



CATALONIA: FROM AUTONOMY TO INDEPENDENCE? A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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I will try to answer this question from a historical perspective. Some geographical aspects first: the map shows the size and the importance as well as the location of Catalonia in Spain. If we take a look at the population, Catalonia accounts for around 16% of the population of the Spanish State. Another thing that I think is worth taking into account is the economic relevance, the wealth of Catalonia, which represents almost 20% of the GDP of the whole country. This is clear from the following slide, where you can see the different regions in Spain and the GDP of each one, with Catalonia and Madrid being the most important ones.

Another key aspect is that Catalonia is a region with two main languages: Catalan and Spanish. They are both important, but there are more people in Catalonia that speak Spanish than Catalan. Another crucial point connected to this one is that Catalan is the most widely spoken language in the interior part of Catalonia, not in the area of Barcelona but in the other provinces, namely Lérida, Girona and Tarragona.

Before coming to the last decade, I would like to recall some decisive milestones of the Spanish transition to democracy. Spain lived under a dictatorship until the 1970s. The dictator, Francisco Franco, who died in November 1975, came to power after the Civil War, which lasted from 1936 to 1939. The death of Franco marks the beginning of a transition to democracy in Spain that took place in the second half of the 1970s. In 1977 the first democratic elections were held in the whole country. In the same year the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, that is the institution of the regional autonomy in the community, was re-established. And in 1978 the Spanish Constitution was approved. I would like to point out three things about the Constitution which need to be remembered when we talk about the last decade in Catalonia and the independence movement:

1. The Spanish Constitution establishes the State of Autonomies. With this expression the Spanish Constitution refers to an open and undefined model of administrative decentralisation. Spain is not a federal State, but something

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similar, with a strong decentralisation that begins starting with the Constitution of 1978.

2. 'National sovereignty belong to the Spanish people, from whom all state powers emanate' (Art. 1 of the Spanish Constitution)
3. 'The Constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish Nation, the common and indivisible country of all Spaniards; it recognises and guarantees the right to autonomy of the nationalities and regions of which it is composed, and the solidarity among them all' (Art. 2 of the Spanish Constitution)

In December 1979, the Statute of Autonomy was approved in Catalonia. It was the first one in this community after the end of Francoism. A new one was approved 15 years ago. Catalonia is not the only region that has a Statute of Autonomy. In fact, in 1979 and 1980 a Statute of Autonomy was approved for the strong nationalities inside the Spanish State, namely Catalonia, the Basque Countries and Galicia. In the following years, in the first half of the 1980s, all the regions and communities in Spain (17 in total) approved a Statute of Autonomy. Each region now has its own Statute of Autonomy.

If we talk about the last decade, the Spanish expression used to refer to the independence movement in Catalonia is *Procés independentista*. What is meant with the word *Procés*? It is an expression that is not so clear, *Procés* is like 'process' in English. During the last 10 to 12 years, we can find different interpretations of this *Procés*. For example, the Catalan institutions that are pro-independence explain the *Procés* as a popular and peaceful movement fighting for the independence of Catalonia. Other people talk about the *Procés* as a process of breaking with the status quo, politically and institutionally. For some, the *Procés* is merely a way for the political elites, which have ruled Catalonia since the 1980s, to maintain power in a moment of crisis. Then there are those who judge the *Procés* as the 'conspiracy of the irresponsible', meaning a conspiracy between two governments, the Spanish central government and the Catalan regional government, who are said to be irresponsible because they could not manage a crisis between the two institutions. Finally, according to somebody, the *Procés* is a lexical creation, a utopian narrative suitable for times of crisis. I will explain some of these interpretations later because I think that they are interesting to understand the last 15 years in Catalonia.

Let's have a look at these pictures: this is one of the first demonstrations in Barcelona that called for Catalonia to become a new State in Europe in 2010, and this one shows a big demonstration in Camp Nou 2014 (where the Barcelona football team usually plays) where people were strongly advocating for the right to freedom for Catalonia.

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Further, we have to understand when this *Procés* started. In this regard too, interpretations vary. Someone says it started in 2006, when the pro-independence movement, which historically was embraced only by a minority of the citizens of Catalonia, began to find more support. Others believe it started in 2010, when the regional elections were held. And someone else talks about 2012, when the leading party (Convergència i Unió) shifted from defending the autonomy of the region inside the Spanish State to defending its independence. In any case, from 2006 until more or less nowadays the *Procés* went through different phases.

