Non-State Nationalism within the European Union

- a case study of nationalism in Catalonia and Scotland, and its relation to the debate on the future of nationalism within the European Union

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June 2008

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174,744 characters

72.8 pages

Supervisor: Henrik Halkier

Contents

Abstract

The main purpose of this thesis was to examine how two cases of non-state nationalism – nationalism within stateless nations – within the European Union related to the overall debate regarding the future of nationalism. The objects chosen for analysis were Catalonia and Scotland as they seemed to be good examples of clearly definable nations that existed within a member-state of the European Union.

The debate on the future of nationalism within the European Union seemed to be divided into three theoretical perspectives. First, there were the postnationalists who argued that states, nations, and nationalism within the European Union had played out their role. Instead, they argued, we were moving towards a postnational Europe, where the need to build one's identity on a territorial belonging was no longer necessary. This perspective was criticised by the other two perspectives within this debate. The most severe critics claimed that the roles of the nation and the state had not changed, and that postnationalism had little foundation in reality. The more balanced critics instead argued that there was no empirical evidence that supported either of the other two perspectives in the debate, and that it was not, as yet, possible to predict the future of nationalism within the European Union. The scholars who supported this perspective argued that the role of the nations and the states had indeed changed, but that there was no evidence of a postnational Europe developing.

From the analysis of the two cases, it seemed that they produced little evidence to support either of the two extremes in the debate on the future of nationalism. Both Catalan and Scottish nationalism were found to have evolved from traditional nationalism in that they no longer strived to establish their own states, while there in both cases also were evidence that Catalan and Scottish identities were still as important as ever to the people of these stateless nations, providing no indication of a postnational society developing. Both nationalisms, overall, supported membership and increased importance of the European Union. The Catalan nationalists and the more moderate Scottish nationalists

both supported membership of the European Union through a continued belonging to Spain and the UK, respectively, while the more radical Scottish nationalists supported the creation of a Scottish state within the European Union. Both Catalan and Scottish nationalism were claimed to be of an open nature towards outsiders, presumably indicating a civic nationalism. However, through the analysis, it became apparent that membership of these two nations were in fact divided into two categories - basic and full membership – and that the openness was mostly attributed to the basic membership, while to be accepted as a full member it was necessary to understand and embrace the ethnic characteristics of these nationalisms.

The two cases studies, then, supported the argument of the more balanced critics of postnationalism that there is no evidence that nationalism within the European Union, with its current political framework, is disappearing in favour of a postnational Europe. However, what the case studies did indicate was a growing understanding and acceptance between the different nationalisms within the European Union, but that the national identities within these nationalism showed no signs of becoming less important to the people of Europe.

1. Introduction

In the era of globalisation, it appears that the borders between states are becoming increasingly diluted. Many issues such as trade, politics, the environment, just to name a few, are no longer seen in a national perspective; they are now international, perhaps even global, issues. Today, states cooperate much more than they used to and have thereby created some sort of interdependence. If we look at it from a European perspective, the creation and development of the European Union is a clear indication of this interdependence. The member-states are gradually deciding more and more issues on a European level than within the states themselves. As the participating member-states grow ever closer financially and politically, what implications does this have on the relationship between the people living in these states? Are the cultural differences between the people in the European Union also becoming more diluted meaning that the feeling of belonging to a state or nation is being replaced with a sense of being European instead? Some scholars argue that it seems to be a tendency that national identity is becoming less important to the people of Europe and instead each person belongs to a number of different groups and communities that transcend the physical borders between the member-states. This means that each individual is able to pick and choose from a multitude of options in order to create his or her own identity. This ability has meant that the sense of belonging to a state or nation is just one option alongside many others. This theory seems to indicate that traditional nationalism is disappearing and that it is instead being replaced by what these scholars call postnationalism where each individual can build his or her own identity regardless of place of birth. However, if traditional nationalism is disappearing, then why is it that various stateless nations in Europe are still fighting for more independence? Why is there large groups of people in e.g. Scotland and Catalonia that still today are doing all they can to break free from the United Kingdom and Spain respectively. Surely, if each individual can build his own identity regardless of nationality, then it would be less crucial to establish an independent state, as it would have little effect on the lives of each

individual. Other scholars believe that the importance of nations and nationalism should not yet be disregarded. These critics seem to believe that the postnationalist theorists have been premature in rejecting the need for nations and nationalism.

It is the purpose of this thesis to investigate these matters by explaining the theoretical debate regarding the future of nations and nationalism from a European perspective, and then attempt to analyse two cases of stateless nations in Scotland and Catalonia; two nations that today exist within a state without them being allowed their own sovereignty and where some people are still fighting for their independence. How do these cases of non-state nationalism appear to fit into the theoretical debate regarding the future of nations and nationalism within the European Union? Is the existence of nationalism in these two stateless nations an indication that the critics of postnationalism may be right, or are there indications that the types of nationalism in the two cases seem to have been changed in a postnationalist society and that they differ from traditional nationalism? At first it might appear as though the very existence of nationalism goes against the postnationalist theory, but it cannot be said for certain whether or not this might be the case. For instance, from a postnationalist perspective, it might be the case that choosing membership of a state as part of your identity - perhaps as a response to a growing individualism and disappearance of cultural differences - is still possible as each individual is free to choose his or her own identity, but that relating to a nationality is no longer based on your territorial belonging. It is possible to choose to identify yourself with any area, big or small, and as such national belonging is still an option, when creating an identity, but it has less importance. Another explanation might be that the persons in the two cases feel that they are being obstructed in their opportunities in creating their own identity by only being members of the European Union by proxy, i.e. they feel that they are being left out of the decision-making process, thus disabling them from influencing the development of Europe. This inability to influence the development of the European Union means that they are being forced to follow the tendencies of society instead of being able to help shape them. To get an understanding of how the nationalist tendencies in these two stateless nations actually are, it is necessary to perform an analysis of the nationalism present in

these two nations. What seem to be the actually objectives of the nationalist groupings in these two nations and how do they relate to traditional nationalism? Are there any indications that the nationalism present in these two nations have also been transformed by the assumed postnationalism apparent in the rest of Europe or does it appear that these two cases do not fit into this theoretical perspective? Through the analysis of the two cases it will hopefully be possible to provide an answer to some of these questions.

By analysing various materials on the nationalism in these two nations in the theoretical perspective described above, it should hopefully be possible to see how these two cases fit into the theoretical debate. The main objective of this thesis is then to provide an account of the theoretical debate regarding the future of nations and nationalism within the European Union and in this theoretical context perform an analysis of the nationalism in Scotland and Catalonia in order to see how these two cases fit into debate, and which side of the debate they seem to support. Simultaneously, it will be investigated to what extent the different theoretical viewpoints are able to explain the developments in the nationalism existing in these two nations. Thus, it will be analysed how the two cases seem to fit into the debate, but before it is possible to provide an answer to this, it will be necessary to analyse how the different theories can or cannot explain the nationalisms in Scotland and Catalonia. One of the main reasons for analysing Scotland and Catalonia is that this thesis is based on a European perspective. The development and importance of nations and nationalism are very different across the globe, and it appears as though Europe, with the development of the European Union and the subsequent disappearance of the borders between the states, seems to be the best basis for an analysis of the future of nations and nationalism, as if there are to be found any indications of a postnational society developing, it must certainly be here. Another main reason is that both Scotland and Catalonia are stateless nations, meaning that the nationalism within these nations can be said to be non-state nationalism. This means that I would expect the nationalisms in Scotland and Catalonia to be more vocal and apparent than it might be the case in nationalisms more closely linked to a state. Also, it will be interesting to see how the debate on the future of nationalism relates to these two cases of non-state nationalism, as their development surely

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must have been influenced by their special position within the European Union, i.e. being members but with no direct influence.

The empirical data subjected to analysis in this thesis will primarily be based upon the works of others on the nationalism in Catalonia and Scotland. There is a vast amount of material done on the nationalism in these two cases, but there have been done little work where the two cases are used in the same study, and the use of these two cases to try to explain the future of non-state nationalism within the European Union does seem like an area that has not been touched upon, making it possible to hopefully make some new conclusions. Some of the data used in this material are also based upon quantitative and qualitative studies and it might be possible to reinterpret these statistics in order to use them in the analysis of the two cases. The opinions of the scholars used in the analysis will also be included in the analysis, as to see if it appears as though some work has been done from some of the perspectives described in the literature review. This might then lead to an explanation as to whether or not their analysis were influenced by their own personal views. The cases will be analysed by trying to assemble an account of what nature the Catalan and Scottish nationalism actually is. This account will then be attempted to be explained from the different theoretical perspectives explained in the literature review in order to investigate to what extent the different sides in the debate are able to explain the nationalist developments in these two nations. Having done this, it should then be possible to argue which of the theoretical perspectives that, on the basis of the analysis of the two cases, seems to best at explaining the future of non-state nationalism within the European Union. After having done the analysis, this will then be used to provide an answer of what I believe is the most likely scenario for the development of non-state nationalism within the European Union, as well as how this relates to the development of nationalism in general within the European Union. The data used in this thesis will focus on the development of nationalism in Catalonia and Scotland up until 2003, as the statistics and numbers used in the material do not seem to go beyond this period.

This thesis will begin with a description of the main arguments in the debate regarding the future of nations and nationalism by explaining the different theoretical

viewpoints; some believe that the postnational society is already here, or that we are on the verge of entering it, others believe that nations and nationalism still play the most important role in today's society, and will continue to do so in the future, even in an more globalised world. Finally, there are those who argue that we might be somewhere in between and that it is still too early to say what role nations and nationalism will play in Europe in the future. Having presented these arguments in the literature review, some of the main concepts when talking about nations and nationalism will be explained. These concepts include nations and states, traditional nationalism, and two types of nationalism, civic and ethnic. Then, after the theoretical context has been explained in these two sections, there will be an analysis of the nationalism in first Catalonia and then Scotland in relation to the theory. Finally, there will be a conclusion summing up the points made in the analysis by which point it should hopefully be possible to provide an account of how the two cases analysed fit into the debate, and to what extent the different theoretical viewpoints are able to explain the nationalism in the two cases. Having done this it should be possible to give an answer to what the future for non-state nationalism appear to be within the European Union.

2. Literature review

In recent years, there has been much debate regarding the future of nations and nationalism in the new century. Some argue that the role of nations and nationalism has been outplayed and that they are increasingly becoming a thing of the past; others meanwhile argue that both nations and nationalism are still very relevant concepts and that they are unlikely to disappear. Finally, some argue that the answer might lie somewhere in between in that the roles of nations and nationalism have changed in recent years and are still changing, but that they still are very important and relevant concepts that should not, as yet, be disregarded. In the following section, the different arguments in the debate will be presented to give an overview on the different opinions on the future of nations and nationalism. This debate can then be used in the analysis as to see how the cases of Scotland and Catalonia seem to fit into this framework and whether or not the cases seem to support or reject some of the theoretical perspectives on nations and nationalism.

In his case study of the relationship between the British-Irish nations, Richard Kearney argues that nations and nationalism are concepts that belong in the twentieth century, opening his paper "A Postnational Council of Isles? The British-Irish Conflict Reconsidered" (2006) by saying that "postnationalism looks set to replace nationalism as the dominant political paradigm" (Kearney, 2006:167). In his view, the empirical evidence in the fall of the British Empire, as well as the peace in Ireland, show that the time of nations has passed and that the people in these nations no longer identify in a strong way with their territorial birthplace. In fact, according to Kearney, nations and nationalism in this case should not be seen as God-given, but should instead be seen as concepts that were developed by the British as a mirror image. Ireland and the Irish people were used to create Britain, in that they served as the others – an example of what being British was *not*. With the hostility between the two states dwindling and an increase in people moving from one state to the other, this mirror image as well as the sense of cultural and geographical borders disappeared. The people of the British Isles are no longer required to identify with a nation

or a state, but can, for instance, lead to "anyone in Northern Ireland who so wishes to declare allegiance to the Ulster region, the Irish and/or British nation, the EU, and the cosmopolitan order of world citizenry" (Kearney, 2006:180), i.e. each individual is free to identify with whatever he chooses. In this new world, national identity is not a given; allegiance to a nation or region is an option - not a necessity - and each can create his or her own identity. The final paragraph of Kearney's paper gives a very clear indication of the author's view on the future of nations and nationalism:

> Citizens of these islands are offered the possibility of thinking of themselves as mongrel islanders rather than as eternal inhabitants of two pure, God-given nation-states. There is no such thing as primordial nationality. If the nation is indeed a hybrid construct, an 'imagined community', then it can be re-imagined in alternative versions. The 'postnational constellation' envisaged by political visionaries as diverse as John Hume and Jürgen Habermas, need no longer be considered a utopian dream. (Kearney, 2006:180)

This paragraph shows very clearly that Richard Kearney is a firm believer in postnationalism, and that he believes that postnationalism is already developing in society. It is not just some ideal objective created by theorists.

One of the key thinkers behind the idea of postnationalism is, as mentioned above by Kearney, Jürgen Habermas. Habermas has done a lot of work on postnationalism, and in "Why Europe Needs a Constitution" (2006), he explains how an increasingly closer Europe - both politically and culturally - needs a constitution to develop even further. While some argue that the people of Europe are not culturally close enough to warrant a constitution that would create a federal Europe, Habermas responds to this criticism by arguing, much like Kearney, that the state should not be seen as a sovereign, indestructible unit that is a natural concept. Instead, these critics should look at the actual history of Europe to understand that it is possible to continue evolving. According to Habermas:

> If the emergence of national consciousness involved a painful process of abstraction, leading from local and dynastic identities to national and democratic ones, why, first, should this generation of a highly artificial kind of civic solidarity…be doomed to come to a final halt just at the borders of our classical nation-states? (Habermas, 2006:35)

In this quote, Habermas argues that the creation of the nation-states themselves very much resembles what Habermas believes Europe can become. The creation of a united Europe can be done, but, first of all, it is necessary to get rid of the scepticism. As it was a difficult and tough process to develop the European states, so too will it be hard to create a united Europe, but it is necessary to take the decision to move towards a federal Europe. If the borders disappear, then, in time, the people of Europe will learn to see themselves as being European. Habermas argues that the people of Europe are in fact not that different and that the cultural differences that may exist are not tied to geographical borders anyway. Habermas believes that the European states are very much based on civic nationalism - a concept that will explained in more detail in the theory section of this thesis - but for now it can be put simply as a nationalism that is defined by laws and rules, rather than a shared cultural past. It is necessary to distinguish between ethnic and civic nationalism, if we are to understand the possibility of further European integration, as civic nationalism should be seen as "voluntaristic" (Habermas, 2006:34). The European states are based on this nationalism, making it possible for the people of Europe to volunteer to a new European civic state. The belief in a European civic nationalism is necessary for a creation of a European constitution and, according to Habermas, "Such a civic, as opposed to ethnic, conception of 'the nation' reflects both the actual historical trajectory of the European nation-states and the fact that democratic citizenship establishes an abstract, legally mediated solidarity between strangers" (Habermas, 2006:34). Again, Habermas and Kearney appear to agree upon the future of nations and nationalism. The establishment of

states must be seen as part of an evolution, instead of perceiving them as the final stage. There is no empirical, historical evidence that suggests that the state as a concept is the natural state of relations between different cultures. In the opinion of postnationalists such as Kearney and Habermas, it is vital to stop this way of thinking in order for us to take the next step in this evolutionary process; to remove the borders between the European nation-states and instead attempt to achieve a federal European nation-state.

