



Munich Personal RePEc Archive

Catalan, Basque and Galician. Regional Languages at the Borders of Spain. The Culture of Region

Buda, Mariana

University of Oradea

2016

Online at <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/91408/>

MPRA Paper No. 91408, posted 13 Jan 2019 11:38 UTC

Catalan, Basque and Galician. Regional Languages at the Borders of Spain. The Culture of Region

Mariana BUDA, University of Oradea

Abstract: One of the most interesting things about the Spanish Culture is the Culture of Region. There are not a few of the regions of Spain that have also a particular language. Three of these Regions, Cataluña, Galicia and The Basque Country have their own regional language: the Catalan Language, the Galician Language and the Basque Language. Does this language influence the culture of the region? Or these regions have a regional language because of their position near to the border?

Key words: The culture of region, regional languages, Spain, Catalan, Basque, Galician

Our society of the XXI century is characterized by specialists as anarchic, globalized, fragmented, heterogeneous, complex and interdependent. The end of the Cold War and the evolution of the modern states towards decentralization have favored the creation of new structures on ethnic grounds. Samuel Huntington's viewpoint is that "in the new world order, the most important and dangerous conflicts will be the ones between people who belong to different cultural entities"(Huntington: *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, 1997:26) But one may say that differences between regions, entities, nations etc. don't need to turn into violent conflicts; they can be resolved by means of diplomatic negotiations or a better communication between the parts involved in each situation.

Many modern states include different linguistic, religious or ethnic groups perceiving themselves as different from the population of the country they live in, they defend their identity and specificity through political action or conflict. The great number of open conflicts that took place throughout history shows us that dialogue, not violence can stop identity clash, especially if we consider the rise of regional power in Europe (Stoica, Mărcuț: *Communication and Nationalism at the French-Spanish Border. The Basque Country*, in Eurolimes, 2011:162)

The case of Spain is one of the most interesting in Europe because the existence of a dual self-identification expressed by the citizens of the Spanish *Comunidades Autonomas* represents one of the main features of the relations in the country (Moreno, Arriba, Serrano: *Multiple Identities in decentralized Spain: The case of Catalonia*,2006:1)

The aim of this paper is to analyze many types of differences between the autonomous communities of Spain putting an emphasis on the importance of the language. We will take into consideration those Communities that have a regional language beside the official one, which is the Castilian. The hypothesis of this work is that the increasing differences among the cultures of the communities of Spain lead to different languages and to the willing of independence. Therefore, maybe is not just a casualty the fact that these Regions are situated at the border of

Spain. Because disparities among the autonomous communities are very complex, this paper will focus only on certain characteristics such as: linguistic, cultural and the implications of the autonomy of the regions for the Spanish state as a whole.

Short historical evolution of Spanish Regions

The Second Republic in Spain (between 1931 and 1939), even if it was very short, contributed largely to the resolution of an ethno territorial conflict. One of the improvements that brought was the constitutional design of State as a regional model. This offered statutes of autonomy to Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia. There is obvious that this regional autonomy played a fundamental part in the political polarization process before the Civil War in Spain and the regionalist-centralist issue created innumerable controversies (Moreno, Arriba, Serrano: *Multiple Identities in decentralized Spain: The case of Catalonia*,2006:4)

In the 20th century, during the Spanish republic, Basque and Catalan nationalists emerged and they were strongly opposed to Franco's nation-building campaign since they had a pre-nationalist sentiment from the previous century. They no longer had to resist any attempts of nationalization after Franco's death and the adoption of the new Constitution. As we have already known the Constitution guarantees the right of Spanish provinces to form autonomous communities with different level of self-determination. Decentralization and devolution were and still are the order words in Spain and this process gave birth to new 17 autonomous regions (Dirdala: *Before the pact: The early stage of the Spanish transition to democracy*,2011:1-3)

Cultural and linguistic homogenization among the 17 autonomous communities has never been 100% successful. Furthermore, the homogenization process has worryingly decreased in the last years. Therefore, we can speak about an obvious case of failure in the attempt of building a large Spanish nation-state. Unfortunately, Spain wasn't able to follow the Westphalian model of a uniform nation- state and step by step it was moving away from this ideal. Not even the establishment of democracy was helpful in this hard process. At this point, in the contemporary era it seems to be impossible to build a cohesive political order, power monopoly or homogenization of the population in Spain (Šonka: *Thirty years of Spanish transformation*)

After Franco's death in 1975, the transnational process to democracy began. The democratic parties did not have a clear model for the type of decentralized state they broadly advocated. However, the majority wanted home rule for all the Spanish nationalities and regions. The 1978 Constitution made it possible for the Autonomous Communities to be self-governing. However, the formulation of a clear division of powers based on federal techniques was avoided.

