separatist solutions. First of all a problem which often occur is that the process of separation recreates the old problem with reversed roles: the new state will inherit a significant minority from the old majority group. The alternatives provided operate on two different levels, both geographical and managerial. It is important to draw the new borders according to the population who resides in the geographical areas, trying to avoid as many divisions as possible: regardless of resources, infrastructures or other elements, population should be divided as equally as possible, and in the unlucky cases where this cannot be done, a roughly similar number of individuals should be wrongly places, from both sides. Furthermore geographical borders should be as neat and natural as possible, avoiding any separate enclave, or artificial barrier.

As far as borders are concerned, there are three points highlighted by the authors that should be taken into consideration. First of all each state(s) should be responsible for accepting people of its own nationality, or according to the
willingness and personal choice of the individual to stay on one side or another, without restrictions. In addition to this, each state should be entitled to evict members of the other group: in case an individual freely chooses to be part of the new state, then he shall be regarded as a foreigner in the old state, with all the legal consequences. The third condition is that each individual should have the right to emigrate to the right state, according to his/her personal choice. Despite the fact that these measures are somehow a bit extreme, especially the second point regarding the right to evict of a state, the authors reply that half measures are not this radical but they also fail in solving the problems that are regarded as insoluble in a shared state. One of the reasons why separatist movements often deviate into terrorist acts is that the democratic process is ardours: ideas are opposed by a permanent majority, and in a tense atmosphere of us against them.

The strongest alternative to separatism is represented by a liberal society that treats its citizens as individuals and not as member of groups. Instead of being the primary factor in developing identity, ethnic background would simply become one of the many characteristics that give distinctiveness to the individual. On the contrary of what have been discussed now, efforts have been made in many countries, in order to divide power and share the leadership, but the results did not produce any fruitful outcome in the long run. In Lebanon, the government opted for a sectarian division of power, so that each sect would not be cut off the others, but this division produced different outcomes than predicted: the actual situation is that divisions are burdening the country, instead of helping the development. Zambia opted for a tribal division of power, and once again the results were not as good as expected.

The authors took advantage of a great metaphor to exemplify the issue stating that a separatist solution is similar to a divorce. Although it is preferable a separation
based on mutual respect and harmony, a divorce always involves a breakdown that will allow the two parties to divide their domain, rather than endure unity dominated by conflict. In addition to this, as in a divorce, it should be enough that one of the two parties opts for a separation, meaning that the public opinion can play a role in deciding on possible policies towards the separation, but it is crucial to remember that requests from the minority, which wants the breakdown, will hardly ever be supported by the majority of population. Dealing with minorities, by definition, will presume the considerations listed above.

Hardin (1995) states that collective interests are stronger when they are consistent with individual interests and subsequently they are weaker when they are not. It becomes crucial to distinguish between real group interests and deceitful claims, often made from ethnic leaders to claim support, as well as some kind of altruism for a supreme culture or a historic mission. Most probably more education, understanding and respect and more personal experience of the opposite group would soften antagonism. Wong (1994) engages with ethnic separatism, indentifying plausible marks that constitute ground for the phenomenon. Wong lists five markers (language, religion, phenotype, homeland and the myth of common descent) that are likely to be present, not all of them at the same time and in each case, where ethnic separatism lies. It is important to remember that the origin of ethnic separatism is, despite the diversity of the many possible cases, rooted in conflicts which took places generations before. The author states how the contact hypothesis mentioned above has been often criticised since in order to really change the outcome, simple contact will not suffice. Constructive cooperation is the real element able to build a strong relationship between the two parties, while contact per se is not sufficient (Figer 1991). Other authors do not have such an optimistic view of the impact that a
higher level of education would have on ethnic conflicts. Although it is often said that more education should result in more tolerance from the different groups Horowitz (1991) does not agree with this and, on the contrary, he argues that there are some studies of divided societies which prove that elites are less ethnocentric than their supporters, but there are more showing that ethnocentrism increases with education.

Despite the fact that many ethnic groups interpret themselves as distinct categories, it is crucial to keep in consideration the fact that society is full of subcultures, so it is necessary to place limits on what amounts to an ethnic group so that it cannot be correct for everyone claiming group membership to form separate state. Tullberg came to two characteristics that are required: a century, or more, of traditions within the country; and a minimum number of individuals. Needless to say those identities are extremely fluid entities that not only are not stable and set in stone, but which may develop in new concepts and entities with time, and according to the context in which the individual is living in.

Giving a democratic option to separatists is a key advantage since when the democratic way is not present, separatists often become extreme and give rise to terrorist acts. According to Kahneman and Tversky (1979) when two parties in a dispute are facing a gain situation, people will likely choose the safest option possible; but on the other hand in a clear loss situation there is a risk shift: people are more likely to prefer the radical alternative that could eradicate the loss despite of all possible collateral damage. This theory applied to the relationship between the central state and the separatist movements often leads to violent clashes. Tullberg (1994) suggests how a strict anti-aggression policy between states should be military enforced, but this must not turn into an involvement in internal affairs. According to
the authors, democracy and freedom should be won by internal forces, and cannot be imported by problematic forms of imperialism. Propaganda does play a role but up to a certain point: if the real state of things is that within a society one or more groups are exploited, then the seed of separatism is sown and it becomes a matter of time for issues to arise.

This chapter seeks to provide a theoretical framework for the purpose of this paper. As previously stated, it is not possible to provide a precise and universal definition of what constitutes a separatist movement. Still, as exemplified by Tullberg, two important characteristics are represented by the number of individuals and the quality of traditions that a group claims to have, rooted in an historical context and in an adequate amount of time. In addition to this, the themes that have been discussed (self-determination, nationalism and identity issues, linguistic policies) are likely to be present in most of separatist movements and will be used as possible markers for the purpose of the grouping of different movements in this paper. Conclusions will be drawn on the evidence found.
CHAPTER THREE

Secessionist and Pro-Independence Movements in the EU

This chapter seeks to provide an overview of the current secessionist and pro-independence movements throughout Europe. This chapter will present a chart with a summary of these groups found in Europe, divided by country and region. It will then discuss some general guidelines that were used in order to define which movements were included and which ones were left out.

The concepts discussed in the second chapter were used in order to include or exclude a movement from the chart, in addition to the requirement for the movements to be actual and active at the present time. Given the extremely variegated political panorama, the concepts were useful in narrowing down the number of movements there were taken into consideration for the purpose of this research. It is important to remember that these characteristics do not apply to every single movement in the same way, and some of these variables play a bigger role in specific movements and not others. Because of these variations, a good degree of flexibility is required in order to understand how the movements in the list are different from each other for their goals, and the means with which these aims are pursued. Despite these differences, the movements listed can be placed on a continuum that runs from a mere need for more autonomy to total secession.

The purpose of the list is also to present the reader with empirical data of the presence of regional and separatist movements in Europe. The chart is helpful in visualising where these movements are located geographically, and which countries have more movements than others. It also allows to have an idea of how these
movements are distributed through Europe, which regions are more influenced by regional identities, as well as which countries are more compact and possess no or few movements.

In addition to this, the list functions as an overview of the many political entities that inhabit the European arena. All the single cases require more in-depth analysis in order to expose the structure of every single movement, as well as its historical claims and current goals. This will be done for three cases in the next chapter due to the time and space limits of this thesis. Presenting some case studies from a multitude of examples is useful to contextualise the phenomenon by looking at single specific cases.

It is important to focus on how the political panorama of Europe is extremely variegated with a lot of different movements that are asking for more autonomy from their respective central governments. These movements encompass very different political positions, running from rather nationalist and right-wing positions, to more leftist and green stances, but are all combined by a desire for a greater degree of self-government. It is often possible to have parties with very different political beliefs within the same territory or region that share a common will to greater and/or better self-government despite presenting differences in how these goals should be achieved and which goals should be the top priorities.

Another important thing that should be noted is the fact that the list presented in this chapter should not be intended as a definitive encyclopaedia but rather as an overview whose purpose is to introduce the reader to the maze of entities that are seeking independence, or just more autonomy.
Many difficulties were encountered while compiling the list. When researching autonomist and secessionist movements, it is hard to understand their importance without being a resident in the areas they are located in. This is why some of the political movements listed are rather small and do not really have strong impacts on their respective national contexts, while others are the major political parties within the regional, and sometimes national, elections and do play an important role that cannot be ignored by the central governments.

Another important factor that should be taken into consideration is that the movements listed are not all seeking secession. For a better understanding of the list, all the movements should be understood as being located on a continuum indicating different degrees of autonomy, where independence and secession should represent one extreme. Some of these territories and regions possess already high levels of autonomy from their central governments, and this is why their logical progression towards more self-government is independence. However, not all the movements listed are actively contemplating the option of such significant change in the status quo: for the same territory it is usually possible to find more than one parties which claim for a certain degree of independence.

In other cases more independence is required in some, but not all, aspects of the regional government. Sometimes these claims are more economic-oriented, aiming for more local management of taxes and other incomes; while other times these claims are rooted on cultural and linguistic claims, especially when it comes to the consideration of possible annexations to neighbouring countries. In the case of stateless communities, such as the Sami people of the far north of Europe, this discourse does not apply at all, as it is not even possible to discuss to which degree autonomy or self-government is intended, as no governable entity exists. The level of
self-government can be measured on the extent to which the stateless entities interact positively with the hosting country. In the Sami case, the hosting governments of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Russian Federation have all allowed some degrees of self-government to the Sami people, but this autonomy varies according to the hosting country. While in Norway the Sami have the right to their own parliament, Russia has yet to adopt the ILO Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (C169) and in doing so, depriving the Sami of many rights.