Gerard Delanty, in his paper, "Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism: The Paradox of Modernity" (2006a) offer a more moderate account of postnationalism. He uses the term cosmopolitanism to describe "the consciousness of globality and of postnational ties; it is a critical and reflexive consciousness of heterogeneity as opposed to the quintessentially modernist spirit of a homogeneous vision of sovereign statehood" (Delanty, 2006a:357), meaning that he does not believe in the existence of a national identity, where the nation is an uncontested unit. Instead, the concepts of nation and state, according to Delanty, are products of the modern age. Now that we are moving towards, what Delanty calls, the postmodern age, the role of the state is diminishing. Cosmopolitanism can be traced back to ancient Greece, and prior to the emergence of the state in the twentieth century, it experienced a revival. Nationalism and cosmopolitanism should not be seen as direct opposites, but more as an area of conflict, where one does not exclude the other. According to Delanty, "cosmopolitanism was above all an expression of freedom" (Delanty, 2006a:359) - a freedom for the individual, where he should not be bound by any national ties or borders. During the twentieth century and the growth in nationalism, cosmopolitanism was more or less disregarded, but now, in the new millennium, Delanty sees some indications that cosmopolitanism is coming back. He does not agree with the purist postnationalists who believe that states, nations, and nationalism should be abolished. Instead, he believes that it is possible to identify with both nationalism and cosmopolitanism depending on the situation and context. In Delanty's view, the sovereign nation does not exist any more and cosmopolitanism should be seen as a supplement to this development; from a cosmopolitan perspective, it should be possible to understand and empathise with different cultural backgrounds. It does not mean the emergence of some

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kind of shared culture, but instead it means less hostility and more understanding towards other cultures. In another paper written by Delanty, "The Civilisational Consequences of Enlargement" (2006b), he focuses more specifically on Europe and argues that while, what he calls, Europeanisation at first was mostly political and financial, it has now, as a consequence, also become cultural. In his opinion, the European Union is no longer a project where individual states work together, but that "a European society is emerging not as an alternative to national societies, as in some kind of transnational supersociety, but as an expression of interconnections between postnational societies" (Delanty, 2006b:129). He does not however agree with the more 'pure' postnationalism of Habermas and Kearney in that the nations are disappearing completely. Instead, he believes that the Europeanisation is an indication that "the state has lost its capacity to define the nation with the result that societies are becoming more 'postnational'. The equation of nation – state – society has broken down" (Delanty, 2006b:130) meaning that the state has become less influential in society, but it has not lost its significance completely. There might be a tendency towards states and nations disappearing, but it is too early to dismiss them completely.

In his book "Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism: Bringing Theory Back In" (2006), Paul James argue that the postnationalists, while making some valid points, have taken things too far. He argues that the postnationalists have little theoretical basis in reality and that "postnationalism and uncritical cosmopolitanism amounts to little more than a postmodern yearning for openness on the one hand, and an ideological compatriot of globalism on the other" (James, 2006:304-305). This shows that James believes that the postnationalists are no more than philosophical dreamers that with the emergence and growth of globalisation has invented some ideal of a united world where borders between both nations and states, will disappear. Postnationalism is a concept mostly embraced by the postmodernists as James call them, and they, according to James, can be seen as putting too much emphasis on the possibility of each individual's options when constructing his or her identity. Another important point to the postmodernists is that they seem to argue that belonging to a territory is negative, "as if being related to a territory is *always* a root cause of conflict" (James, 2006:305), meaning that the very existence of a national identity will

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cause tension between people. Postmodernists also seem to be against any set identity, authority, and power. Instead, they would ideally prefer a more fluid, deconstructed society, where nothing should be set in stone, as this would be the best way to avoid conflict.

Another critic of postnationalism is Craig Calhoun who in his book "Nations Matter: Culture, History, and the Cosmopolitan Dream" (2007) argues that the postnational theory has little base in reality. In his view, states, nations and nationalism very much still matter and will continue to do so in the future. Contrary to the postnationalists, Calhoun believes that nations should not be seen as an artificial construction of the modern age, but rather as a concept that "purported to describe (or construct) a collective actor" (Calhoun, 2007:48), i.e. that national identity and nationalism were not created as a result of the birth of a nation, but instead it was a collective identity and shared history that created the nation. Globalisation has brought along much confusion in international relations, and has helped create more transnational organisations, but according to Calhoun "while new institutions outside or beyond nation-states are important, nation-states themselves are called on to play central roles in the context of globalization. Indeed, much of the contemporary form of globalization is produced and driven by nation-states – at least certain powerful nation-states" (Calhoun, 2007:169). In other words, it means that the development of international institutions such as the EU, the WTO, the UN, just to name a few, should not be seen as these transnational institutions acting on the political scene more or less independent of nation-states. Globalisation is pushed forward and shaped by the nation-states; not the other way around. Calhoun has some sympathy for the postnationalist idea of less important nations and nationalism, as he believes that the existence of these two concepts bring with them both much good and much bad, but he does see any indications that this is actually happening. The postnationalist theorists in Calhoun's opinion neglect the importance of a shared cultural and historical past in order for them to make their theory valid: "No one lives outside particularistic solidarities. Some cosmopolitan theorists may believe they do, but this is an illusion made possible by positions of relative privilege and the dominant place of some cultural orientations in the world at large" (Calhoun, 2007:25). Like some of the other critics, Calhoun finds that postnationalism believes that it is possible to separate

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the 'good' civic nationalism from the 'bad' ethnic nationalism, but according to Calhoun, these two forms of nationalism are in fact inseparable. It is not possible for the individual to create his or her own identity in whichever nationality one chooses. There will always be some kind of ethnic limitations to a civic citizenship. A nationality will be primarily based on a more or less ethnically homogeneous group, as "It is particularly difficult to frame rationales for limits on immigration in civic nationalist terms without falling back on ethnic nationalism" (Calhoun, 2007:42), i.e. when deciding who is allowed to join a national group, there will always be some ethnic considerations involved.

Another scholar who seems to believe that postnationalism is a concept that is too idealised without much basis in reality, is Anthony D. Smith who have done much work on nationalism. While critical towards postnationalism, he does seem to be more sympathetic towards the concept than Paul James, and also agrees with some of the points mentioned by Delanty. It is necessary to point out that Smith's use of the term nation is somewhat complicated in that his use of the term actually covers both the nation and the state. This will be addressed in the theory section in greater detail. In the introduction to his book, "Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era" (1995), Smith argues that not only postnationalism, but also the other main views in the debate regarding the future of nations and nationalism all have their own problems. Regarding postnationalism, Smith argues that the idea of the role of the nation being diminished and on the road towards disappearing is not supported by any empirical evidence. In Smith's view, each individual's identity is shaped by the past of the culture in which he lives. Thus, it would be impossible to create a global culture, at least at this point in time. As Smith asks: "does this not also suggest that a global culture would not, after all, constitute the radical break with the nationalist past that its proponents seem so to believe and desire it to be, and that the best that can be hoped for in the twenty-first century is that we shall attain to that national 'diversity in unity' that some Euro-federalists have preached?" (Smith, 1995:23), i.e. that the postnationalist belief that a global culture is already on the rise and will succeed national cultures quite soon is exaggerated and that the most we can hope for is that we become better at accepting different cultures, enabling us to make the most of a more globalised society. He does not,

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however, argue that what the postnationalists believe is impossible; it would just require a very long period of time where the pasts and experiences of the different cultures become more intertwined thus creating a more united, global culture. However, this would probably require centuries of continuous interaction, rather than years, and it is quite possible that this will never happen. In any case, the postnationalist concept has little base in the tendencies in today's society. However, Smith also argues that the other traditional arguments in the debate concerning the future of nations and nationalism also have their problems. The two main viewpoints are firstly, "that nations and nationalisms are inevitable products, and producers, of modernity" and that in an ever-changing, fragmented society, "nations and nationalisms are necessary, if unpalatable, instruments for controlling the destructive effects of massive social change; they provide the only large-scale and powerful communities and belief systems that can secure a minimum of social cohesion, order and meaning in a disruptive and alienating world" (Smith, 1995:4), meaning that those who hold this view believe that nations and states should be protected as they are the only forces able to control globalisation as to prevent the world from anarchy. The last main argument in the debate is that nations are perennial meaning that everything else in the world might change but nations and states are the primary elements in this world, and whilst people at times might forget their nationality, the nation will always remain, no matter what else goes on in the world. Smith, in the conclusion of his book, argues that these two viewpoints also are flawed. Smith believes that there are areas where international organisations and alliances are better suited to decide and legislate. Smith argues that these organisations and unions should not be seen as replacing nations or states, but instead should be seen as tools that can be helpful and beneficial. The last two arguments mentioned above would argue that these tools can always be exploited to serve each nation or state's best interest and that the nation or state would simply leave any union, if it did not serve this best interest; a neorealist perspective. Smith, however, says that "[i]t is a mistake to imagine that the national state has ever been as sovereign and independent as it likes to portray itself" (Smith, 1995:121), meaning that the states have always been dependent on each other and have always needed to cooperate in order to prosper. So in Smith's view, the role of nations

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and nationalism lie somewhere in between each argument. The nation or state's role as a main actor on the global scene is not disappearing, nor should it be seen as an uncontested everlasting concept that stands above any union or organisation. Using the European Union as an example, Smith argues that he does not believe that any form of shared European identity and culture can occur without first having a shared European past and history, where each individual can relate to the same historical experiences. Also, the European states and nations are still quite clearly distinguishable from each other and Smith sees no empirical evidence that this is changing, so to Smith the future of nations and nationalism is that they will still remain in the future, but at least regarding Europe, each state will give up political power to the union, forming a more politically united Europe, which will hopefully lead to the different national cultures in Europe embracing each culture's individual characteristics without necessarily creating some sort of united European culture.

From the above, it is quite clear that there are very different opinions on the role of nations and nationalism in the future. Postnationalism in its most extreme form, here exemplified by Kearney, and to some extent, Habermas, seems to argue that the role of states, nations and nationalism has more or less already disappeared, while other postnationalists, such as Delanty, seem to argue that there are clear indications that we are moving towards a nation- and stateless society, but that we are not quite there yet. This version of postnationalism actually seems to agree with some of the criticism that the theory has faced in that postnationalism has been premature in pronouncing the deaths of states, nations and nationalism. Some critics, such as Smith, argue that the nation and the state are still very much an important part of the international society, and if that is to change, it will need to happen during a very long period of time. The more moderate form of postnationalism argues from the same perspective. The difference between the moderate postnationalists and its more sympathetic critics is that the postnationalist believe it will happen, while the critics are less sure and want to see more empirical evidence of this development. Other critics, such as James in particular, but also Calhoun, are even more sceptical towards postnationalism, arguing that nations and nationalism will continue to be an influential part of international society in the future, because it is the nations that

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determine which direction society will take in the future, and globalisation should not be seen as an unstoppable force that in time will remove the need for nations and nationalism. Instead, it is the nations that control globalisation, and as such it will be most unlikely that the nations will disappear. This debate on the future of nations and nationalism is very important to this thesis as the cases will be analysed with the objective of seeing which side of the debate they seem to support. A general observation on the work of the different scholars is that it seems as though there is a lot of confusion about the use of the terms nations, states, and nation-states. In the overall debate regarding the future of nationalism, it might not have much of an impact, but, when dealing with non-state nationalism, it is crucial to be more aware of the difference between these concepts.

Having now provided an account of the main arguments in the debate, the following section will focus on important concepts to the understanding of nations and nationalism. Some of the concepts have already been touched upon in the above, but in the next section, concepts such as nationalism and nations and states will be explained more thoroughly in order to clarify what exactly is meant when these concepts are used both in the literature review and the analysis. It is important to provide these explanations as they are frequently used, but often they are used with different meanings.

3. Theory

As this thesis focuses on the future of nations and nationalism, it seems necessary to specify what it exactly is meant when specific terms are used. In the following section, the concepts nations, states, traditional nationalism, as well as ethnic and civic nationalism will be explained in order to provide a definition to clarify what is meant when these concepts are used in this thesis.

3.1 Nations and states

First of all, it is necessary to distinguish between the terms nation and state, as the two cases that will be analysed in this thesis, Scotland and Catalonia, can be said to be the former but not the latter. Often, as seen e.g. in the literature review, terms such as nation and state are used interchangeably, but as the following will show, it is important to distinguish them from each other, as they are very different entities. The state is a political entity that consists of a fixed territorial area which is acknowledged by the international political institutions as an independent political actor. In this case, examples of states would be the UK and Spain. In some cases, the nation and the state correspond – the so-called nation-states - but as we will see in this case, a state is capable of including more than one nation. In fact, cases where there can be said to one single nation within a state are rare (Smith, 1991). Throughout this thesis, the concept of a traditional sovereign state will be used. By this concept is meant a state that has not devolved any real decision-making power to an intergovernmental institution, i.e. a state that e.g. maintains its physical borders and is able to make sovereign decisions on tariffs and other trade barriers, as well as other political areas. In relation to the European Union, it can be said that the member-states seized to be truly sovereign, independent entities, when the European Union was

established.Up until that point it had been a process, where the member-states became increasingly interdependent and united, resulting in the European Union.

For my purposes, the definition of a nation provided by Benedict Anderson seems appropriate, when he defines the nation as an "imagined political community" (Anderson, 1991:6), meaning that the concept of a nation was created by people. The need to build a national community arose, when people stopped being tied to the same place under the rule of some authoritarian power around the Age of Enlightenment. People felt the need to establish some sort of community to which they could feel a sense of belonging and affiliation. Anderson argues that the nation as a community is imagined, because we only are in contact with a small fraction of the members and might not have very much in common with most of the other members. By using this definition of a nation, it is possible to see the nation from two different perspectives. On the one hand, it can be seen as something that is disappearing, as it has lost its importance - the need for belonging to a territorial community has disappeared. On the other hand, it can also be seen as a concept that is still relevant to most people - people still feel the need to belong to a place. This definition helps to avoid taking sides in the debate, before the analysis has even begun. The nation is a community created by people, and it is the attitudes of the people towards this community that determines its future, and it is exactly these attitudes that will be analysed later on. A more problematic definition of nations is made by Anthony D. Smith in his book "National Identity". He defines a nation as "*a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members*" (Smith, 1991:14). This definition seems to combine the nation and the state by seeing the nation both as a cultural and historic fellowship of people, as well as an institutional setting. This is problematic, especially to these cases where we see several nations existing within the same state. The first part of his definition relates to Anderson's 'imagined community' in that, as the nation has developed, the members of this community has attributed a cultural and historic past to the nation; a sense of community. The latter part instead focuses on what I understand as a state; the political entity that provides the institutional setting for the people living there.

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Smith's definition is included in this section, because having seemingly been providing the middle ground in the debate in the literature review, his definition of the nation is a good example of the confusion often found when using the terms nation and state. It seems peculiar that Smith appears to provide the most balanced account of the future of nationalism, when his definition of the nation seems to be a problematic mixture of nation and state. This, however, does not necessarily mean that Smith's point regarding the future of nationalism should be dismissed. Rather, I would argue that the problem only lies with his definition of the nation. The last part of his definition – the part that seems to focus on the state – did not need to be included. Instead, it seems that the best theoretical perspective for this thesis will be to use Anderson's definition of a nation, when using Smith's theoretical view on the future of nationalism. Regarding Scotland and Catalonia, both nations fit into Anderson's definition, as well as the first part of Smith's. The people of both nations have a shared history and common myths, and they both have a territorial homeland which borders are more or less fixed. This sense of belonging is based on the historical development of the nation. It is the creation of these nations at a later time that has provided the foundation for creating a shared past that evolves the longer these nations exists. It is also these histories and myths that can provide the basis for nationalism. It is the nation that provides the notion of a shared, common past. However, it will be investigated in the analysis to what extent some of the people in Scotland and Catalonia see themselves as British and Spanish respectively. At first, this might seem contradictory, as the UK and Spain perhaps are more states than nations, but the longer the state exists, the more a common history and past will develop, perhaps enabling some people to see the state as a nation. It is the same notion that was explained in the literature review, where Anthony D. Smith argued that the only way a European culture and nation could develop would be through centuries of growing ever closer together. It is the same basic principle with the UK and Spain. These states have a much longer history than the European Union, and thus it might be possible to see indications of some sort of nationalism developing.