The construction of the *Estado de las Autonomias* had to follow a "top-down" process of decentralization (Moreno, Arriba, Serrano: *Multiple Identities in decentralized Spain: The case of Catalonia*,2006:5). The result in the twentieth century is a series of practices of federal nature, involving a series of politically competitive units. The process of decentralization has undergone a long period of consolidation. However, we can say that this process has been assimilated by the majority of Spanish people.

Political reality has been changing lately because of recent developments. After enjoying a great economic growth in the last decades, now economic hardship is being linked to emerging regional identities. In the framework of a strong regionalization of Spain, some mini-nationalisms seem to be very radical because they consider themselves as being different from the rest of Spaniards. They would rather support the idea of a regionalized Europe instead of a united Europe. Spain's accession into the Western community was the perfect reason for developing a great national pride. After being integrated in the European Union and NATO, Spain didn't feel anymore the inferiority complex in relation with the rest of Europe. The role of the state in the international arena was growing and Spain came to become an important international actor (Louk, Csepeli, Dekker, Farnen: *European Nations and Nationalism. Theoretical and historical perspectives, 2000:206-208*).

Although integrated in the European Union, the Europeanist spirit is not compatible at all with Spain's national pride. Specialized literature contains relevant information about the relationship between these two feelings: "Whatever the evolution of the EU may be, the prevalent discourse in Spain is that nation-states are going to 'wither away' and there is, therefore, little point in waging battles on borders, national currency, or armies since they are supposed to disappear or be unified. The ideal of 'Europe' thus helps us to solve many intricate internal problems. This may be one of the reasons why Spaniards is that are so enthusiastically Europeanist. This feeling is common among the Madrid government's supporters as well as among Basque or Catalan nationalists, but for different reasons. Both tend to present the current situation as one of constant diminution in state powers" (Louk, Csepeli, Dekker, Farnen: *European Nations and Nationalism. Theoretical and historical perspectives, 2000:208*).

The regionalization and its consequences in Spain

The administrative division of Spain is the Autonomous Communities (*Comunidades Autonomas*). By the Constitution of 1978 Spain is divided into 17 territorial entities which groups 51 Provinces equipped with a high level of administrative and legislative autonomy. Spain is the best example of a regionalized State where the Autonomous Communities have large powers and legislative, financial and administrative autonomy, but they are not participating in a direct way at the exercise of the competences of the State. Also, the Autonomous Communities of Spain have extremely different powers. Therefore, the lately evolution of the country may let see the possibility to evolve into a federal structure, even though Spain is a centralized unitary system.

While speaking about languages, as defined by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML), "regional or minority languages" are languages traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population; they are different from the official language(s) of that state, and they include neither dialects of the official language(s) of the state nor the languages of migrants (Spongerberg, *Catalan, Basque and Galician get EU language boost*).

The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) is an international treaty designed on the one hand to protect and promote regional and minority languages as a threatened aspect of Europe’s cultural heritage and on the other hand to enable speakers of a regional or minority language to use it in private and public life. The charter is supervised by the Council of Europe and adopted by many EU Member States (European Commission, *Speaking for Europe, Languages in the EU*).

The official language of Spain is Castilian, but in some Communities like Catalonia, Galicia and The Basque County the people is speaking another language, a regional language very different from the Castilian, but official in that region. The Languages spoken in the regions of Spain are not minority Languages, but Regional Languages, as the Charter mentions above. The most obvious are: Catalan, Basque Language and Galician.

The question that we are asking ourselves and the main subject of this article is why these communities have in addition a regional language and how it influences the differentiation from the other, so we will try to highlight the difference from the other. Lastly, it is worth noting that they are the language spoken in regions at the border of the country. We can say that this position influences as well, in a certain way, the existence of another language within the region.

