

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The first chapter elaborates a brief background of the problem which is started by explaining the beginning of the case on how historical condition in the past and the condition after democratic transition in Spain could trigger the rise of the dispute between Catalonia and Spain. Then it followed by the research question which limits the analysis of the thesis, also literature review which developed the idea of this thesis, then theoretical framework, hypothesis, range of research, method of research, and last is the system of writing which covers the content of the thesis.

#### A. Problem Background

Secession issue is not something new in the scope of international world. This issue has been occurred and influence each other secession movements for a long time. It can be called as a turmoil which recently prevalent found in European countries. Europe becomes one of the continents in the world which is facing several secession issues today. The secession issue which commonly started by the emergence of group movements in European society, that in fact has gained strength over past years. However today, it also supported by forceful parties who encouraging desires of their region's society to be fulfilled.

Etymologically, the term secession comes from Latin word '*secedere*', '*se*' which means 'apart', and '*cedere*' means 'to go'.<sup>1</sup> While in the context of International law and relation, secession defines as "the withdrawal of territory (colonial or non-colonial) from part of existing state, to create a new state".<sup>2</sup> Then it is distinguish from the meaning of irredentism which aims to separate from one existing state in order to join with another existing state. However, secession more likely refers to the will of making a new state by representing defiance towards two fundamental aspects in international law which are sovereignty and territorial integrity of state.<sup>3</sup> Hence, in a negative point of view, secession usually reflected

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<sup>1</sup>Definition of Secession according to Online Etymological Dictionary. Retrieved from <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?search=secession&searchmode=term>

<sup>2</sup>Glen Anderson. '*Secession in International Law and Relation: What Are We Talking About?*', 35 Loy. L.A. Int'l & Comp. L. Rev. 343, 2013. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.lmu.edu/ilr/vol35/iss3/1>

<sup>3</sup>Ibid

as an action which related with rebellion, disorder, and instability which make it opposite to the constitution of the state.

The idea of nation-state in the past showed the changes from old system to modern system. The treaty of Westphalia in 1648 marked the end of the thirty years war among empires in Europe specifically among religions that had been put Europe in chaos. This treaty arose as a way to reach conflict resolution which eventually create the idea of sovereignty and equality. Beside that, there are two points which must be underlined in this treaty. The first point requires “peace among sovereign nations, so every nation can develop itself fully and develop others regarding to its self-interest or mentioned it as a family of nations”.<sup>4</sup>The first point or article here means, that the treaty of Westphalia created the form of nations with each sovereignty to rule and decide everything by themselves, also offered peace among those nations in order to create the new system and construction in Europe. Then the second article in the principle of Westphalia concludes that all the nations have to forget and forgive all the damages that had been through and faced.<sup>5</sup> Here, to create a good balance and to make nations can walk and live side by side, forget and forgive the dark story of the past is really required.

This is the beginning on how the idea of nation-state was formed. Moreover, Westphalia treaty also created changes in some aspects of modern nation which at that time could be seen from the abolished of inconspicuous hierarchical system, form of government, industrial revolution and many others. Yet, this condition was constantly influenced by France who wanted to strengthen the hegemony of

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<sup>4</sup>Pierre Beaudry. *The Economy Policy That Made the Peace of Westphalia*, The Schiller Institute, 2013. Retrieved March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2016 from [http://www.schillerinstitute.org/strategic/treaty\\_of\\_westphalia.html](http://www.schillerinstitute.org/strategic/treaty_of_westphalia.html)

<sup>5</sup>Article II of the principle of Westphalia treaty says “On both sides, all should be forever forgotten and forgiven—what has from the beginning of the unrest, no matter how or where, from one side or the other, happened in terms of hostility—so that neither because of that, nor for any other reason or pretext, should anyone commit, or allow to happen, any hostility, unfriendliness, difficulty, or obstacle in respect to persons, their status, goods, or security itself, or through others, secretly or openly, directly or indirectly, under the pretense of the authority of the law, or by way of violence within the Kingdom, or anywhere outside of it, and any earlier contradictory treaties should not stand against this.” Instead, [the fact that] each and every one, from one side and the other, both before and during the war, committed insults, violent acts, hostilities, damages, and injuries, without regard of persons or outcomes, should be completely put aside, so that everything, whatever one could demand from another under his name, will be forgotten to eternity.” (Pierre Beaudry, 2013)