To sum up, the definition of a nation used in this thesis is that it is an imagined community that in time develops a shared cultural and historical past enabling the

members of this community to create a sense of relating to each other; it is *not* a shared historical and cultural past that has made the members create this community. A state, then, is the institutional, political unit which provides the fundamental laws that enables people to coexist.

3.2 Nationalism

When talking about nationalism, it is necessary to first of all provide some sort of overview of the history of nationalism - particularly, how it started. In the introduction to "The SAGE Handbook of NATIONS and NATIONALISM" (2006), the editors of the book, Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar, deliver a useful account of nationalism in general. What will be referred to in this thesis as traditional nationalism emerged, according to the editors, "in the period following the French Revolution" (Delanty & Kumar, 2006:1) and "was on the whole connected with the formation of the modern nation-state, on the one side, and on the other with the emergence of industrial society" (Delanty & Kumar, 2006:1-2), though I would argue that the correct term would be the state rather than nation-state, as there are relatively few examples of correlation between the nation and the state. Nationalism, in other words, emerged after the French Revolution, as the significance of the modern state grew, and the borders and differences between nations and states became more fixed. It became more important for nations and states to assert themselves, when compared to others, and this led to the emergence of nationalism. According to Delanty & Kumar, "nationalism and nationhood were projects of modernity and reflected the particularistic dimension of modernity's universalism. Nationalism was a product of a world in which the nation-state was the primary societal principle of organization" (Delanty & Kumar, 2006:2), i.e. as society entered the age of modernity, it became important to be able to label different concepts and units. The modern nations and states fulfilled society's need to create some order in the international system.

This traditional type of nationalism can be characterised as a nationalism that seems very preoccupied with distancing itself from others. It is a type of nationalism in

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which it was very important to assert yourself at the costs of others. The differences between people of different nations and states became an important part of creating one's identity. National identity often became a question about what you were not. This type of nationalism will be, as mentioned above, referred to as traditional nationalism in this thesis, and it will be used in the case studies to analyse whether or not Catalan and Scottish nationalism seem to differ from this traditional nationalism.

3.3 Ethnic and civic nationalism

As for nationalism, it seems as though it can be divided into two categories; ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism. These two concepts are widely used in work on nationalism, though they might take different names. Ethnic nationalism is sometimes known as 'mystical' or 'cultural', while civic nationalism is sometimes called 'rational' or 'political' (Hutchinson, 1994:127). In this thesis, however, they will be known as ethnic and civic nationalism. Hans Kohn talks of Eastern and Western nationalism, when talking about ethnic and civic nationalism, and his definitions of the concepts seem very useful for my purposes. Ethnic, or Eastern, nationalism, was, according to Kohn, "created…out of the myths of the past and the dreams of the future, an ideal fatherland, closely linked with the past, devoid of any immediate reality" (Kohn, 1994:164), i.e. ethnic nationalism is based on the belief on an ancient community that in time has developed into a nation. Civic, or Western, nationalism was "preceded by the formation of the future national state" and it "arose in an effort to build a nation in the political reality and the struggles of the present without too much sentimental regard for the past" (Kohn, 1994:164), i.e. civic nationalism is not based on a common past, but instead focuses on creating a functional, political community for the citizens of a state. Civic nationalism developed with the emergence of the state. The people needed to feel some form of connection with this new political structure, and the acceptance of the legitimacy of the state and its laws and rules was the birth of civic nationalism. According to Smith, state theory "has generally assumed a civic form of nationalism" (Smith, 1995:97) meaning that membership of a state is based on each

individual's ability and willingness to accept the laws and norms of the state, regardless of origin. This civic nationalism appears to be more open and inclusive than ethnic nationalism. If you are willing to accept the rules of the state and are willing to compromise with your own nation's cultural history in order to fit into the society of the new state then you are easily accepted. Ethnic nationalism, on the other hand, is more guarded and sceptic towards others, where it is less open if you do not share a common background with the rest of the nation. Ethnic nationalism is based on a shared history and ethnicity which makes it harder for outsiders to fit in. It might seem as though these two types of nationalism are mutually exclusive, but this is actually not the case, though many make this distinction, and according to some critics, the postnationalists especially "repeat the mistakes of the theorists of nationalism when the latter make the common moral distinction between ethnic nationalism (bad) and civic nationalism (good)" (James, 2006:300) meaning that they believe that ethnic nationalism will continue to create and enhance differences between nations and cultures, and instead people should focus on promoting civic nationalism, as this nationalism does not judge people on their ethnicity or past. An example of a postnationalist seeing civic nationalism as being the 'right' nationalism, can be found in Richard Kearney's "A Postnational Council of Isles? The British-Irish Conflict Reconsidered" (Kearney, 2006). In this paper, Kearney argues that the creation of the British-Irish Council of Isles – a council where all nations and regions within this area are represented – has led to the creation of a territory where the sovereignty of the state or the differences between nations have lost their importance. Kearney sees this as an example of the rise of postnationalism and civic nationalism, and argues that this British-Irish example can "even serve as an inspiration to other parts of Europe and the globe still embroiled in the devastations of ethnic nationalism" (Kearney, 2006:179), i.e. in this quote, Kearney explicitly links ethnic nationalism with devastation – ethnic nationalism is 'bad'. The critics of postnationalism, however, point out that the two types of nationalisms actually exist in some kind of symbiosis. Paul James, for instance, wishes to "focus our attention on principles for underpinning and maintaining complex ethical social relations" (James, 2006:300) and argues that "the naming of the relationship is much less important than the

form that relationship takes" (James, 2006:301) meaning that he finds it pointless to try and separate the two kinds of nationalism and that we should instead focus on how nationalism actually develops in society, instead of engaging in a theoretical debate about which kind of nationalism seems to be predominant. Both types of nationalisms are interdependent and coexist, making the differentiation between the types redundant. This perspective is, in my opinion, too radical. Though both forms of nationalism coexist and are interdependent, they are still clearly distinguishable and as such cannot simply be combined. There are still important differences, and it is a key feature to understanding different versions of nationalism throughout the world to be able to analyse which type of nationalism – ethnic or civic – that appears to be dominant. Anthony D. Smith's views on ethnic and civic nationalism seem somewhere along the same lines as James', but he is, however, more sympathetic towards the concepts itself, but believes that both types of nationalism can be found in most nations and states. According to Smith, accepting membership of a civic nationalism is not that different from entering an ethnic nationalism, in that instead of accepting a historic past, you need to "adhere to the 'civil religion' of the national state" (Smith, 1995:97), i.e. the rules of a civic nationalism are just more modern principles that you need to adjust to than the more historic of the ethnic nationalism. The modern versions of nations and states might on the surface try to distinguish themselves from ethnic nationalism, but the rules that new members have to accept are based on the cultural, historic past of ethnic nationalism. In Smith's words, "modern nations are simultaneously and necessarily civic and ethnic" (Smith, 1995:97), in that the members of these nations and states, at the same time, both have to adhere to the institutional, civic laws, as well as the norms of ethnic nationalism. Smith also argues that neither nationalism is that open and embracive in that both types always will promote the laws, values, and norms that are seen as 'universal' to the members of the nation.

This definition of nationalism is important to this thesis as it appears that some of the work done on the nationalism in Scotland and Catalonia separates ethnic and civic nationalism. This is relevant to the debate on the different perspectives of the future of nations and nationalism, in that it is a clear indicator of what perspective the author might

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have on the debate. I will adopt Anthony D. Smith's definition of nationalism because his arguments regarding the symbiosis of ethnic and civic nationalism seem very valid. It would probably be a mistake to separate these two concepts as the empirical evidence shown by Smith indicates that they are not mutually exclusive. Paul James' critique seems to perhaps go too far. He seems to agree with Smith that the concept of ethnic and civic nationalism is more complex than is often argued by different scholars, but instead of trying to make a case of how they relate to each other, he opts to ignore the debate altogether as he does not see its relevance. This, in my opinion, is to take things too far, and as the concepts of ethnic and civic nationalisms are frequently used in the work of nationalism in Scotland and Catalonia, it seems important to address this focus rather than ignoring it. As mentioned above, both James and Smith believe that the postnationalists are making a fundamental mistake, when arguing that civic nationalism is the right kind of nationalism and that it is this kind of nationalism that should be promoted in the future, as it is best suited for the postnational society. In the analysis, this will be a very good indicator for which theoretical viewpoint the author of a specific part of the empirical data has. If someone argues that either Scotland or Catalonia primarily possess either civic or ethnic nationalism and whether or not they propose to adopt a more civic type of nationalism can be a clear sign of someone agreeing that we are moving towards the postnational society.

4. Analysis

In the following section of this thesis, the two cases of Scottish and Catalan nationalism, which were mentioned in the introduction and theory section, will be analysed. In each analysis, there will initially be an overview of each nation's political history, which will then be followed by an introduction to what different scholars have written on the topic of nationalism in Catalonia and Scotland respectively, in order to provide a data material to analyse. The different works of these scholars will be compared and evaluated according to the definitions provided in the theory section. This account of what each nationalism appears to be will then be compared to the theoretical debate on the future of nationalism within the European Union in order to get an answer to what extent the different opinions in the debate are able to provide an explanation to the non-state nationalisms of Catalonia and Scotland.

4.1 Catalonia

4.1.1 Catalonia's Political History

Catalonia's history as a nation dates back to 988, and throughout the Middle Ages, Catalonia gradually shaped itself, making it a clearly recognisable nation, when compared to the other regions within modern-day Spain (Llobera, 2004). According to Llobera, Catalonia, throughout this period, was more or less connected with the rest of the Spanish regions, but a central, politically dominant Spanish state did not exist. This period that spans over several centuries has been instrumental in the development of a shared Catalan territory, history, language, and culture – Catalan nationalism. However, for the purposes of this thesis, the most important period to understanding Catalan nationalism today stretches

from the Spanish Civil War, which began in 1936, and up until today. Llobera states that the Spanish Civil War played a huge part in the development of Catalan nationalism and Catalonia as a nation. The Catalans were opposed to Franco's ideal of a more dominant, centralised Spanish government that would allow little, if any, room for regional autonomy. After Franco's victory, most of the decision-making power was kept in Madrid. The Catalans, having fought against Franco, were, as a result, being punished in the early years of the Franco regime, but later on developed into one of the wealthier regions in Spain. Franco's death in 1975 and the subsequent democratisation of Spain led to the signing of the new constitution in 1978 which opened up for a much higher level of regional autonomy, which, according to Michael Keating, John Loughlin & Kris Deschouwer (2003), has meant "differences in the speed at which autonomous communities have acquired full competences and there are important political differences between the three 'historic nationalities', the Basque Country, Catalonia and Galicia, and the rest" (Keating et al, 2003:41). In other words, Catalonia has benefited relatively much from the devolution of power in Spain. The policy of devolution has increased since then, and Catalonia today, through its government – the Generalitat - is able to decide on most political matters, such as the economy and culture, but the central Spanish government still has the decision-making power regarding most taxes as well as the social policy (Keating et al, 2003). In conclusion, Catalonia has, since the restrictive era under Franco, been able to achieve a high level of political autonomy, giving the Generalitat much power. The central Spanish government cannot interfere too much with Catalan political affairs, and it seems that Catalonia, on issues that matter exclusively to the nation, is able to decide for itself, making the nation somewhat politically autonomous albeit with some restrictions.

4.1.2 Catalan Nationalism

From the different accounts on what Catalan nationalism is, the consensus seems to be that Catalonia, in a historical perspective, has never, since the emergence of the Spanish state,

strived for independence in the form of an actual, autonomous Catalan state, completely separated from Spain. According to e.g. Josep Llobera (2004), Catalonia fought against Franco's Spain during the Civil War, not because the Catalans were completely against the idea of the existence of Spain, but more a case of the Catalans believing that a decentralised Spain with a high level of autonomy for the different regions would be the best way forward for Catalonia, rather than Franco's ideal of a central powerful government based in Madrid. Llobera also argues that Catalonia, when the Catalans felt unable to determine the politics of Spain, more or less opted out of Spanish politics, and instead focused on establishing a political scene in their own region. This is supported by Juan Medrano (1995), who also cites a lack of influence as the main reason for Catalonia deciding to focus on its own matters as much as possible.

Catalan nationalism, then, is not primarily focused on removing Catalonia from Spain completely, meaning that what is usually one of the most important parts of traditional nationalism - the definition and defence of a geographical area that belongs to the nation - is not really that important in Catalan nationalism. A reason for this missing objective to create a Catalan state might be based in the fact that during the Franco regime there was a massive immigration into Catalonia from other parts of Spain, meaning that as much of half the population in Catalonia today are first or second generation immigrants in the region (Llobera, 2004). This, of course, means that around half of the electorate do not have a strong sense of belonging to Catalan history and culture and might be put off by the idea of being autonomous from Spain. Another possible explanation might be that the people of Catalonia appear to believe in a moderate, non-separatist, capitalist independence (Medrano, 1995), meaning that there is very little support for armed resistance (Medrano, 1995:175) as well as the support for Catalan nationalism has always been very broad – virtually independent of class, religion or political beliefs. This has meant that it has been harder to radicalise Catalan nationalism, and that it has instead become a moderate, broadly appealing movement that wants Catalonia to become stronger, but that does not mean the creation of an actual Catalan state.

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4.1.3 Civic and Ethnic Nationalism within Catalan Nationalism

As mentioned in the theory section, the two types of nationalism - ethnic and civic - are often used when discussing nationalism, and so this next part will look at the role of ethnic and civic nationalism within Catalonia, as many of the scholars used also focuses on these terms in their writings. In fact, it appears that it is virtually impossible to write about Catalan nationalism without looking at ethnic and civic nationalism, as, according to Hargreaves (2000:34) as well as Keating et al (2003), the official policy of the Catalan government is that Catalan nationalism is civic nationalism, i.e. the Catalan government argues that Catalonia is open to immigrants and as long as people want to live in Catalonia and identifies with Catalonia then they are Catalans. Hargreaves, however, delivers a strong criticism of this statement, as he sides with Smith in arguing that any type of nationalism will always be a mixture of both ethnic and civic nationalism. It is not a matter of choice or arguing that ethnic is bad and civic is good. According to Hargreaves, Catalan nationalism contains "strong elements of ethnic nationalism" (Hargreaves, 2000:34) in that it focuses much on Catalonia as a historical nation as well as promoting its own language, which is a very clear distinction between those who are and those who are not fully Catalan. Also, while Hargreaves agree that membership of Catalonia is open to all, it is necessary to understand that there are two levels of membership; what Hargreaves calls autochthonous and non-autochthonous Catalans (Hargreaves, 2000:35), i.e. those who speak Catalan and those who do not. Thus, it is easy to become a member of the Catalans, but those who speak the language are seen as being more Catalan than the others; a clear, ethnic distinction. The way Catalan language and culture are promoted as part of Catalan nationalism shows, according to Hargreaves, that Catalan nationalism is in fact more ethnic than civic. The official government statement of Catalan nationalism being civic is based on the faulty notion, mentioned in the theory section, that ethnic nationalism is closed and bad, while civic nationalism is open and good. This is, as mentioned both by Hargreaves and Smith not the case, and Catalan nationalism is perhaps more ethnic than civic, but at

the same time, it is very tolerant towards immigrants from the rest of Spain and inclusive as long as the new members support the need for a high level of autonomy in Catalonia, which most immigrants seem to do. In Medrano's book, he presents a table of how the natives and immigrants see themselves regarding identity, i.e. whether they only feel Spanish or Catalan or to what extent they feel a mixture of the two. The table is shown below.

| | Catalonia | | | | | | | | |
| Self-identification | 1979 | | | 1988 | | | 1991 | | |
	Natives	Immigrants	T	Natives	Immigrants	T	Natives	Immigrants	T
Only Spanish	16.9	63.8	31.0	4.6	33.3	15.5	4.1	32.0	14.7
More Spanish than Catalan	4.2	12.1	6.5	2.1	14.9	7.0	1.9	14.7	6.8
As Spanish as Catalan	42.8	19.4	35.7	27.6	32.3	29.4	33.9	36.5	34.9
More Catalan than Spanish	15.9	2.4	11.8	36.3	12.2	27.2	36.4	8.1	25.6
Only Catalan	20.2	2.3	14.8	29.3	7.3	21.0	23.8	8.6	18.0
N	(783)	(338)	(1,201)	(474)	(288)	(762)	(319)	(197)	(516)

Source: Gunther, Sani, and Shabad, *Spain after Franco* (1986). The table for Catalonia and the Basque Country for that year is incuded in Linz, *Conflicto en Euskadi* (1986); Análisis Sociológicos, Económicos, y Políticos (1988); Centro para la Investigación sobre la Realidad Social (1991).