Fig. 1: Communities of Spain that have a Regional official Language



Source: <http://spanish.about.com/od/spanishlanguageculture/a/spainlanguages.htm>

Even though Spain is a state composed of autonomous regions, and in many cases it may resemble with a federal state, in fact, it is not a federal state. In a federal state, regions have the tendency to create an outset for controlling a certain area and they inherit already structured institutions, while in Spain regions are free to decide upon the desired level of autonomy and the eventually development of a process towards full-autonomy. Powers granted to autonomous communities were different depending on the route by which they obtained autonomy. The problem is that the Constitution didn’t explicitly specify the limits of this autonomy and the wording is quite vague: “after five years and following reform of their statutes, these autonomous communities will be able progressively to extend their powers within the framework

of article 149” (Spanish Constitution, article 142.8) but there is no reference explaining these new powers (Newton, Donaghy:*Institutions of Modern Spain. A political and economic guide.* Cambridge:1997,136).

The Spanish author Eliseo Aja, devotes some chapters in his book to this particular issue. He argues that the contemporary Spanish state, structurally talking, is somewhere in between the unitary and the federal state. On the one hand, according to Eliseo Aja, Spain is not a unitary state because here we have two levels of powers (central and regional) that decide upon the whole national territory and not a single structure of authorities like in the unitary states. On the other hand, Spain has a double-leveled power bodies like the federal states but they don't work in the same way (Aja, *El Estado Autonómico Federalismo y Hechos Diferenciales: Alianza Editorial* 1999:82). The absence of the autonomous communities in the constitutional reform process may be the biggest difference between the federal state and the Spanish state. Anyway, the referendum, a constitutional provision in Spain, is highly important because it guarantees that a constitutional reform cannot be made unless a majority of the votes of Spanish citizens is reached.

A similarity between these two types of state is the fact that both member states of a federal system and autonomous communities have their own laws and regulations which form the juridical framework of their institutions. In the federal state each Land/Länder (member state) has its Constitution and in Spain, each autonomous community has its statute of autonomy that is more or less the same thing as the Constitution of a Land. In Spain the Constitution is above the statutes of autonomy, as well as in federal states the Federal Constitution is superior to the constitution of each member state (Aja, *El Estado Autonómico Federalismo y Hechos Diferenciales: Alianza Editorial* 1999:83).

Besides the name, the most important difference between a statute of autonomy and a constitution of a Land lies in the way they are approved. In the federal system it depends only on the institutions of each Land. Meanwhile, in Spain for establishing and reforming a statute of autonomy there is needed a consensus between the respective autonomous community and the state itself. In other words, they need a double approval from the Parliament of the autonomous community and the Parliament in Madrid; in some special cases (Catalonia, Galicia, Basque Country, Andalusia), the statute of autonomy cannot suffer any change without a referendum. Unlike in the federal system, the Spanish Constitution doesn't define statutes of autonomy as constitutional laws, but organic laws. Without specifying it clearly, the Spanish Constitution itself gives the statutes the rank of constitutional laws of second level (Newton, Donaghy:*Institutions of Modern Spain. A political and economic guide.* Cambridge:1997,140).

Linguistic diversity

Language is perhaps the most obvious element of multi-nationality in Spain in a long-term historical and cultural perspective. The language spoken by one nation is a highly important social and human factor. Its juridical recognition implies the political dimension and respect for individual and collective rights of the people; it is also a great stimulus in social cohesiveness.

The Castilian or Spanish is the language spoken by the majority of Spaniards, but not all consider it as a mother tongue. In fact, there are other major regional languages: Catalan, Valencian, Galician, and Basque. Other languages are Aranese, Aragonese and Leonese or Bable. Some of these languages, especially the Catalan and Basque, enjoy a well-developed publishing industry, producing journals and other periodic publications. In recent decades, local governments try to enhance learning and the use of minority languages. Note that, associated with these linguistic differences, there is a strong sense of unique identity in several regions, especially in the Basque Country, Galicia and Catalonia, who have also major nationalist groups.

The history of Spain faced a great change when the 1978 Constitution came into force. It recognizes and protects the plurality of languages existing in the state. The Constitution declares Castilian (Castellano) as the official language of the country and allows regional languages to be co-official in their respective communities according to the Statute of Autonomy. Here we can mention Basque Country (Euskera), Catalonia (Catalan), Galicia (Galician) and Valencia (Valencian). The Statutes of Autonomy of Basque Country, Catalonia, Balearic Islands, Galicia and Valencia declare their languages as co-official together with Castilian. To see what this is about, below we can see article 5 of the statute of Galicia (Aja, *El Estado Autonómico Federalismo y Hechos Diferenciales*: Alianza Editorial 1999:166):

1. “The own language of Galicia is Galician.
2. Galician and Castilian are the official languages in Galicia and everybody has the right to know and speak them.
3. Public authorities of Galicia ensure the normal and official use of both languages and they will boost the use of Galician in all the aspects of public life, culture and information and they have the necessary means to facilitate awareness.
4. No one can be discriminated on linguistic grounds.”