It is also extremely important to understand the reasons why people wanted to defend the independence of Catalonia. The situation in Catalonia is not similar to that in countries like Palestine or countries that are run by a colonialist regime. So why did people decide that they wanted to break with Spain, which is a democratic State inside the European Union? There are different reasons and I think that three of them are particularly relevant, namely:

1. The economy: since 2006 a lot of people and political parties and the media have been talking about the *Expolio fiscal* or 'tax pillaging' (see the second picture on the slide which shows a banner saying 'Espanya ens roba'/'Spain steals from us'). The idea is that Catalonia gives a lot of money to the Spanish State through taxes and that the State gives back only little money to Catalonia.
2. Identity: the first picture reads 'Catalonia is not Spain'. The idea here is that the Catalan people are different from the other Spanish people.
3. Circumstantial reasons: there is a process of disaffection that can be summarised in the slogan 'Spain does not understand us'. It is not by chance that these reasons were used more widely after 2010, because in 2010 a big economic and social crisis began that enormously affected all the Mediterranean countries including Spain, but I will come back to this later.

I would like to show you some graphs that can help to understand the extent of the changes that affected Catalonia after 2006 and 2010. Here are some surveys carried out among Catalan citizens. One question was: 'Do you want Catalonia to be an independent State?' You can see very clearly that until 2006 and also 2009 only a minority of the Catalan citizens wanted the independence of Catalonia, only between 15 and 20% approximately. The big change came between 2010 and 2012, mostly in the autumn of 2012, when the number of citizens in favour of independence rose from 28% to more than 40%. After this period more or less in all the surveys around 40% of the people of Catalonia wanted the independence of the community.

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Here you can find another interesting point. In the first graph you can see that after 2015 all the way up until now, more or less the percentage of people that are against independence ('NO') and the percentage of people that are in favour of independence ('SÍ') is changing a bit, but more or less there is a society that is split into two parts - for and against independence. In a referendum and in these surveys, people are usually asked if they are for or against independence. However, when you ask people if they want an independent State to be a region inside Spain, to be a State inside a federal State or an autonomous community inside Spain, the difference is not so big. Around 30% of people chose one option over another. However, if you give people more options, society is not so clearly split anymore.

Who supports the independence movement? Different studies point out that the mother tongue and the national identity are really crucial aspects. In this graph you can see the number of people that speak Castilian, the Spanish language, and the number of people that speak Catalan and, as you can see, there's a huge difference between the two groups. The graph shows that people that usually speak Catalan are mostly in favour of independence. In the other graph you can see the difference between the people who feel they are only Catalan or more Catalan than Spanish, who are mostly in favour of independence, and the people whose identity is only Spanish or more Spanish than Catalan or as much Catalan as Spanish, who are mostly against independence.

Who supports the independence movement according to income? People that are wealthier are in favour of the independence of Catalonia, that is more than 50% of people that earn more than €1,800 per month, while people that earn less than €1,800 per month are mostly against independence.

This is a map of Catalonia showing the votes that the pro-independence parties that existed at that moment, namely JxSí and CUP, received in the different municipalities of Catalonia in the elections of 2015. The map shows that there is a clear division between the interior part of Catalonia (dark blue), where the pro-independence parties gained more than 50% of votes, and the coastal areas on the Mediterranean Sea (where Barcelona, for example, is located), which are inhabited by half of the population of Catalonia, where most people were against independence and the pro-independence parties obtained less than 50% of the votes. The point is that the pro-independence parties got around 50% of the votes during the last elections. The graph shows that in the elections held in the last 40 years the nationalist parties that emerged in Catalonia after Franco's dictatorship, that is between the 1980s and nowadays, have always obtained more or less the same number of votes. What does this mean? It means that the drive towards independence is not a recent phenomenon

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among the population of Catalonia. On the contrary, the parties that in the past were only nationalist and autonomist shifted towards independence, which means that the votes obtained by these parties haven't changed much since the 1980s.