France in their rivalry on economy-politics with Great Britain, Spain, and Dutch. Therefore, the ambition of France in conquering many regions was happened continuously until the alliance among European states formed against France which includes in The War of the Spanish Succession that resulting the recognition of France toward the independence of Spain. That was also prevailed to other powerful European states who kept conquered many territories in order to prove their power. Despite those territories which most of them has their own nation, felt suffered and forced to be a part of the state because of the conquest. It might be started from being a part of one state, but not all those conquered regions stay with the same feeling and comfort of being united with different nation in one state. Hence, this integration of several nations in one state tends to bring up the people called nationalist of one nation turns into movements that nowadays demand to separate from their state. Either because of dissatisfaction, differences or other reason, the secession movement appeared in many countries around the world including European countries.

Lately, Europe has to be prepared in confronting the problem which is likely tends to get more acutely and more complex rather than to get solved easily. The secession case in Europe can be seen from the uprising of Scotland people toward the government of Great Britain by held a referendum in September 2014. Referendum that proposed by the parliament of Scotland questioning whether Scotland should be independence state or not. This referendum means ‘a vote on a ballot question, which involves the government asking all members of the eligible voting public to accept or reject certain proposition’.<sup>6</sup> Because of that, Scotland action followed by other states in Europe who are willing to do the secession. One of the real examples could be felt by Spain which there is one of its regions, named Catalonia that demanding to secede from Spain.

Catalonia is a parliament autonomy region which located in the eastern part of Spain and divided into several parts such as Barcelona, Tarragona, Girona, and Llieda. Since a long time ago, Catalonia has been marked under the territory of Barcelona, which until today becomes the capital city of Catalonia. Tracing back

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<sup>6</sup>Definition of Referendum according to FindLaw UK Dictionary.Retrieved from [http://findlaw.co.uk/law/government/constitutional\\_law/500583.html](http://findlaw.co.uk/law/government/constitutional_law/500583.html).Referendum also is a form of direct democracy in which people vote on policy initiatives directly.

to the history of Catalonia, this region was actually not owned by one kind of society. Yet Catalonia was filled by the people who came to Catalonia from a various places as a seafarer, industrialist, traders or merchantilist. That is why until today, Catalonia was still becoming an industrialist region who was give a good income for the economy development of Spain. However, the thing that makes Catalonia struggle to be a strong region until now was fostered by the solidarity of those Catalan people who eventhough staying in a plural condition, but supported by the feeling of their nationalism which gathered them as one unity.<sup>7</sup>

In the past, Catalonia could not be separated from many invaders who take turns came to colonize and rule Catalonia. This also one thing which differs Catalonia from Spain. Catalonia has a longer journey rather than Spain. It has been began since 6<sup>th</sup> until 9<sup>th</sup> BC where Romans Empire at that time was still expanded their power through many regions and Catalonia is one of them that has been existed under Romans government. Besides, in its time, Catalonia was ever become a great and strong maritime empire which even ruled and dominated a half of Mediterranean regions. In turn, as time running, the invaders who came after started to settle over the land and ruled Catalonia. Until in the time when Catalonia eventually fell into the hands of King Philip V who ruled Spain, Catalonia became a part of Spain.<sup>8</sup>

During Catalonia's period under the rule of Spain, basically Catalonia got many things that not all other regions in Spain got from Spain. Decentralization which Spain applied, gave special status to several regions just like Catalonia which nowadays politically known as one of autonomous regions of Spain. In Catalonia's economy records under Spain, Catalan marked a good achievent in economy aspect. As one of the biggest region which contribute 5% of Spain economy, Catalonia count as a rich region in Spain due to its capacity and capability in utilizing and preserving all the resources that they had to be a good income.

