INTRODUCTION

"A nation is a large aggregate of communities and individuals united by factors such as common descent, language, culture, history, or occupation of the same territory, so as to form a distinct people."--Oxford English Dictionary

"Two men are of the same nation if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. In other words, nations maketh man; nations are the artifacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities."—Ernest Gellner, Nations and Nationalism (1983)

As a native San Diegan, with branches of my family history tied to the United States since before the Revolutionary War, I feel comfortable here, a member of a society that I accept and which accepts me. The government that can influence my life in innumerable ways, though based 2,000 miles away from me, I feel no particular distance from. Those who represent me, and those who represent everyone else in this country, I view as part of the same fabric. Though a Georgia congressman and a California senator may disagree on every policy and come from significantly divergent ways of life, I still see them as part of the same nation, my nation. In other words, despite the enormous diversity of opinions, cultures, belief systems, and ways of life in the United States, in my view, I live in a country that represents my nation, and my nation is reflected by my country. To paraphrase famed social anthropologist Ernest Gellner, my nationalist goals, for the borders of my nation to be aligned with the borders of my state, have been fulfilled.

In this regard, I am a very lucky person; in many places around the world, this is simply not the case. Nations (essentially this is a social construct, a community with a shared history and culture to form a distinct people) without a state (a political construct, an organized territory with a government with clear sovereignty) exist all over the world, from highly advanced and wealthy

democracies like Canada (Quebec) and Great Britain (Scotland) to some of the most desperately poor and dictatorial places in the world like Pakistan (Balochistan) and Myanmar (Shan). Collectively, these nations[1] constitute millions of people, and in some cases, a significant proportion of the population and economic might of the states to which these nations belong (of the twenty largest cities in Spain, seven are in one of the three major Spanish nations-Catalonia, Galicia, and Basque Country).

It may be difficult to fully understand the feeling of being within a nation that is not represented at the state political level, to have such distinct interests and beliefs, cultures and values-and in some cases even spoken languages-and to know that a majority may always thwart a nation's goals, and that the protection of a person's interests as he sees it within the context of his nation may, depending on the type of government, be at the whim of a people who are not a member of his nation and do not see themselves as such.

This mismatch in the lines between the nation and the state, where the cultural boundaries of a people do not share the same area as its political boundaries, is largely a result of a complex and messy history. Nations have been conquered, been absorbed, been destroyed, have gone from one country to another, have been split, and in some cases reunited. There may perhaps be no better example of this than in Europe, which has had a long and colorful history of disregarding the desires of the nation in order to fulfill the needs of the political world. Depending on how you define the term (I will be using the members of the Council of Europe), there are 47 states in Europe today[2]. But if one looks at the history of Europe, the number of nations far exceeds that,

[1]This paper will use the terms "nation" and "region" synonymously. Though I recognize that there are important distinctions between these terms, for the purposes of this paper, the terms nation and region should be taken to mean the same thing: a social construct constituting a self-acknowledged community with a common history and culture.

[2] http://hub.coe.int/

with some current states consisting of over half a dozen distinct nations (Russia, for example, has 14 "autonomous republics", indicating distinct nationalistic, linguistic, and religious differences).

Possibly the worst case in Europe, in which the interests of international diplomacy and the wins and losses of war trumped any notion of national self-determination is the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During its existence from 1867 to 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with two parliaments and a single monarch, consisted of 12 distinct languages, ranging from German and Italian to Croatian and Ukrainian. In addition, the land mass constituted parts of what today are 13 different countries, none of which speak the same primary language (in other words, the languages spoken in the empire were geographically contiguous with nations outside the border of the Empire).[3] Because of the enormous number of diverse language and national groups, politics often tended to focus on disputes among the language groups. This also may help explain in part how it was so easy for the Empire to dissolve after WWI, with such a strong lack of national unity.

While some European states have reacted with enormous hostility and oppression to any notion of an internal group vying for the attention, loyalty, and attachment of the people, other states have reacted in more pragmatic ways. One of the ways in which the state can acknowledge the importance of the nation as both a cultural *and* a political unit, without dissolving the state, is to devolve power from the state to the nation.

Devolving power can entail a wide range of responsibilities and duties, from minimal, mostly cultural powers to significant economic and political abilities. Occasionally these powers are devolved to local councils that work within the preexisting national government, while in other

[3] Gaetano Cavallaro (2010). Disaster Ending in Final Victory: The Dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Gaetano Cavallaro. p. 201. ISBN 978-1413-46801-4. Retrieved 1 January 2013.

cases, a government bureau is set up at the state level to implement these nation-specific policies. At the most nation-specific level, the new powers are implemented through a national legislature, distinct from the state and designed to act upon the powers it has been provided by the state.

Devolving power to a nation in the form of a parliament is important and differs from other forms of devolution. In some cases, power can be devolved by increasing power to local councils, or by creating special regulatory bodies controlled by members of that nation (for example, for many years, policy relating to Scotland in the UK was regulated by the Scotland Office, a bureaucratic branch of the UK government whose members were chosen by the UK government), or by increasing the autonomy of more localized groups, like schools or churches.

Devolving power in the form of a parliament is important because it creates a unique yet familiar institution that could potentially end up competing with the state legislature. For nationalists, it places power in the hands of their own people (and often, nationalists will argue that they would be better suited to rule themselves anyway), outside the influence of the rest of the state.

But devolving a legislature is important in other ways. People would vote for both parliaments and as a result individuals can feel a personal connection to both (rather than an unelected regulatory body) and understand the similarities between the two. Both of these legislatures have powers that can control or influence many important aspects of a person's life. If one sees one of these parliaments as more competent, or better capable of addressing their needs, it could lead a person to desire greater power be invested in the more capable legislature. And if one sees the state legislature as acting against the needs of them or their community, they could look to the national legislature as the one that most adequately addresses their needs. Though a national legislature would not by definition lead to independence, it can provide a useful framework to

understand what independence might look like for a nation. It can give independence a more tangible feel, rather than a hazy view of what independence would mean. A national parliament can provide the concrete institutions that are vital to the establishment of the state. It can therefore make independence seem like less of an outlandish notion to consider.

The devolution of power in the hands of a parliament is a significant event. In most cases, it involves the restructuring of government, and in the cases of Europe it often means devolving power from formerly unitary, highly centralist governments to quasi-federalist ones. However, for the governments considering this policy, many regard this restriction of power as a potentially dangerous proposition. As the next chapter will describe, a central issue with devolving power is not so much what the powers will entail, but how the people will react to this new provision of power, and was this will mean for the future of the nation and the state. Some (often the political elites who support devolution) will argue that devolving power to stateless nations is an effective way to provide those who feel their needs as members of a nation with distinct interests from the state are not being met, while still protecting the power of the state. This group tends to see both power and nationalism on a spectrum, in which one can feel strong attachments to the nation and state (rather than a binary, if you favor one you disfavor the other), and that a moderate amount of power will satisfy the nation.

There are others, however, who disagree with these notions. For them, devolving power is a slippery slope. The basic idea is if the state provides a small amount of power to the nation, those within the nation will demand greater levels of power, until the point is reached at which they finally advocate for independence, and the dissolution of the state as they know it.

Naturally, a question arises: which side is right? Is it true that devolving power to a nation within a state satisfies nationalist (and potentially separatist) demands to the point that conflict between the two is resolved? Or is it that devolving power merely sets off a slippery slope, in which the members of the nation advocate for more and more powers until the state's authority in the nation is hollowed out, with the final blow being independence?

This paper intends to look at this question with a number of case studies. Through these cases, an important trend becomes apparent. *In nations with populations with significant nationalist sentiment before devolution, one will see increases in support for independence with the introduction of a parliament. However, in cases where nationalist sentiment is fairly weak before devolution, the effect a parliament may be more effective in diminishing or stabilizing support for independence. The overall trend, when taking all cases into account, is an increase in support for independence with the introduction of a parliament.* This difference is likely due to a number of factors, the most important being that regional parliaments create arenas through which those who support independence can find a welcoming environment. The parliament can become a place where independence ideas can be promoted and independent action can be achieved, and in cases where support for independence was strong to begin with, the parliament as an engine of independence sentiment can build off this support. But when support is weak, those who support nationalist goals will have a more difficult time gaining the momentum to increase support for independence among the population.

This paper will look at three countries in Europe, each of which has devolved power to at least two nations within its borders: Spain (Galicia, Basque Country, and Catalonia), Britain (Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland), and Belgium (Flanders and Wallonia). Though the Methods section of this paper will go into greater detail regarding the selection of these cases, at

this point it is sufficient to say that these nations represent a diverse mix not only of pre-devolution nationalist sentiment, but also varying levels of power devolved, different types of power, different timelines, and different historical relationships to their respective states.

The cases this paper will study, despite their small number and limitations to Europe after 1970, still manage to represent a fairly diverse group of nations, with conflicting relations between the states which govern them and the different positions their nation maintained before devolution. Some of the groups in this study are comparatively wealthier than their state (Catalonia, Basque Country, and Flanders) while others are poorer (Scotland, Wales, Wallonia). Some have significant linguistic differences in relation to the rest of the state (the Spanish cases and Belgian cases) while others do not (to a large extent the British cases).

One thing that can be said of all these nations is that they are connected to states that had once been highly centralized but are slowly moving power to the regional level.

In order to understand how national sentiment may have changed since the introduction of a national parliament, one needs a metric that can point to trends over time. The first used in this study is support for nationalist/separatist political parties as a proxy for support for nationalism/separatism. This study will cover the election results for all the elections to both the national and state-level parliaments. This particular metric is a good one because of its consistency: with relatively frequent elections at both levels, it is easy to look across history without any significant gaps (with the exception of Northern Ireland, which will be explained). However, as it is only a proxy, support for nationalist parties may not be an exact reflection of support for separatism.

My other metric of support for separatism is public opinion data. My analysis will cover the largest polling firms in the countries this paper will study and look at all polling data that relates to support for independence. It carries the benefit of being a direct gauge on the separatist pulse of the people of Scotland, the Basque Country, or any other nation. Unfortunately, in some places, the polling data is rich, but in others it is quite limited. It is my hope that the strength of each metric will make up for the weakness of the other.

This paper will be broken down in what I believe is the most straightforward way possible, given the large amount of information used. It will begin with a brief literature review, discussing assessments both political scientists and the political elites in these countries believe devolving power will entail, and what this means for the growth of nationalist tensions. Next, I will discuss the methods used to determine support for separatism.

The next section will then break down each case studied into three distinct fields: a historical and economic overview of the nation and its connection to the state (to determine whether or not there are any other confounding variables that could drive support or opposition for independence); a historical overview of the movement leading up to devolving power; and an analysis of the type and degree of devolution to the nation.

The next section will look at the data for each of these nations, noting trends within nations and between them. It will also explore the ultimate results of this data.

This paper will conclude with both an exploration of these trends, and what the implications might be for this information.

Chapter 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

When looking at the devolution of power to nations without the political structure of a state, scholars and politicians alike often see two possible paths post-devolution. These paths move in opposite directions: one (claimed by some political scientists and often times political opponents of devolving power) see devolution as a "slippery slope", in which providing a little power will lead to demands for greater and greater power until calls for independence become more and more powerful, with the possible destruction of the state. Another argument, often made by those who support devolution, is that devolving power will effectively support the needs of the nation and lead to a reduction or at least a stabilization in tensions.

As Catalan scholar Montserrat Guibernau puts it, "[we must] consider whether devolution may foster secessionism or, on the contrary, it could be understood as a stable and satisfactory solution to the political aspirations of national minorities endowed with their own sense of common ethnicity and ethnohistory."[4]

Political Scientists who say Devolution Reduces Conflict

Scott Greer, in a comparative study of Catalonia and Scotland, points to a lack of scholarship in this very question, noting "despite the importance of the issues, though, and the intensive study of nationalism, little work has been done on the territorial outcomes… [Importantly] there is even less on…regionalization."[5] "Regional autonomy offers the prospect of damping down ethnic conflict and secessionism, or perhaps fanning the flames."[6] Looking at Catalonia and

[4] Ed. Seymour, Michel and Alain Gagnon. *Mult-national Federalism-Problems and Prospects;* Basingstoke, New York, 2012. Page 161.
[5]Greer, Scott. *Nationalism and Self-Government: the Politics of Autonomy in Scotland and Catalonia*, SUNY, New York, 2009. Page 171.
[6] Ibid 181

Scotland, Greer asserts that devolving power to these nations will *not* lead to independence, though he argues this is not due inherently to a lack of support at the popular level. Rather, it is because, "the dominant political forces in those regions, autonomous regional organization, oppose independence."[7] In order to overcome these forces, Greer argues that nationalist parties must gain sufficient strength to force secession. This argument, despite outwardly rejecting the will of the people as a force for change, does have a basis in the will of the people (and ties into the methodology of this paper) insofar as the strength of these political parties which have the ability to change the political scene, need the support of the people.

Interestingly, Greer later mentions that secession seems unlikely because support for nationalist parties will likely never reach a majority. His study, published in 2007, marked the same year in which the Scottish National Party became the largest political party in the Scottish Parliament[8], and 4 years later, it received a majority of the seats in the Scottish Parliament[9] (the Scottish Parliament, it should be noted, was specifically designed to prevent any single political party from ever gaining a majority of seats[10]).

Guibernau, in her study of Catalonia, Quebec and Scotland, also suggests that devolution will not lead to independence, but will instead answer the needs of the nation's citizenry. Devolving power "does not fully satisfy self-determination claims but it [does] tend to weaken them."[11] By formally providing a power at this level, it "locks" regional movements and their political parties into a permanent tension with the central state. She provides several important claims to support this overall argument: that devolution can satisfy civil institutions (businesses, universities) that a

[7] Ibid 182
[8] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/vote2007/scottish_parliment/html/region_99999.stm
[9] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/scotland/scottish-politics/8495468/Scottish-Election-2011-results-map.html
[10] http://www.channel4.com/news/alex-salmonds-snp-wins-majority-in-scottish-elections
[11] Seymour Gagnon 163

national identity has been recognized; it can create the emergence of dual identities (Spanish and Catalan) without making the two mutually exclusive (Catalan, rather than Spanish); devolution fosters the "construction and consolidation of regional political elites enjoying various degrees of power and prestige…devolution tames secessionist leaders by enticing them with doses of political power and prestige" with a "comfort arising from devolution which turns secessionist aims into never-ending demands for greater power and recognition"; and it strengthens democracy by bringing decision making closer to the people with "problems identified, analyzed and resolved."

In his overarching analysis of secessionism, Jason Sorens argues the states which eventually devolve power to nations within their borders do so to reduce tensions: "whenever we observe devolution actually occurring, we can reasonably infer that the central government does not believe that autonomy will increase the probability of a future secession attempt. Thus decentralization should be associated with a reduction in the likelihood of secessionist rebellion."[12] He continues by noting, "the logic of the autonomy bargain is obvious: if secessionist rebels get part of what they want, they may be willing to compromise rather than holding out for independence and getting nothing." As Sorens rightly points out, devolution is a compromise in interests from parties with competing interests and goals. The result, he contends, is that getting most of what nationalists desire in an autonomous power structure like a parliament can reduce tensions.

[12] Sorens, Jason. *Secessionism: Identity, Interest and Strategy*, McGill Queens University Press, Montreal, 2012. Pg. 49.

Interestingly, in the *long run*, Sorens argues that autonomy does not reduce secessionist electoral support, even though in the short run it reduces secessionist tensions.[13] In addition, rather than serving as a "palliative that reduces underlying secessionist sentiment," devolution may be in part due to partisan competition between secessionist and non-secessionist regions (a good example of this could be the reliably Labour Party-dominated Scotland against its larger counterpart England, which tends to be more centrist and right-leaning).

Though none of the cases in this study have actually led directly to independence (at least at this writing), it is important to look at whether or not devolution has at least led to popular support for independence. It is certainly not the case that popular support for independence will inherently lead to independence, but increased support would lead to greater pressure on the central government to grant independence.

John McGarry, in his discussion of the devolved governments in Britain, agrees in part with the sentiment that devolution does not expand nationalist sentiment, arguing:

> Asymmetric devolution hardly points inexorably toward break-up. The autonomous institutions also constrain the SNP [the Scottish National Party, currently with majority control of the Scottish Parliament]. The resources of government give the SNP the opportunity to promote secession, but there are also pressures on a governing party to make current arrangements work if it wishes to secure reelection, and this can undercut support for radical change[14]

[13] Ibid. 139
[14] McGarry 240

McGarry, pointing to the cases of Quebec, Basque Country and Catalonia, the Aland Islands and South Tyrol, indicates that *within comparable Western democracies*, even in the event of intergovernmental conflict, secessionist movements have been successfully tamped down.[15]

Finally, Wolfgang Danskpeckgruber, studying what he refers to as "self-governance plus regional integration" (a delicate balancing act between providing authority to a recognized community within a state while maintaining its position in the state), argues that providing autonomy can help to reduce nationalist tension. Self-governance, he argues, "avoids the slippery slope to secession and independence" by providing maximum rights to the nation in question.[16] This works, Danskpeckgruber argues, so long as the residents of these nations are able to maintain their identities both as members of their nation and their state, otherwise the concept could fall apart. The one potential drawback to his theory is that the successful cases he mentions of nationalist claimants receiving significant powers and leading to a reduction in conflict all come from relatively poor countries with short histories of democracy (the Balkans, Chechnya, Kashmir), in marked contrast to the wealthier, more historically democratic countries in this study.

Political Scientists who say Devolution Exacerbates Conflict

On the other hand, there are some who see devolution as the beginning of a linear path which could end in the dissolution of the state. Mark Perryman, in his discussion of what he calls the "break up of Britain" has predicted that within the next 20 years, the United Kingdom will cease to exist as we know it, begun with a very clear starting point: devolution. "Britain," Perrryman argues, "will have moved decisively towards [fellow political scientist] Tom Nairn's 'Break up':

[15] McGarry 141

[16] Ed. Weller Marc and Stefan Wolff. *Autonomy, Self-governance and Conflict Resolution: Innovative approaches to institutional design in divided societies*, Routledge Press, New York, 2006. Page 37-38.

and that the past decade of devolution has begun a process that now has an irreversible momentum…these differences [between the nations with devolved power and the Westminster government] themselves could not have emerged without the devolution settlement of ten years ago, however flawed it may have been."[17]

Also looking at Scotland, John Curtice and David McCrone point to the path Scotland appears to be taking towards independence, in spite of the designs of those who supported devolution: "if devolution improved the perceived effectiveness of government in Scotland…then people's satisfaction with the way in which the Union was operating should increase as well…the electoral success of the Scottish National Party in 2007 [the year in which the SNP received a plurality of votes and established a minority government] was the result of growing disenchantment with the way in which devolution, and thus the Union, was operating in practice, perhaps leaving the electorate thirsting for a more revolutionary break with the past."[18] This line of argument would probably be strengthened by the 2011 Scottish Parliamentary elections, in which not only did the Scottish National Party increase its vote share, it was able to secure a majority of the seats in the Scottish Parliament, even when the Parliament was designed so no party would ever achieve a majority.

Lieven de Winter and Pierre Baudewyns argue that devolution may not lead to a reduction in tensions, but in fact a ratcheting up in separatist and nationalist tensions, with more adamant calls for independence. Pointing to Belgium, de Winter and Baudewyns argue that, despite being transformed from a unitary state to a full-fledged federal state, Flemish nationalist concerns did

[17] Perryman breakup of Britain 10

[18] Curtice, John and David McCrone, *The 2007 Scottish Elections: Evolution or Devolution?*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2009. Page 43.

not abate with time, they merely grew more and more adamant as time progressed.[19] The chaos that resulted from the June 2007 Belgian Parliament election, when it took half a year to form a government, was largely a result of Flemish demands for even greater autonomy (which, as I will discuss in Chapter 3, was already quite extensive). Even after receiving significant power, Flemish nationalists began discussing "post-federal" options, the most prominent being full independence.[20] They conclude their analysis by noting, "In the eyes of many observers, Belgium has moved into a final stage of disintegration. The original community conflict on language issues has becoming predominantly one over autonomy, [with Walloons supporting the status quo and Flemish advocating an expansion]."[21]

Finally, in his study of separatism and devolution, Jose Diez Medrano shows an increase in support for what he refers to as bourgeois nationalism and revolutionary nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia, following a persistent trend from before devolution to the present. Both these groups, advocating the distinctiveness of the Basque Country and Catalonia and the protection of their languages, have been able to maintain the support of the people of these countries, even with strong devolved powers. Though the Spanish have largely rejected the more militant and violent forms of separatism since devolution, embodied in political parties like the ETA (Basque Homeland and Freedom, a terrorist separatist group), support overall for separatist and nationalist parties remains remarkably strong.[22]

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[19] Ed. John Coakley. *Pathways from Ethnic Conflict: Institutional Redesign in Divided Societies.* Routledge Press, London, 2010. Page 21-23.
[20] Ibid. 21
[21] Ibid 39
[22] Medrano, Juan Diez. *Divided Nations: Class, Politics, and Nationalism in the Basque Country and Catalonia*. Cornell University Press, New York, 2000. Page 147-151.

The Views of Political Elites

Politicians, when discussing the issue of devolving power to their constituent nations, often form competing camps based on the opposing notions put forth by these political scientists. There are those who support devolving power ostensibly because doing so will reduce conflict and adequately serve the people of these nations better. On the flip side, there are other politicians who, when discussing whether or not to devolve power, argue that devolution will create a road in which the nation will inevitably lead to independence.

This case is best exemplified in the arguments made in the British House of Commons regarding whether or not to devolve power in the form of a parliament to Scotland and Wales. In discussing the 1979 attempt to devolve power to Scotland, the Parliamentary debates began with an entreaty from the Secretary for Scotland Labour MP Bruce Millan that the introduction of an assembly would NOT lead to independence: "The evidence is overwhelming that the Scottish people want more power of decision-making in Scotland than the present system can give. There is equally overwhelming evidence that they *do not* want separation and independence. They want to remain part of the United Kingdom."[23] In response, an MP who would ultimately vote in favor of the Scotland Act *because* he thought it would lead to independence, Scottish National Party MP James Sillars, noted "the Bill has an enormous importance. Its correct name is the Catapult to Scottish Independence Bill…I know that it is the fond wish of the Government that this Assembly will be the means of ending agitation for Scottish independence, and that it will take the heat off the matter, but both the Government and this House will be foolish to believe that."[24] Wrapping up his arguments, Mr. Sellars remarked, "The Assembly is the start of a

[23] http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1977/nov/14/scotland-bill
[24] Ibid.

process of fundamental change. It is the first step in what will become for Westminster a forceful march along the road to Scottish independence within the European Community."

In response, a Scottish Conservative who voted against the bill argued "there is the crazy situation that if the Government win tonight they will do so on the backs of those very people who are most dedicated to that objective which the Government claim they oppose; namely the independence of Scotland."[25] He later argued that difficult circumstances in Scotland, like a dramatic rise in unemployment, would lead to calls for an independence referendum from the UK if Scotland were to have its own assembly.