Source: Medrano, 1995:175

The table shows that since the time immediately after the Franco regime, where almost two thirds of the immigrants felt only Spanish, that number had fallen to just a third of the immigrants in 1991. In fact, in 1991, only little more than 20% of the entire Catalan population felt either only Spanish or more Spanish than Catalan, meaning that a Catalan identity was getting stronger, influenced greatly by the growth in Catalan identification within the immigrant group. These statistics show that immigrants over a relatively short period of time when talking about adopting a new nationality feel accepted and can quickly identify with their new home nation. The table also shows that the native Catalans do not, in general, only see themselves as being Catalan. In 1991, more than 70% of the native Catalans see their identity as some sort of mixture of Spanish and Catalan. This is a clear indication that the native Catalans are not focused on protecting their national identity by

rejecting their relationship with Spain. Instead, it seems as though they have accepted that it is possible to include multiple national or territorial identities in the creation of an identity without it meaning that the original national identity becomes less important.

4.1.4 Catalan Nationalism and the European Union

As this thesis primarily focuses on the future of non-state nationalism within the European Union, the next part of the analysis of Catalan nationalism will focus on the attitudes of the Catalan people towards membership of the European Union. According to Keating et al, the people of Catalonia are open towards European integration and the nation's history of trading with the rest of Europe has "enabled the Catalans to present themselves as quintessential Europeans and the theme of 'a return to Europe' has been even stronger here than in other parts of Spain" (Keating et al, 2003:43), meaning that part of the shared cultural and historic past in Catalonia is a notion of always having been open towards trading with the rest of the world and in particular Europe. A key part of Catalan nationalism is that, while Catalonia politically might want to decide for themselves in certain political areas, the nation, both historically and at present, has always recognised the benefits of cooperating and trading with the rest of Europe, thus seeing membership of the European Union as the natural way forward. This way of promoting Catalan nationalism as a type of nationalism that is open towards the world – a nationalism that claims that if all nations would embrace Catalonia's example, then Europe would be a closer and better community - seems to be the official way of explaining Catalonia's support for European membership. This support is closely connected to Catalonia's claim of having a civic form of nationalism, though this, as shown above, was not actually the case. Similarly, when looking closer at the reasons for why Catalonia supports membership of the European Union, it appears that the Catalans are actually more focused on their own interests and the future of their nation than in making Europe a better place for all. When looking at some of the other sources in the data used in this analysis, it seems as though membership of the European Union could be a way for Catalonia to decentralise the power in Spain by allowing the European Union to have decision-making power in areas that were previously decided by the central government in Spain. By doing so, Catalonia might actually be more politically autonomous than without membership of the European Union. According to

Llobera, Catalonia, like other stateless nations within the European Union, "tend to see in the overarching institutions of the European Union a potentially more sympathetic and flexible framework in which to realise their objective of shared sovereignty, rather than the traditional state in which they find themselves at present" (Llobera, 2004:159), meaning that the Catalans see the European Union as a more democratic and equal union than membership of Spain is. The European Union is not, at least to the Catalans, a centralised government that favours any particular region or nation, in contrast to how the Catalans perceive the Spanish government and its focus on Madrid. This further integration of Spain into Europe also prevents the need for the Catalans to desire a fully independent state. By integrating as much as possible into the European Union, Catalonia will be able to fulfil what Keating et al describes as "The dominating vision for Catalonia" (Keating et al, 2003:52) which is "that of a self-governing nation within a weak Spanish state encompassed in Europe" (Keating et al, 2003:52). However, there might be some indications that if the Catalans reach this objective of weakening the Spanish state, then the separatists might grow in numbers. According to Medrano, the decentralisation that is taking place in Spain at this time might actually lead to stronger nationalist separatist movements, even though the objective of the decentralisation of power was to weaken the various separatist movements (Medrano, 1995). The weaker the central state power becomes, the more powerful the different nations and regions will become, which in the future might lead to the central state becoming redundant, and then the people of Catalonia might come to the realisation that they would be just as well off without membership of Spain. This vision of Catalonia's future is, however, based on speculation rather than empirical evidence.

Having looked at the different scholars' opinions on how Catalan nationalism and membership of the European Union correlates, it does seem as though the attitude towards the future of Catalonia, at the moment, is some sort of compromise. The Catalans do not wish to alienate anyone by claiming that they want a separate Catalonia, independent of Spain. Instead, they state that a Spain which is more integrated into the European Union is the objective of Catalan nationalism, even though the primary objective behind this

support for integration is to weaken the Spanish state as much as possible. It seems quite contradictory that Catalan nationalism wants membership of the European Union in order to weaken the Spanish state, but that it does not want to dissolve the Spanish state completely. It might be seen as a political ploy to appease the high number of immigrants from other parts of Spain who are living in Catalonia. To gain support for Catalan nationalism, they claim that a higher level of Catalan autonomy is not a threat against the survival of the Spanish state, but if Catalan nationalism is successful in integrating Spain further into Europe, will this position change? If the central Spanish government grows weaker and devolves most of its power to its regions and the European Union, then a scenario, as described by Medrano, is a possibility. If the Spanish state becomes little more than a superficial alliance without any real political power, then it would seem most likely that the separatists in Catalonia would grow in strength. However, it might also be, and I would support this argument, that the Catalan nationalists have realised that Catalonia will benefit the most from continuous membership of both Spain and the European Union. The nation has a very high level of autonomy on many important political areas, and as Europe becomes increasingly interdependent, it might not be an attractive option to the Catalan nationalists to go through a difficult independence process, only to gain relatively little more political power. With the political scene being the way it is at the moment in Spain, then the central Spanish state still is important to the Catalans, but it will be much easier for the separatists to convince the Catalan people of the benefits of independence, if the Catalan nationalism is successful in weakening the Spanish state. It is easier to separate from a redundant state than one that still is an important political actor, both domestically in Spain and in Europe. At the present time though, membership of Europe for Spain is the best option for Catalonia as a nation. It is very understandable why the European Union is appealing to the Catalans. As mentioned above, the Catalans, rather idealistically, portrayed themselves as always having been European at heart. While this is not the complete explanation for the Catalan support of the European Union, it does contain some element of truth. A big part of the explanation can probably be found in the rather pragmatic attitude the Catalans have towards membership of a nation or state. As mentioned above, very few

Catalans denounce their belonging to Spain completely. Most of the Catalans identified with both Catalonia and Spain on a sliding scale, thus making them used to creating their identity without having to rely on one specific nationality. Thus, the experience of embracing dual identities has taught them that you do not lose your identity if you do not exclusively identify with your territorial home nation. It is possible for both nationalities to coexist and so membership of the European Union is not perceived as a threat to each individual's identity. The Catalans seem to have looked at the positive and negative consequences of European membership and concluded that as it is not a threat to their identity as Catalans and that Catalonia might grow even stronger and become more autonomous with Spanish integration into Europe, then European membership should be supported.

4.1.5 Catalan Nationalism and the Debate on the Future of Nationalism

To the postnationalists, the claim that Catalan nationalism is a civic nationalism will probably be an important argument, if they were to use the case of Catalan nationalism as an example of how traditional nationalism that is based on the defence and survival of a nation is changing or disappearing. The fact that Catalan nationalism resembled traditional nationalism for the most part of the twentieth century and only later changed into the type of nationalism it is today - a nationalism more open towards Europe and other people in Spain - could also be seen as a sign that society has changed from the traditional reliance on the state in the modern age towards a more fluid and complex system in the postmodern, European society. They could argue that the way Catalan nationalism has evolved is a clear indicator that traditional nationalism is disappearing. Nationalism today is more open and embracive towards other cultures, and, from a postnationalist perspective, it could be argued that this transformation of nationalism is just a step towards the complete disappearance of national cultures which instead will be replaced by a European culture and nationality. The fact that Catalonia sees a better perspective in the continued evolution of

the European Union rather than the old, outdated state of Spain can be used as a great example for the postnationalists that the era of the state has passed. The people of Europe now want to be European instead of desperately hanging on to the outdated concept which the postnationalists believe that the state is. The pragmatic attitude of the Catalans where they are increasingly able to accept having multiple identities and several territorial areas which they can identify with, such as Catalonia, Spain, and now even Europe, also fits perfectly into the postnationalists' perspective on Europe. The Catalans can be used as a good example of the cosmopolitan individual who, according to context, can pick and choose from countless elements in order for him or her to create and use various identities depending on the situation.

However, in my view, this seems to be an imbalanced perspective on how things have developed. From the work done on Catalan nationalism above, it is possible to draw these types of conclusions, but it would be necessary to omit some very important parts of Catalan nationalism. As Hargreaves noted, Catalan nationalism is somewhat open towards immigrants, but it is just as difficult to be a fully accepted member of the Catalan nation, as any other nationality. It does not live up to the idealised view of the postnationalists where it is just a matter of saying you want to belong to a nation, and then you become a member. You still have to speak the language, embrace and understand the culture and history of the nation in order to be completely accepted along with the natives. Also, the belief that the Catalans are pro-Europeans without many reservations seems to be faulty. As I argued above, it seems as though the Catalans see Europe as a better alternative to Spain, from a Catalan perspective. Catalonia would gain more autonomy and independence by joining Europe. European membership would weaken the Spanish state, allowing Catalonia to decide for itself on more areas and perhaps, in time, allow Catalonia to become fully independent. Catalonia does not embrace European membership in the way that the postnationalists would like. It is not a case of dissolving both the Spanish state and the Catalan nation and instead replacing them with a European nation-state. To me, Catalonia will use Europe to consolidate and strengthen its own position as a nation and perhaps later as an independent state. The postnationalists are only able to use the Catalan

case, if they only look at the official Catalan nationalism of an open, civic nationalism that is and always has been very open towards Europe. However, when examining Catalan nationalism more closely it does not live up to this idealised version, and then the postnationalists will find it harder to use Catalonia as an example to strengthen their case. Catalan nationalism has its own agenda that is primarily focused on strengthening Catalonia and weakening Spain, and, while it is a nationalism that is relatively open towards new members and European membership, there are no indications that the Catalans are willing to sacrifice their own national identity for the sake of becoming Europeans. Membership of the European Union is primarily a tool to secure a stronger Catalonia.

The most severe critics of postnationalism such as James and Calhoun who argue that the roles of the nation and the state are far from having been outplayed might also find some elements in the Catalan case that can be used to support their argument. It was mentioned in the overview of Catalan nationalism that the main objective, at the moment, for Catalan nationalism was to create a future with Catalonia existing in a weak Spanish state that would be a fully integrated member of the European Union. This could be used as an argument by postnationalism's critics to prove that neither nations nor states are dying. The Catalan nationalists seem to have accepted that the Spanish state is still too strong for Catalonia to fully claim its independence from it. It is still the central Spanish government that decide on some of the most important political areas, such as European membership, thus making the Catalan nationalists accept that it would be futile to try to break away from Spain. The Spanish state might have become weaker in recent years by devolving power to its various regions, but it is still powerful and still represents the regions of Spain in Europe. The European Union, in this perspective, is not for the regions or nations, but for the states. Even if you adopt the perspective that Catalonia wants Spain to become fully integrated into the European Union in order to create a scenario where Catalonia is able to break away from a weakened Spanish state, it could be argued that this is also an argument for the continuing power of the nations and the states. From these critics' perspective, Catalonia simply wants to be a state in its own right, but has to go through a complicated process via Spanish membership of the European Union to become

independent. The Spanish state is too strong at the moment for Catalonia to directly demand independence, but by using the European Union to weaken the Spanish state, then it might be possible in the future to gain this independence without having to confront Spain directly. Catalan nationalism, then, can be used by the critics of postnationalism to argue that the role of the state in European, or indeed international, politics is still as relevant as it has been since the French revolution. Catalonia wants to become an independent state in its own right according to these critics. They do not want a Europe where all power is devolved to the European Parliament, but wants a scenario where Catalonia is able to influence the European decision-making process directly. However, at the moment the Spanish state remains too strong, and so Catalonia has to accept a compromise, where they can only indirectly influence the decision-making process via the Spanish membership. In time, however, it appears to be the primary objective to weaken the Spanish state enough for Catalonia to be a member of the European Union in its own right.

However, as with the postnationalists, it seems as though it is only possible to draw these types of conclusions if important parts of Catalan nationalism are omitted from the argument. It would be to neglect the actual facts to claim that there has not been significant changes in the relationship between Catalonia and Spain and that the role of Spain as a state has become less important in recent years, although it does not seem as though Catalonia at the moment are aspiring to become a state in the traditional sense of the word. Since the end of the Franco regime, the Spanish state has gradually devolved decision-making power to the various Spanish nations and regions on a range of political topics. The most severe critics of postnationalism are, in my opinion, wrong when claiming that the state is as strong as ever. In this case of Spain and Catalonia, it is obvious that there have been significant changes. Spain, as the example of the traditional European state, has been under pressure both from the increasingly strong European Union externally, as well as the increased strength of the different nations and regions that exist within Spain. Both factors are very strong signs that the traditional state no longer possesses the significance and uncontested power that the critics of postnationalism claim it has had during the last two centuries. Also, it cannot be said for certain if Catalonia, under the assumption that

Spain will become weaker as a state in the future, will actively seek independence from the Spanish state. At the moment, the Catalan nationalists have not voiced any desire to achieve status as a fully independent state, and though Catalonia as a nation might achieve more autonomy and power from a more integrated Spain in Europe, then it remains plausible that the Catalan nationalists will settle for the level of autonomy that they can achieve through European membership. The notion that Catalonia, if Spain becomes weaker, will strive to attain statehood is based on a perspective that the state is still the dominant force in international politics and that it must be the goal for all stateless nations to become states in their own right. However, there are indications that the international political system is changing and that the role of the state is becoming less important in Europe with the emergence of the European Union and, in Spain's case, a strengthening of the various regions alongside with it. These developments could result in the Catalan nationalists reaching a conclusion that the most beneficial for Catalonia in the long run would be to remain a part of a weakened Spain within Europe, as Catalonia's ties to Spain are not as firmly fixed or dictated by the central Spanish state as it was the case less than 50 years ago. The relationship between the Spanish state and the Catalan nation has become more equal, and if that tendency continues in the future, then it cannot be said with certainty whether or not Catalonia will seek actual independence.