Chart of Political Movements and Parties - 3.1

Table 1.1 - Separatist Political Parties and Movements in the EU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Geographical Region in which the Regional or Separatist Movement is located</th>
<th>Name of Regional or Separatist Movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>Flemish Region</td>
<td>Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vlaams Belang</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Walloon Region</td>
<td>Libertair, Direct, Democratisch; LDD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>German Speaking Community of Belgium</td>
<td>Rassemblement wallon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>Moravia</td>
<td>Rassemblement Wallonie France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Faroe Islands</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hin feroyski fólkaflokkurin – radikalt sjálfstýri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Miðflokkurin</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sjálfstýrisflokkurin</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tjóðveldi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greenland</td>
<td>Inuit Ataqatigiit</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Siumut</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>Åland Islands</td>
<td>Ålands Framtúd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³Sami Parliament in Norway, last retrieved Mar 20th from http://www.samediggi.no
⁴Mihailova, E.R. "Reprisals against the Kola Sami". Cultural almanac ASTES number 5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Region/Province</th>
<th>Party Name/Tagline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Northern Basque Country</td>
<td>Parti National Basque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brittany</td>
<td>Adsav</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Parti Breton</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Union Démocratique Bretonne</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Emgann</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Corsica</td>
<td>Corsica Libera</td>
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<td></td>
<td>U Partitu di a Nazione Corsa</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Alsace</td>
<td>Unser Land</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Normandy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Occitania</td>
<td>Occitan Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Bavaria</td>
<td>Bayernpartei</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(Claims over Padania area)</td>
<td>La Lega Nord</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Aosta Valley</td>
<td>Union Valdôtaine</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Edelweiss Aosta Valley</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fédération Autonomiste, FA</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Autonomie, Liberté, Participation, Écologie, ALPE</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trentino</td>
<td>Unione per il Trentino, UpT</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Partito Autonomista Trentino Tirolese</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unione Autonomista Ladina, UAL</td>
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<td></td>
<td>South Tirol</td>
<td>Partito Popolare Sudtirolese</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Union für Südtirol</td>
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<td>Die Freiheitlichen</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veneto</td>
<td>Partito Nasional Veneto, PNV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unitá Popolare Veneta, UPV</td>
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<td>Cantabria</td>
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<td><strong>Concejui Nacionaligu Cántabru, CNC</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Liberal Vannin Party (LVP)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Gibraltar</strong></td>
<td><strong>Progressive Democratic Party (PDP)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Sápmi (cultural and geographical region traditionally inhabited by the Sami people and proposed as autonomous region)</strong></td>
<td><strong>Sápmi (cultural and geographical region traditionally inhabited by the Sami people and proposed as autonomous region)</strong></td>
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**Finland, Norway, Sweden, Russia**

**Sami People (Stateless Nation)**
In the chart the different movements are grouped according to the country(ies) they are located in. A second subdivision is used to group under the same regional area all the different political entities that concur to similar goals.

One of the biggest challenges was to list, as accurately as possible, those political entities that are still active and part of the present political arena. In order to do this, I repeatedly checked all the internet sites of the various movements and I did not include the ones whose websites were not available anymore, closed or malfunctioning. This tool is intended to be one of the simplest means to assure that a political group did not cease to exist nor that they united with other parties. Despite this, political entities are not set in stone, but are rather variable and somehow hard to pin down, especially when formed by a small number of supporters as it is often the case that they try to reinvent their selves by mutating and merging with other entities.

The list does not include many parties that were banned as being militias because of the detention of weapons and being part of episodes of violence and aggression. The are reasons why such type of parties are excluded from the list. It is important to notice at first that a lot of militia movements that are commonly well known in the public opinion are not active anymore, and the chart does not include parties that ceased to exist. In addition to this, militia movements are almost always labelled as illegal by the central governments and hence the citizens cannot freely vote for them, because they stop being considered as part of the political panorama. Therefore their methods shift from being political to being more oriented to propaganda and violent coercion, hence they cannot be compared, nor analysed, as standard political parties.
It should be clear that this paper does not seek to judge the actions of these parties, or to take position in the matter. At the same time, it is impossible to deny the impact that such parties sometimes have on secessionist matters. Many examples could be presented about this matter, also within the modern states members of the European Union, if we just take a look at Irish or Basque history for instance. These two cases are perfect examples of the degeneration of the relationship between central government and its regions: a failure in understanding and taking in consideration the need for a decentralisation of power. In the theoretical chapter the issue regarding the development of regional militias and violent political party engaged with the set of problems derived from the sterile communication, which often results in severe repression, of regional movements.

An interesting observation regarding this issue is how governments tend to label anything coming from a repressed regional opposition as terrorism, despite the fact the term is now widely use for anything that opposes with violence the status quo. Labelling organizations that seek to alter the status quo as ‘terrorist’ is often an excellent method to suppress them as it often happened through history. Rather than labelling groups, however, perhaps the label should be used on acts. If, for instance, a number of individuals claiming to be part of a specific political movement commit a bomb attack on a school bus, then that act is a terrorist act. But extending this idea to the whole movement, and to the entire ideology is somehow inexact and leads to misinterpretations.

Pyle (1986) engages in the controversial issue of defining terrorism by describing the continuous use of double standards by the international community. He summarises how what one government defines as a terrorist can be easily considered as a criminal who should be relentlessly hunted down and punished at all
costs by one state; and being labelled as a freedom fighter who deserves full support by another state. Pyle quotes a British judge called Lord Diplock in defining terrorism as the use or threat of violence to achieve political ends. Furthermore he expresses how almost every country on earth auto defines itself as a democracy, and that even the most democratic countries have conquered and ruled other lands by non-democratic (i.e. violent) means. Countless examples could be quoted on the matter, and the author provides a lot of historical periods in which many group of individuals were considered terrorist without taking in consideration the political, social and economic contexts they were inserted in. Hence although one act of brutal and indiscriminate violence can be considered as terrorist, extending this definition to its actors is unlikely to produce neutral and impartial precedents.

Regardless of how much these acts can be (rightly) criticised, militia movements have gained a lot of power (at times) and managed to win some concessions from their respective central governments, and in the case of IRA I would argue that the constant strong opposition played a crucial role in helping Ireland to separate from the United Kingdom. White (1989) conducted research on the primal causes for the use of violence related to political use, focussing on the case of the IRA. He describes how state repression, and not economic deprivation, was the major determinant in trigging the use of brutal force in the controversy. According to his research there are some characteristics that ignite the use of violence. First of all victims of repression must consider the authority as illegitimate; they must consider peaceful means of protest as ineffective and futile; and the situation escalate quickly once people start to react to repression of people with whom they share close ties with. This emphasises how the relationship between the periphery, in this case Ireland, and the central government, represented by the United
Kingdom, was crucial in the issue. Hence the way separatist claims are considered, or ignored by the authorities, plays a role in the formation of militia movements. Perhaps history suggests that ignoring regional claims often leads to dangerous paths, for both the population and the government of a country.

As previously explained, the list does not include those secessionist and pro-autonomy movements that are located in countries that are not part of the European Union, even when geographically located in Europe. The only exception in the list is the non-territorial entity represented by the Sami people who are located also within Norway and the Russian Federation. In addition to this, I did not include the Cypriot issue and its current division with the occupied territories, also known as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (Kuzey Kıbrıs Türk Cumhuriyeti), as it is a very debated and complicated issue that cannot be easily included with the independent movements, nor identified as such, and, most importantly, includes a non-EU member state: Turkey.

Other groups included in the chart are not trying to gain separation from the central state, but have and still seek a relatively high level of autonomy. Specifically, this is the case for Ceuta and Melilla, Spanish enclaves located in Morocco, but that are legally part of the Spanish State. Their geographical location and their history have granted them a high level of autonomy and it is interesting to see how their status is bound to these characteristics.

Despite the fact it would be beneficial, for this thesis, to deepen the discussion related to every single case on the list; it would require a great amount of time. This is why I have chosen to engage in further discussion only three study cases in the

5 Municipality of the Autonomous City of Ceuta, last retrieved 20th March from http://www.ceuta.es/ceuta/
6 Official Site of the Autonomous City of Melilla, last retrieved 20th March from http://www.melilla.es/melillaportal/home.jsp
next chapter, in order to outline the correspondence between the markers indicated in
the previous chapters and real movements. Furthermore the brief overview of some
of the actual separatist movements will provide the reader with fresh and updated
material grounded on the present state of things. These cases are Scotland, Catalonia,
and Trieste.

Scotland’s and Catalonia’s movements are two of the best organized and active
autonomous areas at the present time, and both of their current local governments
suggest that the need of further autonomy should be found in secession from
respectively the United Kingdom and Spain respectively. Although the two cases
present a lot of common characteristics it is interesting to understand their different
histories and relations with their present central governments.

Trieste, a city located in Italy, whose official status as county seat of the region
Friuli-Venezia Giulia is being contested and rejected by a movement that claims
Trieste is a free territory, according to resolution 16 of the United Nations and rejects
subsequent international treaties that do not respect the resolution. The case is
controversial and different from those of Scotland and Catalonia, as the controversy
lies between the interpretation, and failure to respect, UN resolutions that attested the
area as an independent territory. To further complicate the case, while Trieste is a de-
facto Italian city at the present time, some of its territories were split between Italy
and the former Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, the movements and political parties that will be part of the
analysis, and that are listed in the chart presented above, are modern and active
parties with pro-autonomy and secessionist aims which are located in countries
which are part of the European Union. The next chapter will engage with three study cases, in order to compare the theory presented with real empirical cases.
This chapter will deal with some of the cases listed in chapter three, and will seek to provide a more in-depth analysis of some of the current issues related to separatist movements in EU member states. Out of the multitude of cases—for the reasons discussed in the previous chapter—three were chosen to be discussed here: the cases of Catalonia, Scotland, and of the Territories of Trieste.

Catalonia and Scotland can be considered as two typical cases of separatism, both presenting a high degree of organization, self-government and autonomy. Trieste’s case is quite different as its autonomy, or currently lack of it, is bound to international law as well as a resolution of the United Nations.

**Catalonia – 4.1**

The Catalan case is one of the most recent and widely known through the media and word of mouth. This section includes a brief excursus through the history of Catalonia that will highlight some of the historical grounds on which Catalan separatism is based. It will then engage with the issue of language, in order to point out the efforts of the Catalan regional government to promote and defend Catalan language. Furthermore this section will discuss some articles taken from the media so that it is possible to take in consideration the reactions of the public opinion and of other politicians. Finally, the degree to which various groups in Catalonia seek autonomy will be compared.

Catalonia was chosen among the movements because of its high profile in the international media and within the European arena. The Catalanian quest for
independence stands as one of the most quintessential separatist movements, with solid historical claims, language policies as well as crucial economic aspects. The characteristics presented in the theoretical chapter will be discussed more in-depth in the Catalan case, showing how theory meets empirical application on the case.

Hints of Catalanian History – 4.1.1
To start, it is worth remarking that Catalonia already enjoys a very high degree of self-government which was achieved through time and specific political choices by both the regional and national government (Gies, 1994). Despite one’s personal views and feelings about the Catalan issue, it is often said that money and language are the two keys to Catalan politics. Being the strongest economy in the Iberian Peninsula surely plays a role in national as well as regional and local politics. In addition to this Spain’s loose federal arrangements between the different provinces, established in the post-Franco constitution of 1978, allows Catalonia significant freedom in making laws and spending funds for a large variety of areas of interest, spacing from culture and infrastructure, to government services (Gies, 1994). Still, it should be noted that taxes are still administered at a central level rather than peripheral.