The Welsh assembly bill had much the same reaction, with Mr. John Stokes, Conservative MP, arguing for both bills, "we all know that once those Assemblies are created they will demand more power and money and will not be satisfied until they have achieved independent."[26]

Though this is just one example, it is illustrative of concerns across the cases studied that a wedge emerges between supporters and opponents of devolving power from formerly unitary states based on the premise that doing so would create a "slippery slope" to independence. Those who opposed devolution would often point to the potential political destruction of the country, while those who supported it (and also opposed independence) argued that it would merely answer the needs of a disenfranchised nationalist group.

There are some who argue that there has been a significant upsurge in nationalist movements as of late, but they point to factors beyond the devolution of power. In his exploration of the rise of what he refers to as regionalism in Europe, Rune Dahl Fitjar in *The Rise of Regionalism: Causes*

[25] Ibid.
[26] http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1977/nov/16/wales-bill-allocation-of-time-1#S5CV0939P0_19771116_HOC_352

of Regional Mobilization in Western Europe points to a wide and varied number of factors that have been significantly discussed by both political scientists and political elites: globalization mobilizes regionalist movements because it can marginalize the power of the state[27]; that integration of the powers of the state to the European Union also sap the state of its formerly hegemonic levels of power[28]; and that economic disparities between the nation and the state can lead to calls for a greater concentration of power in the hands of the nation.[29] Though these are decidedly important factors-and several of these will be explored in the historical section-this thesis will try to look solely at the introduction of devolved powers to a region as an influence over independence sentiments.

[27] in The Rise of Regionalism: Causes of Regional Mobilization in Western Europe 55
[28] Ibid 56
[29] Ibid 59-60

Chapter 2: METHODS

Overview

This paper looks at the establishment and effect of devolving power to three important cases in Western Europe. The heart of this paper lies in the relationship between nationalist sentiment and the devolution of power, especially in the form of a parliament.

The selection of these three cases was done very deliberately, in recognition of some very important similarities and some very important differences, both across countries and within countries.

Selection of Countries

There have been at least a dozen cases of devolved power from countries all over Europe in the past century, created by a variety of European, global, and local events. Some of these cases involved a forceful devolution of power, often following wars, while others came about following the explosion of domestic tensions. Others still came about the intervention of the international community (the case of the Aland Islands, for example).

The three cases and eight nations covered in this study-Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland in Great Britain; Flanders and Wallonia in Belgium; and Galicia, the Basque Country, and Catalonia in Spain-share several important similarities.

Firstly, these countries are all in Western Europe. While this may seem like an obvious statement to make, this distinction does have some important consequences. Belgium, Spain and Britain all have histories of democratic tradition, though the Franco regime in Spain disrupted

democratic governance in Spain. In addition to being comparable politically speaking, these three countries have a large degree of economic similarity. All countries are ranked as highly developed (they are clustered in a similar position on the Human Development Index, with Belgium 18th, Spain 23rd, and Britain 28th[30]), and all have robust service industries. Though each country has very wealthy and comparatively poor areas, overall they are much closer to one another economically than, say, that of Russia (which has its own very complicated system of devolved power, with very different political and economic positions).

Secondly, the three cases studied in this paper devolved power willingly and as a result of movements and tensions within the country (not, like some cases, the result of international pressures). The powers these nations have today were willingly transferred by the sovereign, highly centralized states in which they resided. Power was peacefully transferred away from formerly centralized states to their constituent nations. No state was compelled to transfer these powers, and though Spain and Britain devolved powers to their nations following popular referenda held by the nations, it was the central authority of the state that set up the referendum process, following acts of parliament. Belgium, on the other hand, devolved power without the consultation of the Flemish of Walloons by acts of parliament.

Thirdly, and possibly the most important element for study in this paper, these nations were all provided power either at or after the year 1970. I chose the year 1970 as a cutoff date because the data I wished to use to analyze the ebb and flow of nationalist sentiment-voting results for nationalist parties and polling data on independence-both become more and more difficult to attain as one stretches back further and further in time. Though there are some very important cases of highly developed, democratic countries in Western Europe devolving power to regions

[30] http://hdr.undp.org/en/media/HDR_2011_EN_Table1.pdf

with a sense of nationhood-Italy with Sicily, and Finland with the Aland Islands, for example-most of these occurred well before 1970, making polling data especially difficult to find.

Finally, the nations within these states are fairly integrated into the state, both historically and geographically, and are not peripheral elements of the country. For example, Greenland-within the Danish Kingdom-has significant devolved powers provided by Denmark, but it lies half an ocean away, speaks a totally different language, and is more a holdover of colonialism (like the French overseas territories, which also have their own parliaments) than a distinct nation within the state.

Despite these similarities, the three states in this study are different enough to merit attention. Firstly, the timeline in which these nations were originally integrated into the state varies both within each state and across states. Northern Ireland (along with the rest of the island) was integrated into the United Kingdom in 1800, and Scotland a century earlier. Wallonia and Flanders were both integrated in 1830, and the Spanish nations centuries before that.

Some of them were integrated by force (Wales, the Spanish cases) while others by treaty (Scotland, Ireland, and the Belgian cases). Some led to nationalist movements with no violence, or early violence that quickly dissipated (the Belgian cases, for the most part, along with Scotland, and Galicia), some had a little violence (Catalonia and Wales), while others have had strong and lasting conflict, extending even to this day (Basque Country and Northern Ireland).

Perhaps the two most important differences lie in language and economy. In Belgium and Spain, language represents a significant cultural barrier separating the nation and the state, while the British cases are largely removed from a linguistic conflict (though Wales is a partial exception, but even in Wales, the majority of the people speak English). Language can serve as an

immediately recognizable, ever present difference among both the people of the nation and of the state showing distinct differences between the people of the nation and the state.

Another important difference among the cases is the comparative wealth of the nation in relation to the state. In some cases, the nation is comparatively wealthier than the rest of the state (Flanders in Belgium, the Basque Country and Catalonia in Spain), while in others the nations is relatively poorer than the state (Wales, Northern Ireland, Galicia and Wallonia). Finally, the remaining case, Scotland is relatively on par with the rest of the state, though for much of its history it was poorer than the rest of the UK. While I do believe one will see a correlation between the economic strength of the nation and the strength of the nationalist movement, the metrics of this study will focus solely on the relationship between the devolution of power and nationalist sentiment.

Data

As previously mentioned, the two metrics I will use in this study to analyze the change of nationalist support over time are public opinion polling data and support for nationalist/separatist parties.

The public opinion polling data almost always asks a fairly simple, straightforward question, something along the lines of "Do you wish for the Basque Country to be independent from Spain?" Polling data comes from two distinct sources, polling firms and newspapers. In certain cases, notably Scotland, Wales and the Basque Country, there are strong polling firms that have tracked support for separatism in these nations for decades. For Scotland and Wales, the polling firm is called Ipsos Mori; it is the second-largest polling firm in Britain and is widely respected for its polling data both within the UK and abroad. In the Basque Country, the polling source is

the so-called "Euskobarometro" (Basque Barometer), conducted by the University of the Basque Country and in collaboration with the Basque Government's Center for Opinion Studies. They have compiled strong and consistent data from a variety of sources, and are trustworthy sources of information.

The other cases-Northern Ireland, Galicia, Catalonia, Flanders, and Wallonia-either do not have these larger polling firms, or the polling information is not publicly available. For these nations, I have relied on all polls published by the 5 largest newspapers of each nation. This measure is somewhat inexact, as there is often a glut of polling data around important events in relation to the nation, and much of the polls have been conducted since the year 2000. However, using a variety of polls (in the event of polls conducted in the same year in roughly the same time period, I average the results), I believe this is a fairly good metric given the lack of firm and reliable data. For a list of the newspapers I will be using, please consult the appendix.

The other source of information is much simpler. It looks at percentage support for nationalist/separatist political parties in both regional and national elections. One of the things this paper has consistently done is link nationalism and separatism. Though they are not inherently the same, for purposes of this data they will be studied as one. In a way, this is mistaken: there are "nationalist" parties in several of these nations that do not necessarily support independence, while there are others that are clearly separatist. In Northern Ireland, for example, the Sinn Fein Party advocates independence from Great Britain, while the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) advocates "nationalism", without a clear view on independence. Despite these differences, I feel including both groups of parties under the umbrella of nationalists is necessary for a few reasons.

Firstly, and most importantly, both nationalist and non-independence parties like the Basque National Party and independence parties like the Basque Republicans can agree that their nation shares distinct interests from that of the state, that these interests should be recognized by the state and that authority should be placed in the hands of the nation, not the state. The important distinction really is just how far the political parties wish to go: do they think that all of their interests are wholly wrapped up in the nation and that the nation should therefore control all, or do they feel some powers are best left to the state, but many others for the nation? In the end, both independence and nationalist non-independence parties share a desire for the recognition of the distinct concerns and issues of the nation, and those who vote for them recognize that both of these types of parties share the need for recognition of the interests of the nation as distinct from that of the state, drawing a line in the sand between one's duties and responsibilities as a citizen of the state and as a citizen of the nation. While it is true that those who vote for non-independence parties may not all support independence (and in fact, there are likely some who vote for independence parties even though they don't support independence), those who vote for either party recognize that their concerns as Basques, Welsh or Walloons are somehow distinct from that of the state, otherwise they likely would have voted for the state political parties within their nation.

Second, in certain cases, separatists were unable to vote for separatist candidates because separatist parties did not exist. In all of the cases studied, Britain, Belgium, and Spain, the electoral development of clearly secessionist parties came after the development of nationalist, devolutionist political parties. If one only studied clearly, distinctly separatist parties, while it would be helpful in determining a group of people most likely to support independence, it would not include all of them.

In addition, some of these devolution parties have become separatist parties (like Plaid Cymru in Wales) over time while other more separatist-leaning parties (like the Basque Nationalist Party) have become less supportive of separatism over time. The lines between separatism and further devolution can be very fuzzy within political parties too: some politicians in a separatist party oppose independence while some politicians in devolutionist parties support independence. Splicing political parties can become fairly tricky, and this writer does not have the requisite skills to do that level of advanced and highly complicated work.

For a list of the political parties I will be using in this study, along with the election years at the regional and state level, and the dates of the polls, please consult the appendix

Chapter 3: NATIONS OVERVIEW

This section will cover 4 important elements related to this study: it will look at the historical connections between each nation and the state, study the current relations between the two, and look at the history of devolution and the nature of devolved power to the nation. It is the hope of this chapter that each case be explored in some depth, and though the history of these countries is not necessarily vital to the purpose of this paper of understanding the *effect* of devolved power per se, one must study these elements in order to ensure that other factors (such as historical grievances, economic inequality, etc.) are not more important in determining nationalist trends than the introduction of a Parliament.

UNITED KINGDOM

SCOTLAND

Historical Overview

Relations between Scotland and England, and subsequently Scotland and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, have been marked by violent conflict which has evolved into a relationship of peace and cultural division.

Scotland and England were formally joined into one state in 1707, following centuries of violent conflict between the two over land holdings and religious strife.[31] The unification of Scotland and England was not done by forceful acquisition (as was the case in Wales), but rather through

[31] Harvie, Christopher. Scotland and Nationalism: Scottish Society and Politics, 1707-2000. 57

a formal agreement signed by the parliaments of Scotland and England to dissolve themselves in place of a unified Parliament in London.[32]

The Act of Union made it possible for Scotland to maintain many of the characteristics that gave it a distinct cultural identity. By joining the Union, Scotland was able to maintain its religious autonomy (the Scottish community was largely Presbyterian, while England remained under the religious jurisdiction of the Church of England),[33] its own legal system and law code, and many laws pertaining directly to Scotland passed by the British Parliament paid deference to this distinct legal code.[34]

However, unlike the cases of Spain and Belgium, linguistic differences were not tolerated in this new state. Scottish languages and dialects were largely suppressed, and English became (and is now) the near-universal language of Scotland.[35] So while Scotland differs from England and the rest of the UK in many ways, language is generally not one of those distinctions.

The representation of Scotland as a distinct, though not independent, entity of Great Britain has been through a series of governmental offices, legislative policies, and degrees of deference to Scottish politicians and Scottish customs. This has also been matched with a very weak level of violence between the two,[36] in stark contrast with Great Britain's relations with Northern Ireland.

For much of the history of the United Kingdom, Scotland was given a level of influence in the governance of the British state disproportionately larger than the Scottish population, and much of this was done with the British government recognizing the distinctive nature of Scotland from

[32] Moreno, Luis. Escocia, Nacion y Razon. 114
[33] Coupland, Sir Reginald. Welsh and Scottish Natioanlism: A Study, Collins, London, 1954. Page 111-115
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Curtice and Seyd, eds. Has Devolution Worked?, Manchester University Press, New York, 2009. Page 16

the rest of the UK. Constituting roughly 10 percent of the population of the UK, Scotland had, up until 2005, over 12 percent of the seats in Parliament. After devolution, this was corrected, with the number of Scottish MPs lowered from 72 to 59.[37]

The distinct interests of Scotland had largely been represented within the UK government by the Scottish (later Scotland) Office, which was founded in 1885, with a Secretary specifically for Scotland.[38] This office was designed to represent and convey the interests of the Scottish people. This office was complemented by various degrees of "administrative" devolution, in which government abilities were moved from London to Edinburgh, including agriculture, fisheries, health, education, and prisons.[39]

Contemporary Relations

Relations between Scotland and the rest of the UK are peaceful, but not without divisions. Unlike some of the more extreme cases in this study, Scottish nationalists in the past century and up to today have not supported violence as a means of attaining political goals.

Scotland has a relatively robust economy, dependent largely on manufacturing (electronics, finance, and whisky), oil production, and tourism. At roughly 10% of the population, it constitutes nearly 10 percent of the UK gross GDP.[40] Scottish GDP per capita is lower than that of England as a whole (in 2010 roughly £26,904 in England and £26,600 in Scotland[41]), though not considerably different.[42] Given Scotland's relatively moderate position economically

[37] Scotland Act 1998 (Commencement) Order 1998 http://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1998/3178/contents/made
[38] Ibid.
[39] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo5/18-19/34/section/1/enacted
[40] http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/Browse/Economy/GDP/Findings
[41] Ibid.
[42] "Scottish Gross Domestic Product", National Statistics of Scotland
http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Resource/0041/00413557.pdf

speaking, not particularly wealthier (like Basque Country) or poorer (Wallonia) than the rest of the state, economics is not a major part of nationalist claims.

The one exception to this rule is the issue of North Sea Oil. One of the most important contentious issues between Scotland and the rest of the UK today is in relation to the oil and gas reserves in the North Sea. The North Sea oil reserves constitute over a trillion gallons of oil,[43] and roughly 90% of the entire oil reserves of Great Britain lie in these Scottish waters.[44] Control over this vast resource has been a point of contention since the 1960s, and became a rallying cry in Scotland's devolution movement in the 1970s.[45]

Another source of tension between the UK (mostly England) and Scotland is in the political realm. Scotland is reliably more left-leaning, and Labour Party supporting than its southern neighbor. However, given that England constitutes the vast majority of the British population, this can lead to situations in which English political interests and parties trump Scottish ones. This was especially true in the 1980s and 1990s, where the UK elected the Conservative Party, under Margaret Thatcher and John Major, to government, despite Scotland casting a significant majority of its votes to the Labour Party, and losing every one of its Conservative MPs by 1997 (though it now has one Conservative MP).[46] This political division was only exacerbated by Prime Minister Thatcher's disregard for many of the traditional deferential measures provided to Scotland by the British Parliament, even going so far as to introduce a very unpopular tax measure in Scotland a full year before it was given to the rest of the UK.[47]

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[43] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/7435016.stm
[44] Harvie, page 44.
[45] Bryant, Christopher. The Nations of Britain, Oxford, London. Page54
[46] Ibid 57
[47] http://www.newstatesman.com/uk-politics/2009/02/scottish-scotland-thatcher

This political division still exists today. In the last parliamentary election, in 2010, Scotland gave 62% of its vote to left-leaning political parties, and only 16.7% for the Conservative Party.[48] Meanwhile, in England, 40% of the vote went to the Conservative Party, and 28% to the Labour Party.[49]

The main sources of tension today between Scotland and the rest of the UK lie in cultural differences, political differences, and a few economic differences (mostly in Scottish oil). However, these tensions are not violent and it should be again noted that the British government has provided Scotland significant breathing room to express its own cultural, religious, and economic desires.

History of Devolution

Devolution in Scotland has occurred in fits and starts in the past century. There were three major attempts to secure some form of devolved power: in the 1930s, the 1970s, and the 1990s. The first two failed because they lacked legitimacy based on political party support.

In the 1930s, political party support for devolution was uneasy and uncertain. The Scottish National Party had just come into the political world after a merger of 2 other political parties. However, these two parties looked at nationalism in different ways (one party supporting independence, the other supporting some devolved powers), so the SNP was unable to provide a united front for devolution or independence.[50] In addition, the major political parties in Scotland and the wider UK, the Conservative and Labour parties, were unable to come to a consensus internally regarding the devolution question, so it was pushed aside. This was later put to rest by

[48] "UK 2010 Parliamentary Election Results: Scotland" http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/election2010/results/region/7.stm
[49] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/election2010/results/region/48.stm
[50] Harvie, page 57

World War II, which saw a huge upsurge in British nationalism and any notion of internal dissent was quickly stamped out.[51]

In the 1970s, the issue of devolution came up again with the discovery of oil off the North Sea coast. Given the enormous economic boon this was bound to create, and a growing sense that the UK was taking the oil without providing the due economic benefits to Scotland, nationalist tensions flared up again and another attempt was made to devolve power. Unlike the 1930s, the Conservative and Labour parties did come up with opinions regarding devolution, but each side switched several times. The Conservative Party changed its position at least twice, and the Labour Party suffered from enough internal division that it would be unable to put its full force behind devolving power.[52] When devolution was finally put in a 1979 referendum, political divisions were too high to sustain the effort needed to pass the referendum, and it failed (the referendum received a slim majority, but this was not enough to pass the more stringent threshold required).[53]

Those pushing for devolution were finally successful in 1997. In the 1997 Parliamentary Election, after almost two decades in the minority, the Labour Party finally gained enough support from England to become the majority power in Parliament. After the significant discontent that the Thatcher government caused for Scotland and the fact that Scotland had become a bastion of support for the Labour Party, the party introduced another referendum to Scotland (and Wales) asking whether or not powers should be devolved. This time around, the

[51] Harvie 61
[52] Hearn, Jonathan. Claiming Scotland: National Identity and Liberal Culture, page 49.
[53] Scott, P.H. Scotland: An Unwon Cause, page 153.

Scottish people overwhelmingly supported both the creation of a Scottish Parliament (74.3%) and that such a parliament have tax-varying powers (63.5%).[54]

The creation of the parliament was supported across Scotland, even in the lowland regions bordering England, which have historically been more conservative than the major cities or even the Highlands. Following the devolution referendum, the British Parliament passed the Scotland Act, which formally devolved powers from London to Edinburgh, and provided the framework for the parliament (number of members, the nature of the initial powers, the voting structure, etc.).

Nature of Devolved Powers

The powers devolved to Scotland today are among the most significant of the cases this paper will study. In addition to the powers it already had previously in the fields of law and religion, Scotland now has power in agricultural policy, education and the environment, healthcare and police, local government, sports and arts, research, social work, and forestry and fisheries. The most important powers the Scottish parliament does not have are: energy, monetary policy, foreign policy, and border protection.[55]

Powers have been expanded to Scotland a few times, the most recent occurring in 2012, when borrowing powers and speed limit regulation were conferred to the Scottish government from the British Parliament.[56] However, nearly all the power held by the Scottish Parliament was given in the first period of devolution.

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[54] Jones, Peter. The Road to Home Rule, page 55.
[55] Scotland Act 2012, Chapter 11. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2012/11/pdfs/ukpga_20120011_en.pdf
[56] Ibid.

WALES

Historical Overview

The absorption of Wales into the English realm followed a less peaceful trajectory that Scotland's addition to the British realm. Added in 1542 by an act of the English Parliament, the Welsh nation was forcibly joined with England following 200 years of near-constant warfare.[57]

The distinct legal system of Wales was destroyed, as were all other forms of government and public administration.[58] The Laws in Wales Acts and the Wales and Berwick Act specifically erased Welsh law and placed English law as the source of power and legitimacy in Wales, in clear contradiction to its treatment of Scotland 150 years later.[59]

As a result, much of Welsh identity became largely wrapped up in the Welsh language, one of the six Celtic languages clustered around England.[60] However, the number of native Welsh speakers began to fall precipitously across the succeeding five centuries, following various decrees by English kings to formalize the speaking of the English language across the Britannic Isles, and large-scale immigration of English citizens to southern Wales. In 1800, the number of Welsh speakers stood at 80%, and by 1900 it had dropped to 50%. By 2000, that number stood at 20 percent.[61]

The notion of Wales' distinctive nature within Britain has been difficult to maintain when compared to Scotland and Northern Ireland. Wales was never strongly unified under a powerful monarch, and the structure of the state hadn't fully been developed by the time of the English

[57] Courland, page 73.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Edlyne, Thomas. The Statutes at large of England and of Great Britain, page 242-244.
[60] Williams, Raymond. Who Speaks for Wales: Nation, Culture, Identity, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 2003. Page 7-11.
[61] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/wales/2755217.stm

takeover.[62] In addition, from the 12th century onward, Welsh religion was subject to English control (unlike the Scots Presbyterians and the Northern Irish Catholics, both which strongly resisted English influence). Wales is also very hilly and in some places has very treacherous terrain, with large and sparsely populated areas in between. This led to many distinct local communities, without a particularly strong national identity.[63]

Perhaps because of this lack of Welsh collective nationalist identity, the representation of Wales as distinct within the British political system has always been more downplayed than its Scottish counterpart. For much of Wales' history within Britain, it was not treated as a separate entity at all; rather it was treated essentially as other counties of England.[64] The very beginnings of unique Welsh government institutions began in the late 19th century with the creation of the Welsh Intermediate Education Act, which "virtually created the modern system of Welsh secondary education."[65]

Following that, and similar to Scotland, the British government created agencies relating state-level interests to the regional level, including health and agriculture, beginning in 1919. The Treasury and National Health Service began treating Wales as a region after WWII, and the Secretary of State position and the Welsh Office were created in 1964 (Scotland, in contrast, saw the creation of its own office almost a century earlier).[66] This relatively late start (considering the acceptance of independent Scottish institutions was recognized in the early 18th century and formal government institutions were begun not much later), and the difficulties in maintaining a

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[62] Bryant 119.
[63] 121
[64] Butt and Philip. The Welsh Question, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1975. Page 5-10.
[65] Perryman, Mark. Breaking Up Britain: Four Nations After a Union, Lawrence and Wishurn, London, 2007. Page 89.
[66] http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/

distinct Welsh identity likely contributed to a less nationalistically active Welsh community, when compared with Britain's other constituent countries.[67]

Contemporary Relations

Relations today between Wales and Britain are fairly positive, with virtually no nationalist violence between the two. However there are some significant structural issues between Wales and Great Britain.