From the above, it becomes clear that both postnationalists and their critics are able to back up their arguments with elements from the case of Catalan nationalism. However, in doing so, both sides of the argument need to omit some key features of this case of nationalism to make their argument work. This shows that neither side can be said to be able to fully explain Catalan nationalism from their theoretical perspective. Instead, I would argue, the Catalan case seems to fit somewhere in between. If we instead turn to Anthony D. Smith's perspective on the future of nationalism, it seems to provide a better and more balanced explanation of Catalan nationalism. One of his main criticisms of postnationalism was that it had too little foundation in empirical evidence and that there were no clear indications that we are moving towards a postnational society. This seems to relate well to the Catalan case in that Catalan nationalism is still growing stronger. The

Catalan people might be able to construct and use multiple identities based on geography, such as Catalan, Spanish, as well as a growing unity with Europe, but this use of multiple identities does not mean that the Catalan identity is becoming less important to the Catalan people. It is more an indication of the Catalan nation being open towards other people and cultures and that they are able to relate and identify with them. There is no evidence whatsoever that the Catalan nation is abandoning their Catalan identity in favour of a European identity, no matter how pro-Europe they might be. According to Smith, this is, at the moment, the most we can hope for; the different national cultures of Europe being more understanding and embracive towards each other. Similarly, those of postnationalism's critics who argue that nations and states still are and will continue to be the dominant force in European politics are also not basing their arguments on empirical evidence. Though the European Union might be based on the participation of states in theory, then the case of Catalan nationalism shows that European politics and relations are becoming increasingly complex. Catalonia is dependent both on Spain and the rest of Europe; Spain is dependent on the continued participation of Catalonia in the Spanish state and is also to a large extent controlled by the European Union which in turn also requires the continued support of both states and nations in order to exist. This means that there will continue to be an ongoing negotiation process between all of these different participants in European politics and they all are dependent on each other to survive, meaning that they will have to compromise on the different political topics. This interdependence means that neither nation nor state can make unilateral decisions based only on its own preferences. It will always be necessary to consider the opinions of the other actors within the political context of the European Union. Both postnationalism and its critics seem to have based their arguments on speculations as to how Europe might develop in the future. Catalan nationalism, as it is at this moment, provides no evidence for either side of the argument. Its strong support of the European Union might lead to the Catalan nationalists assisting in the breakdown of the Spanish state, making the Spanish regions part of Europe directly, instead of indirectly through Spain. Similarly, it is also possible that Catalonia is using the European Union to weaken the Spanish state in order for Catalonia to be able to claim independence and develop into a

state or that the Spanish state will remain too strong making it impossible for Catalonia to reach its objective. However, the evidence at the moment cannot provide support for any of these arguments. Instead, it appears to fit somewhere in between. Catalonia is a strong nation within Spain that has achieved a relatively high level of autonomy, but this cannot be used as an argument for either the emergence of a postnational Europe or a continuous dominant position for the state in European politics.

4.2 Scotland

Having now completed the analysis of nationalism in Catalonia, the next section will focus on nationalism in Scotland. Similar to the analysis of Catalan nationalism, this section will begin with a brief introduction of Scotland's political development in a historical perspective. Then there will be a presentation of different authors' perspective on Scottish nationalism, especially regarding civic versus ethnic nationalism and how the Scottish people sees Scotland's role in Europe in the future. These findings will then be analysed from the different perspectives shown in the literature review, before I will be making some conclusions on what theoretical perspective that seems to give the best understanding of Scottish nationalism.

4.2.1 Scotland's Political History

This section on Scotland's political history will deliver a brief overview of Scotland's history within the political realm. This historical overview is primarily based on the works of Michael Keating in his books "Culture, Institutions, and Economic Develoment: A Study of Eight European Regions" (2003), which was co-written with John Loughlin and Kris Deschouwer, and "Nations against the State: The New Politics of Nationalism in Quebec, Catalonia and Scotland" (2001). As was the case in the historical overview of Catalonia's political history, the main focus will be on Scotland's status in the modern age, meaning, in this case, the period from the French Revolution up until today. Briefly, it can be said that most historians, according to Atsuko Ichijo (2004), agree that the Scottish nation emerged in the Middle Ages. The Scots, in this period, were not a homogenous group. Different languages were spoken and the ethnic origins of the various people in Scotland were also diverse. Empirical evidence, such as the Wars of Independence (1296-1328) – various wars against England to claim sovereignty for the kingdom of Scotland – and the Declaration of

Arbroath (1320) – a letter to the Pope, requesting his acknowledgement of Scottish independence – point to an existence of a pre-modern Scotland. (Ichijo, 2004)

Scotland became part of the United Kingdom – at that time, consisting of England and Wales - in 1707, but kept some level of autonomy regarding areas such as religion and education. Apart from these areas, Scotland was governed by the British Parliament in London, specifically by the Secretary for Scotland and the Scottish Office whose role it was to act as an intermediary between Scotland and the central Government. This system was put into in effect in 1885, but started to come under pressure in the 1960s; a pressure that became much stronger from 1979 onwards, where the majority of the Scots consistently voted for Labour, but had to endure a Conservative government, which at its lowest point only had 9% support from the Scottish voters (Keating, 2001:210). This growing divide between the central government and Scotland caused a surge in support for either devolution or home rule. Scottish political nationalism flourished in this period due to two factors; one being the antagonism towards the central government - especially from 1979 and onwards – the other being the loss of the British Empire that had played an important role in identifying with the British state. These factors meant that Scottish national identity grew more politically important. According to Keating, it "has strengthened in the contemporary era" and "National identity in Scotland is nothing new but its political significance may have changed" (Keating, 2001:211). In other words, Scottish nationalism and identity have always been important to the Scottish people, but it was not until the latter part of the twentieth century, when the Empire had outplayed its role and the central government, from a Scottish perspective, did not work in Scotland's best interest that it became an important political objective for the Scottish people to get a higher level of autonomy, if not outright home rule. Having won the 1997 election, Labour delivered what the Scottish people wanted. The devolution meant that Scotland would regain its own parliament that would decide on all political matters that were not directly required to be decided upon by the British government, e.g. agriculture, education, health, tourism. These matters reserved for the British government included foreign policy, social

security, defense and national security, immigration, and employment[1]. This development seems to correlate with what Lindsay Paterson in his book, "The Autonomy of Modern Scotland" (1994), predicted might happen. The debate at the time was on what role the Scottish Parliament would have, if it became a reality. Paterson argued that it could be seen as the first step towards a more federal UK, in which all the different nations would have their own parliament with legislative powers on domestic, national issues, whilst the bigger issues, such as those listed above, would be decided by the British Parliament, as these are issues, where cooperation between the nations of the UK are necessary. I would argue that this scenario is possible given developments since Paterson's book was published, but it would be necessary to establish an English Parliament as well for it to succeed. To make the nations equal, they would each need their own parliament. The British Parliament would then be reserved for deciding on the bigger issues. This framework would be somewhat similar to that of the United States, where the states each can decide on the political issues that do not require cooperation with the other states. These matters are then left for the government in Washington, D.C. to decide upon. The greatest difficulty that this scenario faces is that of the development of the European Union. If the European Union overtakes the UK and becomes a federation before it, then the likelyhood of a British federation all but disappears. It is hard to imagine a British federation functioning within a European federation.

This apparent lack of cohesiveness within the British political structures is also mentioned by Henrik Halkier in his book, "Institutions, Discourse and Regional Development: The Scottish Development Agency and the Politics of Regional Policy" (2006), in which he talks of the "lack of institutional 'neatness'" (Halkier, 2006:145), meaning that the British political system seems asymmetric and lacks clarity. Regarding Scotland, he mentions that, at least prior to the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, the decision-making power in Scotland was divided into policy-making for Britain as a whole, policy-making on specific Scottish areas, and areas where authority was shared between British Parliament and the Scottish Office. This structure meant that it was difficult for the

1   http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/vli/publicInfo/faq/category6.htm

Scottish people to gain any real influence or make any real progress within British politics. The establishment of the Scottish Parliament has helped clarify the Scottish decision-making process, but, in my opinion, there is still some shortcomings in the British political structure, as mentioned above regarding the setting-up of an English Parliament. The nations within the UK are not operating on equal terms. As long as England does not have its own parliament, then the British Parliament is required to decide on English political issues, as well as British ones, making it seem peculiar that the other nations are represented and are able to decide on these issues. The works of Anderson and Halkier support the argument that both before and after the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, there were, and still continue to be, fundamental problems with the structure of the British and Scottish political system. The system, as it is now, might have created more equality between the nations than prior to the devolution, but the system still appears to support England's dominant position within the UK. The creation of a British federation with separate parliaments with an intergovernmental governing body to decide on the matters that were left out of the devolution would be a more equal system. It does, however, seem unlikely that this system would be able to be decided upon, before a European federeation will come into place.

4.2.2 Scottish Nationalism

It appears that Scottish nationalism is divided into two main groups regarding Scotland's future and the nation's relationship with the UK, when you look at the work written about this topic. If we see nationalism being exemplified by wanting either devolution or outright independence, Keating (2001) provides a figure that shows the support for each constitutional option for Scotland:

Figure 6.3 Support for constitutional options, Scotland, 1975-97
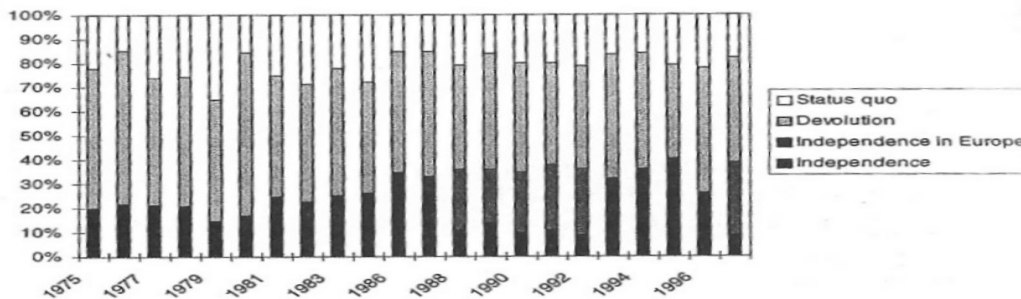
Source: Keating, 2001:226

From this table, it can be seen that eversince the mid-70s, support for a greater level of autonomy in Scotland has, with only one exception, been above 70%. This table also shows that the most recent figure shows that the group who want more autonomy is divided almost equally into devolution on the one hand and independence in Europe/full independence on the other. This indicates that although the Scots primarily agree that they want more autonomy, there are conflicting perspectives on what the best option for Scotland is. These different agendas has also provided the foundation for a more radical form of nationalism. The support for the different forms of autonomy can in many ways be linked to what class, each Scot belong to. Keating argues that "National identity has not replaced class identity in Scotland but if anything the two are mutually reinforcing as the working class are more likely to be self-consciously Scottish" (Keating, 2001:213), meaning that the voters from the working class find Scottish independence more appealing than the voters from the middle and upper class, who, generally speaking, prefer devolution and the traditional state of the union, centralised in London, respectively. The two different groups within the Scottish nationalists have, with the increased politicisation of Scottish nationalism, become linked to different political parties. Those who prefer Scottish independence, whether in Europe or not, tend to support the Scottish National Party (SNP),

whilst those who prefer the devolution given to Scotland in 1997 tend to support either Labour or the Liberal Democrats.

In conclusion, it can be said that Scottish nationalism in its political form seems divided into two groups; those who want to establish an independent Scottish state, and those who want Scotland to remain part of the UK, but with Scotland having decision-making power in a large number of areas. As Scottish nationalism has become increasingly politicised, as mentioned earlier, the attitudes of the Scottish people towards Scotland's future are also divided, and it seems as though class plays an important role in this. This means that there is a clear difference between what the members of each class want for Scotland in the future. This division can make it difficult for Scotland to grow stronger as a nation, as there will be a constant struggle between the different sides of Scottish nationalism as to who wants what is best for Scotland.

4.2.3 Civic and Ethnic Nationalism within Scottish Nationalism

Two of the key writers on Scottish nationalism, Atsuko Ichijo and Michael Keating, both argue that Scottish nationalism is predominantly civic. Ichijo states that "the type of nationalism [...] contemporary Scottish nationalists pursue is very close to civic nationalism" (Ichijo, 2004:18). She argues that Scottish nationalism is not based on any shared language, religion, or race, making it non-ethnic. Instead, the primary determinant of being able to call yourself Scottish is simply residence in the Scottish territory. Keating et al speak along the same lines, when arguing that Scottish "identity rests on a number of markers, no one of which is ever exclusive or even necessary – birth, ancestry, residence and commitment. [...] the relative ease with which newcomers can assimilate [...] has allowed Scotland to project a civic form of nationalism" (Keating et al, 2003:146). In one of Keating's earlier books, he also mentions that "Nationalist doctrine in Scotland is overwhelmingly civic rather than ethnic" (Keating, 2001:220). In the same book, he also argues that Scottish nationalism has little linkage to a shared culture, such as language, rituals or history. Instead, it is based on "practical arguments about institutions,

accountability and policy. This has made it one of the least romantic of nationalist movements" (Keating, 2001:221). This sentiment is shared by David McCrone who, in his book "The Sociology of Nationalism" (1998), states that Scottish nationalism is of an "economistic character" (McCrone, 1998:142) and that "It is more a battle about the pocketbook than it is about the prayer-book or the song-sheet" (McCrone, 1998:142). Whilst both Ichijo and Keating argue that Scottish nationalism is of a civic nature, and that membership is primarily determined by residence and willingness, they both seem to avoid addressing some difficulties in their argumentation. Ichijo, for instance, talks of a shared Scottish history and myths, as well as them having a significant 'other' to mirror themselves againt; i.e. the English. However, in her conclusion, she neglects the ethnicity of these factors and argues that being Scottish is mostly territorial. Does it not in some way require an understanding and knowledge of this history and these myths to really be Scottish? It may be that Scotland is an open community and that it is not very hostile towards newcomers, but I would argue that there is a difference between acceptance of outsiders and seeing them as full members of the nation. If we compare this to the work of Anthony D. Smith, as well as Hargreaves' arguments as shown in the case study of Catalonia, there will always be a mixture of civic and ethnic nationalism within a nation. The on-going historical comparison with England – often portrayed as the dominant neighbour that Scotland can compare itself favourably against - seems to indicate that there is a high level ot ethnic nationalism within Scottish nationalism. The argument regarding Scotland not possessing its own language, making Scottish nationalism more civic, is also problematic. I would argue that, even though it is difficult to distinct between Scottish and English language in writing, the dialects spoken in Scotland are clearly distingiushable from the rest of Britain, and the inability of a newcomer to understand or speak the Scottish dialects will automatically create a difference between those members of the Scottish nation who can understand and speak Scottish, and those who cannot. They might be accepted as civic members of Scotland, but it also requires an understanding of the ethnic side of Scottish nationalism – language, history, myths – to be seen as a full member of the Scottish nation. Thus, the argument that Scottish nationalism is predominantly civic is

flawed. It seems to be an attempt to align Scottish nationalism with what is mistakingly seen as being the 'good' kind of nationalism; civic nationalism. There is, however, no reason not to acknowledge the ethnic side of Scottish nationalism. That Scottish nationalism has a deep rooted history, shared myths, and, if not a unique language, then certainly a particular dialect, does not mean that it cannot be open towards newcomers. It does, however, mean that to become fully Scottish, it does require more than just residence in Scotland. It is necessary to understand and accept the ethnic side of Scottish nationality to be seen as being truly Scottish.

Another point that needs to made regarding Scottish nationalism and identity is that the Scots seem to increasingly only see themselves as being Scottish. Ichijo provides a table that, similar to the table on national identity in Catalonia provided by Medrano, shows to what extent the Scottish people identify with either Britain, Scotland, or a mixture of both.