The historical grounds of Catalan secessionism cannot be ignored by focussing only on the economic and cultural aspects of the issue, however. McNair (1980) exemplifies how it is possible to talk about a Catalan people already in Roman times, stretching this period (with of course a large number of different historical events in between) until the incorporation into the Crown of Castile in 1715. Needless to say the process of inclusion was neither peaceful nor particularly voluntary on the part of the Catalans.
Gies (1994) also points out how this loss of autonomy was followed by a repression of Catalan culture of varying degrees of intensity for about two centuries, with the direct effect of inflaming the Catalan national sentiment. Under the second republic (1931-1939) this sentiment was actualized under the Generalitat, probably the most central institution of Catalonia, leading to a greater self-administration. This period of greater autonomy was harshly contested and repressed during Franco’s government, whose regime imposed linguistic, political and cultural restrictions across Spain by labelling as illegal any kind of public activity associated with Catalan nationalism, including the publication of books on those subjects or simply discussion of them in open meetings. At Franco’s demise the Generalitat reacquired its powers, and Catalonia gained in 1979 a large degree of regional autonomy (Julier, 1996).

Gies (1994) also points out that in addition to historical claims, Catalans are well aware of their vast literary history in Catalan, and of a conspicuous number of writers and artists who have contributed in creating a great humanistic panorama. The author presents many examples to sustain his thesis. It is interesting to notice how the first book published on the Iberian Peninsula, *Tirant lo Blanc* by Joanot Martorell, was published in Catalan in Valencia in 1490. Ramon Llull (1235 – 1316) used Catalan in his encyclopaedic works of science, philosophy and religion, as well as in his novel called *Blanquerra*. Bernat Metge (1343-1413), Anselm Turmeda (1352 - 1430), Jordi de Sant Jordi (1400-24), and Ausiàh March (1397 – 1459) are other famous intellectuals who made use of Catalan language in their works. Cultural aspects are important markers of self-awareness of a region, as well as other characteristics presented by the next authors.
Robbins (1933) explains how regional diversity is a first key to Spanish politics and cannot be underestimated. The mosaic of languages is but one piece of evidence of the multi-cultural soul of the country, and Robbins discusses the importance of language politics. In spite of the different time period even at the present time the Catalan question is of course most often raised in terms of fiscal problems, but at the same time it is not possible to brush aside the linguistic aspects of the issue and how these are connected to the secession movement.

The Catalan Language – 4.1.2

In 1978, Catalan became a compulsory subject in all pre-schools, as well as in elementary and secondary education (McNair, 1980). In addition to this, those schools which have enough funding and parental support have long been highly encouraged to teach a variety of different subjects in Catalan, rather than in Spanish (McNair, 1980). According to the Law of Linguistic Normalization (1983), Catalan is officially the dominant language of instruction in the region. Gies (1994) stresses how the Genetalitat has promulgated numerous laws that have allowed Catalan language to infuse the everyday life of Catalans from many different aspects. Under Pujol’s office, president of the Generalitat de Catalunya from 1980 to 2003, Catalan language and history started being taught in the schools as a compulsory subject, and the use of the language highly increased in print, on TV as well as in official government business issues.

After the promulgation of regional authority in 1983, the Catalan language acquired a more central position in defining and shaping the new Catalan region. From a legal point of view, the language debate reached to a turning point when the Supreme Court recognized two official languages in Catalonia and ruled positively
on pivotal articles of the Linguistic Normalization Law. For instance, primary students possess the legal right, and duty, to be educated in both languages (except some specific cases in which exemptions are considered). The certificate of complexion is issued to those students who prove proficient in both languages, and not just one of the two. In addition to this, Catalan must be the linguistic vehicle for instruction and administration purposes in educational institutions, but without implying that it will be the only language that will be utilized (Rees, 1996).

Yet, is the Catalan language so crucial to fully understand what is going on in Catalonia as far as politics are concerned? Apparently it is, in order to get a full and aware global picture of the issue. Gade (2003) states how Catalonia exemplifies emerging national identities of which language is considered the symbolic glue. Furthermore language energises a group towards self-determination, as it represents part of the collective cultural capital of the people who speak it by heightening the consciousness of difference towards those who cannot speak it. As discussed earlier in this thesis, the role of language in nationalism, as well as self-determination, is more emotional rather than rational because of the fact that language is closely tied to the individual self. Because of this, equating language with nation is a matter-of-factly accepted in the present world. It is important to remember that this should not lead to wrong conclusions: language is not an innate characteristic of human societies but it is rather a romantic and ideological construct.

Catalan Institutions: Recent Debates and Media Coverage– 4.1.3
The very last debate regarding Catalonia revolves around an interesting political choice made by the Catalan parliament: a declaration of sovereignty\(^7\) stating the right to self-determination of the Catalan people. The official language of the declaration was, as one may expect, Catalan. Despite of this it is interesting to see how the declaration became available in a large variety of languages\(^8\), both European and non-European. Furthermore there have been many translations into minority languages—a sign of mutual respect between an institution whose official language is itself a minority language within Spain, and other minority languages, as well as their respective people and political movements. The parliament voted 85-41 for the declaration, with two abstentions on January 24, 2013. The declaration does not talk about a separation from Spain but it surely prepares the ground for such manoeuvres. The structure of the declaration is divided into two main sectors: an historical one, dealing with the Catalan people through their history, and a more actual one, which sums up in point the principles on which the declaration, as well as the political philosophy behind Catalonia, is based. The conclusion is perhaps one of the most interesting parts as it literally\(^9\) pushes Catalans towards the active participation, to political life and in playing a role within Catalans politics. Perhaps a not too veiled way to suggest there is more to come and that Catalans’ support is required to succeed.

It should be noted here that this injection of self-determination seems to many specialists another step towards more independence, with a possible secession from

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\(^9\) “[…] The Parliament of Catalonia encourages all citizens to take an active role in the democratic process for the right to decide of the Catalan people. […]”
Spain, and it is one of many episodes of an ongoing series of events pushing Catalonia to the separatist direction. On September 2013, about 1.5 million people, which constitute about 20% of Catalonia's entire population, filled the streets of Barcelona in a massive protest demanding independence. The Spanish government insists the Spanish constitution does not allow any of Spain's regions to unilaterally break away; hence it does not negotiate with the Catalan government adopting a strict and no-compromise policy. Pujol, spokesman for CiU commented how the declaration does not stand as a legal regulation or as a road map. He also adds that “[…] Right now we are declaring what the foundations will be made of. The stronger the foundations, the stronger the walls […].” ERC leader Junqueras defined this episode as what he called a historical day. He remarked how sovereignty implies, literally, that there is nothing that ranks higher than the democratic will of the people. In response to the Socialists’ proposal for shared sovereignty with Spain, Junqueras gave a negative reply specifying that the right to decide cannot be shared with another legal entity by being a matter of one, not two or three entities. Angels Folch, a national co-ordinator of the Assemblea Nacional Catalana (ANC), is confident that the outcome will be independence eventually, and that those who dissolved the last parliament are focussed in giving Catalanian citizens the right to vote and determine their own future. Folch adds that it is likely to be a referendum maybe two or three years later, allowing the people to take personal position on the matter. She argues how the time frame for all this is quite confined and how it cannot take too long before more steps on that direct are undertaken. Her attitude towards

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12 Ibid.
the central government is very harsh and negative and most likely shared by many Catalans secessionists. She criticises how the idea that Spain is a true federal democracy, in which all the nationalities' rights are respected, is a joke. In addition to this she reinforces her thesis by stating how Spain is a democratic facade hiding a fundamentally imperialist structure, formed by a series of nations that Castile conquered and called “Spain”\textsuperscript{13}.

The opinions of Catalan commentaters\textsuperscript{14} are not too different from the ones already presented. According to Przemyk\textsuperscript{15} an independent Catalonia would have the opportunity to provide a restructuring and modernisation of all legislative and judicial departments which at the moment depend on the central government and are extremely slow and ineffective in satisfying citizens’ needs towards the bureaucratic apparatus. In addition to this the economic issue becomes central by taking into account that about 20 billion €, paid to Madrid every year and not returned, could be used elsewhere to improve social welfare, education and infrastructures. Bedson\textsuperscript{16} agrees, noting that Catalonia would no longer be a support fund for the rest of the country, as resources could be used to improve the infrastructures and much cultural and economic energy would be released in the euphoria of independence. He then comments how the secession would resolve problems with the dysfunctional monarchy, army and the Spanish Church and the insidious influence of the right wing Madrid media. Núñez’s\textsuperscript{17} opinion is rather sceptical about the issue but still positive about independence, although for different reasons. He points out that

\textsuperscript{13} “Catalonia independence timetable: 'Once it has started it cannot stop'”. The Guardian. Last retrieved 28th Nov 2013 from http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/blog/2012/nov/24/catalonia-independence-timetable
\textsuperscript{14} “Would Catalonia be better as an independent nation?”. The Guardian. Last Retrieved 28th Nov 2013 from http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/nov/20/readers-panel-independent-catalonia-spain
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
independence would be a way to stop blaming each others’ faults and to constructively rebuild a When there is no enemy to blame and no excuses left, perhaps they will start looking within themselves in search for the cause of their problems. He considers the current issue less related to numbers and money than it is commonly understood, but rather what he defines it old tribalism, between Catalonia and the central government. This is an interesting opinion that starts from a different point of view but still culminates, for a different variety of reasons, in independence.

Catalonia clearly proves to be an interesting case and it presents all characteristics discussed in the previous chapters. Let us move now to Scotland, another case by the book.

**Scotland – 4.2**

The Scottish case has been gaining visibility in the media as well as in numerous debates in the political arena. As some scholars have actually underlined, the Scottish case possesses many points of comparison with the Welsh case, within the UK, and with the Catalan case which was just briefly presented. This section will discuss the historical roots of Scottish nationalism, as well as how the modern Scottish National Party is dealing with self-identity issues. The discussion will then move to language issues, regarding the use of Scottish Gaelic, and to economic issues, before concluding with analysis of the reaction of public opinion, as well as of the central government, to Scotland’s push for independence.

The Scottish case was chosen as it represents a case that is gaining more and more importance throughout the United Kingdom. Furthermore it presents a lot of parallelisms with the Catalan case, despite the structural differences between Spain and the UK. The Scottish separatist movements possess the characteristics
introduced in chapter two, and this chapter will further analyse its historical grounds, the language policies as well as the economic aspects. In addition to this, the growing presence of Scottish separatism on the media will be briefly discussed.