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<sup>7</sup>Liz Castro. *What's Up With Catalonia*, Catalonia Press. Asshfield, Massachusetts, USA, 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Endro Priherdityo. Jalan Panjang Perjuangan Referendum Katalonia, CNN Indonesia, 2014. Retrieved August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2015 from <http://www.cnnindonesia.com>

Inside the constitution of Spain which ratified by the referendum of Spanish people in December 1978, Spain was very careful in making and deciding every word of the provisions. In every aspect, Spain was trying to make the best provisions that can be applied and followed by the society wisely, prevent any forms of discrimination, and minimize all the possibilities of law making that can be detrimental to the community. Based on its constitution in 1978, Spain who claimed itself as a social and democratic state will live under the rule of law in order to promote justice, solidarity, equality, and to protect all Spanish people and its right as human being. Also to maintain their traditions, cultures, and even languages. In the preliminary part of Spanish constitution section three which talking about language found that there is not any sentences that tend to discriminate one group or region in Spain.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, based on the content of Spanish constitutions, Catalonia is actually still far from being discriminated. Also in other part of constitution that talking about fundamental rights and duties rights and liberties, there are not any signs if Spain shows discrimination things toward some regions, or moreover to Catalonia. Therefore, Catalonia is facing a good record under Spain government, even in 2014, Catalonia call for a referendum for its people in order to separate from Spain.

## **B. Research Question**

From the understanding of problem's background, the research questions which will limit the scope of the thesis are;

*“Why Catalonia decide to secede from Spain?”*

## **C. Literature Review**

The first research which done by Simon Harris published in the year of 2014. With his book entitled “*Catalonia is not Spain: A historical perspective*”, Harris showed his research which talk and analyze much about Catalonia in the view of historical perspective. Inside his book, Simon Harris clearly elaborates the right wing view of Spanish history and Catalonia historical role in Spain. This

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<sup>9</sup> Section three: (1) Castilian is the official Spanish language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it. (2) The other Spanish languages shall also be official in the respective Self-governing Communities in accordance with their Statutes (3) The wealth of the different linguistic forms of Spain is a cultural heritage which shall be especially respected and protected.

research also stated that Catalonia has existed as an independent long before Spain become a state in 18<sup>th</sup> century. Further, this research explaining deeper about the relation between Catalonia and Spain itself by giving many historical aspects, which in the end this research concludes that the relation of Catalonia and Spain will always unworkable.

The second research is done by Angela K. Bourne which published at the journal on Ethno politics and minorities issues in Europe 2014 entitled "*Europeanization and Secession: The Cases of Catalonia and Scotland*". In this research, the writer tend to be more specifically analyze the secession issue by offer some comparison toward two states in order to know the role of European Union as a regional institution in Europe which responsible in dealing with the case. This research gives better information which later will be useful toward the additional information of this thesis in scope of European Union role on how much European Union contribute and participate in facing secession issues.

The third literature is come from a collective researcher which edited by Liz Castro and published in the form of book entitled "*What's Up with Catalonia?: the causes which impel them to the separation*". In this book, there are 35 writers who each talk different things about Catalonia. From the historical aspect, politic, economy, culture, and language. These differences are used in order to show the rest of the world a fascinating story behind Catalonia's journey to be a new state in Europe.

The fourth research is done by Merce Barcelo which in his article entitled "*The Right to decide in Catalonia and Spain; It's place in the constitution and legal basis:*" published in the year of 2014, explain deeper about the respond from the Spanish constitution toward the demand of the people in Catalonia to secede from Spain. It also considering by democratic value which basically give a freedom to the Catalan people in expressing their aspiration and opinion. Yet, a different thing to ask for independence makes Spain close the door and won't hear those demand. Therefore term 'the right to decide' released by Catalan people as a new demand. This article is kind of useful to know the value of democracy which put inside the demand of the people in Catalonia.

The fifth literature comes from a collective writer which edited by Sue Wright in one book entitled “*Language, Democracy, and Devolution in Catalonia*” published in 1999. It is an interesting book which inside provides one article by Miquel Strubell that titled by the name of the book that following by several articles either for giving a respond or critics toward what Miquel Strubell’s work. In this book, linguistic and demography are such an important context for a nation like Catalonia.