Table 8: Moreno National Identity in Scotland, 1992–2000

	1992 (%)	1997 (%)	1999 (%)	2000 (%)
Scottish, not British	19	23	32	37
More Scottish than British	40	38	35	31
Equally Scottish and British	33	27	22	21
More British than Scottish	3	4	3	2
British, not Scottish	3	4	4	4
Other	1	2	3	4
Base	957	882	1,482	1,663

Source: Ichijo, 2004:145

From this table, it is clearly shown that from 1992 to 2000 the number of Scottish people that see themselves as only being Scottish has almost doubled, from 19 to 37%. Only 6% felt predominantly or exclusively British in 2000. These figures indicate that the Scottish are becoming increasingly distanced from the UK, and instead are preferring a Scottish identity. This, again, might raise some problematic issues regarding Scottish nationalism's openness towards newcomers, especially those from the other regions within the British state. I would argue that the Scottish people, by these statistics, do not see themselves as

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being connected or having much in common with the other regions, making it necessary for newcomers to attain 'full Scottishness' to be accepted, even if these newcomers came from the same island as themselves. The Scots, from this perspective, could be seen as perhaps being open towards newcomers living in Scotland, but that they are less open to see these newcomers as being truly Scottish. From the data, I do believe that the Scots are quite open towards newcomers, but that this openness should not be exaggerated. To be truly seen as Scottish, it takes more than just residence.

4.2.4 Scottish Nationalism and the European Union

The Scottish people are in general seen as being predominantly positive towards European membership. According to Ichijo, in 2000, 35.5% of the Scottish people felt that the EU has been good for Scotland in general, whilst only 21.7% believed that the EU had been bad for Scotland. This support is higher than the 28% for Britain as a whole, but is, however, lower than the EU average of 50% (Ichijo, 2004:142). The interesting about these figures is that, as a nation, the Scottish are more positive towards Europe than the state which Scotland is a member of; the UK. To understand this more positive attitude, it is necessary to draw on a number of sources to find the explanation. As mentioned above, both Keating and McCrone argued that Scottish nationalism was of a pragmatic nature which is not controlled by feelings, but instead focuses on what is rationally and economically in Scotland's best interest. From this perspective, Scotland's more positive attitude towards the EU is easier to explain. Keating mentions that Scotland previously received a relatively high level of public funding from the British government when compared to the rest of Britain. This relatively high level is receiving more and more criticism which may lead to Scotland's economic benefits from being a member of the UK being severely reduced. When this is related to the openness the framework of the European Union contains towards the various regions in Europe, then it might actually be more financially and politically beneficial for Scotland to become an independent member of the European Union. Another reason for

Scotland's relatively high support for membership of the European Union might be found in the way Scotland and the UK's relationship developed under Margaret Thatcher. During her period as PM, devolution or independence for Scotland was simply not a topic for discussion. This forced the Scottish nationalists to explore other options to gain political influence. The Scottish felt increasingly left out of the decision-making process in the 1980s and first half of the 1990s. At the same time, the European Community developed into the European Union, which seemed to provide a more equal framework for a stateless nation to gain influence. This new union was seen as a way for the Scottish to become more influential politically, though whether it should be as an independent state or via a continued membership of the UK was open to discussion. This explanation seems to fit well into the argument of Scottish nationalism being pragmatic, and as Ichijo argues, the more positive Scottish attitude might be based on Scotland having no sovereignty to lose, so the Scots are more able to look at membership of the European Union objectively, while the English are more emotional in their attitudes towards membership, as they see it as Britain losing its status and position in Europe. However, both Ichijo and Keating also provides a more emotional explanation for Scotland's support for the European Union. Keating mentions that as Thatcher was sceptic towards Europe, and Scotland was sceptic towards Thatcher, then this resulted in more Scots supporting European membership. Ichijo writes along the same lines, when she argues that the Scots are reacting to the attitudes of their 'other'; England. The English are seen as irrational and too emotional in rejecting Europe, and the Scots, to assert their more pragmatic and rational approach than their neighbours, believe that membership of the EU is a positive step.

After reviewing different scholars' works on Scottish nationalism's attitude towards the European Union, it seems, as was the case with the issue of independence, that the Scots are quite divided regarding Scotland's future in Europe. This does not come as much of a surprise as Scotland's role in Europe is very much linked to whether or not devolution or independence is seen as the primary objective. In 1997, as much as 40% of the Scottish population wanted independence; the majority of these supporting full Scottish membership of the European Union (Keating, 2001:226). In a 1998 survey, 55% of the

Scots felt that Scotland would be better off being independent in Europe (Ichijo, 2004:139). These figures show that a large percentage of the Scottish people believe that the best future for Scotland would be to establish itself as a state, independent from the UK. This state would, in turn, be a full, equal member of the European Union. If these figures are compared to those presented earlier that indicated that the Scottish saw themselves as being predominantly or exclusively Scottish, it could lead to the conclusion that Scottish nationalism and its vision of Scotland in the future regarding Europe is still somewhat based on the traditional idea of the state's dominant position in international politics. The Scottish people do not seem to accept that multiple identities and memberships can be beneficial for Scotland. It is not a matter of trying to achieve the best of both worlds and being able to see yourself as Scottish, British, and European, depending on the context. Instead, it is important to establish a Scottish state that is no longer a part of the UK. It seems that in their determination to distance themselves from England, the Scottish nationalists have neglected to focus on the positive sides of Scotland's relationship with Britain. It seems that the attitude of the more radical Scottish nationalists is outdated. With the emergence and increasing importance of the European Union, in turn removing decision-making power from the member-states, the need for establishing independent states in Europe seems to have passed. If the current development continues, then the European states will be even less influential than at present, meaning that the establishment of an independent Scottish state could be redundant. This desire to establish an independent state that is clearly distinguishable from other states and only being member of the European Union, because it is more beneficial economically than being member of the UK is also an expression of the significant ethnic part of Scottish nationalism. Paterson (1994) also comments on this, when writing that "Many commentators expect that the European Union will be federal within a generation; thus the constraints on an independent Scotland would be just as great as they would be within the UK" (Paterson, 1994:179), and that even if the European Union were to develop as a less restrictive union, similar to the Nordic Union of the Scandinavian countries, Scotland "would still be highly constrained by its economic ties to the rest of Europe (especially England)" (Paterson, 1994:179). This

supports the argument that the desire to establish an independent state is unnecessary. It would have little political or economical significance.

4.2.5 Scottish Nationalism and the Debate on the Future of Nationalism

From a postnationalist perspective, the Scottish case can in some ways be used to support the argument that the role of the traditional state within the European Union is becoming ever weaker, as the Scottish nationalists, in general, want Scotland to become more integrated into the European Union, though they seem divided as to whether it should be as part of the UK or not. The fact that around 40% of the population support devolution, meaning a more autonomous Scotland within the UK, combined with the relative positive attitude towards the European Union in the Scottish population in general, indicates that a significant part of the Scottish nationalists seem to support the postnationalist argument that the importance of states and nations is diminishing and that the people of Europe are ready to embrace and use multiple territorial identities according to the specific context. The postnationalists would argue that Scottish nationalism has developed from a more traditional type of nationalism that wanted to break away from the UK and form an independent Scottish state, into a more contemporary form of nationalism which is based on rationality and pragmatism with an open attitude towards the European Union. A nationalism where most of the voters support parties that in some way support European membership. This transformation of Scottish nationalism could be seen as a clear indicator that Scottish nationalism has developed and reformed itself, retaining its relevance in today's society in which the belonging to a state or nation has lost most of its importance. Also, it could be seen as following the development predicted by Paterson, in that this type of Scottish nationalism expects that the European Union will develop into a federation within the foreseeable future, thus making an independent Scotland an unappealing objective that is not worth striving for. Similarly, the openness and civic nature attributed to Scottish nationalism by the scholars mentioned earlier in this case study seem to fit well

into the postnationalist vision of Europe in the future. Membership of Scotland is not based on race or historical belonging but is instead determined on residence in the Scottish nation. This supports the ideal of a borderless Europe in which all citizens can move freely and feel at home wherever they choose – the postnationalist vision of Europe. As long as you are ready to adhere to the laws in Scottish society then anybody is welcome to see themselves as being Scottish.

However, while the Scottish case seem to support the postnationalist argument in some ways, it also raises some significant problems which the postnationalists seem unable to explain from their theoretical perspective. Though 40% of the voters support devolution, another 40% want either independence in Europe or full independence. In other words, a large amount of the Scottish people support the creation of an Scottish state outside the UK – a concept that is disappearing according to the postnationalists. There is a not a broad nationalist movement that sees European membership as beneficial to both Scotland, Britain, and Europe. Instead, it could be argued that this group of nationalists who support independence does not want to become European. They just want to have direct political influence in the European Union, while at the same time upholding and strengthening their own autonomy and independence. If this group of nationalists have their way, then the borders between states will not disappear; instead they want to create more borders. So, while there is a large group of Scottish nationalists who seem to fit into the postnationalist perspective, there is a group of roughly the same size that dismisses this perspective.

The fact that the people of Scotland increasingly see themselves as predominantly or exclusively Scottish is also difficult to explain from the postnationalist perspective. The postnationalist argument that national identities are becoming less important, as we in the postmodern era are able to adapt multiple territorial identities is not true in the Scottish case. Being Scottish is becoming increasingly important, while a British identity, let alone a European one, seems less appealing to the Scottish people. This development is the direct opposite of what the postnationalists would expect. Also, the argument that the Scottish people are pro-Europe needs to be made with some reservations.

Though it is true that the Scots in general are more positive towards the European Union than the rest of Britain, it must also be noted that the Scots cannot be described as pro-Europe. Ichijo describes them as "less Euro-sceptic" (Ichijo, 2004:146) than the other regions of the UK, but this is not the same as seeing the European Union as purely a good thing. Instead, I will argue, from the different statistics used in this section regarding Scotland's attitude towards Europe, that Europe to the Scottish nationalists represent a better alternative to the UK. In Europe, the Scottish nationalists feel that they are more equal to the rest of the UK. The European Union is a better alternative both to the devolutionists and those who want independence. For the former, Europe will weaken the decision-making power of the central government in London, meaning that the Scottish will feel more equal to the rest of Britain in terms of power. For the latter, independence in Europe would mean Scotland and the rest of Britain being relatively equal in terms of decision-making power.

Similar to the postnationalists, the most severe critics of this theoretical perspective are also able to find support for their argument - that the era of nations and states is not over - in the Scottish case. Some of the problematic elements of the Scottish case regarding the postnationalists' use of it focused on the way a large section of the Scottish nationalists seemed to support the establishment of a Scottish state. That this group of Scottish nationalists seem to support this more traditional type of nationalism supports the critics of postnationalism in that it appears that the establishment of a state is still a primary objective to some nationalists. Not all nationalisms have been transformed by the globalised society into accepting that the best way for a nation to survive is to abolish the creation of states, as these states are a thing of the past anyway. The Scottish nationalists who support independence still see the states as the dominant force in European politics, and if Scotland is to have any influence in Europe, then it is necessary to break away from the UK and establish a Scottish state that would join the European Union as an equal member. Similarly, the increased importance of Scottish identity and the rejection of British and European identities is also a strong argument that can be drawn from the Scottish case to support the critics of postnationalism. That the importance of national identity is growing

in Scotland can be seen from this perspective as a sign that the role of the nation, like the state, is not disappearing. National identity is still a primary reference for people, when building their identity. These elements of Scottish nationalism can help the critics when arguing that we are not moving towards a borderless Europe without nations or states. From the Scottish case, they are able to argue that both states and nations still very much have relevance in today's society, and that it would premature to neglect their importance.

Though, the critics of postnationalism can make some valid claims to their argument that the importance of the state and nationalism has not been diminished and that both state and nation will be important factors in international politics in the future by using the Scottish case, this same case also presents some problems with the theoretical viewpoint of these critics. They can rightfully criticise the postnationalists for arguing that nationalism has changed fundamentally, when there are clear indications in the Scottish case that traditional nationalism still has its relevance. However, while Scottish nationalism has not changed fundamentally, there is some apparent differences between Scottish nationalism in the past and the way it is today. With the emergence of the European Union, a large group of the Scottish nationalists acknowledged the possibility of remaining part of the UK, while Scotland, through the regional focus of the European Union, would be able to strengthen itself politically. This change of opinion by a significant portion of the Scottish nationalists shows that Scottish nationalism has been influenced by the developments in today's society. This group has accepted that it is not just a matter of either being a region in the UK under the control of the central government or being an independent state. It is possible to strive for getting the best of both worlds, i.e. getting autonomy in some areas, while other areas are better left with the central government. Membership of the European Union helps to weaken the central government, thus making it possible for Scotland to become more autonomous. The European Union is seen as an institution that will provide more equality within the UK. Even when looking at the group of nationalists who want independence in Europe, it seems that the critics of postnationalism are unable to explain everything of this type of nationalism. Though these nationalists do seek the creation of a Scottish state, it is significantly different than the state-building of the past. These nationalists acknowledge

the fact that all states need to cooperate in order to make a functioning Europe. Perhaps if the European Union developed further into a federation of regions rather than states, then this group of nationalists would not seek to establish a Scottish state. At the moment, the European Union is still dependent on the support of its member-states. Thus, if Scotland wants to be equal with the rest of the states, then they must work to become independent. It is not an indication that Scottish nationalism has not evolved from traditional nationalism, but rather it could be seen as a sign of the European Union not being at a stage where it allows the regions to be influential politically.

Having looked at how the Scottish case relates to the arguments of both postnationalism and its critics, one of the most significant findings is the apparent division that can be found within Scottish nationalism. Scottish nationalism seems to be divided into two groups that are approximately the same size; those who support devolution, and those who support independence. This is important to this thesis and its focus on the future of non-state nationalism in Europe, in that these two groups each can, to an extent, be used by one of the sides in the debate to support their argument. Those who support devolution can be used by the postnationalists as an example of a group of nationalists that has evolved with the emergence of the postnational society. These nationalists are ready to accept multiple territorial identities and are willing to remove the influence and power of the state in Europe. Similarly, those Scottish nationalists who support the creation of a Scottish state help postnationalism's critics, when they argue that the role of the state and the nation has not been outplayed and that the state will remain the dominant force in European politics in years to come. National identity is still one of the most important parts of people's identity and they are are not ready to substitute it for a British or European identity, in this case. That Scottish nationalism is divided into two large groups that each seems to support different perspectives on nationalism actually, in a way, dismisses both sides of the debate regarding the future of nationalism in Europe. Instead, it seems that Anthony D. Smith's perspective seems more valid, when looking at the Scottish case. Scottish nationalism is, in my opinion, a good example that it is too early to say whether or not states and nations will matter in the future, or if we are indeed moving towards a postnational European society.

Though both factions within Scottish nationalism has moved away from traditional nationalism, there are differences as to how far they have moved. Those who want independence have accepted that it is necessary to cooperate and engage with the European Union, but that the best future for Scotland will come with the establishment of a Scottish state. This perspective seems closer to traditional nationalism, than those who support devolution and membership of the European Union. These devolutionists seem more open to the idea of belonging to Europe rather than a Scottish state. The Scottish identity, however, remains important to them and they would probably prefer to belong to a Scottish region in the European Union. The case of Scottish nationalism and its two groups works well as an example of the uncertainty regarding the future of nationalism in Europe, and how both sides of the argument can use elements of nationalism in different nations to support their argument. The Scottish case indicates that the future of nationalism is not as yet possible to predict. At the moment, it cannot be said which side of Scottish nationalism that will prevail and achieve its objectives. This fits well into how Smith sees nationalism in general in Europe. However, both sides in the debate can use parts of the version of Scottish nationalism that suits them best and attempt to present it as an example of how Scottish nationalism will develop, though it is very much hanging in the balance at present. Their arguments are based on speculation and the omission of facts in order to support their case. At the moment, there is no empirical evidence that support one side over the other. Instead, the uncertainty about how Scottish nationalism will develop can instead be seen as supporting Smith's claim that it is still too early to predict the future of nationalism in Europe.