**Hints of Scottish History – 4.2.1**

Keating (1998) points out that there has been a significant change in the political relationship between Scotland and England, which stands here as the central government, especially during the mandate of prime minister William Ewart who was more prone to a conversion of the UK from a centralised state to a federation of self-governing nations and regions. When dealing with Scotland it is crucial to keep in mind that Scotland has not always been part of the United Kingdom. From the prehistory to the Middle Ages, Scotland constituted an entity quite separated from England, and the Kingdom of Scotland was unified with England only in 1706, with the Treaty of Union that constituted the abolition of the Scottish Parliament, until 1998 when Scotland regained more self-government and the Scottish Parliament was re-instituted. The political tradition of Great Britain lies on a more decentralised model than the traditional Jacobin structure of the state, which tends to concentrate state powers rather than delegate them. This political structure, associated with the rise of nationalism across Europe in the late 19th century stands as a challenge to multinational states and empires. The regional level is emerging as a key factor in politics and political strategies hence it cannot be ignored nor taken for granted when dealing with sovereign states.

Keating emphasises how minority nationalism in Scotland, as well as in Wales, was often marked as tribal and atavistic, especially because of the pejorative label of “ethnic” that distinguished from the so defined “civil” nation-building of the large
states that encompassed a variety of ethnicities. At the present time minority nationalist should be interpreted more as a search for civic community, new principles of solidarity and internal cohesion against the international market. The author stresses how this cultural dimension, ignored in many of the studies of minority nationalism developed in the UK, shall serve to rebuild its public domain while reinforcing territorial identities.

Keating also concludes that a greater degree of independence, incarnated by the Scottish parliament, which was suppressed by the union of the King of Scotland and the King of England in 1707 and re-established in 1997, will not inevitably lead to independence but Scotland will seek to gain stronger relations in order to maintain a place in the European Union. Keating doubts that the Scottish parliament, inserted in a European context, will be content with the role of a subordinate government in the long run.

Rawkins (1978) describes national movements as collective attempts to make sense, politically as well as psychologically, of the life experience on the periphery of the economically advanced core of the modern world system. It is clear from the Scottish case how economics are perceived as one, if not the most, important factor when dealing with secessionism. Rawkins introduces Michael Hecter’s theory, summarising that nationalist movements are engaged in conflict with what he defines as insensitive, distant and over centralised bureaucracy (according the Jacobin model) which tries to maintain the status of the ethnically distinct, peripheral regions as vassals to the state in order to maintain the advantage of the dominant ethnic group which controls it. It is important to acknowledge that this theory is not very recent and that, if taken literally, it better fits cases different from the ones that are being presented in this chapter.
Despite this, with the correct adaptations to each single case, a lot can be connected to this theory. The author states how in breaking out from the Britishness, Scottish (as well as Welsh) movements seek to forge a new, broad based political alliance among the social groups within the territorial boundaries of Scotland, by focussing on distinctive cultural symbols, common sensitivity to the various forms of deprivation as well as shared goals. Scottish nationalist movements try to create and develop autonomous political and social institutions responsive to the needs of those who reside in the periphery, whose interests are, for a variety of reasons, structurally different from those who reside closer to the centre. Some argued how a supranational set of institutions, such as the European Union, might provide an appropriate framework to tackle and efficiently resolve complex problems of regional inequality. The present circumstances, associated with a growing will of more self-government are signs that perhaps these hypothesis were either wrong, or rather that the appropriate framework mentioned above was not enacted correctly.

In addition to this it is important to remember that Scottish identity has been reinforced through the years by the existence of a range of distinctive institutions. The Presbyterian Church, a different legal system as well as the education system have always played a role in differentiating Scotland from England first, and the rest of Great Britain at a second stage. These specific characteristics of Scotland reinforce the historical, cultural and economic bases of the national movement by providing key elements that shaped Scotland through its history to our present times.

From a more economic oriented point of view, it is interesting that even within the world economic system; the declining power of the British state is significant to the political analysis of the status quo. Scotland, unlike Catalonia, is not economic pioneer of the UK, yet the national movement does not perceive this as a problem,
but it rather reinforces the thesis that more self-government would allow Scotland to take important decisions that will positively affect its economy.

Fusaro (1979) engaged in a comparison between the Scottish National Party and the Welsh National Party (*Plaid Cymru*). He underlines how nationalist movements argue that Britain is not a homogenous nation and that the two parties could be considered as “movements” rather than conventional political parties, since they rely on the nationalist substratum of the their potential electorate by promoting and defending those values that represent, or wish to represent, the territory they reside in. They do not just propose political agendas to be followed but they seek to create a heightened sense of nationalism which can be tapped politically. A lot of initiatives taken from the Scottish National Party deal with self-government and defence and promotion of Scottish culture, but this political attitude do not necessarily a general striving for independent statehood, as the author suggests. They surely indicate the pride of many Scots in their own history and culture, to which one may infer that this pride is an important characteristic in Scottish and British politics.

Cohen (1996) states that in the Scottish case, self-identity would be misunderstood if regarded as being determined by, or derived from membership of the nation or as a determined result of any collective condition. Hence Scottish Nationalism can very well be considered as a statement of identity, whose nature is somehow separated from more “partisan” and leftist political programmes. From a more general perspective it is possible to affirm that as an idea found widely across the political and social panorama, nationalism has appeared more as a lament for the continuing privation of the integrity and authenticity of Scottish nationhood, after the abolition of the Scottish state in 1707 due to its unification with England. This is why the use of the nationalist elements in Scottish politics comes more natural and
works in a more effective way than cases in which the nationalist elements are built for the sole purpose of political propaganda.

Grant and Docherty (1992) states that the Scottish National Party had about 20% of the public support in Scotland, and that about 80% of the Scottish population are in favour of some form of self-government, which is the policy of virtually all national parties except the conservative ones. It worth mentioning that separation is not the only plausible option, although it is surely counted among the range of possibilities, but also federalism and a higher degree of autonomy are widely supported alternatives.

About Scottish Language Policies – 4.2.2

The language issue also is also central in the Scottish case and a lot of comparisons with the Catalan case are possible. In Spain the traditional autonomies already have a high degree of self-government after a long era of suppression; nevertheless they continue to press on the matter in order to embed the linguistic policies within the frame of the institutions. A great example of this is represented by the normalització lingüística in Catalonia.

After the referendum on devolution in the UK in 1979, there was an upsurge of interest in Scottish culture, which included a higher interest in the Gaelic language. It is important to remember that Scotland has two indigenous languages: Scottish Gaelic and Scots. Gaelic was brought into Scotland by settlers from Ulster and, to a certain extent, it is linguistically close to Irish Gaelic, but different in its spelling. Scots, also known as lowland Scots and Lallans, developed from the northern form of Anglian brought by the Northumbrian settlers into South-West of Scotland. Both languages developed into their present forms in Scotland, which surely makes them
indigenous and disposes of any attempts to dismiss them as a mere dialect (Grand and Docherty, 1992).

Grand and Docherty also point out that what is happening in Catalonia is raising interest in the Scottish context as well: the regaining autonomy process and the subsequent successful re-establishment of Catalan language. In the past being bilingual in Scotland (and I would argue here in many other countries with indigenous languages who are not officially recognised) used to be perceived as something negative, however in the last decades the perception of being bilingual changed. In other words the renewed importance given to regional languages, Catalan in Catalonia and Scottish Gaelic in Scotland, is a sign of the change in the perception of the bilingualism itself. Since the 1960s much linguistic research has abandoned the pejorative model of bilingualism in favour of more positive attitude towards the matter which emphasises the advantages of being bilingual, or even trilingual and such (Grand and Docherty, 1992). In Scotland, people with even some knowledge of Gaelic are now more inclined to exaggerate it rather than conceal it, as it became part of the national heritage. However, the same attitude cannot be applied to Scots, which is not perceived in a positive way. As the authors explain Scots is stigmatised as bad English or just insolence, and giving a whole speech, or a lecture, in Scots would be regarded as ignorant or cranky. Its use in school is highly discouraged and despite the fact a Scots accent when speaking English is acceptable, the same reasoning does not apply to the use of Scots grammar nor vocabulary.

National, and linguistic, minorities often take great encouragement from the success of other minorities elsewhere, as it is the case between Scotland and Catalonia. Despite of this attitude, it is important to keep in consideration the fact that special factors are typical of each single case and generalisations are hard to be
made. Comparisons of the other hand are useful to enlighten some key elements of the various movements.

The authors underline three aspects which differ from the two cases. The first difference is from an economic perspective, as Catalonia is considered as a pole of attraction because of its status of economic and business hub. The same considerations do not apply to Scotland, which is suffering from depopulation because of the number of Scottish citizens who emigrate abroad, or within UK but outside of Scotland, because of work or other factors.

The second difference is more political. Catalonia is more autonomous and better organized than Scotland, and this can only simplify the implementation of regional policies. Catalonia’s level of self-government is more embedded in the society and the regional government, the Generalitat, has been pursuing a large number of policies that help developing more self-government. Given the fact this trend started much before than in Scotland, Catalonia is enjoying part of the profits of its long term policies.

The third point touches linguistic aspects. The current status of Catalan language in Catalonia is tightly associated to Catalan identity and its use is highly promoted by the Generalitat. Catalan can be virtually used in every aspect of life, spacing from education to more legal and bureaucratic areas. Scottish Gaelic is undoubtedly part of Scottish heritage and an important characteristic of Scottish separatism, but its daily use and institutionalisation is far from being efficiently implemented.

**Recent Debates and Media Coverage – 4.2.3**
Still, the debates over Scotland’s separatism are all over the media, and some articles be now discussed. Elliot Bulmer\textsuperscript{18} comments on how the Scottish referendum of independence is more about popular sovereignty rather that personal identity. He criticises the emphasis posed on identity and he counterattacks explaining how most Scots identify as British and Scottish, and the coming referendum is not a choice between these identities as an independent Scotland would still, from a cultural and geographical perspective, be British. What is at stake is not identity per se, but rather the type of democracy, either codified in the principle of popular sovereignty or in parliamentary sovereignty. He argues that central government offers only a territorial compromise which is based on an unreformed electoral system and House of Lords, crown prerogatives, and repeal of the Human Rights Act.