The sixth literature comes from Yolaine Cultiaux with her work entitled ‘*Shaping of a Nation: Catalan History and Historicity in Post Franco Spain*’. This article showed a specific context about history of Catalonia in Post of General Franco regime. While the focus in this article lay on the symbolic representations and collective identities of Catalonia, such as the establishment of *Generalitat* which stated in this article as a symbolic representative from the collective memory of Catalan people.

#### **D. Theoretical Framework**

In order to answer the question, this thesis will try to use the theory of nationalism:

Nationality is always be the main topic in politic and social issues regarding to further development of the society in one state. According to the law dictionary, nationality describes the character of a person who belongs to one nation-state. It also determined its political status of Individu.<sup>10</sup> Its strong relation with the passion in human nature especially for a group of individu who shared the same territory, region, or culture result a bound among them to be proud over their nationality which often called it as nationalism. Therefore, nationality can never be separated from the origin of nation and nationalism. Yet simply, all of them can be distinguished and described. Nation inclined refers to the country, while nationality refers to the fact of the original country of one person, and nationalism refers to the feeling or the pride of a person toward his original country. Three of them are affected a lot by the plot of its history because the sense of the past somehow gives big impact to the act of the people in present differently,

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<sup>10</sup>Definition of Nationality according to The law dictionary. Retrieved from <http://thelawdictionary.org/nationality/>

otherwise to what they must do today. Many scholars have been analyzed the blooming of nation, nationality, and nationalism. These subjects were found either reconstruct each other or conflicting each other. These three objects are important, yet here the writer pushes the term of nationalism above anything in order to analyze the phenomenon of secession in Catalonia. Moreover, in this globalization era, the world now is consists of nation-state where nationalism within the state mostly influenced by domestic condition. Thus any condition and circumstances that strengthening nationalism domestically can be strong as well in the scope of international condition. In this case, nationalism appears in many possibility forms. It can be one of the ways to quantify the power of state, it can be the opponent to the international and supranational institutions, and it can be the start of conflict.<sup>11</sup>

Then here, there were several scholars and theoristwho viewed nationalism from different approaches and point of views. Such as what modernistand ethnosymbolist talked about it. Here, the writer take two approaches, that are from modernist and ethnosymbolist which define the theory of nationalism quite contradictive but it actually found correlated.

#### 1. Modernist Approach

First of all, the reputable modernist, Ernest Gernell comes with his thought about nationalism. Pursuant to the modernist, nation and nationalism are considered as a new and modern phenomenon. He represents a kind of theory which underlines the primacy of material conditions in shaping political thought and social change. Modernist viewed that most of nationalism appeared in the middle of the development of European Industrialization. Therefore Ernest Gallner considers that the industrialization era brings the major akin of society to eternalize the economy success, yet it also needs the same culture in order to form a new identity which can rectify the lack of society. Shortly, Gellner asserts that the emergence of nationalism caused by the economical reason.<sup>12</sup> To be

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<sup>11</sup>James G. Kellas. *The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, Macmillan Press LTD, London, 1991, pg. 34

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pg. 41



survived and struggle in the scope of industrial society, especially in end of 18<sup>th</sup> century and even during 20<sup>th</sup> century, economic growth becomes a fundamental thing that need to be achieved. Hence, the creation of economic classes can be a possibility thing. Like what Marxist thought. It similar to Marxist analysis, that nationalism can influence the economic classes. This statement somehow can lead to the good one when economy brings prosperity to the society and all nations in the state. Yet, Gellner also unsure when it comes to the classes, especially regarding to nationalism as the cause of conflict because classes somehow oppressed and exploited which can turn the sense of nationalism into a conflictual term.

This thought was stated more clearly by another modernist called Benedict Anderson who proposed ‘imagined communities’ in explaining further what Ernest Gallner thought. That term explains the essence of unseen brotherhood among societies through capitalism as the focus.<sup>13</sup>Not only talking about industrialization, Anderson press the politic and social aspects as an emotional power of nationalism.