To what extent is Spain a decentralised country? Here are three pictures comparing the situation in Spain with other countries, such as Germany, which is a federal State, or Canada, which is also a federal State, or other countries that are characterised by an important level of decentralisation. The first picture is about public spending, while the second one is about tax revenues. Spain and the other countries are compared in 2001 and 2011. If you take into account Spain and compare it, for example, with Canada or Germany, you can see that there is not much difference between Spain and these other countries. Finally, Spain, as I tried to explain before, is not a federal State but it is very decentralised.

Why has the independence movement grown after 2006? Earlier I tried to explain the three most important reasons that emerge from different surveys: identity, the economy, and the context. Now I would like to summarise the growth of the independence movement in 5 points:

1. The process of reform of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia. After the first Statute in 1979, in 2003 - almost 20 years ago - the Catalan parties in the regional Parliament began a process of reforming the Statute and in 2006 they approved a new Statute, the second one, that was approved by the parliament of Catalonia, then by the Parliament of Spain and then by Catalan voters in a referendum. But four years after that, in June 2010, the Constitutional Court of Spain ruled the unconstitutionality of 14 articles of the new Statute, which therefore were to be changed. After this ruling, the first big demonstrations were organised in Barcelona showing the increasing importance of the struggle for independence. The slogan in the picture reads 'Som una nació', which is Catalan for 'We are a nation' meaning that 'as a nation, we should decide for ourselves what we want to be in the future - independent, a part of Spain, or other options'.
2. The second important reason is the global economic crisis and its consequences in Spain. You know that in 2008 a big financial crisis broke out with strong consequences in the United States, all over Europe (mostly since spring 2010) and all over the world. In Spain, as in other countries, but maybe mostly in Spain, it was not only an economic crisis or a social crisis but also a political, institutional, and territorial crisis. So the system that had been built in the transition to democracy at the end of the 1970s entered a really strong crisis as did the concept of the State of the Autonomies (Estado de las autonomías) that gave autonomy to all the regions and communities that were

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part of the Spanish State. Moreover, in 2010 a strong crisis of the so-called 'Spain narrative' begins. What was the 'Spain narrative' after the dictatorship of Franco? The idea of Spain as a nation made up of with different nationalities (Catalan, Galician, and Basque) rested on three main pillars: democratisation, modernization and European integration. In 2010 all these goals had been more or less attained; Spain was a democratic country, whose democratisation process was accomplished starting from the end of the 1970s to the 1990s. Spain has also been through a process of modernization over the last 40 years. Finally, European integration, with Spain entering the European Community was achieved in 1986. The pictures show demonstrations against the austerity policies adopted in 2010 through to 2012, which threatened the democratic nature of the State, as we saw, for example, in Greece or in other countries. So, the people who were against the austerity measures and the dissolution of the welfare state claimed that the issue was not the crisis, but a problem of the system, and called for more democracy. They did so in order not to split the State, but to give citizens the possibility to participate more actively in the public sphere and to have a more social-oriented State. Here are two graphs that show the magnitude of the crisis in Spain in the period 2008/2010. As you can see, 2013 was the worst year in Spain, with an unemployment rate of around 27%, the same as in Greece.

3. The third reason for the growth of the independence movement is the shift of the major Catalan party *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (CDC), which was a centre-right-wing autonomist party which ruled Catalonia for over 20 years, from 1980 to 2003. They called themselves nationalists but defended the fact that Catalonia was a community with a strong autonomy inside the Spanish State. Starting with 2012, this party began to shift towards a pro-independence position. It formed a new government in 2010 and during the economic crisis applied strong austerity measures. It was a government which went to great lengths to introduce business-friendly measures, but suffered many cases of corruption. Consequently, when the movement of 'Los indignados' – a movement that called for a strong welfare State - demonstrated against austerity measures and started to fight for a more democratic participation of people, this government led by Artur Mas was in great difficulty. So they attempted to channel the protest using a nationalist discourse and they embraced the pro-independence cause that until that moment only had the support of around 20% of the population.
4. There is another reason that is conceptual but crucial. In that period, when Spain went through a strong economic, social, and political crisis, the pro-independence movement presented the independence of Catalonia as an available utopia. They offered a new narrative. Independence was presented as

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a panacea, a solution to all the problems and to all social ills. The idea was that Catalonia, despite the national crisis, could gain exceptional benefits by becoming independent in the future. For example, the *Assemblea Nacional Catalana* (a civil society movement that seeks the political independence of Catalonia from Spain) used this narrative a lot by asking the citizens of Catalonia 'How do you envisage your country in the future'?