Firstly, unlike Scotland, Wales is most definitely poorer than England or Britain as a whole. While English GDP per capita stands at roughly $31,000, in Wales it is approximately $22,903.[68] This gap is due to the dramatic reduction in Wales' influence as a major industrial center of the United Kingdom, which was largely wiped out in the 1980s recession. Previous to that, Wales was a global leader in iron ore smelting, coal and copper mining (one of the largest copper mines in the world was in Anglesey, Wales), and other forms of industrial production.

As a result, Wales is a net beneficiary of British support in employment benefits, housing, healthcare funds, and social security.[69]

The largest sticking point between Wales and the rest of the United Kingdom, and one that some have argued has been answered by the introduction of a Welsh assembly, has been Wales' lack of a voice in guiding British politics, especially in its own backyard. This was revealed dramatically in the Capel Celyn conflict in the mid-1950s.

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[67] http://www.ligtel.com/~wales/waleshistory.html
[68] http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/regional-accounts/regional-gross-value-added--income-approach-/december-2012/stb-regional-gva-2011.html
[69] Bryant 119.

In 1956, a bill was sponsored before the British parliament that would produce a water reservoir for the city of Liverpool, This required the flooding of a Welsh valley, Afon Tryweryn. This meant flooding the Welsh village of Capel Celyn[70], one of the few remaining entirely Welsh-speaking communities in Northern Wales. Despite universal opposition from Welsh Members of Parliament of all political parties, and vigorous protests from members of Welsh valley, the project received approval from Parliament and the valley was destroyed.

This created an enormous sense of powerlessness among Welsh citizens and political elites alike, and led to an upsurge in support for the Welsh nationalist party Plaid Cymru. It also led to the recommendation that a Welsh Office and Welsh Secretary of State be created, as it was obvious that Wales lacked the influence and recognition it desired.[71]

History of Devolution

In spite of occasional complaints of feeling powerless to the hands of the UK government, Wales has not always been supportive of goals to devolve power to itself.[72] The first rumblings of Welsh nationalist sentiment began in the early 20th century, in line with the administrative devolution of education and healthcare policies to Wales. This was expanded with the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales in 1914, and the Welsh nationalist party Plaid Cymru was founded in 1925.

The Labour Party (which, like in Scotland, had a powerful base in Wales) first began discussions of Welsh devolution in the mid-1960s, following the election of Gwynfor Evans, a Plaid Cymru

[70] http://www.bbc.co.uk/liverpool/content/articles/2005/10/17/feature_welsh_reservoir_feature.shtml
[71] http://www.walesoffice.gov.uk/about/
[72] Febre and Thompson, Nation, Identity and Social Theory, Perspectives from Wales, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1999. Page 19.

candidate, to the British Parliament in 1966. However, these early inklings of devolution were quickly crushed by Welsh Labour MPs who saw this as a "concession to nationalism."[73]

As was the case in Scotland, the Labour Government proposed a devolution referendum in Wales in 1979, following a 1974 White Paper proposing the creation of Scottish and Welsh assemblies. However, the results in Scotland and Wales were very different. While Scotland supported the creation of a Scottish Parliament by a bare majority (though not enough to surpass the 40% electorate threshold that was required), the Welsh rejected a similar proposal by a whopping 60-point margin.[74]

Again, like with Scotland, another move was made to devolve power by another Labour Government official, this time under Tony Blair. And again, like in 1979, support was not nearly as strong in Wales as it was in Scotland. While Scotland supported the 1998 devolution referendum by a near 3-1 margin, the Welsh referendum passed with only slightly above 50% of the vote.[75] As was the case with Scotland, this meant a shift of powers from the administrative office in London (the Wales Office) to a regional parliament.

Nature of Devolved Power

The powers of the Welsh Assembly, while constituting a greater level of power than any the Welsh people have had at a national level for the past half millennium, are still much less significant than the powers devolved to the other devolved parliaments in Britain.

Initially, the Welsh Assembly had no primary legislative powers, differing from Scotland and Northern Ireland. It was only able to pass secondary legislation in devolved areas. In 2006, the

[73] Ibid.
[74] Evans, Gwynfor (2000). The Fight for Welsh Freedom. Talybont: YLolfa Cyf. p. 7.
[75] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/politics97/devolution/wales/live/index.shtml

Government of Wales Act expanded the powers of the Welsh Assembly to be more closely in line with its Scottish and Irish counterparts, though it still had not reached their levels. After the passage of that law, among the most important of the Assembly's new powers included: agriculture, culture, economic development and education, food and health services, housing and local government, social welfare and tourism, and use of the Welsh language.[76] Two of the more significant changes brought about as a result of these expanded powers have been the abolition of fees for National Health Service prescriptions in Wales-the only part of the UK to do so-and a lower rate for Welsh students to study at Welsh universities than other British students (in Scotland, university fees have for the most part been removed for Scottish students).

A 2011 Welsh referendum, which asked whether or not the Welsh Assembly should be provided full competence in the 20 fields it which it was provided varying degrees of authority in 2006, passed 63%-37%[77], an interesting increase in support for higher levels of devolved power in a country known for its reticence for establishing such power. It also removed the requirement that Wales seek permission from the UK government to change the law in areas of its own competence before doing so.

Overall, the devolution in Wales has followed a similar trajectory with Scotland, though with significantly less enthusiasm and subsequently fewer political powers than Scotland.

[76] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/wales/5211918.stm
[77] Ibid.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Historical Overview

Of the British cases in this study, Northern Ireland is by far the most violent, most contentious, and most recent. It is distinct in all the cases studied by this paper in that Northern Irish nationalism does not seek to make Northern Ireland independent, but to add itself to the rest of the Republic of Ireland. Nationalists do not seek independence, they seek reunification.

As was the case in Scotland, the addition of Northern Ireland to Great Britain, along with the rest of the country, was by act of Parliament. In 1801, Ireland became a part of the UK with the Acts of Union, which dissolved the Kingdom of Ireland and the 700 year old Parliament of Ireland.[78]

Though this may seem relatively recent, given the addition of Scotland a century earlier and Wales a century and a half before that, English influence and domination over Ireland has been around for over four centuries.

Starting in the 16th century and continuing up to the 19th century, England engaged in a series of wars and colonizing measures with the Irish for control of Ireland. Following protracted conflict, the English succeeded in establishing dominance over Ireland, bringing in a series of repressive laws and structures that imbued great resentment among the Irish people. Restrictions of Catholic rights (Ireland being overwhelmingly Catholic and England and Scotland overwhelmingly Protestant) along with land-owning rights were powerful, as the English had engaged in a form of colonization called "plantation", in which English and Scottish Protestants were brought to Ireland and Catholic Irish landowners lost their land to these new immigrants.

[78] "Act of Union of Great Britain and Ireland" http://www.rahbarnes.demon.co.uk/Union/ActOfUnion(Ireland).htm

The Irish language, Gaelic, was suppressed by the British government, much as Scots and, to a lesser extent, Welsh had been.

The English government also severely restricted Irish legal and institutional systems pre-Union, including removing many of the rights of the Irish Parliament, the barring of Catholics from seeking office (following the overthrow of the Catholic majority in the Parliament in 1614)[79], and severely restrictive penal laws. These measures led to multiple skirmishes among the Irish population, including the failed 1798 rebellion.

The incorporation of Ireland into Great Britain was met with enormous resistance, which continued for the next 120 years. Following significant resistance, the notion of Home Rule for Ireland was brought up by the Irish Parliamentary Party in the 1880s.[80] It strove for Home Rule, which led to the Home Rule Act of 1914, which was suspended because of World War I.[81] However, significant republican anger boiled over, and the Irish war for Independence in 1922 (fought in part because of English attempts to enforce conscription in Ireland) led to the Anglo-Irish Treaty which created the Irish Free State.[82]

This is the point where Northern Ireland/Ulster becomes important. The 6 northern counties of Ireland that constitute this region were for the most part Protestant majority, following significant immigration from Scotland and England. Protestants in the region overwhelmingly opposed the independence of majority-Catholic Ireland, fearful that their rights as Protestants

[79] Keogh, Dermot and Michael Haltzel. Northern Ireland and the Politics of Reconciliation, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1993. Page 20
[80] Ibid Page 21.
[81] Ibid Page 27-30
[82] Ibid. Page 32.

may be diminished (and partially with the notion that they were British first and foremost, Irish second[83]) in this new state.

The Government of Ireland Act, signed 2 years before the creation of the Irish Free State and very cognizant of the religious and nationalistic differences between the two regions, divided the largely Protestant Northern Irish counties and Catholic Southern Irish counties, with the hopes of providing home rule to both, and eventually unifying the two Irelands. However, given the war for independence in Southern Ireland, home rule institutions only took shape in Northern Ireland.

A majority of the Northern Irish strongly wished to retain the Union in its form (of full incorporation of the whole of Ireland), but as it could not succeed in this endeavor, it sought to at least maintain its own position in Great Britain. Though this was in part due to religious differences, Northern Ireland was strongly integrated into the British economic system, serving as an important center for ship-building (including the Titanic) and other large-scale engineering projects.[84]

Following partition, violence emerged between the Irish Republican Army, which fiercely opposed the partition, and the Unionists. Though this died down for the most part after independence, violence continued to come up between Unionists and Republicans. Conflict had been fueled in part by the Unionist majority in Ulster, which actively discriminated against the Catholic (and largely nationalist) minority, through Home Rule policies and local government moves. Voting rights were restricted to property owners, which largely kept poorer Catholics from voting, all the way until 1979.[85]

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[83] Ibid. page 77
[84] http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/othelem/landon.htm
[85] Ibid.

The abolition of proportional representation in Northern Ireland in the late 1920s ensured that Unionist parties would remain dominant, and the Ulster Unionist Party ruled through the Parliament of Northern Ireland for 50 years.

Violence and conflict has been near constant since partition between Unionists and Nationalists. Even in the relatively peaceful period between the late 1920s and mid-1960s, the IRA engaged in a bombing campaign of Belfast in the 1940s and a guerilla "border campaign" in the late 1950s. At the same time, Unionism became conflated with Protestantism, with Catholic Unionists pushed aside in political and civil life. This religious division did not improve as Catholics increasingly left Northern Ireland, strengthening the position of Northern Irish Protestants.[86]

Conflict between Unionists and Protestants reached an apex in the era referred to as the "Troubles", a period lasting from the late 1960s to the 1998 Belfast Agreement. Violent attacks and rioting would occur during Unionist and Nationalist parades, and radical student groups and political parties engaged in conflict.[87] This would eventually lead to a British military takeover of the region, the internment of suspected IRA supporters, the death of unarmed civilians, and terrorist attacks on government offices both in Ireland and the UK. In this period, the Northern Irish Parliament was completely dissolved, and though provisional governments were set up sporadically, they were essentially powerless.[88]

By the 1990s, the deaths of British and Irish combatants led to increasing frustration within the republican movement, and many began to advocate negotiation as a possible stepping stone to eventual power. The Good Friday Agreements in 1998 largely saw the end to conflict, although

[86] Levin, Cynthia. *Militant Nationalism: Between Movement and Party in Ireland and the Basque Country*, University of Minnesota Press, London, 1999. Page 44.
[87] Ibid. 84
[88] Ibid 87

issues continue to arise.[89] By 2005, the IRA made a formal statement ordering its members to rid themselves of weapons and seek solutions through political negotiation.

Contemporary Relations

Relations between the Unionists and Republicans of Northern Ireland are somewhat tense, but not nearly as tense as history might suggest they should be. The current composition of the Parliament includes as its largest party the moderate unionist Ulster Unionist Party, with the Irish nationalist Sinn Fein as a close second. No political party advocates violence, and the Unionist and Nationalist parties largely work together in the Northern Irish Assembly.

Despite the fall of violence, conflicts continue to emerge over the question of Northern Ireland's position in Britain. Following a vote by the Belfast City Council to only fly the British flag on 15 designated days of the year (rather than its traditional, year-round position), loyalist protestors injured two security staff when they attempted to force their way into Belfast City Hall. Outside the city hall, protestors used bottles and metal barriers to attack police officers, and an attempt was made to hijack a bus. There is also speculation that a Catholic church in the area was attacked in the fracas, though it did not sustain much damage.[90]

In addition, although much of the conflict relating to Northern Ireland is the result of internal strife, it's important to look at Northern Ireland within the context of the wider Great Britain. Northern Ireland, like Wales, is significantly less wealthy than its English and Scottish counterparts. This issue, though important, raises less concern in this particular study because the main claims of nationalists tend to rely not on economic appeals (as is occasionally the case in Scotland), but through appeals to nationalist, Irish sentiment.

[89] Ibid. 93-4
[90] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-20587538

Though it is a relatively poorer part of the UK, it is a relatively wealthy part of the island of Ireland, resulting in large part due to economic progress and increased trade following the conclusion of the Belfast Agreement.[91]

History of Devolution

The history of devolution in Northern Ireland is among the most complicated of the governments studied in this paper. Though Northern Ireland received a parliamentary assembly in 1998 as a result of the Belfast Agreement, this was not the first time Northern Ireland had a devolved parliamentary system from Great Britain. As mentioned earlier, Northern Ireland received a devolved "Home Rule" Parliament (including a House of Commons and a Senate) following the 1920 Government of Ireland Act. This home rule parliament was fairly autonomous, with the authority to cover most aspects of Northern Irish life.

However, this Parliament was dissolved in 1973 by the Northern Ireland Constitution Act[92], the result of attempts by Northern Irish parties to abate the nationalist/unionist conflict that had just begun to roil the region. It was meant to be replaced with a new Parliament, though only if it the parties that gain control could be "likely to be widely accepted throughout the community." Given the continuing tensions between the nationalists and unionists, this became impossible.[93]

In 1982, however, an election was held as a way of extending a constitutional convention that had been held a few years previous. This new Assembly (only if it could be widely accepted), gave Unionists a substantial edge, though it was not viewed as particularly important or

[91] http://web.archive.org/web/20061102195406/http://www.nics.gov.uk/briefjan06.pdf
[92] Levin 95.
[93] Ibid 97.

legitimate. Due to strong opposition from the nationalist parties, it was ineffectual, met infrequently, and did almost nothing.

The actual, formal devolution of power as it stands today was brought about by the previously mentioned Belfast Agreement, in 1998. This agreement called for the creation of a Northern Irish Assembly, designed in ways that look similar to the Scottish Parliament.[94]

Though the Assembly was created in 1998 as a way of resolving conflict between nationalists and unionists, it has not been without further issues. In 2003, the election of the Democratic Unionist Party and Sinn Fein as the largest parties (yet neither commanding a majority) ensured that no government could be formed with a majority of the Assembly Members (AMs).[95] As a result, the Assembly was not seated, and up until the 2007 election, the powers that had been reserved by the Northern Irish Assembly reverted back to the British government.

In 2007, following negotiations between the Irish political parties, new elections were held and the Democratic Unionist Party and Sinn Fein were again elected the largest political parties. However, this time they agreed to form an, albeit contentious, government, with the Democratic Unionist Party leader becoming First Minister and the Sinn Fein leader becoming Deputy First Minister. This uneasy truce continued in the 2011 elections, in when the DUP emerged again as the largest party and Sinn Fein as the second largest.[96]

Degree of Devolution

Devolved power in Northern Ireland, despite the complications of the Assembly itself, is largely in line with devolution powers in Wales and Scotland. Today, Northern Ireland has competence

[94] Keating, Michael. *The New Regionalism in Western Europe,* Bookcraft Ltd, London, 1999. Page 90
[95] Ibid. Page 95
[96] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/special/election2011/constituency/html/northern_ireland.stm

over agriculture and rural development, culture and art, education and employment, internal trade and development, environmental and healthcare policy, and social/regional development.[97] Like the cases of Wales and Scotland, it does not have powers over foreign policy, monetary policy, the minimum wage, telecommunications, or social policies like abortion.[98]

The Northern Irish Assembly does have one important distinction from the Welsh and Scottish Parliaments. All of its laws are subject to judicial review, and can be struck down by the UK government if a law: violates EU law, exceeds its competences, violates the European Convention on Human Rights, or (specifically geared towards Northern Ireland) it "discriminates against individuals on the grounds of political opinion or religious belief."[99]

BELGIUM

FLANDERS

Historical Overview

The case of Belgium in this study is an interesting one. It was the first of these three countries to devolve power, and has done so in a piecemeal approach that differs from the Spanish and British cases. As Marie-Claire Flobets remarks, "Belgium [is] the only state in the world where different oppressed majorities coexist, each of which has a claim of superiority over the other."[100]

One of these "oppressed majorities" is Flanders. Flanders was once an independent nation this ended many centuries ago. In around 1400, the area that now constitutes Flanders was absorbed

[97] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/47/contents#sch3
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Smith and Wistrich 102

by the Low Countries (which had been under the control at various times of the Spanish and the Austrians) and became a somewhat peripheral element of the Dutch state.

In 1830, however, Flanders (the Low Provinces) changed hands, following the Belgian Revolution. Belgium was created as a French-speaking state, despite Flanders being predominately Dutch-speaking (though at that point not constituting the strong majority of population it has today)[101]. From the beginning, Flanders was a poorer, rural region of Belgium, though it did have the commercially powerful towns of Ghent, Bruges and Ypres. Wallonia, on the other hand, was a far wealthier, French-speaking region. Despite constituting roughly 60% of the population, the Dutch speaking Flemish were relegated in the political and economic realms, with politics and business routinely conducted in French.[102]

The notion of Flemish identity was introduced by lower-level Catholic Church members, the cultural communicators of Dutch society.[103] Many considered the region devout, and they saw themselves as true members of the Church, in contrast to the more decadent members of the Walloon society.[104] It was also in this pre-20th century period that the Flemish movement of recognition took on an economic and cultural ethos: embodied in the word *volk*, the Flemish movement was a way of recognizing the Flemish nation (people) linguistically and culturally, but it was also a way of recognizing the working classes (in contrast to the wealthier Walloon middle class residents).

As previously mentioned, Belgium was a distinctly French-oriented state, though this orientation would weaken with time. It was only until 1878 that the Dutch language was able to be used in

[101] http://www.historyofnations.net/europe/belgium.html
[102] Clough, Shepard. *A History of the Flemish Movement in Belgium,* Octagon Books, New York, 1968. Page 48-51
[103] Ibid. 48
[104] Smith 104

schools and for official government use, though even at that point French remained the only official language. At the same time, much of the economic investment in Belgium was placed in Wallonia, exacerbating the poorer elements of Flanders and leading to significant emigration from Flanders to Wallonia.

Flanders was one of the hardest hit parts of Europe during the World War I and helped shape French-Flemish tensions. Many Flemish conscripts and volunteer soldiers were placed under the command of French-speaking troops, and their commands (in French) were usually not understood by the Dutch-speaking soldiers.[105] This helped to catalyze a recognition of Flemish distinctiveness within the Belgian state, and helped to spur nationalist sentiment following the end of the war.[106]

In the interwar period, and especially during World War II, Flemish nationalism became increasingly associated with far-right wing policies and political leaders. Immediately before the war, Flemish nationalists, distressed at what they perceived as oppression at the hands of Wallonia, turned to the far-right policies of Nazi Germany.[107] During the war, as Hitler's armies invaded Belgium, Flemish nationalists (who had been promised various degrees of autonomy) collaborated with the Nazi regime, and this would color Flemish nationalism for decades.[108]

After World War II, divisions between the Dutch and French-speaking Belgiums became wider and wider. Questions arose over whether or not King Leopold III should return to the Belgian throne after the war (he was suspected to have collaborated with the Nazis during the occupation

[105] Clough 102
[106] Ibid 104.
[107] Ibid 178.
[108] Ibid 180.

of Belgium).[109] With the French opposed and the Dutch in favor, a referendum was held in 1950 on whether or not the king should return. Though a narrow majority supported his return, the French Walloons were so adamant in their opposition that many Walloons threatened to secede from Belgium. As a result, King Leopold III forsook his reign in favor of his son, the future King Baudouin.[110] It was also at this period that the economic position of Flanders and Wallonia switched: rather than Wallonia being the central economic hub of the state, Flanders increasingly took that position.

The economic divisions between Wallonia and Flanders continued throughout this period, and the Belgian government slowly began to alter its power structure, shifting from a unitary one to the essentially federal one it is today. Starting in the 1970s, the Belgian Parliament began to devolve powers to Wallonia and Flanders, and the political parties of Belgium became exclusively Flemish or French.

With few powers exclusively in the hands of the Belgian Parliament, Flanders today enjoys perhaps the strongest recognition of its nationhood as possible, short of independence.

Relations Today

Relations between Flanders and Belgium can be looked at through much the same lens as relations between the Basque Country and Spain. Nationalist sentiment pervades the Belgian-Flemish bond (much like the Basque-Spanish relationship), and the Flemish nationalist parties

[109] http://www.itinerablog.org/article/an-independent-flanders-as-the-new-belgium
[110] http://www.ethesis.net/stripverhalen/stripverhalen_deel_3.htm

are now strong enough not only to hold sway in the Flemish region, but to wield enough power at the state level to destabilize the Belgian political system for years.[111]

In the economic realm, Flanders today has a GNP of $42,200 per capita, while in the whole of Belgium it is $37,600[112]. With roughly 60% of the population, Flanders constitutes 65% of the economy.[113] The Flemish economy is based both on services and production. The service industry is clustered around the Brussels area (the "capital of Europe", and a mostly French speaking city in the Flemish region), while the port cities of Antwerp and Ghent serve as significant export areas, especially in diamonds.

Though the conflict between notions of Flemish self-determination and the Belgian state have been relatively without violence (in stark contrast to the strong Northern Irish and Basque Country nationalist movements), the Flemish nationalist movement has been able use other means to express its frustration with the Belgian government.

In 2007, the Belgian national parliament held elections. In line with growing separatist, nationalist sentiments in Flanders, the nationalist parties New Flemish Alliance (NVA) and the far-right Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest) saw significant increases in support in Flanders. Of the 150 members of the Belgian Parliament, 30 were elected from the NVA, and 17 from the Vlaams Belang.[114] Due to open divisions between the French and Flemish over constitutional reform-the French opposing further devolution of powers and nearly all Flemish parties supporting further devolution-the Belgian political system remained at a gridlock, with no party able to form a government.