Other bilingual communities established the so-called “linguistic normalization laws” in 1982-1986 that had more or less the same principles as the above mentioned Galician article but applied to their respective regions. The laws were considered appropriate and reasonable by the High Court of Justice. The first Catalan linguistic law was adopted with unanimity in 1983; this was replaced by another law in 1977 which created controversial discussions in the public area regarding the compulsory doubling of the movies into Catalan (Aja, *El Estado Autonómico Federalismo y Hechos Diferenciales*: Alianza Editorial 1999:166).

Linguistic policy is different from one community to another; there is no general rule applicable in the whole country. To illustrate this I will give you two examples. On the one hand, teaching in Catalan non-university education system is conducted normally in Catalan language but teachers are required to know both Castilian and Catalan. On the other hand, in the Basque Country we can find three ways of teaching: (1) educational programs taught in Castilian having Euskera as language course, (2) educational programs taught in Euskera having Castilian as language course and (3) a mixed educational program which combines the first two programs. The point is that however different they may be in wording, linguistic public policies and laws move around two capital axes: social co-officialty and normalization of the languages (Lapo,

Rethinking the European Language Policies: From Linguistic Colonization to Linguistic Federalism, 2012:1-3)

Having a co-official language together with Castilian in a community implies a right for the citizens and many obligations for the public administration framework. The population enjoys the right of using any of the official languages whenever they feel so. In terms of public administration, all the official documents need to be issued in both languages and they value equally no matter in which of the two languages have been written. Castilian, as the official language of Spain, is the communication language between regional and central institutions (Lapo, *Rethinking the European Language Policies: From Linguistic Colonization to Linguistic Federalism, 2012:1-3)*

In the last decades, the heads of regional governments paid special attention to the linguistic normalization especially those who wanted to highlight their regional language. By means of well-done public policies, autonomous authorities promote bilingualism in all the areas of the society: education, media, relationship between citizens and institutions, etc. Using their own language in media has a vital importance for autonomous communities. The efficiency of the means of communication (television, radio, internet, etc.) is very high because it can easily reach all the corners of the region/country and it increases the prestige of the language. Galicia, Catalonia, Basque Country and Valencia have important and well-known TV and radio networks in their own language that depend on their respective regional governments (Aja, *El Estado Autonómico Federalismo y Hechos Diferenciales: Alianza Editorial 1999:169*).

Anyway, in some cases, the state needs to regulate somehow the use of the languages inside the country especially when dealing with citizens who wish to express in their language when dealing with central institutions. According to the Organic Law of Judicial Power, citizens have the full right to use the autonomic language if they wish so; furthermore, knowing an autonomic language would be an advantage for those who aspire to high positions such as legal secretaries, judges or magistrates.

From all the autonomous languages of the Spanish communities, the ones that did amazing progresses in the last 20 years are Catalan, Euskera and Galician. This is not surprisingly at all if we think of the fact that Basque and Catalan are the communities that require the most their independence nowadays. Probably their linguistic normalization process will be achieved with the shift of the generations if no violent conflict will occur in the foreseeable future (Lapo, *Rethinking the European Language Policies: From Linguistic Colonization to Linguistic Federalism, 2012:3-5*).

Linguistic minorities and linguistic homogenization or normalization in Spain represent a serious political concern. There cannot be neglected the fact that 20% of the Spaniards don't speak Castilian language but Basque, Catalan or Galician and about 40% of them live in autonomous communities which have two official languages. This is how cultural plurality appeared in Spain. The next table shows the percentages of a survey about the dual identity of the Spaniards (Louk, Csepeli, Dekker, Farnen: *European Nations and Nationalism. Theoretical and historical perspectives, 2000:210*)

Table 1: Subjective national identification by region

	Catalonia	Basque Country	Galicia
Spanish only	13	8	5
More Spanish than Catalan, Basque, etc. (regional)	8	5	7
50-50	35	27	52
More (regional) than Spanish	25	23	27
(Regional) only	16	31	6