## 2. Ethnosymbolist Approach

Then, another interesting theorist comes from the developer of ethnosymbolism named Anthony D. Smith. Here, the idea of ethnosybolism which Smith has been developed, believe that symbol, myths, tradition, and value have an important roles in the continuation of understanding nationalism in this modern era.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, before jump to the conclusion of Smith who put the features above (symbol, myths, tradition, and value) into something important that still affect the nationalism in modern society today, Smith actually comes up with several crucial terms definition. First, he examines the meaning of ethnies which according to Smith, ethnies called as a human population with shared ancestry myths, history and culture with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity. Furthermore, Smith elaborates a further definition on nation.

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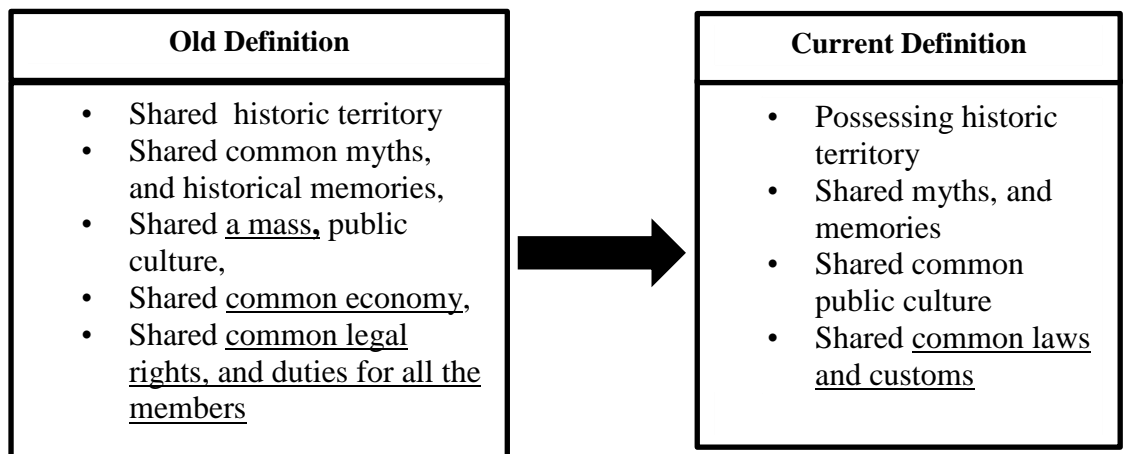
<sup>13</sup> JamieshaMajevadia. *An Introduction to Nationalism Theory: An Introduction to Modernism, Primordialism, and Ethnosymolism*, theriskyshift.com, 2012. Retrieved February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2016from <http://theriskyshift.com/2012/04/introduction-to-nationalism-theory-html/>

<sup>14</sup>Ibid

Unlike Gellner and Anderson as a modernist thinker, Smith in his book that released in 1986 entitled *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* underlines the ethnicity as a root of nationalism.<sup>15</sup> Then, he tried to elaborate the change that makes ethnicity turns to nationalism. In this case, Smith also lay every pre-modern context or all traditional thing such as national culture, myths, language are the content of nationalism.

According to Montserrat Guibernau’s paper, he criticizes Smith’s work in defining the definition of nation. Guibernau stated that the definition of nation which proposed by Smith own flaws between an old and current version. In Smith’s old definition of nation, he defines that nation as ‘a named of human population sharing a historic territory, common myths, and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy, and common legal rights, and duties for all the members’. While in his recent work, Smith defines nation as ‘a named community possessing an historic territory, shared myths, and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs’.<sup>16</sup> So, here are the changes of nation definition.

Figure 1. 1. The Change of Smith Definition on Nation



Source Anthony D. Smith on Nation and National Identity: A Critical Assesment

From the figure above, we can see that there is several points change and the rest are remains the same. Talking about the consistency of Smith in defining nation’s definition can be seen from the first and second point

<sup>15</sup>James G. Kellas, op. cit. pg 48

<sup>16</sup> Montserrat Guibernau, *Anthony D. Smith on Nation and National Identity: A Critical Assesment*, Open University, Walton Hall, Milton Keynes, MK7 6AA, 2004, pg. 127

which stated that the term of nation can be called nation when the society inside it shared the same historical territory, shared common myths and historical memories.