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[111] http://blog.gmfus.org/2012/12/06/catalonia-scotland-and-flanders-force-separatism-back-on-the-eu-agenda/
[112] http://www.planning.ugent.be/downloads/agenda/congres/2009-05-14--Position_of_Flanders_Economy_in_the_Belgian_and_European_Economy--Low_countries_studies.pdf
[113] Ibid.
[114] http://theoryofdevolution.wordpress.com/2010/12/07/devolution-belgium/

It took over 6 months to form a government, and the one that formed was largely based on Christian democratic and liberal political parties. The head of this coalition, Yves Leterme, was later hospitalized and would later leave the government to work for the EU, putting the coalition in further doubt.[115] The coalition was only able to survive when further powers on industrial policy and housing were devolved, at the behest of the Flemish parties in the coalition.

This coalition collapsed in September 2008 following controversial statements made by a French politician over the Flemish community. This led to the resignation of the prime minister in December, with the King of Belgium (who has the responsibility of agreeing to the formation of the government) looking to Belgian and European experts on the appropriate form of action. Following a month of inaction, the King asked Herman van Rompuy to form a government, which ended in November 2009 when van Rompuy was nominated as President of the European Council.

A second attempt at a Leterme government broke down in April 2010, after only 5 months of administration, because of a problem concerning the Brussels-Halle Vilvoorde electoral district led to the withdrawal of the Flemish Liberal Party. Following this government, it took over a year and a half to form another coalition, this time including social democrats, Christian democrats, and liberal parties from the French and Flemish groups.[116] It did not include the New Flemish Alliance, the largest party in the Parliament. Again, the only way the Flemish political parties were able to agree to join the party was by the Belgian government agreeing to even further devolved powers and the partition of the Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde region (a key Flemish sticking point).

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[115] http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/news/regions/europe/benelux/110920/belgium%E2%80%99s-prime-minister-yves-leterme-resigns-better-gig

[116] Ibid.

The Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde conflict has been a prime example of Flemish-Walloon conflict, ultimately leaning in favor of Flanders. This Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde (BHV) region is the geographical area around Brussels, essentially the suburbs of the Belgian capital. The central issue of this region has to do with language and elections: Brussels, which has its own degree of autonomy within the Flemish region, mostly speaks French, but recognizes both French and Dutch as official languages. However, Brussels is completely surrounded by the Flemish region, which recognizes Dutch as the official language (it does not recognize both French and Dutch as official languages).

The population of Brussels has been expanding rapidly over time, in part due to the position of Brussels as the "capital" of Europe. As a result, French speaking Brussels residents have increasingly occupied the officially Flemish Halle-Vilvoorde region around the city. These residents were allowed to vote in Brussels elections, allowing French speakers living in the officially Flemish region the ability to vote for French language political parties, while in Wallonia, Dutch speakers were unable to vote for Dutch language parties. Many Walloons wish for the French speakers in this region to be recognized as a linguistic minority, giving them the rights to vote for political parties in the Walloon (French-speaking) region.

In 2012, following fierce opposition to this status quo from nationalist political parties in Flanders, the inhabitants of the Halle-Vilvoorde region lost the ability to vote for Brussels politicians in federal elections, losing the ability to vote for French-speaking political parties. The only way for the French speakers of this region could vote for French speaking political

parties would be for them to create new political parties.[117] Overall, French interests were subverted in order to protect the linguistic autonomy of Flanders.

The Flemish political parties are largely a reflection of the frustration of the Flemish people with the administration of the Belgian parliament, seeing the Belgian government as constricting Flemish economic and political aspirations. Flemish frustration has been translated into chaos at the federal level, with no stable consistency within the federal government for a period of 6 years.

History of Devolution

Devolution in Belgium is far more complicated and protracted than the cases of Spain and Britain, despite the fact that all came from similar positions as centralized states before devolution. Though Britain devolved most power in one instance, with a few expansions later on, and Spain devolved nearly all its power initially, Belgian devolution has occurred over a protracted period of time.

Also unlike the Spanish and British cases, none of the devolved powers provided to the Flemish or Walloon Parliaments were done with the expressed consent of the people. Though there were 6 distinct periods of devolution, none of them were done following any popular referendum.

The first round of devolution was in 1970. It was at this point that the Belgian government created the "cultural communities" of Flanders and Wallonia (a German community was also created, in a small region on the east side of Wallonia, bordering Germany and Luxembourg, which speaks German). It also created the constitutional elements of the territorial regions. It

[117] http://www.deredactie.be/cm/vrtnieuws.english/Political%2Bcrisis/Constituencies/Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde%2BConstituency

was at this point that the communities received control over "cultural" matters, pertaining to broadcasting and language use in public spaces (schools, public roads, etc.).[118]

In 1980, the second form of devolution took place. The cultural communities became known simply as communities, and received further powers in "matters of man", mostly healthcare and social services. The communities were given a council (parliament) and a government. Along with the Flemish community, the devolution reforms included the creation of the Flemish and Walloon Regions, also with their own council and government. The Flemish, in response, merged their region and community, with only one government and one parliament for both the community and the region.[119]

The 3rd reform, in 1988, mostly pertained to the Brussels-Capital region, the capital of Belgium and a French-speaking city totally within the Flemish community. This reform gave Brussels its own parliament, establishing a parliament for a French city within a Flemish community. This reform movement also gave the Flemish community powers in education, transportation, and public works.[120]

The fourth state reform, in 1993, fully recognized Belgium as a federal state, revising the Constitution to say "Belgium is a federal state." This reform also split the Brabant province (straddling the Walloon and Flemish regions) into a Flemish and Walloon Brabant. Finally, this reform included the direct election of members to the regional parliaments.[121]

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118 http://www.belgium.be/en/about_belgium/country/history/belgium_from_1830/formation_federal_state/first_and_second_reform_of_state/

119 Ibid.

120 http://www.belgium.be/en/about_belgium/country/history/belgium_from_1830/formation_federal_state/third_and_fourth_reform_of_state/

121 Ibid.

The fifth form of devolution, passed by the Belgian parliament in 2001, expanded regional powers to include agriculture, fisheries, foreign trade, development, and the devolution of financing political parties to the community level. It also extended fiscal powers (including 12 regional taxes) and budget allocations.[122]

The 6th and most recent devolution reform, agreed in 2011 and passed by the Belgian Parliament, involved devolving economy and employment matters to the regions, along with family policy. It includes the shift of $25 billion worth of powers to the regional levels, along with splitting the Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde region (in line with Flemish demands).[123] Finally, this devolution reformed the Belgian government by removing the direct election of the Belgian Senate, and instead become a place for members of the regional parliaments to meet (this was also a demand of the Flemish nationalist parties, especially the NVA). Before then, 21 of the 71 senators had been elected by the regional parliaments.

Nature of Devolved Powers

The Flemish Parliament (in its role as the elected representative of both the Flemish community and the Flemish region) has extensive powers. Along with Wallonia (the devolved power of Wallonia and Flanders mirror each other), Flanders has the most devolved power of any of the nations studied by this paper.

The parliament has powers over cultural matters (including radio, literature, art, tourism and media); language use at all levels; all matters "relating to the person"-i.e. youth protection, family policy, old age, equal opportunities and immigrant protection; education and healthcare.

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122 http://www.belgium.be/en/about_belgium/country/history/belgium_from_1830/formation_federal_state/fifth_reform_of_state/

123 Ibid.

It also controls urban planning, environmental control and conservation policy; employment and economic development, and energy. Perhaps most surprising of the powers devolved to Flanders is the ability to conduct international treaties with other states, in relation to development and foreign trade. In this situation, Belgium can have two distinct foreign trade policies and goals, one pushed by Flanders and the other by Wallonia.

WALLONIA

Historical Overview

Wallonia, the French speaking southern portion of Belgium, was for a major period of history controlled by the Holy Roman Empire. For centuries, the area that is now Wallonia was at the edge of a vast empire that covered almost half of Europe. This ended during the French Revolutionary period, when Wallonia was conquered by the French Republic in 1795. After it was conquered, it was placed under the control of the French republican (and later Napoleonic) government.

This period of French rule ended in 1815, when the Battle of Waterloo ceded French control of Wallonia to the Kingdom of the Netherlands. During this period, Wallonia generally had little control over its own affairs, though in many of the empires to which it belonged, the exercise of power was relatively weak in the region, so while it had little official autonomy, it was also not subject to heavy-handed policies from the state.[124]

In 1830, Wallonia and Flanders declared their independence from the Netherlands, forming the Kingdom of Belgium. Wallonia, which spoke French, had the advantage of speaking the language of the political and economic elites of Belgium. Though it was hardly recognized as a

[124] Fernand Braudel, L'identité de la France, Tome I, Arthaud-Flammarion, Paris, 1986, p. 14

distinct region in its own right, Wallonia had the advantage of a state that spoke its language and articulated its industrial interests.

While Flanders struggled in economic development and rural poverty in the 19th century, Wallonia became one of the major industrial centers of continental Europe.[125] The economic advancement of Wallonia brought great prosperity for local Walloons, and also brought about strong social and labor reform movements, which continue to this day in the political parties of the Walloon region. This led to a degree of labor unrest in the late 19th and early 20th century, with a large number of strikes, though these did not manifest into expressions of nationalist sentiment.

The strong industrial progress of Wallonia continued for decades, and would only begin to sputter in the 1940s and 50s, as industrial production shifted north and to different industries. In the 1960s, Flanders began to outpace Wallonia industrially, which led to significant social problems in the region. The first inklings of nationalist sentiment in Wallonia began as the comparative economic strength of Wallonia fell in relation to Flanders.

The autonomy sought by Wallonia was largely in relation to a desire to manage its own economic affairs. In the 1960s, a major strike in Wallonia known as the Winter General Strike was the culmination of a tumultuous period that began with the Royal Question[126], in which the Walloons opposed (by around 60%) the readmission of King Leopold III back to the throne (after it was argued that he had collaborated with the Nazis), despite support from Flanders. The Winter Strike saw the Catholics and Liberals-with powers concentrated in Flanders-in conflict

[125] B. G. Awty, 'The continental origins of Wealden ironworkers' Economic History Review Ser. II, 34 (1981), 524-39
[126] Tony Cliff, The Belgian General Strike (February 1961) First published in Socialist Review, February 1961.Re-published in A Socialist Review, London 1965, pp.316-26.

with the strong trade unions of Wallonia over social and labor policy. The Walloons also opposed austerity policies promoted by then-Prime Minister Gaston Eyskens.

Following the failure of the Walloon side in these conflicts, the Walloon people, especially the working class (which was much stronger in Wallonia than Flanders), advocated for federalism as a means to protect Walloon interests against the more powerful Flanders.[127]

The Walloon movement (closely tied with the francophone movement) began officially with the Democratic Front of Francophones of Brussels, a political party that elected one senator and three MPs in the 1965 election.[128]

As the Walloon region suffered further economic falls, independentist and rattachist (reunion of Wallonia with France) sentiments began to rise. Other political parties, like the Front pour l'independence de la Wallonie and the Rassemblement Wallonie-France began to advocate the cause of Walloon nationalism, though, as the next chapter will show, these movements have been nowhere near as strong as their Flemish counterparts.

Since the 1980s, the Walloon nationalist and rattachist movements have suffered significant setbacks and falls in popular support. According to numerous press accounts, the Walloon movement has lost enough support to be virtually non-existent. With Wallonia largely working within the current devolved system, much of Walloon separatism has disappeared.

[127] Chantal Kesteloot, Growth of the Walloon Movement, in Nationalism in Belgium, MacMillan, London, 1998, pp. 139-152, p. 150.

[128]

Relations Today

Relations between Wallonia and the rest of Belgium are largely positive. Wallonia works well with the devolved system it has been provided, and has avoided many of the strong moves its Flemish counterparts have exerted over the Belgian Parliament to gain further controls.

One of the ongoing elements of Walloon nationalism has been one of political conservatism, maintaining the system that has traditionally benefited Wallonia at the expense of Flanders (especially the protection and promotion of the French language in lieu of Flemish in the Brussels suburbs).

Wallonia, as a result, has generally opposed movements to devolve power to the regions, and considering both the economic position of Wallonia in Belgium and its formerly privileged position at the state level, this makes perfect sense.

Extensions of Walloon nationalism tend to show this desire to push the federal government to protect French interests in the regions. One of the most significant extensions of French nationalism is the Brussels question. Brussels has a very complicated position within Belgium: it is the capital of the country, the seat of the Belgian, Flemish, and European parliaments, and largely speaks French, despite being completely surrounded by Flanders.[129]

The protection of the French language in the areas around Brussels (which is protected within Brussels) has become a cause célèbre among Walloon nationalists. Flemish political parties on all sides of the political spectrum have opposed extending bilingual rights to the Flemish region

[129] http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/benelux/100602/belgium-political-language-flemish-independence?page=0,1

surrounding Brussels, arguing that doing so infringes upon the rights of Flanders to exercise its linguistic rights.[130]

The Brussels-Halle-Vilvoorde region was noted before the reform in 2011 as being in a difficult position. Seen as an extension of the sprawling Brussels suburbs, residents of the Flemish region were allowed to vote for politicians in Brussels, both French and Flemish.

The Walloon nationalists strongly promoted continuing this policy, while the Flemish supported changing the policy to reassign the regions officially to the Flemish region, voting for Flemish candidates in the Flemish Parliament. Despite Walloon support for continuation, the Flemish were able to use their strong position in the Belgian Parliament to initiate a change in policy, which took effect in July 2012.

History of Devolution

The history of devolution in Wallonia mirrors the history of devolution to Flanders. For an exploration of this devolution, please refer to the section on devolution in Flanders as all powers devolved to Flanders were also devolved to Wallonia.

Nature of Devolved Powers

The powers of the Walloon parliament mirror those of Flanders. The Walloon government has extensive powers. Along with Flanders, Wallonia has the most devolved power of all the nations studied by this paper. In order to avoid repeating myself, please look to the section exploring the nature of Flemish devolved powers to see the level of power devolved to Wallonia.

[130] Ibid.

SPAIN

GALICIA

Historical Overview

The notion of Galicia as a distinct entity goes back to the Roman Empire. Galicia was maintained as a linguistically distinct part of what had been warring Spanish kingdoms for centuries.

Over the centuries, Galicia was slowly incorporated increasingly larger kingdoms. By the 11th century, it had become a part of the kingdom of Castile (after formally being controlled as a part of Portugal, to which it borders to the south), and though Castilian was the official language of the realm, Galician was largely spoken in Galicia uninterrupted. Throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, kings distanced themselves from direct control of Galicia, and largely let control rest in local religious and civic leaders, so long as they paid their dues to the king.

This period of benign neglect ended in the 15th century, when the dynastic conflict between Joanna La Beltraneja (who would eventually become queen consort of Portugal) and her aunt, Isabella of Castile, ended, and Queen Isabella engaged in a vigorous crackdown of Galician nobles and clerics, bringing Galician monasteries and other institutions under the firm control of Castile. At the same time, the Galician language endured a two century decline, in which the language was almost entirely wiped out as a written language.[131]

A series of conflicts with the Portuguese, the French and the English (over naval control of the Iberian Peninsula) lasting until the 17th century saw huge loses of blood and treasure among the

[131] Douglas Page 127.

Galician population. Perceiving a lack of concern from the Castilian government, some Galicians considered seceding from Castile, but these desires were never put into action.[132]

In 1833, Spain was centralized into a single monarchy, removing the status of the Kingdom of Galicia and dividing it into 4 regions (which exist to this day). An unsuccessful separatist coup attempt was made in 1846[133], but it was quickly stamped out and the leaders of the rebellion were executed. From this period onward, Galician nationalist sentiment began to pick up. This nationalist feeling was mirrored by an explosion of Galician culture, with Galician authors working to bring back into writing the Galician language.

In the 20th century, several Galician politicians attempted to turn the region into a nationalist stronghold, much like the Catalan had done a few years earlier, but the movement failed to gather the same level of support it had in Catalonia.[134] However, a 1916 movement called Irmandades de Fala (the Brotherhood of the Dialect) soon gained support as a Galician nationalist movement, and this movement would be translated into action[135].

When the Second Spanish Republic was declared in 1931, the Galician Party (Partido Galeguista) rallied support behind a Galician Statute of Autonomy referendum, which passed with wide support.[136] However, because the Spanish Republic would soon fall to Franco, it was never put into action.

Galicia in the Franco regime fared better than several of its regional counterparts, perhaps due in part to Franco's Galician roots. It largely avoided the bloodshed of the Spanish Civil War.

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[132] de Artaza, Manuel Ma. (1998). Rey, reino y representación : la Junta General del Reino de Galicia (1599 - 1834). Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Page 29.
[133] Ibid 27.
[134] Ibid 26.
[135] Ibid 45.
[136] Ibid 41-45.

However, the Franco regime made sure never to promote the Galician language (or any other regional language, for that matter), though the Galician people were largely able to speak their language without interference (in stark contrast to several of the cases in this study, notably Scotland and Wales).[137]

Following Franco's death in 1975, the Galicians faced a referendum on their status as an autonomous region of Spain, and, like the Basque Country and Catalonia, it received majority support. In 1981, Galicia was granted a Statute of Autonomy. Current politics in Galicia consists of a back and forth between the conservative People's Party and a coalition of left-leaning groups (including the Galician Nationalist Bloc, or Bloque Nacionalista Galego).

Relations Today

Relations today between Galicia and the rest of Spain are largely positive and non-violent. This stands in marked contrast to some of the other cases in this study, notably Basque Country and Northern Ireland.

Though there are some differences economically speaking between Galicia and the rest of Spain (Galicia focusing on fishing and agriculture far more than Spain as a whole), the political differences between Galicia and Spain on the left-right spectrum are not strong enough to constitute the political tensions that mark some of the other cases in this study, though the Galicians do occasionally cast votes in local government elections as protests against policies taken by the national Spanish government, including the recent 2012 election.[138]

[137] http://galiciaguide.com/Galicia-facts.html
[138] http://www.edition.cnn.com/2012/09/27/business/spain-politics-catalonia/

Galicia, though rising in economic power in spite of significant emigration to Latin America and parts of Europe, is slightly less economically developed than the rest of Spain. At the state level, Spanish GDP per capita rests at $22,152 while in Galicia it is $18,335.[139]

History of Devolution

In 1981, power was devolved to Galicia in the form of a Galician Parliament and the Galician Xunta (Executive). This occurred following the encouraging development and subsequent failure of a previous devolved power movement.

In 1932, a movement was made by the Second Spanish Republic to acknowledge the rights of the Galicians as a distinct nation, and a Statute of Autonomy was passed to provide a degree of devolved power to Galicia. However, the Spanish Civil War brought an end to this plan.

During the rule of the Franco regime, from 1936 to 1975, all notions of regionalist sentiments, including those in Galicia, were fiercely cracked down upon, in order to protect a strongly centralist power base in Madrid.

Following the death of the generalissimo in 1975, the Galician people, along with the Basque and Catalan communities, strongly pushed for the reintroduction of devolved parliaments. In part, this move was done in reaction to the centralist tendencies of the 40-year rule of the hated Franco rule. As a result, devolving power was part of a larger effort by the Spanish central government to decentralize power, moving against the traditions of Franco. After establishing one of the most decentralized governments in Europe with its 1978 constitution, the Spanish government continued this decentralization with Galicia 3 years later.

[139] http://www.galicia.es/en/economia

In 1981, the Galician community received its Parliament, and its first elections were held the same year. In that year, the Popular Alliance (center-right) received 30.5% of the vote, with the nationalist parties receiving over 15% of the vote[140]. Power has flipped between the two parties ever since, with each side remaining competitive enough to strongly contest elections.

Nature of Devolved Powers

The Galician Parliament has significant devolved powers, arguably on par with the powers devolved to Scotland.

Among the most important powers devolved to Galicia are: cultural symbols and language policy, urban management and housing, management of railways and roads within Galicia, harbor and public land control, environmental and nature protection, fisheries management (a very important part of the Galician economy), markets, research, social assistance, and healthcare management.

Distinct from the British cases, Galicia also has power over its harbors and roads, public surveillance, protection of its own coasts, its own public broadcasting companies, pharmaceutical services, intellectual property, and numerous tax controls. It also has the power to create and implement its own distinct legal system.[141]

CATALONIA

Historical Overview

Catalonia shares with the Basque Country and Galicia a long-standing national identity and preserved language. Across from Galicia on the north-eastern side of Spain along the French

[140] http://www.parties-and-elections.eu/galicia.html
[141] http://www.xunta.es/o-parlamento

border, Catalonia has consistently maintained itself as a distinct nation, due in part to its ability to maintain the Catalan language.

For centuries, control of Catalonia switched hands between French and Spanish monarchies, and in 1258, the French formally relinquished their claims to Catalonia, ceding it to the Kingdom of Aragon. In the hands of the Aragonese, Barcelona (the capital of Catalonia and the 2nd largest city in Spain) expanded as a strong maritime power. Aragon gave significant linguistic autonomy to Catalonia, supporting Catalan literature and authors. They were also able to retain many of their own laws up until the 18th century. Their rights were maintained, despite efforts by the Catalan in the so-called Reapers' War to rebel against Spanish control for what it saw as an overstepping of Catalan rights.[142]

The distinctive rights that had been granted to Catalonia were terminated following the conclusion of the War of Spanish Succession in 1716, as the Catalan had largely supported the Austrian Habsburg leader to the throne, who lost in his attempt to gain the Spanish throne.

Like Galicia, Catalonia received a statute of autonomy during the Second Spanish Republic in 1931, but also like Galicia, it lost this autonomous status with the rise of Francisco Franco. In both cases, though opposition was strong against the Franco regime, the use of violence was quite rare, especially when compared to the Basque Country.[143] Unlike the case of Galicia, Catalonia was severely affected by the Spanish Civil War, and much of the 1940s-60s was devoted to rebuilding what had been lost.[144]

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[142] Balfour and Quiroga, *The Reinvention of Spain: Nation and Identity Since Democracy,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007. Page 129-131.
[143] Hansen, Edward. *Rural Catalonia Under the Franco Regime*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977. Page 34.
[144] Ibid 39.

Once the Catalan system was rebuilt, it exploded in growth. From 1959 to around 1975, Catalonia led Spain in the so-called Spanish Miracle, which saw spectacular growth in industry, transportation, and household income.[145] This led to the enormous rise of Barcelona as a major economic power and international player.

Today, Catalonia stands as an economically robust region, with significant devolved powers.

Relations Today

Relations between Catalonia and the rest of Spain are relatively positive and non-violent, though they can still be quite contentious.

Catalonia is one of the most economically developed regions in Europe, and has the fourth largest GDP per capita, of the 17 autonomous communities in Spain (approximately $39,580, in contrast to Spain's overall GDP per capita of $32,175). It has been termed one of the Four Motors of Europe, and has significant economic weight within the Spanish economy.[146]

One of the resulting points of contention within Catalonia has been tax collecting authority. Unlike the case of the Basque Country, the Catalan Parliament does not have tax collecting abilities. Like the British cases, Catalonia's ability to control its own self-government is contingent upon grants from the central government.[147] This has become a significant form of contention, and though a 2006 statute of autonomy referendum was passed (with overwhelming support, but with low turnout) to expand the powers of the Catalan Parliament and Executive[148],

[145] http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/atlas/spain/factsheets/pdf/fact_es51_en.pdf
[146] Loughlin, J. (1996). ""Europe of the Regions" and the Federalization of Europe". Publius (Oxford University Press) 26 (4): 141–162
[147] http://www.gencat.cat/generalitat/eng/estatut/preambul.htm
[148] Ibid.

much of it was ruled unconstitutional by the Spanish Constitutional Court, despite voices of protest from four of the six political parties in the Catalan Parliament.