5. The last point is the lack of dialogue between the two governments, the Catalan and the Spanish government between 2010 and 2018 more or less. In 2011 Spain was ruled by the *Partido Popular*, a right-wing Spanish party that was strongly against the Catalan independence movement, and there was no dialogue between the two governments. Here you can see a graph with the austerity measures applied in Catalonia and Spain during the crisis and you can see that Catalonia is the second region and autonomous community to apply the strongest austerity measures in education, health and social services compared to other Spanish communities (like Andalusia, Madrid, Castile and León etc.).

These two pictures help to fully understand the shift of CDC. The picture above shows a demonstration by anti-austerity protesters in June 2011, when Artur Mas, the President of the regional government, had to reach the Parliament by police helicopter because the protesters were blocking the gates nearby. A year after that, in 2012, in a regional election Artur Mas presented himself as the leader of a country that asked and struggled for independence. While the previous year Artur Mas was not in favour of independence, this new propaganda poster shows him with the Catalan independence flag and the slogan reading 'The will of the people'.

Here are the posters of the campaign of the *Assemblea Nacional Catalana* that asked people how they wanted their country to be in the future. The answers of the people show a narrative of utopia: 'I want a country where I can travel all around the world' or 'I want a country where I can eat ice cream every day'. The narrative of utopia was trying to find in populism a solution to the crisis and to the so-called dystopia that the country was experiencing at that time.

I would like to introduce another perspective. Until now we've only been talking about Catalonia, giving the inside perspective, or about the relations between Catalonia and Spain. I think that we can understand the Catalan independence movement also by adopting a global view. In other words, I believe that the Catalan crisis was not only an expression of the crisis of the Spanish system but also of the global crisis of forms of political representation and nation-States. It was a consequence of globalisation, a

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consequence of the building of the European Union and a consequence of the transition to post-Fordism in the economy.

A valid question we can ask is the following: Is the *Procés independentista* in Catalonia similar to other phenomena such as Brexit or Trumpism? Is it the Catalan expression of the right-wing nationalism that was more or less hegemonic in Western countries and in the Western world in the last decade? The point is that the importance of identity folding and the importance and the concept of nation as a comfortable space are indeed similar. If you look at these images of the Brexit referendum in the UK, with the slogan 'We want our country back' or Trump's slogan 'Make America great again' in the United States, it's clear that they sound very like the slogans of the independence movement in Catalonia.

You may remember that 2017 was a crucial year for the struggle for independence in Catalonia, when the case of Catalonia was covered by the newspapers and media all around the world. Between September and October 2017 there was an acceleration, due to the approval by the Catalan Parliament of the Laws of the Referendum, according to which a referendum was to be held on 1st October, and of Juridical transition and foundation of the Republic. These were two laws that allowed the holding of the Catalan independence referendum that had been declared unconstitutional and had been prohibited by the Spanish government and the Constitutional Court of Spain. This was followed by the Declaration of Independence of 27th October 2017, which was unilateral and not consensual with the Spanish State. As a result, the Spanish government decided to commission the region and to call for new elections in Catalonia.

The point is that, according to the Catalan pro-independence narrative, people only wanted to vote, and voting is democracy. However, democracy is a lot of things. For example, the laws of September 2017 were approved, the referendum was held and the Declaration of Independence was declared and approved without a qualified majority in the Catalan Parliament. As you can see from the first picture, half of the Parliament was not present when these laws were adopted, because the members of the other parties had abandoned the Parliament. Furthermore, these laws were approved without a social majority: the Catalan movement was and continues to be very strong, but it does not represent half of the population of Catalonia. They only represent half of the members of Parliament, which however does not equal to more than 50% of the population. This is due to the fact that the Catalan electoral law favours the hinterland of Catalonia, which is less populated, so that they can have a small majority of seats in the Parliament, form a government and approve laws. Nevertheless, when you want to amend the Constitution, in every country a small

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majority (51% of the Parliament votes) is not enough, you need a qualified majority, which is usually 66% of the Parliament. Constitutional amendments are very important changes which require a qualified majority and the same is true when it comes to declaring the independence of a territory inside a State.