On the other hand the Scottish government is offering a real constitution that will establish an independent democracy fit for the 21\textsuperscript{st} century\textsuperscript{19}. Alex Salmond, the Scottish leader, has set Sept. 18, 2014, as the official date for an independence referendum that could radically alter the shape of the United Kingdom\textsuperscript{20}. Needless to say, there is a lot of media supporting or rejecting the referendum that are widely available. The Scottish government has provided its citizens with a specific webpage\textsuperscript{21} rich with information regarding the upcoming referendum, but it is

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{Bulmer} Bulmer, Elliot. “The Scottish referendum is about popular sovereignty, not identity”. The Guardian. Last retrieved on April 6\textsuperscript{th} 2013 from http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2013/mar/31/scotland-referendum-sovereignty-identity-bogdanor
\bibitem{Ibid} Ibid.
\bibitem{HuffPost} “Scotland Independence Vote: Referendum Date Set For Sept. 18, 2014”, The Huffington Post. Last retrieved on April 7\textsuperscript{th} 2013 from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/03/21/scotland-independence-vote-referendum-date_n_2924557.html
\bibitem{Official} Official Site of the Referendum sponsored by the Scottish Government. Last retrieved on April 7\textsuperscript{th} 2013 from http://www.scotreferendum.com/
\end{thebibliography}
possible to find a lot of unofficial pages, both on private websites as well as in networking media, both pro and against the secession.

Prime Minister Cameron’s declarations are, of course, against the separation of Scotland. It would be rather unexpected to hear anything different from the representative of the country from which Scotland would separate. Despite of this obvious attitude towards the separation, Cameron’s attitude towards the issue is by far different than the Spanish’s policy to the Catalan separatism. Cameron do not classify the possible separation of Scotland as something impossible and somehow illegal, but on the contrary he has no problems in stating how Scotland could surely stand on its own and become a separate nation. His way of tackling the problem is whether or not, Scotland would be better off inside of the United Kingdom. Cameron stated how Scotland within the UK already has a system of government that offers the best of both worlds so he does not see the gain in swapping the Scottish MPs, Scottish cabinet ministers and Scots throughout UK institutions, for one Scottish ambassador in London, as he puts it. He also criticises the fact that those who seek independence already discussed a separation transition plan, and even proposed a tentative date for this in 2016, in case the referendum were to be successful. Cameron argued that this final transition should not be discussed until all the facts have been aired.

In conclusion, Giles Tremlett commented on the growing affinity between the Catalan and the Scottish national movements, how Europe is facing an unprecedented attempt by two regions to separate from their countries in order to

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22 Pro Separation webpage. Last retrieved on April 7th 2013 from [http://www.yesscotland.net/](http://www.yesscotland.net/)
23 Facebook page against the secession. Last retrieved on April 7th 2013 from [https://www.facebook.com/BritishUnity](https://www.facebook.com/BritishUnity)
24 “Scottish Independence Referendum: Cameron Insists ‘Scotland Better Off In Britain’ “. The Huffington Post UK. Last retrieved on April 7th from [http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/02/10/scottish-independence-cameron-referendum_n_2655567.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2013/02/10/scottish-independence-cameron-referendum_n_2655567.html)
become new states in 2014. It is interesting to notice how both movements chose the
same year to have their referendums on independence. The domino effect can be felt
already as Iñigo Urkullu, regional prime minister of the Basque Country, will also
need the support of the separatist in order to assure a stable political coalition and he
is surely expected to keep in consideration the events in Catalonia and Scotland
before deciding whether to push for independence.\footnote{Tremlett, Giles. “Catalonia joins Scotland in push for 2014 independence vote”. The Guardian. Last retrieved on April 7th 2013 from \url{http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/dec/13/catalonia-independence-2014}}.

**Trieste – 4.3**

The last study case presented is very different from the previous ones and will
deal with the city, and the annexed territories, of Trieste, located in the northeast of
Italy in proximity to the border with Slovenia. The section will tackle the historical
past of Trieste, as well as the legal issues regarding its creation and its present status.
It then discusses some of the modern problems and happenings at the present time
which concern the pursuit of greater autonomy, broadly defined.

In order to draw a continuum between the theoretical chapter and the case
study of Trieste, it is important to point out how, despite the structural differences of
this movement, Trieste presents historical and legal claims to its independence, as
well as economic interests. The difference between this case and the previous one is
represented by the different importance given to one characteristic or another. In
Catalonia and Scotland the historical claims is one of the variables taken into
consideration and although it plays an important role, other variables are also
important. In the case of Trieste the historical, and more specifically legal, claims
fulfil the most important role and are crucial to understanding the case study.
These differences cause the Trieste case to move away from the previous ones, but only to a certain extent. Because of this difference, this case was chosen to be presented more in-depth in order to show how cases which place emphasis on different variables can be grouped together for the purpose of this research.

Hints of the History of Trieste – 4.3.1

Before engaging in the legal status of Trieste, however, it is worth present a brief historical introduction to the city. Trieste was one of the oldest parts of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1382 until 1918. During the XIX century, it was one of the most important harbours of one of the Great Powers of Europe: hence Trieste easily became the fourth largest city of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. At the end of the century it emerged as an important hub for literature and music and it had a diversified population in terms of different nationalities. It is worth underlining how in those times the city expands in population and large insurance and shipping companies began to appear opening shipyards and factories.

This migration gave rise to a multi-ethnic community unseen in the rest of Europe. Numerous religions and corresponding places of worship were welcomed to the area. Trieste became an important port and trade hub in the XVII and XVIII centuries when Emperor Charles VI declared the city a duty and tax-free port. The reign of his successor, Maria Theresa of Austria, inaugurated the beginning of a flourishing era. The construction of a deeper port made Trieste the only sea port of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and this fact led to the influx of merchants from all over the Mediterranean and the surroundings regions. Another important factor must be taken in consideration: Maria Teresa’s policy of religious tolerance allowed the

different religious communities to practice openly and live together while practicing
their own faith. Unger (1947) explains how Trieste’s economic position is highly
dependent on the free movements of goods in world trade. He also draws attention
on how any possible trend towards nationalism, that would diminish Trieste’s
international and multicultural character, cannot but decrease its economy. In
addition to this he stresses the natural economic advantages of Trieste represented by
its geographical position as a gateway to Europe. If amicable political conditions
were to be present, Unger stresses how the level of free trade could be restored to the
conditions precedent to the World War, so that citizens of the territory of Trieste
could benefit from their position and enjoy good standards of living.

The city’s history did include periods of unpleasantness, however. The city
was occupied by French troops three times during the Napoleonic Wars, respectively
in 1787, 1805 and 1809. In the latter occasion Napoleon annexed the city to the
Illyrian Provinces. During this period Trieste lost its autonomy and the status of free
port was interrupted. Following the Napoleonic Wars, Trieste returned to the
Austrian Empire in 1813 and continued to prosper as the "Imperial Free City of
Trieste" (Reichsunmittelbare Stadt Triest). It became the capital of the Austrian
Littoral region, the so-called "Kustenland". The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869
brought the city closer to the Indies and the Far East and this fact was extremely
positive for the commerce and the development of economic and cultural activities.
The modern Austro-Hungarian navy used Trieste as a military base as well as for its
shipbuilding sites. The construction of the first major trunk railway in the Empire,
the Vienna-Trieste Austrian Southern Railway, was completed in 1857, and was a
valuable asset for trade and the supply of coal. However, the collapse of the Austro-
Hungarian Empire and Trieste's union to Italy after World War I led to some decline of its "Mittel-European" cultural and commercial importance.

This brief excursus through Trieste’s history shows how the city constituted an area famous for its multiculturalism, and which made great use of its location. Trieste always benefitted from a high degree on autonomy, and made of the port revenues one of its most economic and social incomes. Despite of its past, Trieste at the present time does not enjoy the same level of autonomy it used to have.

Legal aspects related to the creation of Trieste and to its current state – 4.3.2

In order to understand the issue regarding Trieste, it is important to analyse the treaties related to the creation and subsequent modifications of the territory of Trieste, in addition to the history described above.

The Security Council, with Resolution N°16 of the United Nations, stated the approval of the statute of the Free Territory of Trieste emphasizing its approval of three documents: the Instrument for the Provisional Regime of the Free Territory of Trieste; the Permanent Statute for the Free Territory of Trieste; and the Instrument for the Free Port of Trieste. The Treaty of Peace with Italy in 1947 carefully defined and delimitated the boundaries between the new state and its neighbour countries: 27 Italy and the former Republic of Yugoslavia (the present day Slovenia and Croatia) 28 . In doing so it stated the termination of the sovereignty of both countries in favour of the Free Territories and it bounded the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the new State with the United Nation. Resolution N°16 of the United Nation certifies how the Permanent Statute for the Free Territory of Trieste became the most important document used to define and shape the new territory and

27 Treaty of Peace with Italy (February, 10th 1947), Section I, Article 1 – 2 – 3 – 4 – 11 – 22.
28 Treaty of Peace with Italy (February, 10th 1947), Section III, Article 21 – 22.
it contains very specific instructions regarding all different matters related to the territory—from economic to civic issues.

As previously mentioned, this study case is different from the others as it can be regarded more of an institutional failure of autonomy or secession in its realisation. In other words Trieste potentially possesses a set of laws and a statute that would allow the territories to be independent, but these laws do not match with reality. While the two previous study cases revolve around political forces trying to obtain more self-government, through the creation of laws and the implementation of their legal rights, Trieste’s case is exactly the opposite. The set of laws are already present but not applied, hence the push is for the application of international law, rather than the creation of new norms. At the present time the vast majority of the provisions and decisions enumerated throughout the whole Statute had never been efficiently ratified and that the present status of Trieste is by far different from how the Statute, as well as the Treaty, aimed to be. The subsequent historical events, as well as the treaties that followed, pushed Trieste in its current state. Why this is so is explained next.

A Memorandum of Understanding was signed in London on October 5, 1954 by the United Kingdom, United States, the Former State of Yugoslavia, and Italy. It is important to acknowledge at first that the quoted above Memorandum cannot be regarded as an international treaty but a simple Letter of Intent signed by the four nations mentioned, given the fact that the Memorandum was communicated and recorded by the United Nation on 25 April 1956 but it was never ratified nor approved by the Security Council. The Committee of the Free Territory of Trieste argued that the Memorandum was an attempt in trying to nullify the 16th Resolution

29 Official Internet Site of the Free Committee of the Free Territory of Trieste. Last retrieved May 27th from http://www.triestfreeport.org/
emanated by the Security Council of the United Nations on 10 January 1947 which was voted with 10 nations in favour and one nation abstained. On the basis of International Law an international treaty like the Treaty of Peace with Italy, which was voted and recorded, could be amended or cancelled only with the consent of a majority of States of the United Nations willing modify or abrogate it. In addition to this, a nation recognized by the Security Council of the UN as the Free Territory including the Free Port of Trieste, with Resolution n°16 of the Security Council, and under the constant responsibility of the latter (as defined in the Treaty of Peace or in the Permanent Statute) can not be modified, in any of its parts, neither its sovereignty could be legally put aside permanently of for a specified period of time.