In case of Catalonia, Catalan people includes to the category of nation because they have been experienced an exact circumstances in sharing a historical territory, common myths, and memories even until today. In this contemporary global order which prominently dominated by nation-state system, term nation is still often argued by several scholars regarding to its definition, but it constantly used as one way to create political identity. While the changes in Smith definition shows in the rest points. Smith erase the point of 'shared a mass and common economy', then changing the point of 'shared common legal right and duties for all member' into 'shared common laws and custom'. Here, Smith not tends to be afraid of unable to prove the definition of the first theory. Yet, here Smith seems to simplify the word common economy, common legal rights, and common duties into common laws and custom. Due to the term of law and custom, more generally explain and regulate those aspects inside it.

Related from the concept of nation, nationalism was created. Nationalism particularly describes as an ideology or as a social movement or a symbolic language, and others wide definition. Because of that broad definition in understanding nationalism, nationalism needs the interdisciplinary which includes the discipline of history, sociology, political science, international relation, of further it is widen to the anthropology discipline. Then the most important field which also contained and relate to the nationalism, back to the first and original ethnicity. Hence in describing the background of nation and nationalism, the origin of ethnic identity and the development of communities take a big part in elaborating nationalism.<sup>17</sup>

Catalonia secession problem brought the condition of thepast that have been triggered and supported by the involvement of ethnic sentiment and nationalist aspiration. The bitter condition on political contestation, the

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<sup>17</sup> Anthony D. Smith (2010), Nationalism, Theory, Ideology, History, Polity, United Kingdom, pg. 1-2

tensions among parties in achieving their interests, the sacrifice of societies in following repressive ruler, the misery from political prestige, are showed and proved in Catalan case as the development of nationalism idea in ethnic society. Yet the significance of nationalism is not always limit in the political context, but culturally and the intellectual which somehow this nationalism involved many intellectual people from several groups like scholars, historians, teachers, writers, artists, even philosophers and others who willingly donate and rally their strengths to discover and maintaining the identity which latter inspired many people to follow that actions.

### 3. Concept of Ethnopolitical Conflict

To elaborate Catalonia case to the extent of international theme, one of the scholars, Ted Robert Gurr focuses in analyzing the effective management of ethnic and separatist conflict from local to the global context. Yet however, to define those things, he also elaborates the nature, the root, and even the result of the past exertion. Robert concludes that the groups who involved in ethnopolitical conflicts asserted themselves as a group who hold ethnic and culture in the high esteem which also put their common interest to be achieved no matter if it against the state or not.<sup>18</sup> There are several criteria that Robert underlines to highlight and give a better understanding in ethnopolitical conflict. These groups which involved in ethnopolitical conflict put the idea of ethnic criteria in order to assert themselves as a group who shares a common scion, historical journey, and also shares the value of cultural traits. Beside that, ethnopolitical groups aimed to achieve material and something politically as a demand that comes from the attention of ethnic or religious groups.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, ethnopolitical groups are highly varieties. National people and minority people are two different groups. Even they clustering themselves as a kind of ethnopolitical groups, yet both of them still have a significant points which differentiate them from one to another.

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<sup>18</sup> Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of managing International Conflict*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, D.C, 2001, pg. 163-184

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

Table 1. 1. Types of Ethnopolitical Groups by Tedd Robert Gurr

<b>Ethnopolitical Groups</b>	<b>Definition</b>	<b>Purposes</b>
<b>National People</b>	Regionally concentrated cultural groups, usually with a history of separate political existence.	Protect and re-establish some degree of politically separate existence from the states that govern them.
<b>Minority People</b>	Culturally distinct groups in plural societies.	Seek equal rights, equalities, and access to power within existing political communities.