In September 2012, roughly 1.5 million Catalan demonstrated in Barcelona in favor of independence, with several local referenda also voting overwhelmingly in support of independence.[149] This anger was reflected in a 2012 snap election, which saw a strong rise of the already significant nationalist Catalan parties to the Catalan Parliament, in part due to nationalist tensions and in part as a protest vote against Spanish austerity measures (similar to Galicia and the Basque Country).

History of Devolution

The History of devolution in Catalonia is very similar to the process in Galicia and the Basque Country. In 1932, the Catalonian nation was granted a Statute of Autonomy by the Second Spanish Republic, though this was never put into effect due to the Spanish Civil War and subsequent rise of Francisco Franco to power.

The Franco regime concentrated power in the centralized state, with little to no recognition of the distinctive characteristics of Catalonia. Though, as was the case in Galicia, the Franco government did little to stop the development and continued use of the Catalan language, though it was eliminated in all official government documents.

Following the death of Franco in 1975, the Catalan people overwhelmingly supported the creation of a new Spanish Parliament (in 1978), and later supported the Statute of Autonomy, providing Catalonia with a Parliament in 1982.

[149] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-19564640

Catalonia, much like the Basque Country and unlike Galicia, has reflected its nationalist impulse both on the Spanish and Catalan levels. Catalan nationalist and separatist parties have consistently enjoyed stronger support in both the Spanish and Catalan parliaments than their Galician counterparts, but less support than those in the Basque Country.

The Parliament, as of late, has continued to flex its ideological and nationalistic muscle: in January 2013, the Catalan Parliament passed a mostly symbolic declaration stating that Catalonia was a sovereign entity[150], and that they would advocate for a referendum on independence (this move, though mostly symbolic, elicited fierce replies from the Spanish government that any attempt to secede from Spain would be fought in the courts).[151]

Devolved Powers

The powers of the Catalonian Parliament are extensive, greater than the powers of Galicia, but less than those of the Basque Country. As defined by the Statute of Autonomy, Catalonia has power over culture, communication, transportation within its borders local trade, government and local police. In contrast to the cases of Scotland and Flanders, it shares power in the fields of education, health and justice. Justice is, though technically a shared power with the Spanish government, mostly controlled at the state level (the exception being civil law in Catalonia).

The government of Catalonia does not have any tax-raising authorities, and like the cases of Britain, it receives funding directly from the Spanish government. Noting the contrast to the Basque Country, and the comparative wealth of Catalonia, this has been a cause for significant friction.

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[150] http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/20/world/europe/separatist-parties-in-catalonia-agree-to-form-government.html?_r=0&gwh=01FF22FB2C97F074673CC4D4BE6BEA87

[151] http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jan/23/catalonian-parliament-referendum-independence-spain

In 2006, the Catalan Parliament passed the 2006 Statute of Autonomy, which sought to expand the powers of the Catalan Parliament and Executive. It would have unequivocally recognized the Catalan right to self-determination, provided taxing authorities, brought judicial decision-making to the Catalan level, and securing the rights of citizens against "reactionary" elements of society (including conservatives from outside the region) that would harm these rights.[152] It also expresses a desire to establish Spain in a more federal-type system.

Despite support from over 70% of the voters, much of this law was struck down by the Spanish Constitutional Court. One of the most important points of contention the justices took issue with was the notion of Catalan "nationhood" and especially self-determination. It ruled that these notions violated the Spanish constitution and were therefore void. This case led to enormous protests across Catalonia, with over 1 million people marching in the streets of Barcelona. However, the Catalan government has been unable to reverse this decision, or provide a meaningful alternative. So the powers held by the Catalan Parliament remain essentially the same as they were in 1981.

BASQUE COUNTRY

Historical Overview

The Basque Country ranks with Northern Ireland as the most contentious and violent of the 8 cases in this study. The Basques have fought various factions in both Spain and France for recognition and power.

Similar to Galicia and Catalonia, the distinctive nature of the Basque Country goes back at least to the Roman Empire. Following the collapse of the Roman Empire, control over the Basque

[152] http://lcbackerblog.blogspot.com/2006/06/debate-over-new-autonomy-statute-for.html

Country alternated between the Visigoths, the Franks, and the Umayyad Caliphate. For the next several centuries, the Basque Country would shift hands multiple times. However, the Basque people were largely able to control their own affairs, so long as they paid due homage to whichever kingdom they belonged to.[153]

However, the Basque Country would ultimately lose its autonomous status with its support for the absolutist monarchists in the first and second Carlist wars. Though the Carlists were traditionally centralizers of power, they supported the autonomous authority of the Basque Country. Unfortunately, the loss of the Carlists in 1849 led to a loss of most of the Basque Country's autonomous status.[154]

This led to the first elements of a politically aware Basque nationalism, with the creation of the center-right, anti-immigrant Basque Nationalist Party in 1895. The party sought either independence for the Basque people, or in the event that this could not be accomplished, some degree of the autonomy their ancestors had enjoyed.

Though unsuccessful in achieving its goals, the Basque Nationalist Party was successful in coalescing Basque support for the 1936 Statute of Autonomy, provided by the Spanish republican government. However, recognition of Basque nationhood would be denied for four decades, as it had been in Galicia and Catalonia, with the Spanish Civil War and the rise of Francisco Franco. During the Spanish Civil War, a schism developed within the Basque Country that hadn't been seen in Galicia or Catalonia between the republicans and the Franco supporters.[155] Many of the newer nationalists, with few ties to the conservative Carlists,

[153]Douglas, William. *Basque Politics: A Case Study in Ethnic Nationalism,* University of Nevada, Reno, 1985. Page 139-144.
[154] Ibid 144.
[155] Ibid. 158-163

supported the republican group. The older, more traditional elements of the Basque Country, concentrated in Navarre, supported Franco. This would eventually lead to the bombing of Guernica (in the republican-controlled part of the Basque region) by Franco, memorialized by Pablo Picasso's Guernica mural.[156]

The Basque Country had a far more complicated relationship with the Franco regime than its Galician and Catalan counterparts. While Basque culture was roundly condemned and suppressed, the parts of the Basque Country that had supported Franco were able to retain a small degree of control (mostly over local police forces).[157]

Many Basque nationalists responded to continued Franco policies that are more reminiscent of the Northern Irish than Galicia or Catalonia. The 1950s and 1960s saw the emergence of the ETA, or Basque Country and Freedom (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, in Basque). This group, like the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland, used violent protest, sabotage, and terrorism to convey to the Franco regime that Basque nationalist demands were to be taken seriously.[158] Throughout the Franco regime, and following its end with the new Spanish constitutional government, the ETA (which has been deemed a terrorist organization by both the United States and the European Union) engaged in a systematic policy of bombings, kidnappings, and murders to strike terror into the hearts of Spanish authorities, Francoist or otherwise.

Though the majority of Basque nationalists opposed the policies of the ETA, and they have always represented a relatively fringe group, the ETA is a very important element of Basque nationalism to mention as it has received sufficient support, and led to sufficient damage and loss of life, to gain the attention of the Spanish government. In addition, it has engaged in at least

[156] http://militaryhistory.about.com/od/aerialcampaigns/p/guernica.htm
[157] Douglas 217-220
[158] Ibid 219

half a dozen ceasefires, indicative of the significant concern and fear that the group imbues in others (it should also be noted that a Basque nationalist political party that did not disavow the actions of the ETA, the Batasuna, was ruled an illegal political party by the Spanish Supreme Court in 2003).

Following the death of Franco, the Basque Country, just like with Catalonia and Galicia, were provided a referendum on whether or not to support the 1978 Spanish Constitution. Though it was passed with a majority, the level of abstention was very high (55%)[159], and this was due in part to the Basque Nationalist Party urging its supporters to abstain because Basque interests were not properly heard prior to the establishment of the Constitution.

Nevertheless, the Constitution was agreed to, and three years later, the Basque Country received its own parliament, with continued representation at the Spanish Parliament.

Relations Today

The Basque Country has had a tense relationship with the Spanish government for centuries, regardless of whether or not it was a constitutional monarchy or an undemocratic dictatorship. Unlike its other Spanish counterparts, Basque nationalists have repeatedly used violence to pressure state authorities for greater control.

Economically speaking, the Basque Country is the wealthiest region in Spain, ranking over a third higher in per capita GDP (approximately $41,300 vs. Spain's $32,175[160]). Much of its economy, following a loss of industrial powers in the 1970s and 1980s, is based on the services industry. The Basque Country remains a significant banking region in Spain, and is also at the

[159] http://www.euskadi.net/q93TodoWar/eleccionesJSP/q93Contenedor.jsp?menu=li_2_1_1&opcion=a&idioma=i
[160] http://www.eustat.es/elementos/ele0005300/not0005373_i.pdf

forefront of many modern technological movements, especially in relation to energy. Unemployment in the Basque Country is currently ten percentage points lower than the rest of Spain, and its economy performed considerably better during the recession.[161]

Much of nationalist sentiment is driven by economic and cultural disagreements. In terms of economics, many nationalists portray an economically weaker Spanish government draining wealthier Basque coffers and reallocating their resources to others. Culturally, tensions still exist within the Basque community (especially in neighboring Navarre, which is not represented by the Basque Parliament but has had long-standing historic ties to the region) between celebrations of Basque language and culture and Spanish (Castilian) language and culture.[162] Promotion of the Basque language, which has suffered a steady decline for the past 50 years, has been an important factor.[163]

Significant protests, and protest votes, in the Basque Country have been made against the Spanish government's economic policies as of late, especially those concerning austerity measures. The 2012 Basque parliamentary election saw a huge loss in support for Spain's Partito Popular (a center-right political party that has supported austerity measures as a way of ensuring the stability of the Spanish economy), and a significant rise in support for radical separatist parties like EH Bildu, a political party largely seen as an offshoot to the banned Batasuna Party.[164]

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[161] http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA424097
[162] http://www.basques.euskadi.net/t32-448/en/contenidos/informacion/estatuto_guernica/en_455/adjuntos/estatu_i.pdf
[163] http://www.euskonews.com/0470zbk/gaia47002en.html
[164] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/financialcrisis/9624455/Spains-austerity-drive-backed-by-Galicia-but-not-the-Basques.html

Violence by the ETA has been a significant issue for Basque-Spanish relations. Following the creation of the Spanish Constitution and the institution of parliamentary democracy, the ETA split into two distinct sections: one renounced violence and worked within Basque and Spanish political systems to achieve independence. The other continued a violent campaign, initially targeting just government officials, but later attacking airports, bus stations, busy markets, and government buildings. This has led to the death of at least 800 people, and the injury of many more. Though most Basque nationalist groups reject both the ETA and its violent behavior, this has nevertheless remained a stumbling block in positive Spanish-Basque relations.

History of Devolution

The history of devolution in the Basque Country is very similar to Galicia and Catalonia. Following a significant period of autonomy as a member of the Kingdom of Aragon, the Basque Country lost virtually all autonomy as the Spanish state began to coalesce and centralize.

In 1936, during the Spanish Civil War, the Basque Country was given assurances by the Spanish republican government that it would receive autonomy, codified with a Statute of Autonomy. However, when the republican government fell to the Franco forces, the statute was disregarded and the Basque Country was placed under the control of the Franco regime, which rigidly maintained the nationhood of the Spanish state, and crushed regional nationalist movements.

When Franco died in 1975, and the Spanish government moved to institute a far more democratic political system, the Basque Country received its Parliament and Executive in 1979, following a referendum on devolution that passed with 95% voting in favor of the referendum, although 41% of the population abstained from voting. It was then passed by the Spanish

Parliament, and the first elections were held in 1980 (with the Basque Nationalist Party receiving 39% of the vote, and 3 other nationalist parties receiving a combined 25% of the vote).

Nature of Devolved Powers

The Basque Country has significant devolved powers and, unlike Catalonia and Galicia, has significant tax-raising abilities. Among the most important of the Basque parliament's powers are: economic development and trade policy within the region, public domain and property rights, forestry, livestock, agriculture, and fishing; energy; social welfare; education and cultural affairs; prisons and social rehabilitation; urban planning; transportation; healthcare; gambling; the "condition of women"; and "policy regarding the youth and old people."[165]

The Basque Country has the most significant degree of devolved powers of all the Spanish cases, and has significantly more power than the British cases too (even Scotland, which has the most devolved power of the British nations, does not have full control over energy policy, otherwise there would likely be no nuclear power plants in Scotland[166]).

[165] http://www.basques.euskadi.net/t32-448/en/contenidos/informacion/estatuto_guernica/en_455/adjuntos/estatu_i.pdf
[166] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/4376391.stm

CHAPTER 4-RESULTS

This chapter looks at the change in support for independence among the 8 nations in this study following the introduction of a regional parliament. Asking the question "does the devolution of power in the form of a parliament reduce nationalist tensions," leads to three possible answers: an increase in separatist tension, a decrease, or no relative change. My contention, that cases in which strong nationalist sentiment already existed before devolution will see no reduction in support for independence (running counter to many of the politicians who had initially supported devolution and the arguments of many political analysts), is corroborated by the results in Scotland, the Basque Country, Flanders, and Northern Ireland. Among the remaining cases, with weak initial nationalist sentiment-Wales, Wallonia, Catalonia, and Galicia-three of the four saw either a reduction in support for independence or support has remained consistently low. The case that defies expectation is Catalonia: as the data will show, though support for independence was likely very low before the introduction of its own parliament, support for Catalan independence has risen dramatically in the past decade, with support for independence now on par with the Basque Country.

As discussed in the Methods section, the data used to analyze support for independence are: public opinion polling data asking whether or not they support independence (based on either the polls reported by a collection of major newspapers or a well-respected polling firm that has studied separatist support over time), and support for separatist and nationalist political parties at both the regional and state level. Like the Historical Overview chapter, this section will be broken down by nation, with an overarching exploration of the results. At the end of this

chapter, I will show the charts and figures (along with the data sources) that were used to find these results.

UK

Scotland

Looking at electoral results at the regional and national level, support for separatist parties has risen in a relatively haphazard way over time. Beginning with a relatively strong level of support for independence (pre-devolution: 30%), support for independence stabilized after a sharp increase over a period of roughly 5 years, dropped, and then rose to near record levels today.

At the regional level (Fig. 4.1), support for the separatist Scottish National Party (in both constituency seats and as a regional vote share) fell following the first Scottish Parliamentary election, but has risen over time. After the most recent parliamentary election, the Scottish National Party became the majority political party in Parliament, which is particularly surprising as the Scottish Parliament was designed to prevent any political party from reaching a majority.

At the state level (Fig. 4.2), support for the Scottish National Party has remained relatively consistent since the introduction of the Scottish Parliament (marked by the red line on the graph). The significant rise of nationalist parties in 1974 is largely a result of dissatisfaction with the Labour Party at this time, and should not be perceived as a real rise in support for the party or necessarily independence. If one took away this anomaly, one would see a relatively steady increase in support for nationalist parties, today at around 25% of the vote share.

Scottish support for independence has been fairly erratic with time, and since the introduction of the Scottish Parliament, has for the most part stayed within the 25-35% range (Fig. 4.3).

However, since 2010, support for independence has steadily grown, and now stands at roughly 38% of the vote, a near record high for the Ipsos-Mori polling firm. The sharp spike around the moment the Parliament is introduced is interesting, reflecting enthusiasm over the introduction of a new devolved government. But these numbers fell as time progressed until early 2010, when support for independence began creeping up again.

Overall, Scotland presents a somewhat mixed picture on the three independence metrics. None of them are particularly consistent, though the general trend in all 3 has been either a stabilization or a relative increase in support for nationalist parties or independence. One very important thing to be noted here: in no metric has there been a significant decline when compared with pre-devolution numbers. This flies in the face of several claims made by the political supporters of devolution who argued that devolving power would suck the wind out of the sails of support for Scottish independence, when this appears very much to have not been the case.

Wales

Wales has been a very different case. Support for the nationalist party in Wales, Plaid, Cymru, since the introduction of the Welsh Assembly has actually fallen over time within the Welsh Assembly, but has been relatively stable in the British Parliament.

Within the Welsh Assembly, support for Plaid Cymru peaked in the first Assembly election (Fig. 4.4), at roughly 30% of vote share, but fell to around 20% in the 2003 and 2007 election, and now stands at around 18% of vote share. The party went from being the largest in the Assembly to the 3rd largest.

In the UK Parliament, support for Plaid Cymru has been low, and relatively stable (Fig. 4.5). In the election immediately preceding the introduction of the Welsh Assembly, support for the party stood at 10%. It peaked in the 2001 election at 14.5% of the Welsh vote, but has fallen in the 2 elections since, now at 11%. Looking at it from a wider perspective, support at the UK level has been fairly consistent. Since 1970 (when the party became an electorally viable choice in British election), support has never exceeded 15% and never fallen below 7.5%, and for most of that time it has averaged at around 10%.

This 10% is also in line with polling support for independence. Since the introduction of the Welsh Parliament, support for independence has not gone through many fluctuations (Fig. 4.6). Beginning with the fairly low 10% at the introduction of the Parliament, support rose to 20% in 2004-2007 period (likely in reaction to movements by the Welsh Assembly to gain greater authority), and since the introduction of further devolved powers to the Assembly in 2007, support has remained remarkably flat, for the past 6 years it has hovered between 10 and 12%, almost exactly the same level it had before the introduction of the Parliament.

Wales, I believe, falls into the category of nations in this study with weak, pre-devolution support for independence. This case, like with Galicia and Wallonia show similar stabilizations or reductions in support for independence. As I will explore in the implications chapter, I feel these trends represent a pattern: in nations where support for separatism is low, the introduction of a Parliament will not see the same kind of increases in support for independence as with the stronger pre-devolution independence cases of Scotland, Flanders, Northern Ireland, and the Basque Country.

Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland represents an interesting example. Though it received its Parliament in a time with greater support for independence than either Scotland or Wales, support for independence has risen, fallen, and then rose over time.

In the years immediately preceding the introduction of the Northern Irish Assembly, support for independence stood at 28% (Fig. 4.9). For the next 8 years, support for independence rose somewhat steadily to hit a 2005 peak of 40%. Since 2005, however, polling data suggests that support for independence took a precipitous turn downward. After recovering from a 2010 low of 20%, it now stands at 29%, returning to pre-devolution independence.

Northern Irish support for nationalist parties, at both the state and national levels, have both been fairly consistent since the introduction of the Northern Irish Assembly. Though the level of support for Sein Fein (separatist) and the Social Democratic Labour Party (nationalist) are far higher during the period following the introduction of the assembly than before it, once the Parliament was introduced, support at both levels remained stable. At the regional level (Fig. 4.7), support for Sein Fein and the SDLP stood at 40%. Since the introduction of the Parliament, support for these parties at the regional level never moved significantly away from 40%, reaching a peak of 41% in 2007 and a low of 38.5% in 2011.

At the state level, support for nationalist parties has also been consistent, and also hovers around 40% (Fig. 4.8). In the year preceding the introduction of the Northern Irish Assembly, support for Northern Irish nationalists stood at 38.4%. Since the introduction of the Assembly, support for nationalists rose modestly to 42%, and have remained in that area in the past 3 general elections, never falling below pre-devolution levels.

Much like the case of Scotland, the Basque Country, and the other stronger nationalist cases in this study, the introduction of a parliament to Northern Ireland did not lead to a reduction in nationalist/separatist tensions. Like Scotland, though support for independence saw increases and decreases following the introduction of the parliament, it has not decreased from pre-devolution levels and in some regards has increased.

Belgium

Flanders

Flanders has seen a consistent, and growing, support for nationalist and separatist parties, and for independence. Starting from a strong position in the polls, support for the independence of Flanders has risen from 27.8% in 2000, to just around 50% as of this writing (Fig. 4.12). Though support for independence has not risen at a smooth rate, and for a two-year period support fell to around 38%, the introduction of a Parliament, and one with very strong and growing powers, has done little to diminish nationalist tensions in Flanders.

This can also be seen in Flemish support for nationalist and separatist parties at both the regional and state level (Fig. 4.11). In Belgium, nationalist parties that received 1-2% of the vote in the mid-1980s (which was after the introduction of the Flemish Parliament but before the introduction of direct voting for the regional parliament) are now accumulating 25-30% of the vote share. In the every election since the introduction of the parliament in the early 1970s, support for nationalist parties like the Flemish Block, New Flemish Alliance, and the Flemish Interest, has consistently risen (the one exception to this rise is the 2010 election, which saw a fall in support from 30.5% of vote share to 24.53%).

This dramatic rise in support for nationalist parties at the federal level is mirrored with a significant rise for nationalist parties at the Flemish level (Fig. 4.11). In 1995, support for separatist and nationalist parties at the Flemish Parliament stood at 12.3%, ending up far below the traditional, national conservative and liberal parties. However, this number rose to 15.5% in 1999, jumped to 50.3% in 2004, and fell back to 28.34%. Even discounting for the 35-point rise from 1999 to 2004, between the first election to the Flemish Parliament and the most recent one, support for nationalist parties in the parliament has more than doubled, a feat not accomplished by any of the nationalist/separatist parties in any of the cases of strong, pre-devolution sentiment.

Flanders is, along with the Basque Country, the clearest case in which providing a parliament to an independence-leaning nation, EVEN if the state increases the powers of that Parliament over time, will not necessarily lead to a reduction in nationalist tension. In fact, in the case of Flanders, the introduction of powers to the nation and increases these powers to the point that the state becomes a hollow shell of what it once was, support for separatism rises, not falls.

Wallonia

On the other side of the coin, Wallonia, similar to Wales and Galicia, represents a case of weak nationalism. Support for independence before the introduction of the Walloon Parliament was weak, and continues to be weak.

Looking for support for nationalist parties at the regional level (Fig. 4.13), the separatist party of Wallonia, Rassemblement Wallonie, barely registers a blip in the 1995, 1999, and 2004 elections, each time receiving less than 1% of the vote. Even in 2009, when the RW received its highest support since the introduction of the Walloon Parliament, it only managed to get 1.39% of the vote, hardly a surge in support for Walloon separatism.

The case at the state level looks much the same (Fig. 4.14). While the RW had been able to garner 8.3% of the Walloon vote in 1971, and varied between 5 and 7% for the next 6 elections, since the introduction of the right to elect members to the Walloon Parliament in 1995, the RW has been unable to secure any support at the state level and has completely collapsed as a relevant political party in Belgium (both at the regional and state levels).