Having now completed the analysis of the two cases of nationalism in today's society in Catalonia and Scotland, the final section of this thesis will focus on how the findings in these case studies relate to each other as well as how they fit into a greater perspective regarding the debate on the future of European nationalism. The first part of this section will compare the findings in each analysis in order to investigate the similarities and differences between the cases, and what these similarities and differences might tell us. In that part, the different theoretical perspectives in the debate on the future of European

nationalism will be included, in order to discuss to what extent the cases can be used to support the different sides in the debate. From this discussion, it should be possible to make some observations regarding my opinion on the future of non-state nationalism within the European Union, i.e. what do the case studies suggest will happen in the future, and how do these indications fit into the debate? This will then lead into a discussion on the development of nationalism, in general, within the European Union in the future. Finally, there will be a conclusion which will sum up the main points from this thesis, and which will also attempt to answer the main questions asked in the introduction.

5. Discussion

In the following section, the two case studies of Scottish and Catalan nationalism will be compared and discussed, in order to provide an account of the main points learned from the analysis and what these cases seem to tell us regarding the future of non-state nationalism within the European Union. This will then be followed by a discussion on what impact these cases of non-state nationalism has on the overall debate on the future of nationalism within the European Union. Following this, there will be a section on how the European Union needs to develop in order to support the different sides in the debate, which will, finally, be followed by two scenarios of how I, based on the case studies, believe that the future of nationalism within the European Union might develop.

5.1 Comparison of Scottish and Catalan Nationalism

The analyses of nationalism in Catalonia and Scotland delivered a number of interesting points in each case. In the following section, these points will be compared to each other in order to highlight the main similarities and differences between the two types of nationalism and what these points indicate regarding the future of non-state nationalism within the European Union. Also, the impact of these case studies on the validity of the arguments in the debate regarding the future of nationalism will be discussed.

When looking at the natures of Scottish and Catalan nationalism, it appears that there is a significant difference, when looking at the homogeneity of the two types of nationalism, i.e. to what extent the population of the two nations experience the same type of nationalism. Catalan nationalism appear to be quite homogeneous. It seems as though the Catalans, to a large extent, share the same vision of Catalonia's role in the future. Class or political opinions seem to have little influence on how the Catalans envision Catalonia in the future. The consensus seems to be that Catalonia should maintain its membership of

Spain, whilst simultaneously striving for autonomy for Catalonia in the matters most important to the nation. This does not mean striving for complete independence or for Catalan control over its political relationship with the rest of Europe. These matters are not essential to the Catalans in order to maintain their nation, and so they are not given priority. In other words, Catalan nationalism seems very pragmatic and rational, whilst might also explain its homogeneity – it is not about feelings, it is about what is politically and financially most beneficial to Catalonia. Scottish nationalism, on the other hand, is less homogeneous, and is divided into two significant groups that want different futures for Scotland. These groups are, generally speaking, divided by political parties. One group wants to maintain the current form of devolution with Scotland remaining part of the UK, but would prefer increased autonomy in the future on matters that are important to Scotland. This group of Scottish nationalists seems somewhat similar to Catalan nationalism – their vision of the future of their respective nations is that of a nation remaining membership of the state that they are in. The main objective is to achieve as much political decision-making power that is deemed desirable. Increased devolution as well as increased involvement in the European Union are the means to achieving this objective. The other main group of Scottish nationalists have a different vision of Scotland's role in the future. They want to establish a Scottish state that would be an equal member of the European Union. This group of nationalists might appear to be an example of traditional nationalism that wants to create an independent, sovereign state. However, I would argue that this is not the case. They want to cooperate with the European Union, and, to me, it seems more to be the limitations of the framework of the European Union that has made this group strive for independence. The current framework of the European Union still allows the state to be the most important actor in European politics, and so, if this group feels that it would be most beneficial to Scotland to have direct influence on the European decision-making process, then the establishment of a Scottish state is necessary. If the European Union, in the future, becomes more federal and diminishes the power of the state, then it is possible that this group of Scottish nationalists will move away from their objective of creating a Scottish state. The two groups within Scottish nationalism is not a

case of pragmatic versus romantic nationalists. Rather, both groups seem to base their opinion on rational arguments, making it a case of what each group believes will be most beneficial to Scotland.

The fact that Scottish nationalism is divided by politics, whereas Catalan nationalism is not, makes Catalan nationalism appear more modern and pragmatic than Scottish nationalism. The fact that the Catalan people, regardless of political opinion, are able to objectively agree upon what is the best future for Catalonia, and that it does not matter if some decision-making powers are situated in Madrid or in Europe, as long as the political issues important to the Catalans are decided by the Generalitat, makes Catalan nationalism appear very rational. Scottish nationalism, on the other hand, is a good example of the uncertainty that exists regarding the future of nationalism within the European Union. Is it better for a nation to only focus on political matters that are directly linked to the nation, or is it better to establish an independent state which then, for better or for worse, have to decide on all political matters? As long as the European Union itself has not decided on whether or not to keep the state as the most important actor in the future, then it is impossible to say. These different options leave it up to the nationalists in the stateless nations to decide which future they deem most beneficial to their nation.

I would also argue that the political systems in Catalonia and Scotland have influenced the homogeneous nature of Catalan nationalism and the more divided Scottish nationalism. Catalonia has experienced devolution for more than 20 years longer than Scotland. In this period, Catalonia has experienced the benefits of an ever-increasing level of autonomy, whilst also being able to benefit from the close relationship that exists with the other nations and regions in Spain. As noted by some scholars, the Spanish political system has actually benefited Catalonia more than some of the other regions. Scotland, on the other hand, has only experienced devolution for a brief period, thus making it uncertain exactly what implications this might have for Scotland. Catalonia has benefited economically and politically from devolution, and this has meant that the creation of a Catalan state is no longer an important objective. For Scotland, the situation is different. The nation might benefit from devolution and perhaps achieve an increase in its decision-

making powers, but it might also be that a Scottish state within the European Union would be more beneficial. Over the next couple of decades it will be easier for the Scottish people to see, if devolution is the best option for Scotland, or if it would be better to become independent. This might then lead to one of the two groups within Scottish nationalism to become dominant over the other.

Though the nationalisms in the two nations are different regarding the homogeneity in the population, an important factor that should be noted is that the nationalism in both nations has moved away from traditional nationalism. The nationalism in Catalonia as well as the two dominant groups within Scottish nationalism have accepted and embraced the change within the European Union that has meant that it is not fruitful for a state to try to gain benefits for itself at the expense of others which was the case prior to the creation of the European Union. In this period, trade barriers and less open borders were, for instance, some of the methods used in an attempt to profit at the expense of others. It was a more protective political environment than the one we experience today. Thus, none of these nationalisms pursuit the establishment of an independent state in the traditional sense. They all seem rational in their objectives. The change in the role of the states in which these nations are located might provide an explanation for this rationality. In both cases, the nations have experienced an increase in autonomy and decision-making power. The devolution process in both Spain and the UK has shown that these states have accepted that the most beneficial way for the state to develop is to allow the various regions and nations within the state a higher level of self-governance. This experience might have influenced the different nationalisms into understanding that pragmatism and cooperation are necessary in this era of interdependence. From the case studies, it is apparent that the role of the state has changed into a weaker position in recent years. A policy of devolution shows that the state has realised that it will only hinder the decision-making process as well as bringing along a greater discontent in the population, if the state maintains a high level of centralisation within the decision-making process. This has led to neither Scottish nor Catalan nationalism pursuing the development of their nation into an independent state in the traditional sense. This means that it is not only the role of the state that has changed –

the role of nations and nationalism is also different. All three concepts seem to have been influenced by a sense of pragmatism, rather than feelings. The realisation that no state or nation is sovereign and that cooperation is necessary, so that all can prosper has changed the objectives of both state and nation.

This cooperation and openness towards the rest of Europe is a key topic that has emerged from the case studies. To get a better understanding of this, it is helpful to draw upon the points made regarding the levels of ethnic and civic nationalism found in both Catalan and Scottish nationalism. From the analysis, it became apparent that, in terms of ethnic and civic nationalism, Catalan and Scottish nationalism have much in common. Politicians, as well as some scholars, have, in both cases, attempted to argue that both Catalan and Scottish nationalism are predominantly civic. The openness towards newcomers and the fact that it takes little more than residency to become a member of these nations should be the arguments that supported this claim of civic nationalism. However, this, to me, seems more a case of the postnationalist distinction between the good, civic nationalism and the bad, ethnic nationalism. When analysed more thoroughly, both cases showed a high level of ethnic nationalism, shown in the observation that to be actually seen as Scottish or Catalan, it was necessary to have a knowledge and understanding of the history, myths, and language of these nations to be seen as being truly Scottish or Catalan. Hargreaves argued that, regarding language, there existed two levels of membership of the Catalan nation. While I certainly agree with this, I would argue that is possible to expand this argument to include that national membership in these two cases, in fact, is divided into two groups; what one might call 'basic' and 'full' membership. The openness towards other cultures means that it is relatively easy to move to either Scotland or Catalonia, as the people of these nations are not hostile towards newcomers, which is also shown in the way that neither nationalism seeks to close its borders towards the rest of Europe, even if a Scottish or Catalan state was to be established. However, to achieve full membership of the nation, it requires a much more developed understanding and use of the ethnic side of Catalan and Scottish nationalism. The analysis of the cases, thus, has shown that there is an ethnic and civic side of both nationalisms, and that it is necessary to acknowledge both

sides to understand these nationalisms. As mentioned in the definitions of these concepts, Paul James suggested that the best way forward was to stop using these concepts and only focus on nationalism as a whole, but having performed the analysis, I will argue that this would be a mistake. Especially, when you see politicians promoting their nation as having a civic nature, it is necessary to try to investigate the ethnic side, in order to get the full picture. When looking at both the ethnic and civic sides of Catalan and Scottish nationalism, it was possible to see that the apparent openness of these nations was linked to the civic side of these nationalism. It is relatively easy to obtain basic membership, but to obtain full membership it is essential to understand the ethnic side. So, this openness should not be seen as anyone being able to become Scottish or Catalan with relative ease. Instead, it should be seen as an indication of the need of cooperation with and acceptance of the other European national cultures, which, as shown above, was a sign of how nationalism in Catalonia and Scotland had developed away from traditional nationalism.

The European aspect of Scottish and Catalan nationalism has been touched upon above, but in this next part there will be a more in-depth comparison. The Catalan attitude towards the European Union seems very positive and embracive. This is, for instance, shown in the way that the Catalan people are able to create and use different territorial identities. They are able to see themselves as Catalan, Spanish, and European simultaneously, and do not see membership of Spain or Europe as a threat to their national identity. The Catalans themselves put this down to them historically being European at heart, which seems to be a romantic exaggeration, in that they are not willing to substitute their Catalan identity with a European identity. However, Catalonia has a long history of cooperating and trading with Europe, and so have a deep-rooted understanding of the benefits of European cooperation. Scottish nationalism seems more focused on preserving Scottish national identity at the expense of British and European identities. Scottish nationalism seems less able to deal with the developments within Europe, regarding the implications interdependence has had on national identities. It seems as though the use of British and European identities alongside a Scottish identity is seen as a threat to Scottish nationalism, though, as seen in the Catalan case, this is not necessarily true. This might also

suggest that Catalan nationalism is more open towards outsiders than Scottish nationalism. The positive attitude towards different identities suggests a higher level of sympathy and understanding of the other European cultures, making them seem less hostile towards outsiders.

However, though both nationalisms seem open towards other cultures and European membership in general, this does not mean that Scottish or Catalan nationalism support a stronger European Union just because it would be most beneficial to Europe in general. Both nationalisms seem to use the European Union to strengthen their own nation. Regarding Catalonia and the Scottish devolutionists, they want the British and Spanish state to continue their memberships of the European Union – to become more integrated and devolve more power to the European Union - in order to weaken these states' domestic political powers. The more power that is devolved to the European Union and the Scottish and Catalan local governments, the less dominant the central governments in London and Madrid will be. Those Scottish nationalists who want an independent Scotland in Europe are, as mentioned earlier in this section, seemingly basing this objective on a continued important role of the state in Europe. They want to be able to directly influence the European decision-making process, rather than having to influence the British representatives. This is a more direct approach to strengthening the Scottish nation politically, but seems to neglect the economical and political benefits of membership of the UK. Catalan nationalism and the Scottish devolutionists believe that their nations can get the best of both worlds. A continued membership of Spain and the UK respectively means access to a stable, economically safe market, where there are no restrictions on trade between the different nations and regions within the states – regions and nations with a highly developed tradition of trade. At the same time, membership of the European Union should give the nations more autonomy within a weakened state, as well as giving the nations a more equal status, when compared to the states that they are located in. Economically, membership of the European Union also provides access to an even bigger market, where trade restrictions are also removed. To those Scottish nationalists who want to create a Scottish state, the future is more uncertain. It is not clear whether or not it will

be economically viable to be an independent state within the European Union. Though Scotland would have more direct influence in Europe, if it was to become independent, then it would also have to deal with a new set of responsibilities and decision-making areas, instead of only trying to achieve autonomy on a selected group of policy-making areas. Also, independence would mean a move away from the close relationship with the other British nations, in that these nations, from a Scottish perspective, would then be equalled to the rest of Europe, meaning that Scotland would no longer be able to benefit as much from this historical relationship.

From this comparison of the findings in the two case studies, it is evident that both Catalan and Scottish nationalism – both of its main groups – have moved away from traditional nationalism. Catalan nationalism, as well as the Scottish devolutionists, have developed the furthest and bear little resemblance to traditional nationalism. Both types of nationalism have abolished the claim that it is necessary for a stateless nation to gain full independence from the state in which they are situated, in order to fulfil its potential, economically and politically. The nationalism in Catalonia and that of the Scottish devolutionists have accepted that the role of nations and states within the European Union has changed, and, as long as cooperation is necessary and interdependence means greater prosperity for all, then there is absolutely no need to attempt to develop their nation into a state. Even the type of Scottish nationalism that supports the creation of a Scottish state has moved away from traditional nationalism. These nationalists are not claiming that the state is sovereign and able to decide on all political matters for itself. They acknowledge the need for cooperation and that interdependence will be beneficial. However, within the current political system of the European Union, it is still the state that is the most important actor, and as such, they believe that Scotland should establish itself as a state in order to be able to influence the decision-making process more directly. These findings go against the claim of the most severe critics of postnationalism that the role of the nation and the state has not changed, and that the state is still very dominant within European politics. The case studies of Catalonia and Scotland show that the state is facing an increased pressure from both internal and external forces. The very fact that these nations exist and that they, albeit

at different times, have achieved political autonomy in different areas, shows that, in these cases, the Spanish and British states have realised that in order to maintain the states, it has been necessary to devolve many political matters to the various nations and regions within these states.Without this devolution process, it is most likely that Scottish and Catalan nationalism would have been more focused on achieving independence, as the benefits of staying within the state would have been very limited. Similarly, the development and increased power of the European Union have meant that the member-states have accepted the devolution of certain decision-making areas to the European Union, and that the interdependence and cooperation within this union have meant that the states need to work together on many political areas, as it is no longer possible to prosper at the expense of others. Interdependence has meant that in order for one state to prosper, it is necessary that its partners prosper alongside it. In other words, the devolution of power to the regions and nations within the state, as well as to the European Union, has changed the power of the state. At present, it might still be the states that decide which direction the European Union develops, but the role of the state in terms of power has changed severely in recent years, which is in direct opposition to what postnationalism's strongest critics have claimed. This is also highlighted by the fact that both Catalan and Scottish nationalism have changed into a more modern type of nationalism. If the nationalisms within these two stateless nations, which are both clearly identifiable in terms of territory, language, history and most other national markers, and are also relatively strong in terms of political power and economy, have accepted that the establishment of a sovereign, independent state is not possible or desirable, then it is difficult to see a nationalism in any stateless nation within the European Union believing in the need to create a state of their own.