In addition, there was no international recognition and no support, including from the business sector, which meant that the companies based in Catalonia had to leave the area. So, October 1st was a very bad day for democracy in Spain, not only because the Catalan Parliament and the Catalan government did not respect the rule of law and the democratic rules, but also because the Spanish State sent the police to stop the referendum and the police engaged in excessive force and violence against the citizens who wanted to vote in a referendum that from the perspective of the Spanish State was unconstitutional and illegal.

What has changed after October 2017? First of all, everyone, including the pro-independence parties in Catalonia, knew that independence was not possible not only because there was not a social majority, but also because there was no support from other countries, inside and outside Europe. Nevertheless, the independence parties were not able to communicate clearly with their voters. For example, in this picture you can see one of the political leaders of the pro-independence movement, Clara Ponsatí, who one year after the referendum said: 'We played poker and we went bluffing'. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that the same government did not really want the independence, but were trying to simply put more pressure on the Spanish State. Then, after 2017, with the imprisonment of some political leaders and members of the government that were trialled in 2018 and 2019, the demand for independence vanished and there were demands for the release of the so-called political prisoners. The leaders that were sentenced to prison terms of between 9 and 13 years turned into martyrs. Some leaders, like Carles Puigdemont, former president of Catalonia, went into exile abroad and he is now a deputy in the European Parliament in Brussels. There was a sentimentalisation of politics.

Later the pro-independence movement tried to launch a very strong international campaign to explain that the Spanish State is not a democratic state, it is an authoritarian state, and it is still a Francoist State. From this perspective, independentism is democracy and anti-independentism is fascism or authoritarianism. You can see images from this campaign whose aim is to call for an international mediation in the conflict between Catalonia and Spain. There was also a strong battle for symbols. For example, in the picture you can see the yellow tie on the jacket of a man that was widespread everywhere in Catalonia, in the Parliament, in the streets, in

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the beaches. In one of the pictures you can also see yellow crosses, representing the Catalan movement, which were used to occupy the public space.

But there were also a lot of people in Catalonia, almost half of the population, who were against independence, and they also tried to show and to occupy the public space. So, before 2017 but mostly after 2017, there were signs of great tension in society, including, for example, the emergence of a strong nationalist party, Vox, which is nowadays the fourth-largest party in the Catalan Parliament and the third-largest party in the Spanish parliament. This is a far-right nationalist party and a friend, for example, of Orbán in Hungary or Salvini in Italy or Le Pen in France.

To conclude, I would like to have a look at the real results of the *Procés independentista* in Catalonia. What have these results been?

Firstly, the *Procés* led to the transformation of the party system. There has been a change in the list of parties in the last 10 years in Catalonia - new parties were created, while other, traditional parties disappeared.

Secondly, there was and there is a strong polarisation and risk of fracture in the society. See, for example, these pictures showing flags on houses and buildings - Spanish flags and Catalan flags. People display the Catalan flag of the pro-independence movement in street demonstrations, but the Spanish flag is also displayed in what appears to be the first manifestation of *españolismo*, that is of Spanish nationalism. This is how Vox, who represent the radicalised, far and extreme right wing of this *españolismo*, entered for the first time in the Catalan Parliament in 2021. Never ever since the end of the dictatorship in the 1970s had a strong, right-wing nationalist Spanish party entered the Catalan Parliament. I think that the appearance of a strong Spanish nationalism all over Spain and in Catalonia too is another consequence of the *Procés*.

Another consequence of this polarisation can be seen in a surge of violence, for example, against people that are not pro-independence, and who are exposed to death-threats and are considered enemies of the country only because they are not pro-independence whilst being Catalan.

Thirdly, as we can see in these photos, there is a clear division between the interior part of Catalonia and Barcelona and its metropolitan area. On the left you can see the number of votes won by different parties. For example, the green colour shows the votes for the pro-independence parties and you see that most of their votes come from the interior part of Catalonia. The other colours (orange, red and blue) show the

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votes won by the anti-independence parties, the majority of which comes from Barcelona and the coastal areas. The maps on the right show the population density, with Barcelona hosting more or less half of the population of Catalonia.

Another consequence of the *Procés* is that many companies have left Catalonia. They left during the autumn of 2017 and moved to Madrid or other cities in Spain due to the political instability of the area and the tensions caused in Catalonia by the pro-independence movement.