Unfortunately, polling firms and newspapers seem to be aware of this dearth of support for Walloon independence and/or unification with France, as there have been few polls conducted either by newspapers or polling firms on this question. One poll, conducted in 2004, put support for independence at 8%, while one in 2007 put support at 10.1%. Aside from those two polls, there seems to be little data on public support for Walloon independence, and given the total lack of support for the one political party that advocates this policy, perhaps this makes sense.

Spain

Basque Country

The Basque Country represents the strongest case of nationalism and separatism of the three Spanish nations this paper studies. Somewhat similar to Scotland, much of the data reveals a degree of consistency with some bumps up and down, but with no fall in support for either nationalist parties or independence in relation to pre-devolution periods.

Since the introduction of the Basque Parliament in the early 1980s, support for nationalist and separatist parties combined have hovered around 60% of the vote share for the Basque Parliament (Fig. 4.15). In 1980, the number stood at 60%, stayed relatively consistent for the next three elections, dipped down to 55% in 1996, reached a peak of 78% in 2005, went down to 52% in 2009, and re-stabilized at 67%. Though these numbers seem to be a bit all over the

place, with a 26-point gap between peak and the low, the trend line is almost flat at 60%. In other words, the introduction of a very powerful parliament to the Basque Country has done little over time to change support for nationalist and separatist, distinctly Basque parties.

At the Spanish parliamentary level (Fig. 4.16), support for nationalist and separatist Basque parties follows a similar trend to the regional, though it shares a notable increase in support that was not seen at the regional level. In the elections immediately preceding the introduction of the Basque Parliament, support for Basque nationalists among the Basque population stood at roughly 45% (40% in 1977, 47% in 1979). Once the Parliament was introduced, support for Basque nationalists and separatists say a steady increase until it reached a peak in 1995, receiving 74% of the Basque vote. For the next 17 years, the Basque nationalists and separatists saw a sharp decline in support which was steadily recovered. After its 1993 peak, support for Basque nationalist parties fell to 45%, and since 1996, steadily recuperated its losses. In the most recent election, in 2011, Basque nationalists and separatists were able to secure 78% of the vote, returning to its all-time high.

Looking at polling data shows two stable trends over time (Fig. 4.17). The Basque polling firm this study uses has, since 1977, asked 2 questions to its survey-takers. One question asked whether or not the respondent supported full autonomy (without mentioning independence), and another asks whether or not the respondent supports independence. Both responses have been stable over time, with nearly flat (though slightly increasing) trend lines. For those advocating independence, support for the past 35 years has been at around 30%, with a 1982 low of 20% and a 2005 high of 40%. Looking across time, though, nearly all years rest within 3 points of 30%.

The other question, on full autonomy, shows a similar trend. When support for full autonomy and independence are combined, these numbers remain stable at within 3 percentage points of 62%. To me, this data is pretty astonishing: the Basque Country, as one of the Spanish cases, has had a fully realized parliament, with more powers than the British and Belgian (until recently) cases, for the longest amount of time. Despite this, support for independence has remained almost exactly where it was when the Parliament was introduced, and support for nationalist/separatist political parties has remained fairly consistent as well.

Taken with Scotland and Flanders, the Basque Country helps to show that, at least among these three western European states, devolving power to a nation with a strong desire for independence does not do much to reduce support for independence. As some of the metrics in these three cases shows, support for independence through polling data or nationalist party support may remain stable, but in none of these metrics was there a decisive fall in support.

Catalonia

Catalonia represents a middle-ground in Spanish nationalist politics. Less supportive of independence than the Basque, and more supportive than the Galicians, Catalonia has been less studied than some of its more strongly nationalist counterparts in Spain, Belgium and Britain.

Noting this, it must be admitted that polling data for Catalonia only really begins in the year 2000, while in the Basque Country it began in the 1970s. Realizing this provides an incomplete picture, it still may be useful to explore the information that is available, notably because it has risen rapidly.

In 2000, the year the first poll from one of Catalonia's major newspapers was conducted (Fig. 4.20), support for independence stood at 8%. However, in the past 13 years, support for

independence among Catalans has grown to well over 50%; the last poll conducted showing support for independence at 54%. A change of over 40% of the electorate in slightly more than a decade is shocking to say the least. However, caution must be taken when looking at these numbers because, unlike with polls of the Basque Country, Catalan polls fail to account for over 23 years of Catalan political history with its own parliament, and there are no polls at all that I am aware of that looked at independence support before the Catalan Parliament was introduced. At best, these polls create an incomplete picture.

Another, more complete metric of study is support for Catalan nationalist and separatist parties at the regional and state levels. At the regional level (Fig. 4.18), support for Catalan nationalist/separatist political parties in the 1980 regional election stood at 11%. In the next 4 elections, this number dipped down to below 5% and recovered. Since 1999, there has been an inconsistent increase in support for separatist parties. In 2003 and 2012, these parties reached peaks at 16.1 and 16.9% vote share, respectively. The overall trend line points to an upward trajectory, albeit a relatively low one.

At the Spanish parliamentary level (Fig. 4.19), support for Catalan nationalist parties has consistently risen since the late 1970s. Right before the introduction of the Catalan parliament, support for Catalan nationalist parties to the Spanish Parliament was at 4.8%. Even since the introduction of the parliament, support for nationalist parties has been rising, reaching one peak of 12% in 1993, another peak of 17.5% in 2004, and a third peak of 19% in 2011.

Though the data in this case is fairly muddled, especially given the lack of polling data, all three metrics of study have shown an increase in support, all after the introduction of the Parliament. While it is difficult to see how important this rise is, as the metrics in this study provide an

incomplete picture of pre-devolution independence support (with virtually no polling data, and obviously no election results for the regional parliament, pre-devolution), nevertheless there has been a steady increasing in support for nationalist sentiment and nationalist parties in Catalonia. Unlike the cases of Wales and Wallonia, other cases with likely weak pre-devolution support for independence, Catalan support for independence, even with a strong parliament, has grown tremendously.

What this says about the wider scope of this study is slightly unclear. Because there is little data on pre-devolution independence support, one cannot say with certainty whether or not the introduction of the parliament was able to reduce tensions. However, it one were to assume it was low, based on initial support for nationalist parties at the regional and Spanish parliamentary levels at the introduction of the Catalan Parliament, then this case stands in stark contrast to Wales and Wallonia, two other weak cases that have seen support for nationalist goals and parties either remain flat or fall.

Galicia

Like with the other weak cases, polling data in Galicia is much sparser than the stronger nationalist cases in this study. This case in particular has virtually no polling data, due in part to the fact that, though it is recognized by the Spanish government as a distinct "nation", and one with strong ties to Portugal and the Portuguese language that differentiate it from its Spanish neighbors, Galicia and Galician politicians have long incorporated a soft Galician self-determination into their political system. Very few Galicians are advocating independence, and even the independence parties of Galicia tend to focus on rights of self-determination, rather than out-right independence.

As a result, this particular case, given its lack of polling data, will focus solely on support for nationalist and separatist political parties at the regional and Spanish levels.

In Galicia itself, support for nationalist parties like the Galician Nationalist Bloc and Terra Galega has risen significantly over time, but given the weak nature of these political parties on the independence question, the sharp increase should not be seen in the same way as a sharp increase in, for example, the Vlaams Belang would be in Flanders or the Eusko Alkartasuna (a separatist Basque political party that focuses its attention on independence in Europe) in Spain.

In 1981, support for these parties began at 8.3% (Fig. 4.21). From the 1989 election and thereafter, support for Galician nationalists has risen from 9.4% to 24.9% in 2012. Though this is a significant jump, none of the major nationalist parties that contributed to this increase actually advocate independence. Rather, I would argue that the increase in support for these parties should be seen as an increase in support for the advocacy of policies that are unique to Galicia and support Galician interests (such as fisheries policies, or tax reforms that are beneficial to Galicia), but not to such an extent as they would advocate separation from the Spanish state.

Support for Galician nationalists at the Spanish level (Fig. 4.22) is much weaker than it is at the Galician parliamentary level. Since 1979, support for Galician nationalist parties like the Galician National Bloc has never exceeded 10%. It began in 1979 with 3% of the vote, rose steadily to 9.5% of the vote in 2008, and currently stands at 5.1% of vote share.

Though the data for Galicia is lacking, it can argued with a fair degree of confidence that, prior to devolution, Galicia's independence movement was a very weak one. This has not changed with the introduction of a Galician Parliament. Though support for Galician nationalist parties

has grown, at the Galician level, over the past 25 years, considering the fact that none of these political parties advocate independence, AND Galician independence seems so remote that no major Galician or Spanish newspaper or polling firm has conducted a significant poll to ask whether or not Galicians would like to be independent, it seems fairly likely that Galician independence continues to be weak. This would be a good case in which a weak independence nation was provided a parliament, and the desire for independence remains weak (that is not to say that desires for greater power are weak, and Galician politicians have worked to slowly expand the power of the Galician Parliament). Galicia, in this respect, is similar to Wallonia. Both began with weak nationalist movements, and both have advocated goals of greater autonomy without advocating at all for independence. Overall, if one were to ask the question of this study with respect to Galicia-does the introduction of a Parliament help to reduce nationalist and separatist tensions-the closest response is likely perhaps, if there were any strong tensions to begin with.

Conclusion

Of the 8 cases in this study, I have characterized four of them as relatively strong in terms of pre-devolution sentiment-Basque Country, Flanders, Scotland, and Northern Ireland-and the remaining four-Galicia, Wallonia, Wales, and Catalonia-as weak.

Looking at the 2 metrics this paper uses to gauge nationalist and separatist tension, polling data and support for nationalist and separatist parties at regional and state parliamentary elections, two trends emerge. In the strong pre-devolution cases, all of them either reveal increases in tension since the introduction of a Parliament, or a stabilization in tensions (i.e. support for independence). In no case does tension, measured in nationalist goals and political party

support, fall in any meaningful way. It can therefore be argued that in cases in which strong nationalist and separatist views of independence exist, the introduction of a parliament will not be successful in reducing tensions.

While some might note that perhaps other factors are at play, it should be remarked here that the strong cases represent a very diverse group. As mentioned in the last chapter, the Basque Country and Northern Ireland are known for extreme violence, but Scotland and Flanders are not. Though the Basque Country and Flanders are comparatively wealthier than the rest of the state to which they belong, Scotland is roughly on par with the UK, and Northern Ireland is poorer that the UK. All of them received their parliaments in different ways (even the two British cases), with differing levels of power, and in different time frames. Based on the information I have presented, the only real common factor among these nations is that they had strong pre-devolution independence impulses, and they all received parliaments.

Looking at the four weak cases, a more muddled picture emerges. In one case, Catalonia, support for independence has risen dramatically (even while support for separatist parties remains relatively weak). In two others, Wallonia and Galicia, support for independence seems so unlikely that polling data is virtually non-existent, and separatist/nationalist political parties are basically absent from the political scene. Finally another, Wales, does have a functioning separatist party, and does seem to have enough of a separatist impulse to merit polling. But support for this separatist party remains sporadic and seemingly contradictory (with the party falling in significance at the regional level, and stable at the UK level), and support for independence, after an initial bump, has reverted back to its pre-devolution mean. Overall, devolving power to weak nationalist regions may reduce tension, or it may not. The picture is

too muddled to reach much of a firm conclusion, though the picture could become more firm if the number of cases studied expanded beyond the three countries addressed in this thesis.

Data/Charts

This section will provide graphs for the metrics of this study for which data is available. It will also indicate the source material for the polling data (the information on support for separatist/nationalist political parties in elections was gathered from the websites of the state and regional government websites).

Scotland

I. Percent Regional Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

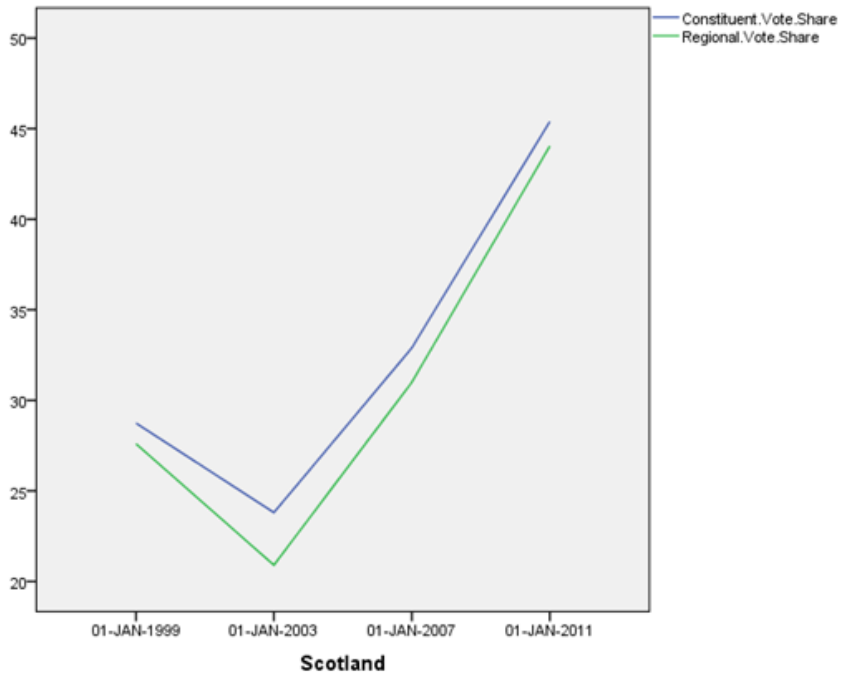

Fig. 4.1 Regional Support-Scotland

II. Percent State Support for Nationalist/Separatist Parties

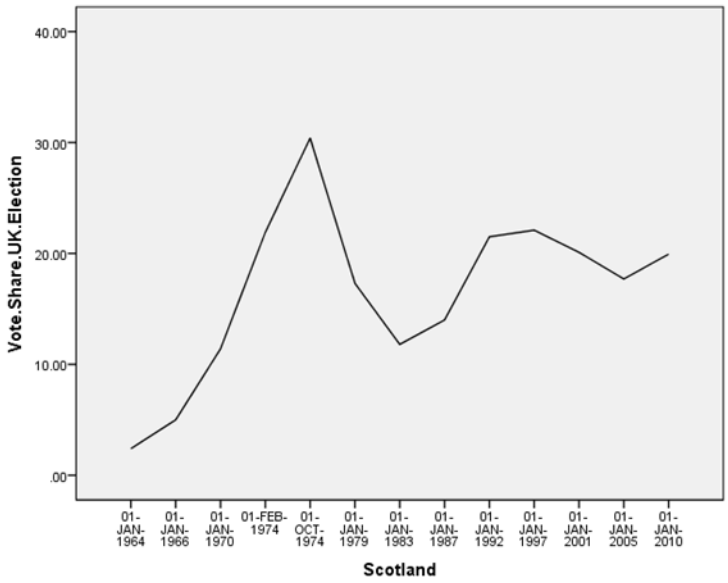

Fig. 4.2 State Support-Scotland

III. Percent Support for Independence, measured from 1978 (devolution occurred in 1998). Source: IPSOS Mori http://www.ipsos-mori.com/offices/scotland/scottishpublicopinionmonitor/keytrends/Independence.aspx

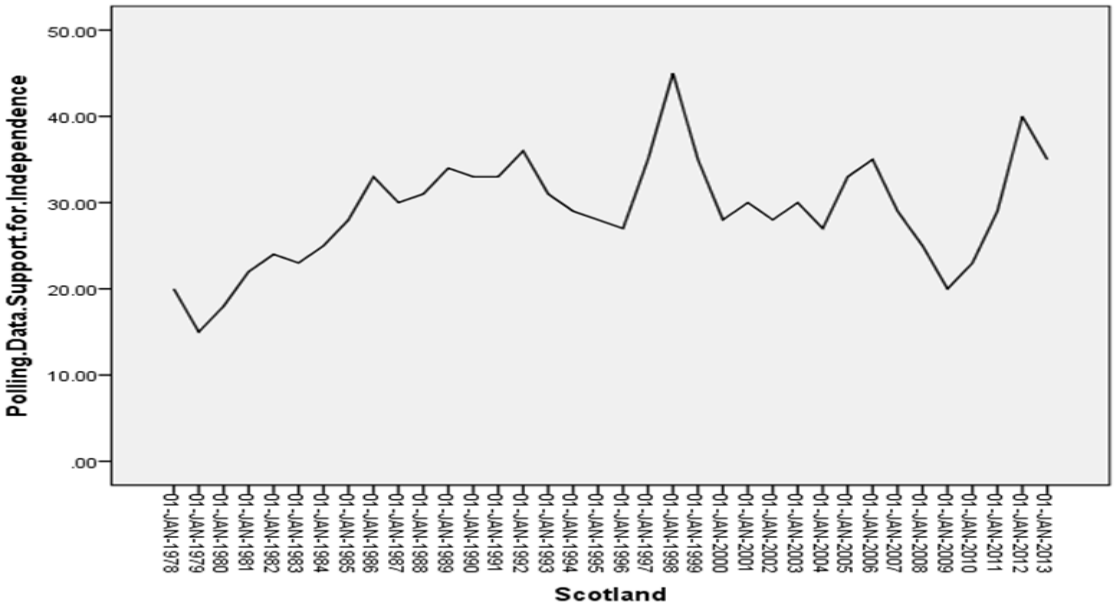

Fig. 4.3 Independence Polling-Scotland

Wales

I. Percent Regional Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

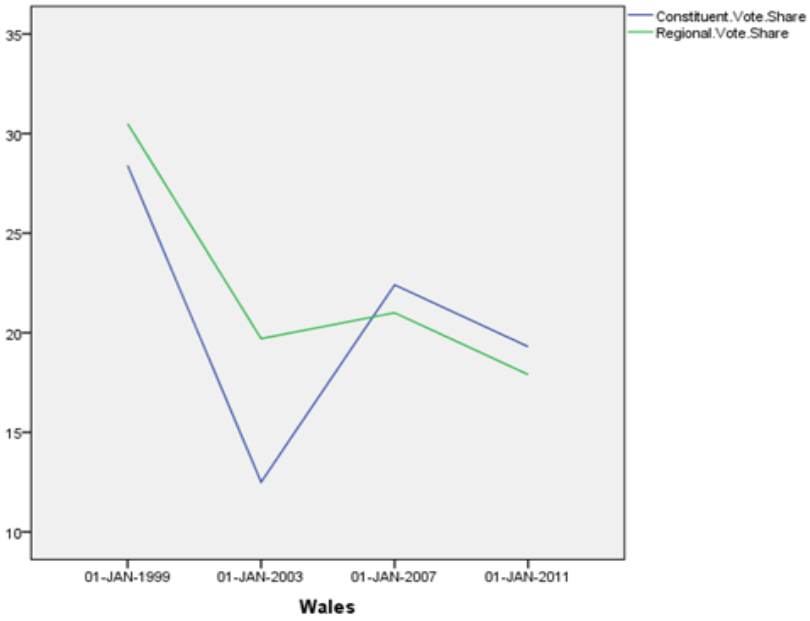

Fig. 4.4 Regional Support-Wales

II. Percent State Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

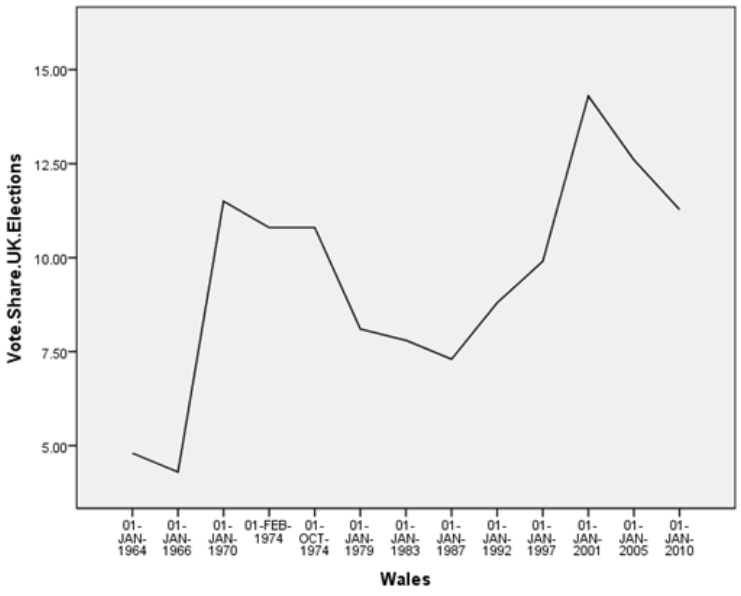

Fig. 4.5 State Support-Wales

III. Percent Support for Independence, measured from 1997
   a. Sources: *The Western Mail*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, *BBC News Online*