However, whilst there is no doubt that the role of states and nations have changed, this does not mean necessarily that we are moving towards a stateless and nationless European Union. As shown above, it was apparent in the case studies that nationalism seems to have changed into a more open variant that acknowledge the need for openness and cooperation within Europe. However, in both Catalan and Scottish nationalism, there was little, if any, evidence that the people of these nations were moving

away from their own national identity in order to see themselves as being European instead. In the Catalan case, the people were found to be relatively open towards Spanish and European identities, but there was not found any data that suggested that these identities were replacing the Catalan national identity which was found to be quite constant in terms of support. In Scotland, there was even less evidence of any developing European identity. Scottish identity was very dominant, and there were very few that combined this Scottish national identity with a British or European identity. The Scots saw themselves as being predominantly Scottish. From the case studies, there is no evidence that the people of Catalonia and Scotland are developing a European identity that will replace their own national identity, even though the nationalism in both nations can be seen as being relatively pro-Europe. The Catalan case, in particular, seems to show that a pro-European attitude and an openness towards other European national cultures do not necessarily mean a willingness to abolish your own national identity in favour of a European one. Catalan nationalism was found to be more pro-European and open towards a European identity than Scottish nationalism, but this has not resulted in a desire to replace the Catalan identity with a European one. The results of the analyses of these case studies, thus, do not support the argument of the postnationalists that the people of Europe are willing to embrace a European identity to replace their own national identity. The national identity is still one of the primary components of the identity of the people of Europe, and the case studies showed no evidence that this was changing. Thus, it does not appear as though we are moving towards a European nation with a shared culture, history, and language. From the case studies, it became apparent that both scholars and politicians, in both cases, attempted to portray the more open nationalisms of Scotland and Catalonia as evidence that membership of these nations were simply civic, and that these nationalisms would not be an obstacle in the development of a postnational Europe. However, as shown above, this would be to exaggerate the actual facts of these nationalisms.

From the above, there is no doubt that nationalism has changed and seems to have moved away from traditional nationalism. It would, however, be a gross exaggeration of the empirical evidence to suggest that this change could be seen as a sign that we are

moving towards a postnational Europe. The empirical evidence from these two case studies seems to be more in line with the perspective of Anthony D. Smith. We are currently at a stage in the development of the European Union where it is not possible to accurately predict the future of nations and nationalism within the European Union. Nationalism within Europe, from these two case studies, seems to have become more open and tolerant towards other national cultures within the European Union. There seems to be an understanding that we fundamentally have much in common and that we need to cooperate and accept other European national cultures in order for our own nation to prosper politically and economically. The interdependence that has increased with the development of the European Union has meant that we are forced to be more open towards each other from a rational, pragmatic perspective. It is not a question of wanting to create a homogeneous Europe. Rather, it is a question of choosing the best rational future for each nation.

5.2 The Future of Nationalism within the European Union

Having now compared and discussed the findings in the two case studies of Catalonia and Scotland, and attempted to deliver an answer as to what these two case studies indicate about the future of non-state nationalism within the European Union, the following section will focus on using these case studies in relation to the future of nationalism within the European Union in general. First of all, there will be a discussion of where postnationalism and its most severe critics are unable to fully explain the present state of European nationalism and what developments that are necessary within the structure of the European Union, in order for their vision of nationalism within Europe to be likely. Afterwards, there will be a presentation of two different scenarios of how I believe European nationalism might develop in the future, based on the empirical evidence found in the case studies.

As mentioned above, I agree with Anthony D. Smith's observations that European nationalism, at present, is situated somewhere in between the perspectives of the

postnationalists and the most severe critics of this perspective. The question, then, is what changes need to occur within the framework of the European Union, in order for these theories to become valid? In other words, what shape does the European Union need to take in order for postnationalism's vision of a stateless and nationless Europe come true, and, similarly, which direction does the European Union need to take in order to support the case of postnationalism's most severe critics?

For postnationalism, it seems vital that European integration needs to be developed even further for a postnational Europe ever to have a chance of becoming a reality. At present, there is still too much power placed in the hands of the member-states for postnationalism to have a chance of succeeding. Though the role of the states and the nations in recent years might have changed, as well as the European Union having being given increasingly more power, the nations and the states are still the primary territorial identity markers for the people of Europe. It seems as though we are becoming more open towards the rest of Europe, but a European identity is far from being a reality. To create this European identity – to create a postnational Europe – it seems necessary, as Habermas (2006) argued, for the member-states to agree upon a European constitution, i.e. to create a European federation. More decision-making power would have to be devolved to the European Parliament in order to create a more united Europe. This Parliament would then be superior to the legislatures in the various member-states, making it wholeheartedly European, rather than a Parliament with representatives from European member-states.

However, only with the creation of a European federation, would it, in my opinion, be possible for a European identity, with a shared culture, history, and territory, to develop. It would however quite possibly take decades, if not centuries, after the creation of such a federation, for a European identity to develop. It would be a very long process indeed, for all the national identities to grow together, and there would probably still be some remnants of the old nationalisms, though this would then be more in the shape of regionalism, i.e. somewhat similar to the United States, where people feel American, but still there is a difference between being e.g. from Texas or New York. If the member-states of the European Union were to agree upon the creation of such a federation with a united

constitution, then this development might take place. I would argue, though, that it is not very likely that the member-states of the European Union would take this final step towards full European integration any time soon, as there does not seem to be enough public support behind the idea, at the moment. This was evident in the rejection of the European Constitution, which was instead replaced by the more moderate Lisbon Treaty. Instead of taking a huge step towards European integration and federalism, it was preferred to allow various states to make opt-outs, making the step less significant. This treaty has probably postponed a European constitution for at least a couple of years, and as long as there is no constitution, then there will not be any postnational Europe. The member-states, it would seem, are not ready to devolve the necessary power to the European Union. They have moved towards this, since the formation of the European Community, but with every step towards federalism, there are some states that are unwilling to take the next step forward, making it a time-consuming process. A postnational Europe is a possibility, but it is the member-states of the European Union that have to push it through. It will not develop on its own. This is also a reason for the delay. The states have to decide to make themselves more or less powerless and redundant, and that is not an easy decision to make.

For the severe critics of postnationalism who argued that the relevance of the nation and the state had not been diminished, it seems even more difficult to see their vision of European nationalism in the future coming true. As shown in the case studies, nationalism, as well as the roles of the state, have both changed in recent years – to some extent, this change has been influenced by the development of the European Union. The states have devolved much decision-making power to the European Union, meaning that the state is no longer as sovereign within Europe. Instead, there is a powerful intergovernmental body – the European Union – that is able to decide on a number of political issues. Nations and nationalism have also changed. Nationalism's primary objective is no longer necessarily the establishment of a sovereign, independent state, as nationalism has been influenced by the developments regarding the power relationship between the European Union and its member-states. Nations are no longer preoccupied with either developing their own states, or, in the case of nation-states, securing and

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strengthening this state. Where postnationalism at least is a possibility, dependent on other factors, the belief that the roles of the nation and the state is unchanged is more difficult to defend. It would seem that for the nations and the states to regain their importance, the European Union would have to be severely weakened, and power would have to be given back to the states and nations. Then, nationalism would be less open, and, again, become determined on establishing and strengthening its own state, whereas the states would be the sovereign, dominant force in European politics. With the level of interdependence and cooperation that exist today within the European Union, it seems impossible to envision such a change. These critics' perspective seem based upon an exaggeration of the fact that the European Union is still a union of states; not a united Europe. Whereas postnationalism is based on speculation of what might happen, its most severe critics instead base their perspective on a faulty notion that the role of the nation and the state has not changed.

These theories, then, do not seem to base their perspectives on empirical evidence – evidence that in this thesis have pointed towards neither side being able to deliver a vision of European nationalism in the future, based on how nationalism is today. Instead, I will again turn to Anthony D. Smith, as his observations seem to correlate with the data found in the case studies. As mentioned earlier, it seems difficult to accurately predict the future of European nationalism, as we are, at present, at a time in the history of the European Union, where there are a number of options available to the decision-makers – options that will influence nationalism's development within Europe.

If there are made no significant changes to the structure of the European Union, i.e. the states remaining the most influential actor in the decision-making process, and the European Parliament not being allowed much more power, then I believe that the future of nations and nationalism within the European Union will develop much along the lines that was shown in the case studies. Nationalism will not focus on the establishment of a sovereign, independent state, but will instead focus on what scenario is deemed to be the best rational option – politically and economically – for the future of the nation. The Catalan case is, to me, a good example of how nationalism will develop within European Union, if the framework remains relatively unchanged. This type of nationalism

seems flexible and pragmatic and is not preoccupied with strengthening the Catalan nation at the expense of others. Rather, it is an open type of nationalism that does not appear threatened by other Spanish or European nationalisms. It is, however, still very much true to its roots and history, and I do not see any indications that this type of nationalism will abandon this national identity in favour of a united European identity. There are also indications in the Scottish case that nationalism will develop in this way. However, it will take more time before this change is complete. This is, in my opinion, due to the fact that the devolution process in the UK has only begun relatively recently. The desire within Scottish nationalism to break away from the British state appears to be a sign that this type of nationalism is still influenced by the long dominance of England, via the British state, over Scotland. When the devolution process becomes more developed, Scottish nationalism will feel more of an equal partner within the British state and less threatened by England. This could then lead to a more homogeneous Scottish nationalism, resemblant to that of Catalonia.

The above depicts how I believe nationalism within the European Union will develop, if there are made no significant changes to the framework of the European Union. However, there are also some indications that a European Constitution might become a reality in the foreseeable future, as mentioned when discussing the probability of a postnational Europe. As I argued above, a postnational Europe is possible, but not likely, with the introduction of a European Constitution, but such a constitution would, however, have an effect on the future of nationalism within Europe. The creation of a more federal Europe could lead to an even more open type of nationalism – a sort of regionalism. The people of Europe, in this scenario, might feel more united – like the inhabitants of a state. However, within this state, the various nationalisms would not disappear, but would instead change into a type of regionalism, i.e. although the people of Europe would feel that they all belong to the same state, there would still be regional differences. These differences exist in any state today, as mentioned in the section on the probability of a postnational Europe above, where I used the examples of people from Texas and New York seeing the others as being different, yet still American. I would not equal this regionalism to

postnationalism, as there within this regionalism would still be civic and ethnic characteristics that would be used to differentiate the people of one region from the rest.

These two scenarios described above are in my opinion the most probable developments regarding European nationalism in the future, dependent on how the framework of the European Union develops. It is also possible that the European Union might develop in a different way or that we will experience a resurgence in traditional nationalism, as a reaction against the less important roles of the nation and the state. However, based on the case studies and the framework of the European Union today, I will argue that the two scenarios described in detail in this section are the most probable outcomes. Though there are some differences, the main similarity is that in both scenarios there is a high level of openness and acceptance towards the other cultures within Europe. This is an important point as it indicates that no matter how the framework of the European Union develops, then the people of Europe will become even more embracive and understanding towards each other, and that both territorial and cultural borders are becoming less important. It does not, however, indicate that the people of Europe are willing to give up their national identity and begin seeing themselves as exclusively European.

6. Conclusion

This concluding section of this thesis began with a comparison and discussion of the findings in the two case studies. The points made in this comparison and discussion were then put into perspective regarding their relevance to the debate on the future of nationalism within Europe, especially regarding the problems both postnationalism and its most severe critics had in explaining the findings in these case studies and what developments that were necessary in order to make these theoretical viewpoints more valid. This was then followed by my view, based on this thesis, on how the role of nations and nationalism within Europe would develop in the future. Now, in this final section, I will attempt to sum up the main points made in this thesis, as well as trying to answer the key questions asked at the beginning of this thesis.

From the two case studies, it is apparent that nationalism within Europe has changed and has moved away from what was known as traditional nationalism. In neither case study is there any evidence that points towards a nationalism focused on establishing the traditional, independent, sovereign state. Instead, the focus of the nationalisms in both Catalonia and Scotland is on cooperation and relying on strengthening the interdependence between the European nations and states, in order for the nations analysed to prosper as much as possible. Similarly, the role of the state was found to have changed in that in the two cases, both the Spanish and British state were found to have been weakened regarding political decision-power, which had been devolved to both the European Union as well as the nations and regions within these states. From the data gathered in the analysis, it seems possible to argue that both nationalism as well as the role of the nation and the state has changed along with the development of the European Union, and that it is not a valid claim, when arguing otherwise, as the most severe critics of postnationalism did. However, postnationalism on the other hand seems to have exaggerated this transformation, when arguing that we are moving towards a postnational Europe, where the differences between the people of the various nations and states are becoming increasingly diluted. Both

Scottish and Catalan nationalism show quite clearly that the importance of the national identity has not in any way become less significant with the emergence of the European Union. This also seems to answer the question whether the national cultural differences have been diluted in connection with the removal of the physical borders. The cultural differences are not disappearing or becoming less important. People just seem to have a better understanding and acknowledgement of these cultural differences.

The two cases of Scottish and Catalan nationalism, thus, provides little support for either postnationalism or its most severe critics. The analyses of these two cases could only be used to support the arguments of these theories, if important empirical evidence was omitted from the argumentation. When including all the empirical evidence, it becomes apparent that neither theoretical perspective were able to fully explain the development of these two cases of non-state nationalism within the European Union. Neither sides' vision of the future of nationalism within the European Union found much foundation in how non-state nationalism is today and how the current framework of the European Union actually influences European nationalism.The two cases, thus, support the middle-ground in the debate – the perspective based on the works of Anthony D. Smith. Both the Catalan and Scottish case delivered strong empirical evidence to the opinion that, at least, non-state nationalism has progressed from traditional nationalism, but that the argument that Europe is moving towards postnationalism is exaggerated.

Regarding how nationalism will develop in the future within the European Union, it seems that the answer must be found somewhere in between the perspectives of postnationalism and its most severe critics. Based on the empirical evidence found in the case studies, it seems to me that it is not possible to provide a definitive answer to the question about how nationalism will develop within the European Union. Earlier in this section, I provided two scenarios that I would argue are the most likely outcomes based on the case studies. If the framework of the European Union is not significantly changed, then nationalism will probably develop in the same way as seen in the Catalan case in particular. This nationalism will still be based on civic and ethnic characteristics, but with an important openness and understanding of the other European national cultures. If the

European Union agrees upon a European Constitution, then this openness and understanding will grow even bigger to the point where we might experience a greater closeness with the rest of Europe, but will still have the foundation of our identity based in our regional civic and ethnic characteristics. Though it does not appear as though a common European national identity is developing, the openness and acceptance of other national cultures found in both scenarios is a significant and beneficial development for the people of Europe.

In conclusion, then, it can be said that neither of the two extremes, in the debate on the future of nationalism within Europe, was validated by the two case studies. Rather, it was the more balanced perspective – that nationalism had moved away from traditional nationalism, but that there was still no empirical evidence that supported the emergence of a postnational Europe – that found support in the two case studies. Nationalism is still an important part of people's identity, but we are experiencing a development towards more acceptance and understanding between the different national cultures – a development that will continue in the future.

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