Source: Book of Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of managing International Conflict

Catalonia, one of autonomous communities of Spain who desperately demand to separate from Spain is clearly counted to the national people. Unlike minority people that culturally viewed as a different group stayed in plural societies, Catalonia is not a minority society because Catalan people spread out in several regions in Spain eventhough not as a dominant society. Catalonia is inclined belong to national people whom regionally concentrated cultural group and very connected with Spain as a state that govern them. Therefore, what Catalonia want is to separate from Spain and becomes an independent state. Yet, this is also undeniable, that Catalonia in the other hand might be seen as minority people because the different objectives which Catalonia had, made them distinct from the major or dominant societies in Spain. The willing of Catalan to amplify their rights as a new state in Europe, leaves a huge question toward this ethnopolitical group.

Hence, Robert Gurr elaborates some contexts which causing ethnopolitical conflict. Based on his work, ethnopolitical conflict caused by three contexts that are; local, state, and international context. In the local context, everything that seemingly related with their group includes to the local context. Like what has been mentioned above, ethnopolitical groups consists of a group that holds ethnic and culture with the high esteem, so historical context influences a lot the ethnopolitical group in this level. Aside from that, Robert Gurr explained the circumstances of ethnopolitical group with the state that govern and rule them. Here, the trend of

modernization impacts and shapes the use of thinking of societies. Most of ethnopolitical conflict happened after modernization. This era leads the world having three interdependent changes such as the growth of modern state, the development of global economic system, and the communication revolution.<sup>20</sup>

Due to the three interdependent changes, many states started to decide in gaining and expanding the power through the development of industrialization. This condition made a lot of states run out their action in gaining power by set aside the will, needs, and interests of many ethnic groups. Thus, some groups do not have any choices to protest while their natural resources or any sources of their life being taken away to fulfill the national greed of network and power. Along with this condition, the development and the revolution of communication which becomes more global and wide-connected somehow giving a shock to those ethnic groups in finding how they look like in that era. Realizing of their identities, communication helps them much in spreading and voicing their aspirations. Getting much supports from the people and the relation between those ethnic groups and its state is the last case to be solved. Beside that, Robert Gurr also tried to find other factors that made ethnic groups rebel after modernization.

Then, the state context showed the relation between ethnopolitical groups and the state that govern them. These parts bold the effect of state power and democracy as the things that affect the movement of ethnopolitical groups. States run out policies either domestic policies or foreign policies. This policy making existed in order to limit and guide the action of the state domestically or to the other state, or in the contrary. Here, these state policies sometimes bound the choice of ethnopolitical groups to act. For example the resources and the administrative that the ethnopolitical groups gained is set limited by the state. Also, political system that applied in the state will affects the respond from ethnopolitical groups, whether they will follow, protest, or even rebel to the state.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid

Robert Gurr finds three points that must be underlines in the state context. First is the scope of state power. Autonomy becomes something that must be struggled by the ethnopolitical groups. The stronger state could becomes, the bigger potential for the ethnopolitical groups to maintain their autonomy status. In the past several years, the expansion of the state was becoming an undeniable fact. Yet, sometimes this expansion also gives a bad mark in the eyes of ethnopolitical groups. It occurs because capacity and resources are things needed in order to gain or maintain autonomy. Therefore, not all the strong states give a good impression toward ethnopolitical groups. Second are democratic institution and elites. Both of them are useful in persuading to lengthen the autonomy as long as the political resource is sufficient. In democratic state, minority and national people action depends to the respond of the elites. When the elites and the institution are responsive toward political mobilization of ethnopolitical groups, then sometimes they will rather to do protest than rebel. The last one is democratic transition. This phenomenon affects the action of ethnopolitical groups. This commonly gives a good chance and capacity for the ethnic mobilization because somehow democratic institutions are mostly require and facilitate peaceful means and non-violent thing. Yet the process of transition is not as easy as it might seem. Some groups will see it as an unusual condition and even more some of them will feel threatened because of this process. New political systems that hopefully will become more participatory and embrace all citizens to involve, in fact in its process facing difficulties in finding the way to accommodate the interest and the will of ethnopolitical groups.

While in the context of international, the involvement of international actors is substantially important for ethnic groups. It occurs because normally the involvement of international actors exists due to the sympathy of them toward the problem. It is quite useful for the minority or national people who do rebel to their states. Supports, chances, and sometimes strategies will be given and open up for those groups in order to make them respected by the states. Moreover, the acts from international actors give big

possibilities in changing the policies of the state toward minority and national groups.