There is one final consequence, namely that for the first time since the approval of the Constitution in 1978, the Spanish government has applied Article 155 of the Constitution that allows it to intervene in one of the autonomous communities, that is Catalonia.

Until five years ago, the Catalan pro-independence movement claimed that they wanted to move from post-autonomy to pre-independence. What they have achieved, however, is quite similar to a return to a pre-autonomy situation, calling for amnesty, for the liberation of leaders in jail or in so-called exile, and for a new Statute of Autonomy.

I would like to finish with two reflections about the last three years and the future.

Something changed after 2018/2019. Why? Because there has been a government change in Spain. The government of the right-wing party, the *Partido Popular*, ended and the Socialists got back to power with their leader Pedro Sánchez (depicted in the first two photos, the first one with the conservative leader of *Partido Popular* Mariano Rajoy, who was the Prime Minister of Spain until 2018, the second with Pablo Iglesias, who is the leader of the left-wing party *Unidas Podemos*, with which the Socialist Party of Pedro Sánchez formed a government coalition). In 2020, a progressive and Europeanist government was formed led by Pedro Sánchez with the participation of Ministers of *Unidas Podemos*. This a minority government that does not have the majority in the Parliament and so they need the support of the nationalist and regionalist groups in the Spanish Parliament, including of some Catalan parties.

Furthermore, the government of Pedro Sánchez defend the dialogue between Barcelona and Madrid, and they want to rebuild the institutional relations with the *Generalitat de Catalunya* - the regional government. Two years ago, they resumed dialogue with the leaders of the Catalan Regional Government, while last year the cabinet formally pardoned the 9 jailed political leaders of the pro-independence movement. There is still no solution for the pro-independence politicians who have

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fled abroad, such as Puigdemont, but the decision of the Spanish government to try to regain confidence and rebuild the relationships between Barcelona and Madrid was extremely important.

Meanwhile, something has changed in Catalonia too. After many years spent under the influence of a strong pro-independence government who asked for the independence of Catalonia and its separation from Spain, something has changed in the last few years. In February 2021, elections were held in Catalonia and the socialist party won most votes, although the pro-independence parties still hold a Parliamentary majority. Unlike the previous decade, however, the first party in the new pro-independence government is *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya* (ERC), which is a centre-left-wing pro-independence party, which has shifted towards a more pragmatic position in the last two years. ERC continues to be pro-independence and to defend independence, but they present the independence of Catalonia as something distant in the future and they pragmatically try to defend the dialogue with the Spanish State, as well as supporting the government of Sánchez in the Spanish central government.

One last point: what can we expect from the future? Rationally, and taking into account the changes of the last two-three years, certainly a slow return to dialogue between the regional government of Catalonia and the government of Spain, because everyone, also inside the pro-independence movement, is aware that independence is now impossible and that the *Procés* has meant losing a decade, 10 years during which the Catalan economy and society have lost time without obtaining anything, except for consequences that are negative for the society, the economy and the political system. In Madrid, as I said before, the Spanish government, the left-wing government of Pedro Sánchez, is aware that they need ERC and its votes in the Parliament to stay in power. In Barcelona ERC knows that independence is not only impossible, but the alternative to the government of Pedro Sánchez is a government of right-wing parties between *Partido Popular* and the far-right of Vox that want to eliminate the autonomy of the region. This is the future that I can imagine, but the future is not certain and there are still a lot of problems. There are radical sectors of Catalan independentism, represented, for example, by the former president Puigdemont, who do not want and do not search a dialogue with the State and would prefer a right-wing government with Vox in Madrid, because this way they think they can reach independence with international support. In my opinion this is not the case, but this is the reasoning of this fraction of the pro-independence movement, amounting to 20-25% of the movement, which is an important part of it. Another problem is the radicalization of the Spanish right and an increase in votes for Vox. The possibility that in a future election in Spain the right-wing parties obtain the majority and can form a government is not a utopia, it

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is an option. In that case, it is likely that the relations between Barcelona and Madrid become tense again. One last problem is the changing scenario in Europe and in the world - we don't know what the effect of the pandemic crisis will be on society and what the effects of the war in Ukraine will be. Anything could affect the fragile balance that we have right now in Catalonia

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