Once again attention is drawn upon the Permanent Statute whose boundaries have the priority on any subsequent modification. According to the Memorandum “The Italian and Yugoslav Governments will forthwith extend their civil administration over the area for which they will have responsibility.” This extension of administration enacted by any state different from the Free Territory can be regarded as an illegal action according to the violation of the Permanent Statute. Another interesting aspect is related to more ethnic matters: the extension of Both of Italy’s and the former State of Yugoslavia’s administrative control over the Free Territory triggered another exodus of population to one area or another, as well as abroad. Purini (2010) describes how the multiethnic Free Territory of Trieste, already oppressed by the ethnic cleansing during the fascist period, experienced a horrible example of violence and impositions such as the prohibition of residents to speak their mother tongue, the Italianization of family names on the one hand and the adaptation to Slavic language on the other. The Memorandum was the first real occupation of the Territory, according to the committee, by Italy and Yugoslavia.
The situation became more intricate during the Cold War since the two countries were on separate sides of the “wall” because of their ideological and political associations.

In addition, it is also worth mentioning the Treaty of Osimo was signed in Osimo, in the province of Ancona (Italy), on November 10, 1975. According to the Committee of the Free Port of Trieste this Treaty can be considered fundamentally based upon the Memorandum of Understanding of 1954 and constituted an attempt by Yugoslavia and Italy to extend their control of the Free Territory by incrementing their influence on the Territory. The same reasoning applied to the Memorandum of Understanding works smilingly for this aspect. Italy and Yugoslavia could legally modify the boundaries between them (a case could be the city of Gorizia); since they are legally allowed to do that on the basis of a bilateral agreement; but this situation does not apply in the case of the modification of the boundaries of another nation. Given the fact that the Free Territory is neither Italy nor Yugoslavia, in order to take possession of this territory, and then there would have been the need of a proposal to the UN Security Council. This is due to the fact that the Free Territory of Trieste and the Free Port of Trieste are recognized by the United Nations\(^{30}\), and also because the Security Council itself vouches for the territorial integrity, neutrality and demilitarization of this confederation of two States.\(^{31}\)

The situation at the present day has not improved. The vast majority, if not the totality, of the provisions and peculiar characteristics granted to the Free Territory by International law have not been implemented and are active at the present day. Anybody who is just visiting Trieste could easily notice that the Free Territory does not possess an independent currency for example, or no citizen of the Free Territory

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\(^{30}\) Resolution N°16 of the UN Security Council on 10\(^{th}\) January 1947.

\(^{31}\) Peace Treaty with Italy, art. 21, and Permanent Statute of the FTT, Annex VI, articles 1 to 3.
is entitled of any passport different from the Italian, the Slovenian or the Croatian one, according to one’s rights. This is because Trieste, at the present time, is a province of Italy, part of the region of Friuli Venezia Giulia\(^{32}\), one of Italy’s twenty counties.

**Recent Debates and Media Coverage – 4.3.3**

*Trieste Libera* is the most active group who claims the UN resolution regarding Trieste to be respected, ratified and implemented. The movement harshly criticises the fact that Trieste is now included in the territories of Italy, hence under its political, economic and legal jurisdiction. Furthermore the movement does not recognise Italian political elections valid in the territory of Trieste and incites people to refuse the electoral cards, by stating how they do not recognise the sovereignty of Italy over Trieste. In addition to this the movement focuses on all aspects regarding the abuse of the port of Trieste by Italian Authorities.

One of the main issues at the present time is the administration of the port of Trieste. The Committee of the Free Port of Trieste, as well as Greenaction Transnational\(^{33}\), condemns and denounces the present status of the Free Port of Trieste and the continuous attempts of the Italian Government, as well as all its administrative bodies, to illegally suspend the sovereignty of the Free Territory. The dispute between the two parties, respectively the Free Territory and the Italian Government, revolves around the suspension of the free trade zone and the possibility of allowing the construction of residential and commercial buildings in the Free Territory. The Greenaction Transnational evaluated this possible series of


\(^{33}\) Giurastante, Roberto. *Trieste: un Porto Internazionale sotto assedio Italiano.*
investments as much as 2 billions of euro and a lot of interests of private and public actors. However the Free Territory cannot be subjected to the judgement of foreign entities (Italy in this case), and in addition to this all the proceeds granted by the Free Port should not be administrated by the Italian Government but, much to the contrary, should be reinvested in the area of the Free Territory.

The first of many cases that can be analyzed is the recent suspension of the Free zone in the Porto Vecchio (Old Port) to allow the art exhibition “Biennale diffusa” to take place. The suspension took place between the 20 June 2011 until 30 November 2011. The Commissioner of the Government Alessandro Giacchetti signed the act to that effect. The Committee underlined how it is important to notice that the Instrument for the FPT (Annex VIII) doesn’t contain any article forbidding either art exhibitions or access to the international territory, hence this illegal suspension by the Italian Government can be regarded as a mere excuse to compromise the sovereignty of the Free Port. The entrance of visitors in the Free Port had been a violation of the article 11 of the Annex VIII Instrument for the FPT because the people visiting an art exhibition were not “engaged in any legitimate pursuit in the Free Port area”. However, the Committee commented that it would had been enough for visitors to get a temporary pass at the entrance to the FPT that allows them to see the art exhibition for one day, hence there was no need to suspend the sovereignty of the Free Port. More specifically the suspension violates article 2 of the Annex VIII since it violates the concept of territorial sovereignty of the Free Port considering that it must function “in accordance with the provisions of this Instrument”. In addition to this, Italy took back possession of the infrastructures (because of the art exhibition) which have been passed to the Free Territory, and consequently to the Free Port, so this is a serious violation of the Peace Treaty with
Italy, ratified by Italy on 15 September 1947. Furthermore The Italian act of suspension of the Instrument for the FPT is de facto an illegal appropriation of the international territory of the Free Territory, since it practically confiscates the port boundaries as they were in 1939 and establishes an area under Italian jurisdiction within the statutory boundaries of the Free Territory, according to the Committee for the Free Port.

This episode\textsuperscript{34} can be regarded as one of the many possible trends followed by the major Italian Institutions about matters related to the Free Port. Paolo G. Parovel denounced the situation with his articles on the newspaper, \textit{La Voce di Trieste}, emphasizing the relationship between interests and high powers of the Italian Government, through its institutions in the area. This state of things is extremely detrimental to the citizens of the Free Territory whose rights are constantly denied.

There are several legal proceedings regarding the state of things and the continuous violation of the law. One that was particular successful was the judicial inquiry related to the public exposure presented by the A.L.I. (Associazione Libera Informazione), a cultural association based in Trieste which deals with the freedom of information, to the pertinent institutions. The inquiry was divided into two bills of instrument: the first one summed up and denounced the numerous illegalities that have been put in act in the Free Territory. Despite of the accuracy of the document the commissioner of the government stated that he could not express any legal consideration on the topic since there was a problem of jurisdiction: according to him the issue fell into ministerial jurisdiction. The second bill of instrument was a short transmission document to the public prosecutor’s office regarding the accusation of collusion by many organs and institution of the area of Trieste. In addition to this an

\textsuperscript{34} Parovel, G. Paolo. \textit{Porto Franco Trieste: i testi dell’inchiesta-denuncia a Prefetto e Commissario del Governo ed alle Procure.}
appeal has been submitted to the competent authorities by Crismani Group regarding the denial of the renewal of their work contract without a solid and documented motivation. All the proceedings quoted above are consistent with the recent verdicts of the legal court of Trieste and of the Tribunale Amministrativo Regionale (Regional Administrative Court) of the Region Lazio in stating that the Free Port can only be intended as an International Free Trade Zone, hence it is not possible to construct any building whose final purpose is different from that, and that this characteristic is an inviolable and exclusive of the Free Port according to the international role adopted by Italy with the Treaty of 1954 and 1975. As previously discussed these treaties are considered null and void by the Free Committee; however the proceedings discussed above have been emanated by Italian institutions that recognize the two Treaties. Parovel draws connections between these illegalities related to a case of property speculation and to a case of cover-up by the different authorities that should analyze the facts and condemn the speculation.

It is important to note a crucial difference between Trieste’s movements and Catalonia’s or Scotland’s. The opposition in the last two cases is represented by the regional government, as well as regional political parties, against the central government. This cannot be the case in Trieste, as the regional government is part of Italy, hence the opposition is formed mostly by NGOs and intellectuals. The most important movements is represented by Trieste Libera. This movement represents as the main actor in pursuing the interest of the territory of Trieste and stands as the promoter of the secession and it can be regarded as an umbrella that welcomes supporters from very different areas. It is also interesting to mention that Trieste

35 Parovel, G. Paolo. *Perché il “riuso del porto vecchio” di Trieste è invece una colossale truffa immobiliare guidata da una ‘cupola’ politico-speculativa.*

36 Official Site of the Movement Trieste Libera. Last retrieved May 11th 2013 from http://triestelibera.org/it/
Libera is proud to define itself as an apolitical movement that will not take part in regional elections, because they do not recognise any election coming from Italy as legal, given the fact that there is a problem of disputed sovereignty over the territory.

The case of Trieste stands different than Catalonia and Scotland, but it is interesting to see how the variety of cases are part of a very broad spectrum and different historical and social causes can push for a desire of more self-government.

This fourth chapter discussed three case studies that show how the new wave or regionalism is effecting modern politics. The cases, in their respective different countries, are compared in the measure in which the possible solutions of their issues represent serious challenges to their respective governments.

The next chapter will wrap up the discussion by presenting some considerations about the findings on the similarities, and differences, between the political parties and movements that are part of the modern political arena.
CHAPTER FIVE
Final Discussion and Conclusions

Before getting into the core of chapter V, it is best to briefly summarise what has been discussed in the previous chapters. The first chapter introduced the arguments and the research questions regarding autonomy and secessionist movements, and it also presented information on how the data considered for this thesis have been gathered, studied and analysed. The second chapter focussed on the academic work that already has been done on the topic, by tackling each of the characteristics that were researched and studied within the separatist political parties and movements. Regionalism, ethnicity, regional nationalism, minority languages and regional economies are some of the topics that are discussed in chapter two. Chapter three provided the reader with a quick overview of the regional movements that are part of the European political panorama, specifying the parameters used to create the chart presented in the chapter. The fourth chapter discusses three study cases taken from the chart: two of them, Catalonia and Scotland, can be regarded as exemplar cases while the third, Trieste, represents a case that stands out from the norm.

This last chapter will try to analyse and discuss the data collected, while trying to emphasise aspects of interest for the purpose of this research. The chapter will present a series of considerations that, for a matter of classifications, could be grouped according to the main issues they deal with. The first group will tackle geographical and geomorphologic characteristics; the second group will deal with the role of language in defining regional nationalism and backing up regional movements; the following part will focus on the importance of the relationship between the modern movements and history; the fourth part will engage the crucial
issues of economics, and the last group will include an example of how the lack of the previous characteristics listed above can be used to exclude other potential secessionist regions because of the lack of specific features.