Source: Louk, Hagendoorn; György, Csepeli; Henk, Dekker; Russel, Farnen, *European Nations and Nationalism. Theoretical and historical perspectives*, Ashgate Publishing Company, 2000, p. 211

Fortunately, the Spanish linguistic pluralism doesn't lead to significant conflicts in everyday life among bilingual groups. In the Basque Community existed violent conflicts between ETA and the police and they also initiated some social movements against the Spanish symbols. In most of the cases, the conflicts take place at political level. Linguistic pluralism is used as weapon in political fights (Louk, Csepeli, Dekker, Farnen: *European Nations and Nationalism. Theoretical and historical perspectives*, 2000:210).

Cultural diversity

When talking about culture we might raise a question about the real meaning of the word. Is it culture the day-to-day life of the people? Or is it rather a high expression of sophisticated and complex ideas developed by the intellectual elite of the society? Whatever the answer may be, in Spain we can find examples of both.

Spain is a country with a diverse culture that encompasses many forms of expression in a mosaic: from literature to painting, music or architecture. Since ancient times (with important examples of cave paintings such as Altamira) until today, the culture in Spain has occupied a relevant position. Regional differences are evident, as shows the great variety of representations such as Galician bagpipes or Andalusian flamenco and many others (Aja, *El Estado Autonómico Federalismo y Hechos Diferenciales*: Alianza Editorial 1999:170).

The distinction between popular and elite culture, which raises the question of what is culture may not be as drastic as it sounds. A good example of this closeness can be found in the characteristics of Spanish architecture. There are perfectly strong examples of buildings of more than 2000 years old, originally from the times of Roman hegemony. And from the Roman to Romanesque, Gothic, Moorish, Renaissance, and all the artistic styles that would emerge later, Spanish architecture has been shaped both by aesthetic considerations as well as by the specific conditions of the country. For all his spectacular nature, Spanish architecture owes as much to the circumstances of everyday life as the coexistence of Muslim, Christian and Jewish, and the

conscious development of aesthetic ideals. This is true for architecture, but also the case of literature that developed in parallel with the culture that produced it as a reflection (in both senses of the word) of the reality of their time. In fact, this is true for the vast majority of Spanish culture, forging truly national forms of expression, such as flamenco, to the paintings of the great masters such as Goya (Snyder, *Global Mini-nationalisms. Autonomy or Independence, London:1994*).

Besides the well-known tourism "sun and beach", the culture is becoming a consolidated alternative, given the wealth of museums, monuments, traditions and Spanish cultural manifestations. Spain is one of the world's richest countries in terms of architectural heritage, with the highest number of World Heritage Site statements granted by UNESCO. An approximate inventory numbers more than 20,000 major monuments in the country. In Spain, there is a strong maritime tradition, by the fact of being a peninsula and, consequently, being surrounded by water. Even in cities in the interior river port, such as Seville, we see that tradition. Air transport has facilitated the beaches of the Mediterranean, especially the Costa del Sol, hosting millions of tourists every year (Lapo, *Rethinking the European Language Policies: From Linguistic Colonization to Linguistic Federalism, 2012:4-6*).

From day-to-day habits, like the variety of dishes that make up a delicious cuisine to the institutional support for artistic creation, Spain holds surprises in every corner of its territory. Gastronomy varies from the simple Mediterranean diet that has plenty of fresh land and sea products, to the ingenuity of recipes from the center of the country that have a more rustic style such as roast suckling pig or the famous Castilian soup. We can say that Spanish culture is extremely heterogeneous, due to both geographical and historical circumstances. The fascinating mosaic of different cultures that exist in each region extends beyond issues such as local food patterns or dressing habits. The different traditions that have defined each of the regions have deeply permeated every aspect of Spanish culture, from which liquor to take after finishing eating to the kind of materials used in the construction of buildings in each area (Lapo, *Rethinking the European Language Policies: From Linguistic Colonization to Linguistic Federalism, 2012:4-6*).