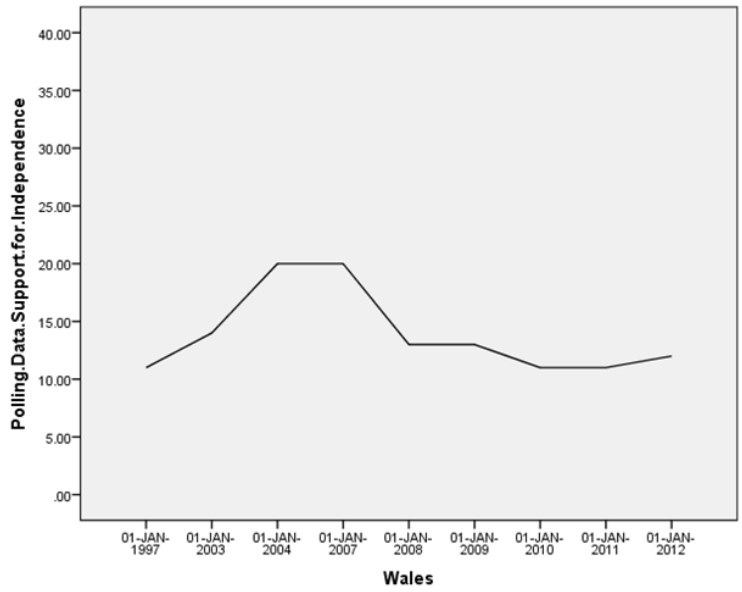

Fig. 4.6 Independence Polling-Wales

Northern Ireland

I. Percent Regional Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

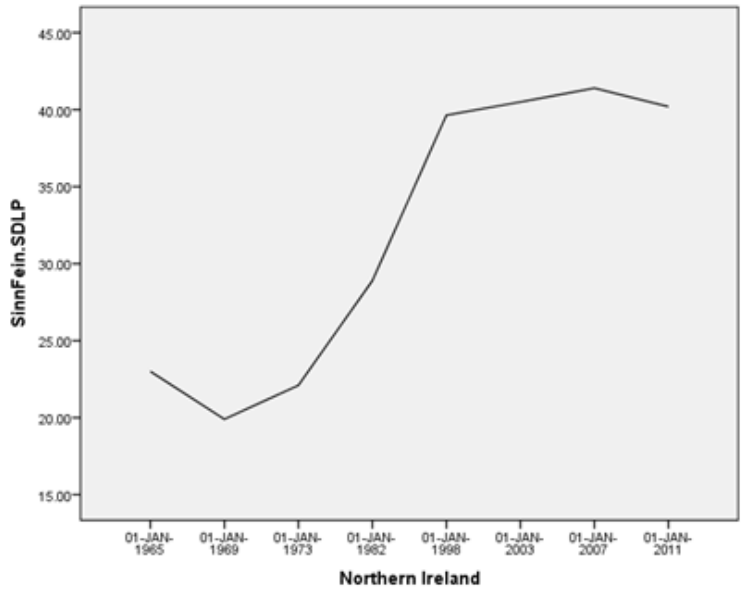

Fig. 4.7 Regional Support-Northern Ireland

II. Percent State Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

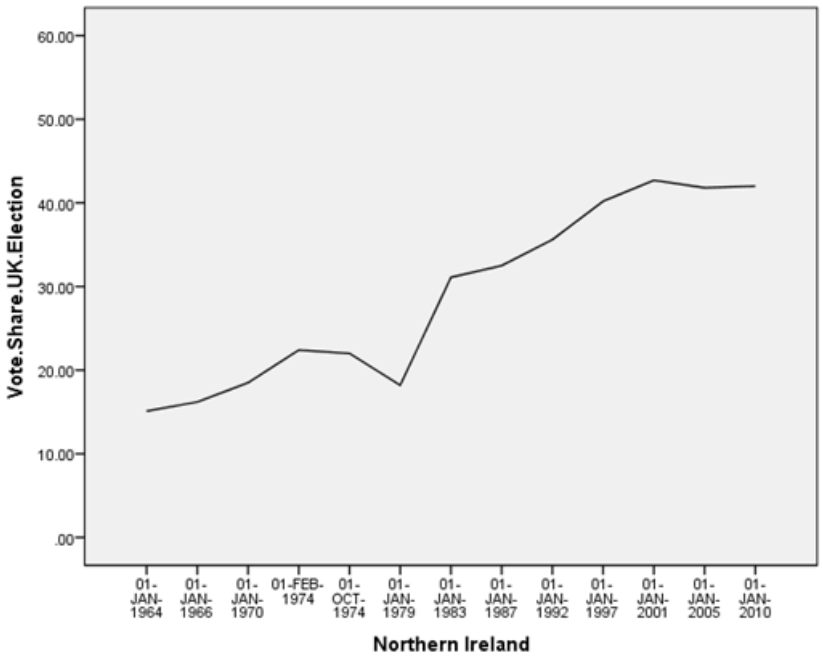

Fig. 4.8 State Support-Northern Ireland

III. Percent Support for Independence

a. Sources: *The Belfast Telegraph, The Irish News, The Daily Telegraph, the BBC Online Northern Ireland, The Guardian*

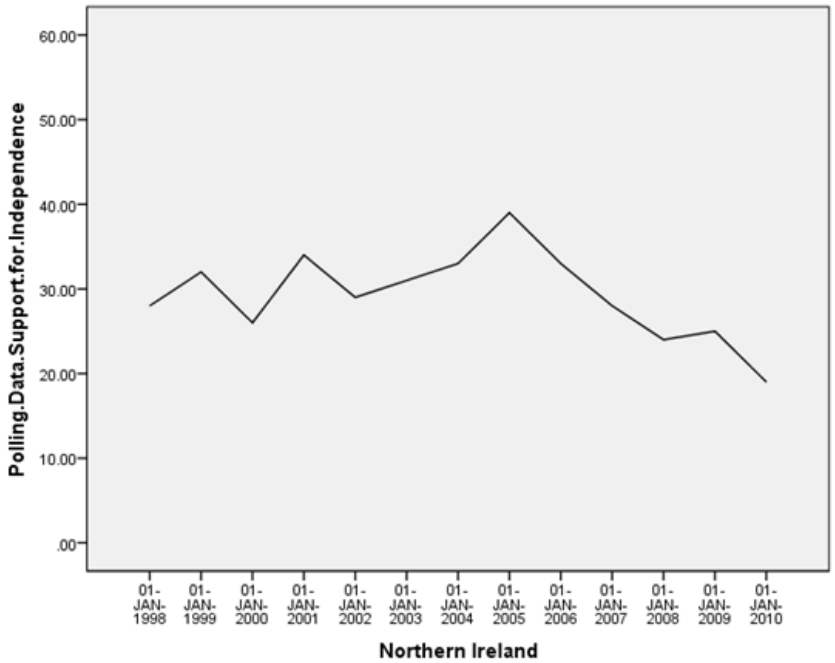

Fig. 4.9 Independence Polling-Northern Ireland

Flanders

I. Percent Regional Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

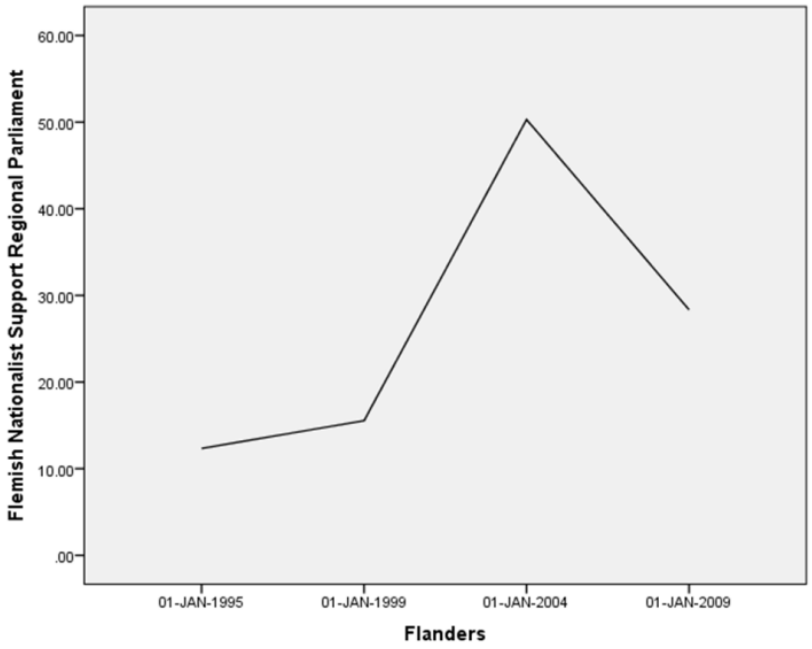

Fig. 4.10 Regional Support-Flanders

II. Percent State Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

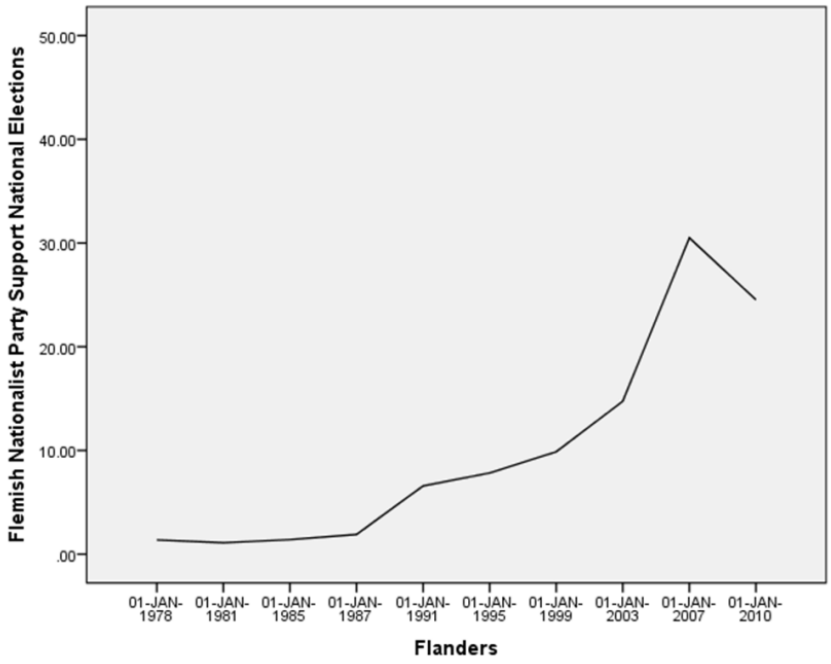

Fig. 4.11 State Support-Flanders

III. Percent Support for Independence
   a. Sources: De Morgen, De Standaard, Het Nieuwsblad, Het Laatste Nieuws, and De Tijd

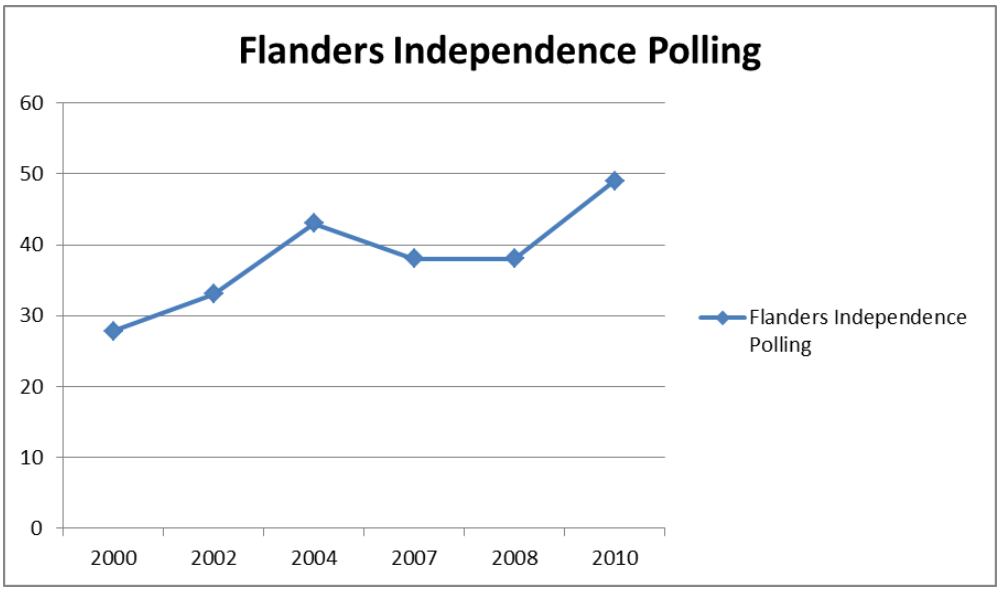

Fig. 4.12 Independence Polling-Flanders

Wallonia

I. Percent Regional Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

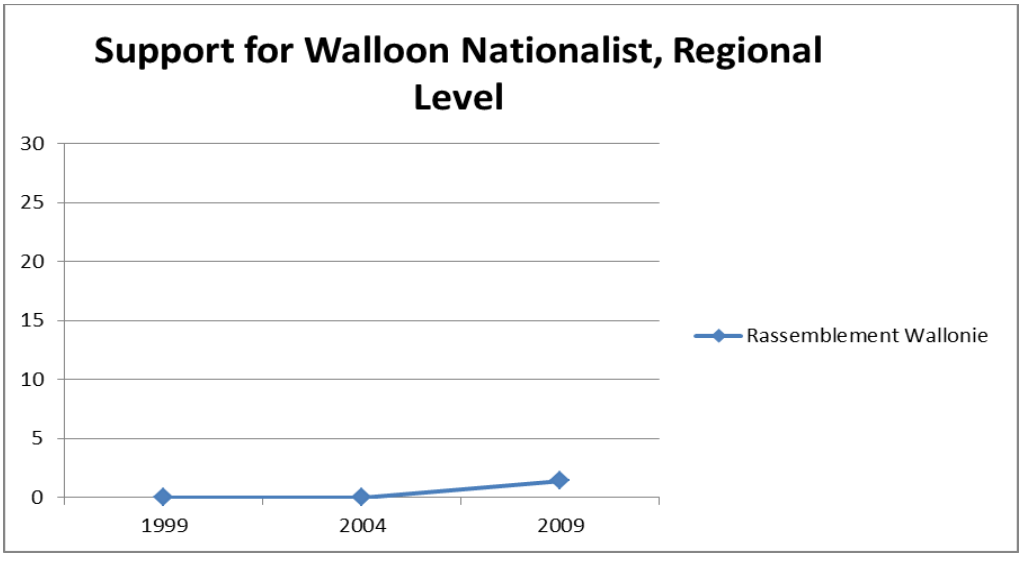

Figure 4.13 Regional Support-Wallonia

II. Percent State Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

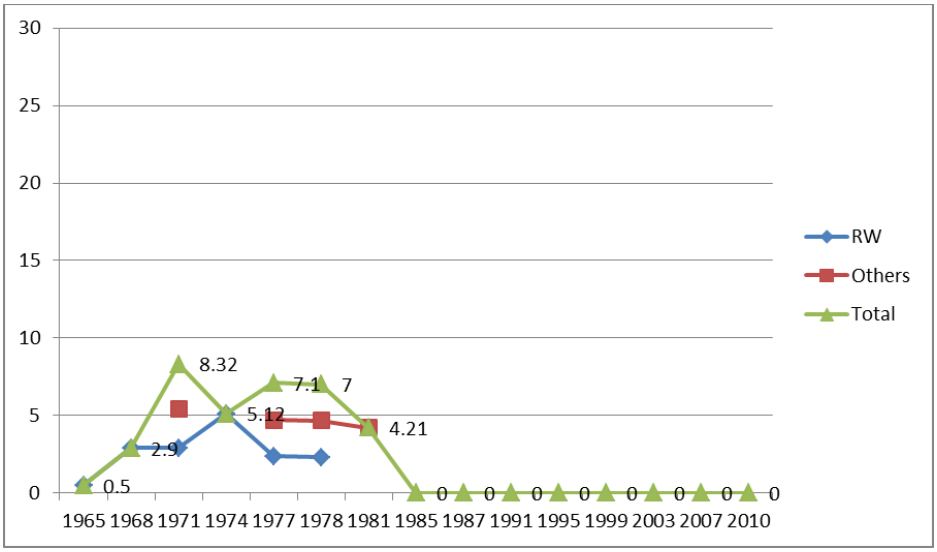

Figure 4.14 State Support-Wallonia

III. Percent Support for Independence

a. As mentioned previously in this chapter, polling data for independence in Wallonia is almost non-existent. Of the 5 major newspapers in Wallonia (or Belgium, for that matter), only two polls have come out asking the view of Walloon independence, one in 2004 and one in 2007. As this is not a strong data set, I will not be showing it in a graph as I would not wish to create assumptions for the reader based on only 2 pieces of data.

Basque Country

I. Percent Regional Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

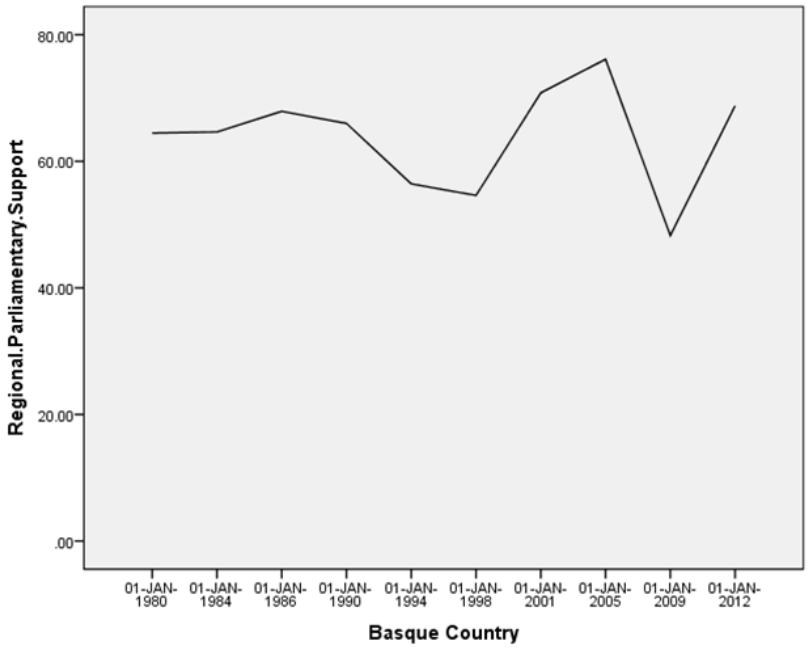

Fig 4.15 Regional Support-Basque Country

II. Percent State Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

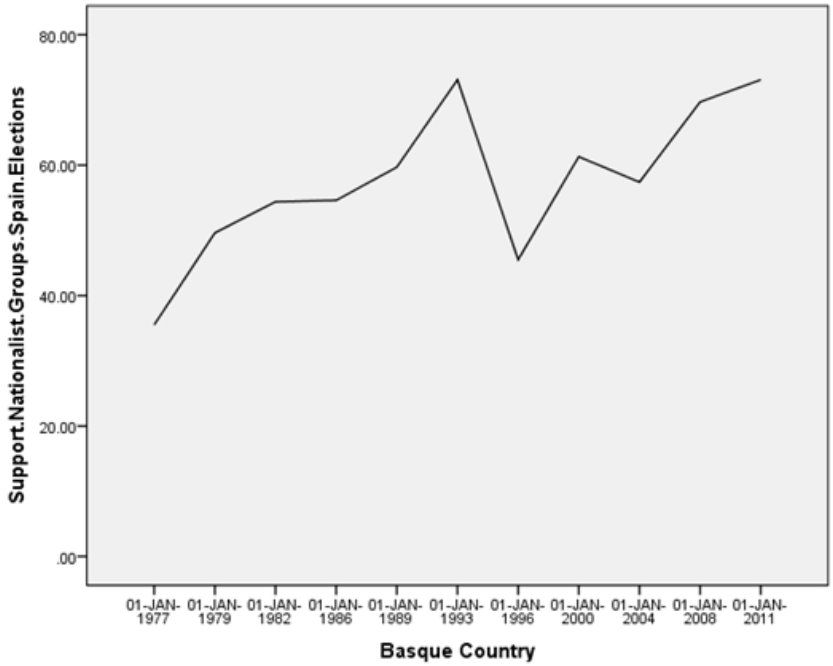

Fig. 4.16 State Support-Basque Country

III. Percent Support for Independence

a. Source: The "Basque Barometer", a collaborative effort by the University of the Basque Country and the Basque Government's Center for Opinion Studies. http://ceo.gencat.cat/ceop/AppJava/pages/estudis/categories/llistaCategoria.html?colId=3&lastTitle=Bar%F2metre+d%27Opini%F3+Pol%EDtica

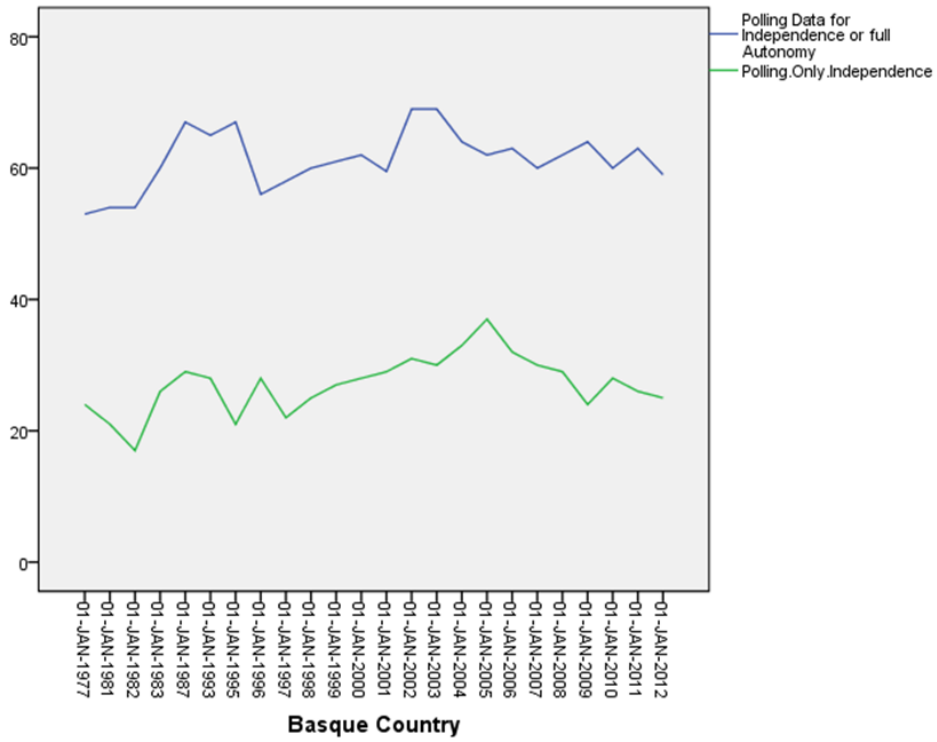

Fig. 4.17 Independence Polling-Basque Country

Catalonia

I. Percent Regional Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

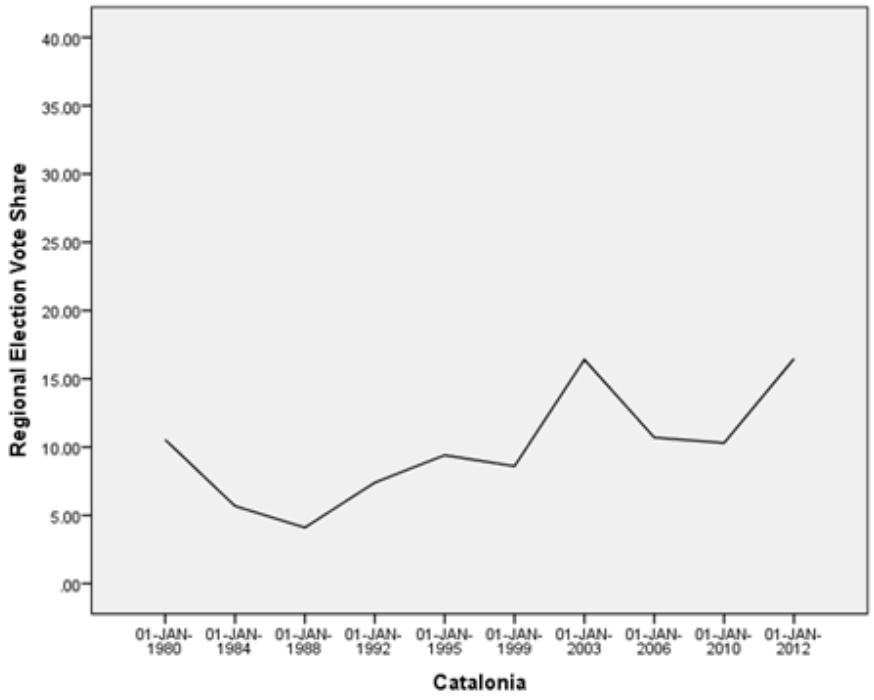

Fig. 4.18 Regional Support-Catalonia

II. Percent State Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

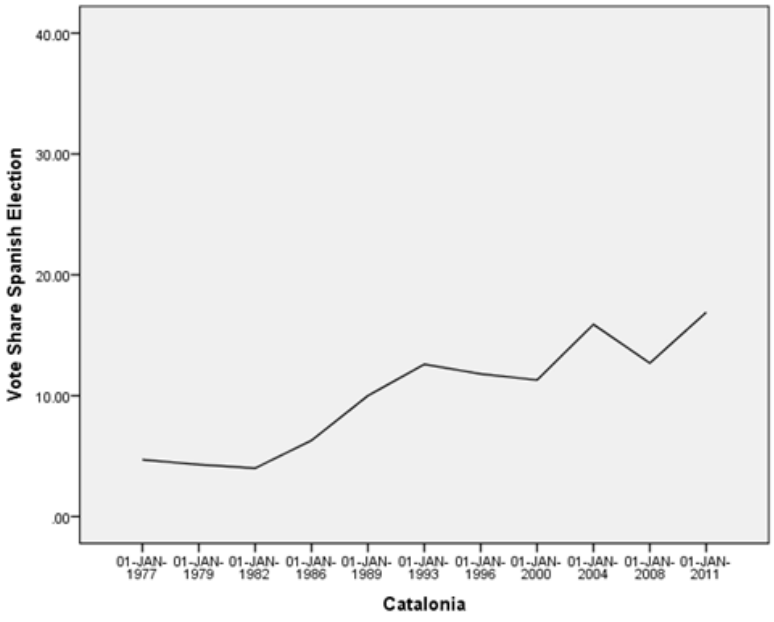

Fig. 4.19 State Support-Catalonia

III. Percent Support for Independence, beginning in 2000 (public opinion polling data is not strong before that year)
   a. Sources: *La Vanguardia*, *Publico*, *ABC*, *El Mundo del Siglo XXI*, *El Pais*