The research questions introduced in the first chapter seek to find common characteristics among the different secessionist movements present within Europe. The theoretical chapter presented some general characteristics that are somehow present, in different degrees and details, in all the movements and some of these will be discussed according to the data gathered in chapter three.

The first factor to be discussed concerns the impact that geographic and geomorphologic characteristics have on the movements. Despite the fact that one could be persuaded to think that all the aspects revolving around secessionist movements are artificial and social, it is important not to forget that natural environment and location do play a role. By the term geographical characteristic I refer to both natural boundaries and location, as well as to the artificial boundaries of the different countries.

As a general observation, it is possible to notice how distance and isolation seem to trigger a higher need for self-government. Being isolated or far from the centre of political and economic power presents several extra costs and difficulties which complicate the relationship between centre and periphery. Especially in those cases when the territory of a country is extensively stretched between different world zones, the various regions will have different needs from each other and because of this they have the necessity of specific policies to tackle their problems. If the central government does not recognize nor invest in sustainable solutions for the problems its periphery, it will be likely to foment autonomous and secessionist desires.
Hechter (1992) states how regions that have unique economic specialisations and cultural compositions possess higher chances to develop secessionist movements, and when both of these variables are present at the same time the chances increase exponentially. Geography does play a role in granting specific natural resources to some areas and not to others: an island will gain access to the sea, to maritime commerce and perhaps to tourism. At the same time it is possible to say that territories that are isolated or far from the central government will likely to have distinct cultural traits as well.

These considerations become even more noticeable when dealing with islands and very isolated territories. It is possible to notice that a lot of the movements contained in the chart are located in very isolated locations and islands, both in the Mediterranean Sea (Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, Balearic Islands) as well as in the Atlantic Ocean and Baltic Sea (Faeroe Islands, Greenland, Aland Islands, Canary Islands, Madeira and Azores).

Other interesting observations can be made about the fact that a lot of areas with more autonomy or with secessionist movements are placed along the borders of a country. Historical modification of borders tend to be characterised by divisions that do not keep in consideration the population that lives in the areas adjacent to the borders, this causes discontent and can result in regional divisions. Modifications of borders happen for a variety of reasons that encompass historical events and treaties between countries, but despite the fact that such process is common to all countries, not only located in Europe, some cases are more unfortunate than others. Given the fact that not all the countries are characterised by separatist movements along their borders, each single case possesses unique characteristics that must be treated separately. There are cases in which the modification of borders has been successful
and kept in consideration the demographics on the areas interested, and in these cases the adjustment to the new borders was rather painless.

It is possible to present some examples. In Belgium there is a small German-speaking community 37 whose rights are recognised by the Belgian constitution, located in the areas right adjacent to the border with Germany, and their population is about 75 000 individuals. The German-speaking Community is a politically independent entity, a small state within the Belgian federal system and German is its administrative, legal and educational language. In Italy, all the five counties (Italy has twenty) that possess a certain amount of autonomy, the so called Regioni a Statuto Speciale (Counties with a Special Statute) are located on the borders or they are islands. What it is even more interesting is that all these counties have movements that ask for more self-government and in some cases even secession from the Italian state. Other good examples could be also represented by the small islands under the British government: the Isle of Man and the Isle of Wight. Despite their small populations, both of the islands enjoy a high degree of autonomy, and possess political parties that are defending the current amount of self-government and somehow pushing for more local autonomy.

In other cases, political borders are not taken in consideration when defining political movements, as in the case of the Basque Country, whose political parties and representatives are present on both sides of the Pyrenees, respectively in Spain and France.

The same reasoning applies for the Sami movement, located all across north Scandinavia and the neighbouring area of Russia. Given the fact the Sami can be considered as a stateless nation, each of the communities are bound to the law of the

single state in which they reside, hence the regulations are not homogeneous across the different states.

The second important aspect that cannot be ignored is language’s role in the separatist movements. As previously discussed, language policies are part of the political agenda of these movements, regardless of the nature of the language itself that is to be pushed in order to build up more national consciousness. This discourse applies to both minority languages, both those that are not recognised within the country in which they are spoken or those whose use have not been institutionalised nor implemented.

As a matter of fact, the vast majority of the movements listed invest time and efforts in shaping language policies whose purpose is to recognise and implement the use of the minority language they claim, or to improve and maximise the resonance that an already recognised language has within the state, or at least within their region. There are many examples that could be briefly discussed.

In Belgium the division between the French-speaking and the Flemish-speaking community is rather strict, excluding the case of Brussels, and as far as linguistic policies are concerned, the two provinces act like two different entities, each defending and promoting its language. Belgium is also a clear example that language has a role in defining communities and movements since, as previously discussed, the German-speaking Community located along the border with Germany is structured and named according to their linguistic differences towards the majority of Belgian citizens. Similar considerations apply to the Swedish speaking minorities of Finland, located in the Åland Islands, and the Hungarian speaking communities of Romania.
In other cases, such as in the UK, the minority languages are officially recognised in most of the secessionist and autonomous regions, such as Scotland and Wales, but its implementation is not well structured and institutionalised as the dominant language is. This is why most of the nationalist movements in those regions always mention the language issue in order to promote the national regional culture while gathering more popular consensus. As previously mentioned in the case of Scotland, Scottish Gaelic has its official status but in daily life, English language acts as means of communication in virtually all possible situations. Despite of this, the separatist movement pushes for a major use of Gaelic and a higher degree of institutionalisation that will both mark a stricter separation between Scotland and the rest of UK, and will grow importance in shaping and defining what the Scottish Nation is willing to become.

The institutionalisation of the language seems to be a key goal to national regional movements, hence institutionalisation oriented policies are extremely common and can vary in intensity and strategy according to the responses from the central government to which they are addressed to. Despite the crucial role they conduct in the cultural sector, their institutionalisation is probably the most desirable step towards a more official use of the language. Very successful policies were carried out in Catalonia and the tendency to provide more official and institutional grounds for the language to perfuse all aspects on daily life seem to be working by incrementing its use and number of active speakers.

This discourse applies to both minority and official languages as there are cases in which regions of a country are characterised by a large number of speakers of a non official language in a specific area. This is the standard case with minority languages but there are other numerous cases in which it is not so.
A good example could be the region of Trentino Alto Adige\textsuperscript{38} in Italy, adjacent to Austria, which is commonly divided in two sub-regions, Trentino and Südtirol. The whole region is one of the five autonomous regions of Italy and the latter is famous for being more Austrian than Italian if considering the policies that apply in the area. Speaking the German language in Südtirol is essential for education, business and everyday life purposes and the national movements in that region always push for the use of German language in every aspect of life of their citizens. Some of the most extreme political parties opt for a secession of the northern region, Südtirol, with a subsequent union with Austria.

A similar case can be found in Finland, more specifically in the Åland Islands\textsuperscript{39}, an archipelago of islands part of the Finnish State but inhabited by Swedish speakers and whose official language is Swedish in all matters regarding public administration, education and bureaucracy. Even in this case the importance of the language is crucial to figure out the current situation of the Åland Islands, as strong historical claims are supported with the fact that the inhabitants on the islands speak Swedish and require self-government because of their different needs in contrast of the rest of the country. Identity issues are well represented here by the equation that links together Swedish language and Swedish identity: a lot of claims made by the separatist parties in the Islands are based on the fact that their inhabitants are Swedish and not Finnish, fact highly reinforced by the diffusion and implementation of Swedish language in the islands. This is not the only reason, as some may argue, but it surely is central and crucial in the debate.

\textsuperscript{38} Official Site of the Autonomous Region of Trentino Alto Adige. Last retrieved April 12th from http://www.regione.taa.it/
\textsuperscript{39} Official Site of the Aland Islands. Last retrieved April 12th from http://www.aland.ax/
The third aspect deal with are historical grounds. History is often used by national movements to add weight to their political agenda and in order to assure more authenticity to their claims. Historical characteristics of a specific region play an important role in the definition and shape of how the movement will assert its aims and goals and they encompass different types of happenings. The relationship between the central government, or former states, and the region of belonging is always important in providing a common ground for discussion and negotiations. When the region possess a certain amount of autonomy during its history, then it will be more likely that possible negotiations will occur with the central government and solutions to potential issues will be found in a pacific and constructive way.

On the other hand, in the unlucky event in which relations between the region and the central government are unfriendly, if not hostile, secession may take place in pacific and, more commonly, aggressive terms. Once again it is important to remember that each case must be taken into analysis, but it is possible to generalise by saying that the history of relations of a region, in which a national regional movement is located and rooted, and its central government influence the separatist movement itself. This influence can be seen in radical aspects, or it can regards specific characteristics, but regardless of which of the two, a long past of repression or denial of the autonomous claims of a region is likely to cause relation problems in the future. When dealing with specific regional national movements, it is always important to understand on which historical grounds they are basing their claims on.

Historical claims over a region also have a connection with nationalism. A lot of national regional movements claim rights over a specific region because their ancestors have historically inhabited that specific land for a considerable period of time. Many of the separatist movements place upon heritage and historical residence
over the region the claims that because a specific area was inhabited by generations, also at the present day some people have more right than others to decide about the future of that region. The fact that, for instance, the official national hymn of Wales is called old land of my fathers (Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau) is one of many examples of how modern nationalism draws from the Romantic tradition of passing the land to one’s children. Despite how this way of thinking could be regarded as irrational and over sentimental, it is still largely accepted and implied in the common culture and in the political arena. More problems arise when a specific region were inhabited by different peoples through time, especially when the transitions from one to another were bellicose or dictated by wars and colonisation. It is also important to notice that this attachment to the heritage of a specific land, or country, is not exclusive of regional movements, but it is accepted also by many countries which are internationally recognised.

Lindeman (1941) discusses some of the motivations to regionalism and he relates it as a reaction to the increasing phenomenon of standardisation. He points out how this term is acquiring the connotation of uniformity, rather than unity, and how this ongoing process is perceived as negative by those individuals whose identities are imbedded in a regional culture. His discourse is related to the importance of historical roots of regionalism, since he discusses how the progressive loss in tradition is a peculiar characteristics present in many cases of regionalism. Tradition here is regarded as the intangible heritage transmitted through persons by means of shared experience and it stands as a form of historical ground on which regionalist claims are based on. From this perspective, regionalism can be regarded as a positive response to the dangers of uniformity, because it implies a wider and more functional participation of the individual.
A fourth important aspect discussed within separatist movements is economic characteristics. Some argued that economic issues are the real triggering reason for the demand of secession, while others may place more importance on the cultural/linguistic factors. Regardless of which of these characteristics better applies to single cases, the administration of taxes and fees is always a debated issue.