Two of the most famous traditions of Spain are the bulls and flamenco. The so-called corridas (runs of the bulls) are famous all around the country but especially in Pamplona. There, the bulls are left free and they go after the people in the city. Flamenco is a folk tradition in southern Spain, especially in Andalusia which is considered to be the land of the roots of singing, dancing and flamenco guitar. During the month of April, in Sevilla there is celebrated the well-known April Fair (Feria de Abril); during one week you can enjoy traditional singing, dancing, Jerez wine and typical local cuisine. A tradition that brings together millions of people is being held every year in a village called El Rocio where Saint Rocio (Virgen del Rocio) is venerated. Another famous festival is "Las Fallas de San José" hold in Valencia, in March; the entire city is gripped by fireworks and spectacular pyrotechnic shows. "La Tamborrada" festival that takes place every month of February in San Sebastian is considered by the local people as being a "wild week". One of the most typical holidays in Madrid is "San Isidro" which hosts the most

important bullfighting of the year. Carnivals in Santa Cruz de Tenerife and Cadiz are the most popular in the country (Aja, *El Estado Autonómico Federalismo y Hechos Diferenciales*: Alianza Editorial 1999:171).

Known for its history, art, bullfighting, flamenco beaches and many hours of sunshine a year, Spain is much more than that. It has been used up to saturation the topic of "Spain is different", but the question is: "Spain is different" from what? Well, it's really different from everything: from Europe, the world, and especially herself. It is a country full of contrasts, starting with its climate and diverse landscapes which have brought to Spain the title of "little Europe". Indeed, in Spain we can find climates and landscapes reminiscent of very remote points of the European continent or even the African (not surprising if considering the fact that Spain is separated from Africa by the Strait of Gibraltar) (Lapo, *Rethinking the European Language Policies: From Linguistic Colonization to Linguistic Federalism*, 2012:6-9).

At the same time, each region, each city within the same region, and sometimes each village, presents a reality so different and fascinating. This is due to the rich history of this country and the many ethnic groups that inhabited bringing customs, traditions and diverse artistic expressions that sometimes merged into something completely new and indigenous and sometimes remained unchanged for centuries (Lapo, *Rethinking the European Language Policies: From Linguistic Colonization to Linguistic Federalism*, 2012:10).

Conclusions

Spain is very particular country in Europe and its culture and development as well. While speaking about regions and languages, we can sum up that those Spanish regions that have a regional language used that language even before the existence of what we call today *Comunidad Autónoma* and they have already had a specific culture of the region. So, the language existed even before the borders of the actual region.

It is not a casualty the fact that those regions that have a regional language are situated at the borders of Spain. This is only the proof that they existed before the existence of the Nation-State, which is another demonstrated idea of the large cultural Spain. Furthermore, by making official the existence of another language beside the official one, brings between the Spanish people the conscious of a differentiation and, of course, the willing and desire of independence. One cannot forget that a language is, and it always was, a sign of power, a sign of differentiation, of individualization.

References

Aja, Eliseo, *El Estado Autonómico Federalismo y Hechos Diferenciales*, Alianza Editorial, S.A., Madrid, 1999

Dirdala, Lucian-Dumitru, *Before the pact: The early stage of the Spanish transition to democracy*, in Scientific Bulletin of the Mihail Kogalniceanu University, see: www.cceol.com, accessed on 3rd May, 2015

European Commission, *Speaking for Europe, Languages in the EU*, Luxembourg,: Office for official publications of the European Communities

Helena Spongerberg, *Catalan, Basque and Galician get EU language boost* in <https://euobserver.com/political/22007>

Huntington, Samuel, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1997

Lapo, Orlandi, *Rethinking the European Language Policies: From Linguistic Colonization to Linguistic Federalism*, in Regional Studies Publication. See: www.cceol.com, accessed on 10th May, 2015

Louk, Hagendoorn; György, Csepeli; Henk, Dekker; Russel, Farnen, *European Nations and Nationalism. Theoretical and historical perspectives*, Ashgate Publishing Company, 2000

Luis Moreno; Ana Arriba; Araceli Serrano, *Multiple Identities in decentralized Spain: The case of Catalonia*, in Instituto de Estudios Sociales Avanzados, See: <http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/2021/1/dt-9706.pdf>

Newton, Michael T.; Donaghy, Peter J., *Institutions of Modern Spain. A political and economic guide*, Cambridge University Press 1999

Šonka, Jaroslav, *Thirty years of Spanish transformation*, in The New Presence Publication. See: www.cceol.com, accessed on 5th May, 2015

Stoica, Alina; Mărcuț, Mirela, *Communication and Nationalism at the French-Spanish Border. The Basque Country*, in Eurolimes – Journal of the Institute for Euroregional Studies “Jean Monnet” European Centre of Excellence, Volume 12, Oradea University Press, 2011