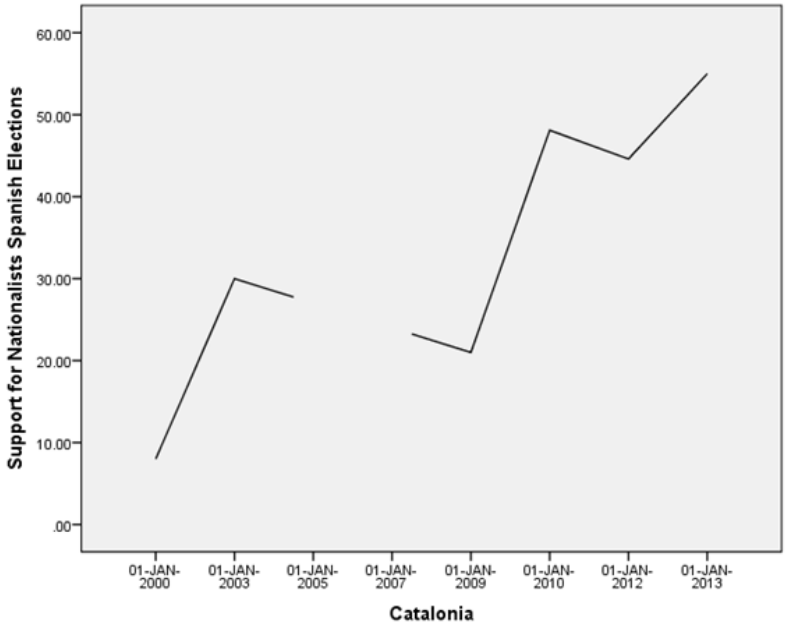

Fig. 4.20 Independence Polling-Catalonia

Galicia

I. Percent Regional Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

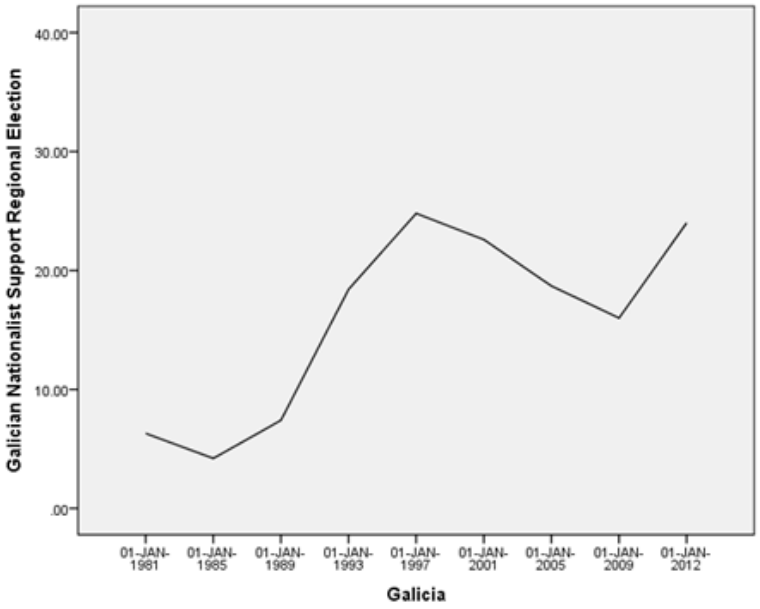

Fig. 4.21 Regional Support-Galicia

II. Percent State Support for Nationalist/Separatist Political Parties

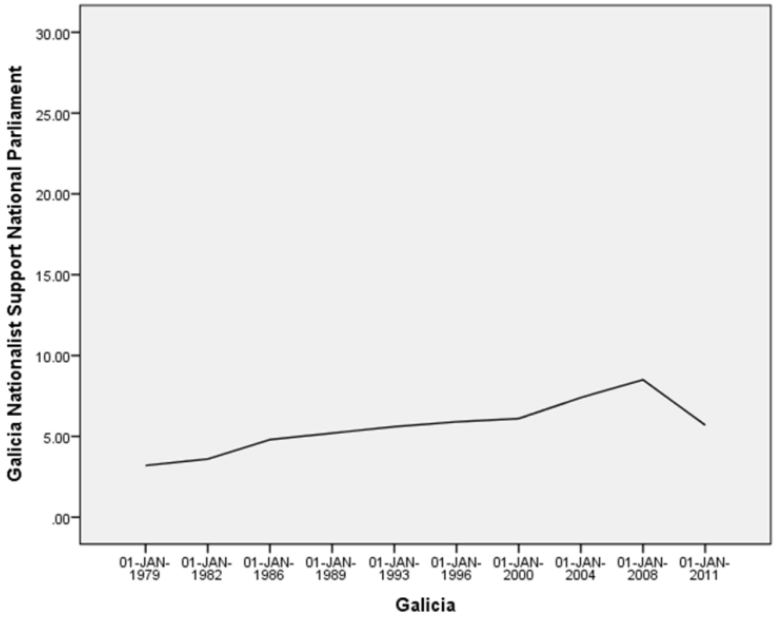

Fig. 4.22 State Support-Galicia

III. Percent Support for Independence

a. Similar to Wallonia, there is very little public opinion data gathered on Galician support for independence. What little polling data exists tends to come from biased, strongly separatist Galician political groups, so it will not be covered in this paper.

CHAPTER 5: EXPLORATION OF RESULTS

With all these charts and case studies in mind, it would be helpful here to explore some of the overall trends of these nations. Of the eight cases in this study, four of them I would characterize as having relatively weak desires for independence (those where support for independence before devolution among the local population was less than ten percent) and four of them I would characterize as having relatively strong desires for independence (those for whom support for independence before devolution exceeded 25%) before power was devolved. The four "strong" cases, as mentioned in the previous chapter, are: Scotland, Northern Ireland, Flanders and the Basque Country. The "weak" cases are: Wales, Catalonia, Galicia, and Wallonia.

I feel this distinction is important because if those who oppose devolving power do so out of fear that this will just be the "road to independence," it would be helpful to draw distinctions between those already a mile down the road and those who haven't even put their running shoes on yet. The same logic goes for those who support devolving power with the hope that doing so will help diminish nationalist impulses within these nations.

Across the three countries in this study, none of the "strong" pre-devolution independence nations have seen a long-term reduction in secessionist tensions since the introduction of a devolved parliament. The cases of "weak" pre-devolution independence nations show a more mixed picture.

Both the supporters and opponents of devolving power-the former arguing that devolution provides adequate powers to a nation, the latter arguing that the introduction of a parliament would lead to independence-were off the mark in regards to the "strong" cases. Those who

supported devolution for these nations with the notion that doing so would answer their distinct concerns and would therefore reduce separatist tensions would be sorely disappointed by numbers indicating that, using the metrics of this study, in Scotland, Flanders, the Basque Country, and Northern Ireland, support for independence has either remained stable or risen over time.

Those who opposed devolution because they felt this would lead to independence for these nations are also, at this point, not correct: none of these regions have formally seceded from their respective unions. And, except for Scotland next year which will hold an independence referendum (which shows support currently hovering at around 35-40%), there are no plans in the future for any of these nations to split themselves off from their respective countries.

The four weaker cases, Wales, Galicia, Catalonia and Wallonia, have mixed results. Catalonia has had a meteoric rise in support for independence since the introduction of the Catalan parliament, even while support for separatist political parties remains flat. In Galicia and Wallonia, support for both independence and independence-minded parties have remained relatively close to zero. Wales represents the only clear case of the eight in this study that has seen no increase in any of the three independence metrics: it has seen a decrease in support for separatist parties on the regional level, and support for nationalists in the UK parliament and independence in general has remained relatively flat since the introduction of the parliament.

Implications?

Though the introduction of a parliament to a nation may not in itself lead to desires for independence, devolved political structures can be very influential in fueling and channeling the frustrations and fears of the nation. National parliaments tend to have greater support for

independent-minded politicians and separatist/nationalist parties, and parliaments can provide great soapboxes for independence supporters who wish to articulate the benefits independence could bring. This can be seen in many of the cases in which pre-devolution independence sentiment was strong. In Scotland, the Scottish National Party leader, and current First Minister of the Scottish Parliament, Alex Salmond has served as a powerful force in Scottish politics. Both his supporters and opponents acknowledge that he is a strong orator and skilled political strategist, and Mr. Salmond has widely been credited with keeping the issue of Scottish independence alive, along with revitalizing the Scottish National Party to make it the majority party it is today. Most recently, Salmond, following much arm-twisting in London, was able to help craft next year's independence referendum, in which the Scottish people will be asked whether or not they wish to secede from Great Britain.[167]

Similarly in Belgium, the leader of the New Flemish Alliance (NVA) and a member of the Flemish parliament since 2004, Bart de Wever is largely credited with bringing the Flemish nationalists "out of the ashes" of Flemish political life. Using a degree of poise and finesse, de Wever, in his position as the member of the Flemish Parliament and leader of his party, is able to present a calm and carefully constructed view of Flemish independence that can appeal to a wide range of the Flemish and Belgian electorate, often emphasizing "independence in Europe", as many other independence movements in Europe tend to advocate. Brushing off the far-right perception of Flemish nationalism, de Wever has been a pragmatist, slowly and carefully advocating the Flemish cause without veering to the hard-right on issues like immigration, as past Flemish nationalists have been prone to do.[168] He has been able to establish his political

[167] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-19942638
[168] http://www.france24.com/en/20100615-profile-bart-de-wever-architect-flemish-nationalists-revenge-belgium

party as the dominant force in Flemish politics, and maintaining a significant position of power in Belgian politics as well.

These parliaments channel the concerns and fears of the nation because the overriding concern of members of the national parliament is the well-being of the nation, rather than the state. Though often these interests can converge (the Spanish unemployment and housing crises, for example, affect Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia, along with the rest of the country), the important point is where they fail to diverge. Interests can diverge in important ways: taxing and spending (should wealthier nations pay more of their taxes to the state when they could potentially do fine on their own, not dragged down by the rest of the country?), language and culture, or investment and education, to name a few.

The point is that parliaments devolved to nations are designed by definition to represent the interests of these nations. So long as a nation is regarded as distinct from the rest of the state, with distinct interests-as all 8 nations in these 3 countries are-having a parliament, can both reveal how the needs and desires of the nation differ from the state, and provide the platform for independence-minded political figures to articulate a view that, for a variety of reasons, support the break-up of the state.

If I was a politician living in a similarly situated country with a clearly defined nation with tentative plans for the development of a devolved legislature, and I feared this could lead to the break-up of the country, my first question to ask would be: how strong is the independence movement now? If the independence movement were strong, I would be, looking at these cases, quite concerned that this parliament would not answer the needs of the nation adequately enough to defuse separatist tension. If the nationalist movement was weak, it would be difficult to guess

where the nation's separatist tensions would go (maybe they would rise, like in Catalonia, or maybe they would fall, like in Wales, or maybe it would remain relatively stable, like in Galicia).

Conclusion

There are a few important trends to take away from these eight nations. First, of the four nations with strong independence impulses before devolution, all of them have seen an increase in support for independence.

The weak cases are a bit muddled, hinting that they are possibly more likely to fit in with the notion of devolution supporters that devolving power could answer the needs of a nation that sees itself as having distinct interests. Wales would be the best example of this: support for independence has remained relatively stable throughout the post-devolution period, and support for independence parties has fallen.

Looking at this another way could provide further insights. Of the eight nations in this study, only one of them has seen a definite and verifiable fall in the three metrics of support for independence: Wales. Two other weak cases, Galicia and Wallonia, are weak enough that independence was, and remains, extremely low. Of the remaining five, support for independence has either risen or stayed relatively stable over time.

Politicians in countries with situations similar to those faced by Britain, Spain and Belgium might benefit from a cursory look at this information. When recognizing a nation, strong support for independence (at least one-quarter of the population) does not appear to diminish once that nation has been given its own power. If the independence movement is weak, one could have greater hope that introducing a parliament will not lead to a growth in separatist sentiment, though even that cannot be seen as given (as the case of Catalonia has shown).

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study is to analyze the devolution of power to nations within a country's borders. I sought to answer a question, one whose answer divided political elites prior to devolving power, which shaped the path of devolution, namely: does devolving power to a recognized nation reduce separatist tension? Is it the case that separatist sentiment can be viewed like a boiling pot, and devolving power is a way of easing the pressure? It is my contention that, in cases with strong senses of nationalism prior to devolution, providing legislative authority to the nation will not be enough to diminish nationalist tensions. In cases when nationalism is weak, the story becomes more muddled, though devolving power likely has a greater chance of easing these tensions in weak nationalist states than stronger ones.

To get an in-depth look at this problem, I looked at 3 western European democracies, each with multiple nations within its borders. Spain, Belgium and Britain have many important differences. They have different histories, linguistics traits, and economic compositions, to name a few. What they do share is that all three of them devolved power to clearly defined and recognized nations under their jurisdiction.

The three countries that govern the eight nations and their parliament come from very different histories, but share some important similarities. All are highly developed, very democratic constitutional monarchies, with long traditions of highly centralized power. However, all three of these countries independently pursued devolution, in recognition of communities within their borders that saw themselves, and were recognized by the state, as nations. These were communities that had interests and desires that could run counter to the interests and desires of the rest of the state and were provided legislative authority in recognition of this disconnect.

What happens when these parliaments were introduced? Is the situation as dire as the opponents assumed, with the parliament becoming a "road to independence", or did it alleviate separatist tensions as supporters argued?

In order to answer this question, this study looked at two metrics to study independence support in these nations: public opinion polling data asking whether or not they support independence, support for separatist/nationalist parties at the regional parliamentary level, and support for separatist/nationalist parties at the state parliament level.

The results may appear somewhat ambiguous, given a lack of clear increases or decreases across cases. However, a few important trends can be teased out of the data. First, of the four cases in which support for independence was strong before the introduction of a parliament-Basque Country, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Flanders-none of the metrics saw a persistent decline in support since the introduction of a devolved legislature. In some metrics, support has remained steady (like Basque nationalist/separatist parties at the regional level), while in others support has increased (like Flemish support for independence). For these strong cases, while it cannot be said necessarily that introducing devolved power leads to the "road to independence" (as none of these nations are, as of this writing, independent from their host countries), it definitely cannot be argued that introducing a parliament will reduce tensions.

The weaker cases-Wales, Wallonia, Galicia, and Catalonia-provide more muddled information. In the case of Catalonia, support for independence and independence parties has risen tremendously since Catalonia was provided its own parliament in the early 1980s. However, Wales has seen the opposite effect: support for separatist/nationalist parties has steadily fallen

both at the regional and state level, while support for independence has remained flat since it was given legislative powers.

Looking at the eight cases collectively, one finds few trends that would support either the notion that devolving power will lead to independence or that it will adequately satisfy the needs of the nation. Rather, a mixed bag emerges. Support for independence may rise, fall or remain steady. The only consistent trend from this study has been that for cases with strong support for independence before devolving power, once power has been devolved, independence support will not fall. Overall, making strong pronouncements in either direction may be ill-advised for those considering devolving power in similar circumstances. Though the introduction of a parliament can serve as a conduit through which nationalist political elites gain prominence and a distinct set of national goals can be established, and there is a greater likelihood that they will gain greater support in cases where nationalist sentiment was already strong, this will not inherently lead to increased calls for independence (as the cases of Wales, Wallonia and Galicia show).

Appendix

Scotland

I. Separatist/Nationalist Political Parties
   a. Scottish National Party—supports independence
II. Regional Parliament Election Years
   a. 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011
III. State Parliament Election Years
   a. 1970, February 1974, October 1974, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010
IV. Sources of Independence Polling Data
   a. Ipsos Mori (a formerly London-based, now Paris-based polling firm). It has conducted polls on support for Scottish independence since 1976.
   b. The polling data is very smooth in this case. Polls were conducted in March and September of every year since 1976. For simplicity, I averaged the results from each year and present one data point per year up until 2013.

Wales

I. Separatist/Nationalist Political Parties
   a. Plaid Cymru—initially supported devolution, now supports independence
II. Regional Parliament Election Years
   a. 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011
III. State Parliament Election Years
   a. 1970, February and October 1974, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010
IV. Sources of Independence Polling Data
   a. The 5 news sources I am using to represent Wales are:
      i. The Western Mail, The Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, The Observer, BBC News Online
   b. The years in which polls were reported by any of these news outlets are:
      i. 1997 (before power was devolved), 2003, 2004, 2007, 2009, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012

Northern Ireland

I. Separatist/Nationalist Political Parties
   a. Social Democratic Labour Party—ambiguous position on independence, for the most part strongly regionalist but not independence supporting
   b. Sinn Fein—supports independence
II. Regional Parliament Election Years (the years preceding 1998 are for the Northern Irish Parliament that existed before it was dissolved as a result of the Troubles)
   a. 1965, 1969, 1973, 1982 (dissolved), 1998, 2003, 2007, 2011
III. State Parliament Election Years
   a. 1970, February and October 1973, 1979, 1983, 1987, 1992, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2010

IV. Sources of Independence Polling Data
   a. The 5 sources I am using to represent Northern Ireland are:
      i. The Belfast Telegraph, The Irish News, The Daily Telegraph, the BBC Online Northern Ireland, The Guardian
   b. The years in which polling was reported by any of these outlets are:
      i. 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010

Flanders

I. Separatist/Nationalist Political Parties
   a. Vlaams Belang—independence
   b. Vlaams Blok—regionalist
   c. Volksunie—regionalist (now defunct, previously received seats)
   d. New Flemish Alliance (NVA)—independence
II. Regional Parliament Election Years (even though the Parliament has existed for decades, direct voting for MPs was only introduced in 1995)
   a. 1995, 1999, 2004, 2009
III. State Parliament Election Years
   a. 1978, 1981, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2010
IV. Sources of Independence Polling Data
   a. The 5 sources I am using to represent Flanders are:
      i. De Morgen, De Standaard, Het Nieuwsblad, Het Laatste Nieuws, and De Tijd
   b. The years for which polling was reported by these outlets is:
      i. 2000, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2008, 2010

Wallonia

I. Separatist/Nationalist Political Parties
   a. Union des Francophones—regionalist, some members separatist or rattachist
   b. Rassemblement Wallonie—independence/rattachist
II. Regional Parliamentary Election Years
   a. 1995, 1999, 2004, 2009
III. State Parliament Election Years
   a. 1978, 1981, 1985, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2007, 2010
IV. Sources of Independence Polling Data
   a. The 5 sources I am using to represent Wallonia are:
      i. Het Nieuwsblad, La Libre Belgique, Le Soir, LA Derniere Heure, and L'Avenir
   b. Unfortunately, there are only two years in which polling of Wallonia was reported by any of these newspapers (of any of the Flemish ones, for that matter): 2004 and 2007. Because this is such a small amount of data, the Wallonia analysis will not be including it.

Basque Country

I. Separatist/Nationalist Political Parties

a. Basque Nationalist Party—nationalist, not independence (though some support independence)
b. Batasuna—violent group, labeled a terrorist organization and outlaws in Spain, independence
c. Eusko Alkartasuna—independence, tied to violent political groups
d. Basque Nationalist Republican Party—regionalist (now defunct, previously received seats)

II. Regional Parliament Election Years
a. 1980, 1984, 1986, 1990, 1994, 1998, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2012

III. State Parliament Election Years
a. 1977, 1979, 1982, 1986, 1989, 1993, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011

IV. Sources of Independence Polling Data
a. The source I use to represent the Basque Country is the "Basque Barometer", a collaborative effort by the University of the Basque Country and the Basque Government Center for Opinion Studies
b. The years covered by this study are:
i. 1977, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1987, 1993, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2012

Catalonia

I. Separatist/Nationalist Political Parties
a. Republican Left of Catalonia-regionalist→independence
b. Catalan Solidarity for Independence-independence
c. Catalanist Republican Party-independence (now defunct)
d. Nationalist Republican Party of the Left-independence (now defunct)

II. Regional Parliament Election Years
a. 1980, 1984, 1988, 1992, 1995, 1999, 2003, 2006, 2010, 2012

III. State Parliament Election Years
a. 1977, 1979, 1982, 1986, 1993, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011

IV. Sources of Independence Polling Data
a. The 5 news outlets I will be using to represent Catalonia are:
i. La Vanguardia, Publico, ABC, El Mundo del Siglo XXI, El Pais
b. The years in which at least one of these outlets reported polling data are:
i. 2000, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2013

Galicia

I. Separatist/Nationalist Political Parties
a. Bloque Nacionalista Galego—regionalist
b. Esquerda Unida—mostly leftist, but supports independence
c. Terra Galega—regionalist—moving towards independence
d. Frente Popular Galega—independence (now basically defunct)
e. Partido Galeguista—regionalist (now defunct)

II. Regional Parliament Election Years
a. 1981, 1985, 1989, 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009, 2012

III. State Parliament Election Years

a. 1977, 1979, 1982, 1986, 1993, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2011

IV. Sources of Independence Polling Data

a. The 5 news outlets I will be using to represent Galicia are:
    i. La Voz de Galicia, Publico, ABC, El Mundo del Siglo XXI, El Pais
b. Unfortunately, like the case of Wallonia, there is almost no polling data reported by these newspapers, or by any other public policy group that would be associated with this information.