Robert Gurr mentioned two fundamental actions which commonly done by international actors. First is the foreign support for contenders. It means the foreign actors who sympathize toward the act and its political mobilization of ethno-political groups, regularly offer several incentives from moral support, material, or even political support that can pressed the state to change their measure like the disposition of military. Sometimes, the placement of external military in the ethno-political conflict leads to a bigger and worse conflict. Even this might open the opportunities and capacities to act, yet the conflict will highly restricted to be solved. Second one is the international spillover of ethno-political conflict. In this part, contagion and diffusion be a crucial factor for the running of the conflict. According to Robert Gurr, contagion and communication refers to the process where one group offers inspiration, guide, and tactic also strategy for other groups outside. In this case, network as a main cast for the contagion effect. Which communication among similar groups, exchange much information that other groups need. This contagion marked as a non automatic effect. It will only happen when both or more groups have the same interest. While diffusion categorized as a direct spillover that can spread from one region to another region or even across the borders. It can be seen from the diffusion of the ethno-political conflict in one region which eventually followed by other regions.<sup>21</sup> Like what Scotland did influence also the willing of some ethno-political groups like Catalonia to take part in the action like what Scotland did.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid



## **E. Hypothesis**

According to the problem background and the theoretical framework, the following hypothesis can be put forward:

*Catalonia decides to secede from Spain because in this case, secession becomes one way for Catalan people to show their nationalism (triggering by past and present condition) as a nation who wants to set their own future.*

## **F. Range of Research**

In this research, the writer focuses more on the topic research, the writer limits the time that research was conducted. The writer wants to explain and describe the idea of Nationalism that is held by Catalan people in encouraging those people to conduct a referendum against Spain as a way for Catalan people to secede from Spain. Here, there are two approaches that will be used in explaining the time of research. The first range of research will highlight the history in the era of General Franco where Catalan people experienced a strict condition. Then the second range will highlight the circumstances of Catalonia after the European crisis in 2008 until the day when Catalan people proposed a referendum. That time becomes important because from that event, it could be analyzed further about the things which stand behind the action and the decision both of Catalonia and Spain.

## **G. Method of Research**

The research method that the writer uses in this thesis is quantitative, which took a primary data by conducting an interview to the related person. Also this thesis uses a qualitative method or library research which will be used to add and support the information in the thesis based on empirical reality. The sources of information or references are collected in forms of books and articles. In addition, various data from the internet will also be used since some information and data dealing with the topic are only available through the internet media such as e-book, journals, and other literature resources.

Based on the problem background and the research question, this thesis uses normative-empirical research to understand the facts. Normative research or library research is a research that is done by analyzing library sources or secondary

data. Therefore, the research typology that done here is prescriptive, aims to give a solution or suggestion for the problem. Then the secondary data here will be analyzes by qualitative approach, which is resulting descriptive data. The steps that conducted in doing this thesis are by data collective and data analysis.

## **H. System of Writing**

The discussion in this thesis is divided into five chapters: Chapter I contains the introduction which includes the problem background, research question, literature review, theoretical framework, hypothesis, method of research, range of research, and system of writing.

Chapter II will discuss about the historical records of Catalonia. This chapter contains the factual data of the history of Catalonia since its beginning. The historical aspect will dominated the chapter as far as knowing deeper the background of the problem.

Chapter III will elaborate the current relation between Spain and Catalonia. It starts with the beginning of Catalans actions in conducting referendum as one of Catalan strategy to realize their will in separating from Spain and set their own future. Also, the respond and Spain's consideration toward Catalans demand and actions will be critically analyzed in this chapter.

Chapter IV analyzes nationalism and the future of Catalonia's secession. In this chapter, besides elaborating Catalan nationalism in triggering the demand of secession through two perspectives, the involvement and the role of international actor and its relation with Catalonia will be elaborated.

Chapter V is the conclusion and the suggestion of the entire discussion in each chapter that has been described before.