Despite of a high degree of autonomy, when it comes to matters of taxation and more specifically of investments and funding of public projects, tensions with the central government inflame the debate over the control of the revenues. In most cases, the economic independence from the central government is the last portion of sovereignty (not) granted to autonomous region, and usually with a lot of limitations.

Another variable is represented by the level of wealth of the region which is claiming more economic self-government. If the region that is seeking to expand its control over its territory is rather rich and wealthy and possesses resources or developed industry, then a total secession would allow a better allocation of the taxes. Catalonia would be a good example of this case, as it is one of the richest regions of Spain and Catalan nationals claim that a lot of investment in the public sector in various fields is not being processed by the central government because a lot of the taxes that comes from Catalonia are reinvested in other regions of Spain. Regardless of how correct a complain of this type would be, as a lot criticise the fact that it is normal for richer regions to aid poorer regions, this is used by the separatist movement to enlighten the importance of a possible economic independence. An independent Catalonia would have the total freedom to reinvest its taxes in whichever project they wish to.

Does the same discourse apply to not so rich regions? Perhaps yes, but with some structural differences. Each case should be examined singularly although some
generalisations are possible. Regions that seek more self-government, and that can be regarded as under developed if compared to the average of a country, sometimes claim the central government guilty of the state of things. As previously discussed, a lot of the secessionist movements claim independence on the base that their territory have different needs, dictated by geography or the nature of resources present in the area. When a country chooses to make investment on a specific sector, which may be correct for most of its territories, but to some others it is highly inefficient, then those regions will become more and more undeveloped if compared to the rest. This creates a vicious circle where the poorer areas will get worse because of the decreasing investments dictated by the fact that those areas are not enough developed to attract investors.

Another interesting fact is that the data shows how even a relatively small group of individuals, regardless of their proportion with the entire population of the country they reside in, can constitute a separatist movement or, in some cases, even a region. It is often the case that such movements are accused by central governments to constitute a very small part of the population, hence their scarce number makes them ignorable. Empirical data shows that, in more than one case, even very small regions are home for separatist movements. This of course does not mean that the total population of the area is pro-separation, but it still gives an idea of how numbers alone hardly ever constitute a good criterion.

Many of the cases reported in the chart of chapter three, are constituted by a very small part of population. The German Speaking Community of Belgium is about 75 000 people; Corsica (France) has about 260 000 individuals;\textsuperscript{40} the Isle of

\textsuperscript{40}Institut National de la Statistique et des études économiques. Last Retrieved April 12\textsuperscript{th} from http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg_id=6&ref_id=popt02501
Wight’s (UK) population is about 135,000;\textsuperscript{41} and Valle d’Aosta (Italy) has about 128,000 residents.\textsuperscript{42} Many other examples could be possible, but these are enough to give an idea of how sometimes the populations of regions who hosts separatist and nationalist movements can be quite small, if compared with the rest of the country they are inserted in.

The characteristics discussed above can also be used to define what does not enter the categorization scheme that has been proposed in this research. As previously explained, defining what a separatist movement is constituted of can be done through the analysis of what specifics characteristics they possess, hence movements that do not fit with the model proposed in this analysis would not be considered as separatist movements, or as movements seeking more autonomy or self-government. Same reasoning applies to regions: a lot of areas listed on chapter three, were inserted in the chart because they abide to similar characteristics that were found on a variety of empirical movements. Once again it is important to remark that the chart in chapter three, and the analysis of the movements itself is not something that should be taken literally but it rather is more of a general guideline that highlight similar characteristics among political entities and organizations.

Unfortunately there is not enough time to deepen each of the single element listed on the chart, despite the fact each of them possess specific peculiarities that distinguishes it from the others.

A good example is represented by the \textit{Lega Nord} movement located in the North of Italy which I would not define nor as a separatist movement nor as a

\textsuperscript{41} Isle of Wight population figures by area. Last retrieved April 12\textsuperscript{th} from \url{http://www.wightonline.co.uk/islandinfo/population.html}

\textsuperscript{42} "Plurilinguisme administratif et scolaire en Vallée d’Aoste" in Rapport régional "Profil de la politique linguistique éducative", Assessorat à l’Éducation et à la Culture du Département Surintendance aux Études de la Région Vallée d’Aoste, Aoste, février 2007
regional national movement, despite its presence in the chart. The Lega Nord movement defines itself as a secessionist movement whose main interests and concerns are the northern part of Italy itself, as opposed to central and southern Italy. Although its characteristics do not match with the ones discussed above, or they match only partially, the movement does have a huge impact on Italian politics and ignoring it would be like missing a puzzle from the Italian political panorama. To get more specific about why the political movement does not fit the characteristics discussed above, it is necessary to understand its claims and key points. La Lega Nord claims an area called Padania, which is rather a geographical area than a historical one. Padania defines the area located between the rivers Po’ and the Alps, which encompasses all the different regions in the area. The first thing to be noted is the lack of a historical common heritage, as the entire area described as Padania was never united in a Kingdom but it rather had a divided history between different city states and historical reigns. In addition to this, the definitions of what is defined as Padania (as well as its limits) are somehow vague and controversial. In addition to this, there are differences within the territory itself in terms of languages, and dialects, and single historical roots of the different region. What La Lega Nord is aiming to is more of a federal division of the northern regions of Italy, which would imply a change in the economic and civil administration of those areas. The key point here is that they auspicate this change in the so called Padania area, which they describe as a separate already existing entity, while I consider it rather a combination of some of the regions of North Italy. Despite the legitimacy and feasibility of their project, which is not the aim of the discussion here, their lack of common historical ground and language oriented goals emphasise how it is different from most, if not all, the other movements listed in chapter three. Agnew (1992) developed an
historical analysis of the movement stressing how it shifted from regional separatism to national populism based on the projection of northern political values.

Conclusions – 5.1

The research questions presented in the first chapter aimed to seek possible similarities and common denominators in the very diverse political panorama of separatist and secessionist movements in Europe. The research underlines how the large number of movements and political parties present in Europe can be ideally placed on a continuum of seeking different degrees of self-government, starting from mere autonomy to total secession from the country they reside in. Rather than being one or another, the vast majority of movements lie in the grey area between the two extremes, carrying differences in goals and political views.

These shared characteristics can be categorized as geographical, economic, linguistic, and historical, and are present in the vast majority of movements, even if specifications are necessary for each movement. Despite the differences, it is possible to generalise to a certain degree by paying attention to these different characteristics, to their presence (or absence) and to how they play a role in the single movement analysed.

The timing of the last events is crucial, especially when considering the current state of the movements that is pushing for more autonomy and eventual separation. The case studies of Scotland and Catalonia exemplify how the next years will be important in understanding how far the new wave of regionalism is going, and how the possible future countries will be inserted in a European, but especially a worldly, context.
It is important to keep in consideration that secessionist movements, at one extreme of the spectrum discussed in the research, do not constitute that often and the cases in which such political movements do not succeed in their intents is more probable than a real secession. The research presented how different movements share similar characteristics, and it is important to remember that only movements present within the European Union were taking into account, but many others are present outside of these territories.

Hechter (1992) engages with the topic of secessionism presenting the many difficulties on a real secession. According to the author few regions have structural requirements for the successful development of a secessionist movements, and those that do must be capable of developing a political apparatus capable of overcoming the many problems that arise in its realisation.

This said, the host state is anything but powerless to protect its territorial integrity. There are characteristics that facilitate secession and states are aware of at least some of them. If, for instance, the secessionist region is large and somehow isolated, presenting natural geographic differences; and if the central government has few discretionary resources to provide the necessary incentives; and if constitutional reforms are either difficult to be enacted or regarded as insufficient and useless by the territorial population; then, and only then, the host state will be forced to contemplate according to secessionist demands. Hechter makes clear how the chances to have all these variable occurring at the same time is not likely to happen often, yet not impossible, as empirical cases have been showing.

As a conclusive discussion, it is important to bring attention on the concept of self-determination, which is the legal and ideological basis on which all the movements’ claims presented above are grounded.
According to an article in *The Yale Law Journal* (1980) the doctrine of self-determination has functioned primarily to facilitate the separation of colonial empires and to validate the norm of popular consent in the territory disposition. The article discusses how, historically speaking, the concept of self-determination drastically changed during time, and the concept that it is commonly taken for granted at the present times, and that has been discussed through this research and constitutes legal base for all separatist movements, emerged after the World War II. After World War I, the right of self-determination was granted to nationalities that had previously lacked political form, and it is possible to say that self-determination was intended as a political principle rather than a legal right. Because of this, self-determination was applied only to historically recognised groups which were considered political entities.

This drastically changed after World War II as the principle of self-determination became a fundamental legal right included in the United Nation Charter. According to Article 21 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the will of the people constitutes the basis of government, hence individuals have the right to be governed by whichever entity they consider more appropriate. Self-determination became a concept of group expression and consensual government.

Secessionist demands encounter problems similar to citizen allegiance, boundary demarcation and resource distribution, all faced by previous self-determination claims. The difference lies in the greater focus between change and stability at a more explicit and heretofore unacceptable level (*The Yale Law Journal*, 1980). In addition to the problems discussed above, the self-determination principle clashes with the principle of state sovereignty over a certain territory, and the participation of outside actors further complicates the equation.
Many questions are still open for different interpretations and represent important issues related to the future of the political status quo of the European Union and of the reaction of those secessionist movements that have not bloomed yet. A possible domino effect is auspicious, given the resonance of the happenings in Scotland and Catalonia, yet each region possess different characteristics that could change the final outcome. Regardless of what this outcome will be, it will pose serious challenges to both single countries and to the European Union itself.

Why this new wave of regionalism is taking place in this precise moment in time surely requires further research. This thesis highlighted a number of characteristics but did not want to provide an answer to the timing variable, focussing more on the nature of the movements and on characteristics that are recurrent in this new wave of regionalism.

Another interesting research topic that was not addressed in this research is the role of the European Union in the regional context. Many different scenarios are possible as the European Union could play a rather active role by supporting, or containing, regional claims, but this would rather create clashes with the principle of non-intervention on the single countries regional politics. The position on the EU on this topic is not clear, but future happenings, such as the referendum for independence of Scotland and Catalonia will be likely to force the EU to take a position on the matter, especially on the issue related to the possible joining to the EU of new born states, if the referendum were to be successful.

These unanswered issues, along with many others, are left for future research on the topic, hoping that more importance will be given to the rising topic of regional politics.

Time will unveil what the many regions of Europe are yet to become.
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