

Spain

Ethnicity in Spain

Group selection

Spain has witnessed a peaceful transition to democracy following the death of Dictator Francisco Franco in 1975. The new Constitution of 1978 kicked off the process of democratic consolidation. Rapid economic modernization gave the country a dynamic and fast growing economy and turned it into a global champion of freedom and human rights (cf. ³²⁷³).

Following Fearon's (³²⁷⁴) list, the population of Spain consists of the following groups: Spanish 68 percent, Catalan 16.9 percent, Galician 6 percent, Basques 5.4 percent and Roma 1.9 percent.

³²⁷³ [CIA World Factbook, 2015]

³²⁷⁴ [Fearon Laitin, 2003]

Power relations

Franco Regime 1946 - 1976: Moreno and Arriba (³²⁷⁵) describe the "sacred unity of the homeland" as *raison d'être* for the Franco regime. Any form of federalism, separatism or ethnic identity in the form of language or cultural differentiation was suppressed (³²⁷⁶). Although Linz and coauthors (³²⁷⁷) report that many of the ministers of the Franco regime were in fact of minority-origin, the fact that the dictatorial regime suppressed any form of strive for greater regional autonomy should be taken as a sign for the exclusion of the political interests of the respective ethnic groups from executive government. Hence, the ethnic representatives can be seen as mere token representatives. Therefore the Spanish are coded as being dominant while the Catalans, Galicians and Basques are coded as being powerless. All three groups can be considered as being politically relevant due to (1) their special role of having had autonomy rights in the second republic and fostering polarization in the wake of the civil war, as well as (2) the existence of regionalist opposition movements in the late years of Franco's dictatorship (³²⁷⁸).

³²⁷⁵ [Moreno Arriba, 1998]

³²⁷⁶ [Moreno, 1997]

³²⁷⁷ [Linz, Jerez Corzo, 2003]

During the time, the Roma were persecuted and harassed by the fascist regime (³²⁷⁹) - therefore, they are coded as being discriminated.

³²⁷⁸ [Moreno Arriba, 1998]

³²⁷⁹ [Minority Rights Group International, 2014]

Transition 1977 - 1978: A new constitution was drafted under the broad inclusion of all ethnic groups, leading to the compromise of "(1) the idea of an indivisible and solely Spanish nation-state and (2) a concept of Spain as an ensemble of diverse peoples, historic nations, and regions" (³²⁸⁰). The so-called historical nationalities, Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia, gained regional autonomy in the process. There was a distinct involvement of regional political elites in the drafting of the constitution (³²⁸¹) (Spanish = senior partner). However, Birnir (³²⁸²) notes that Basque elites were only involved in negotiations concerning their special interests after an initial draft had already been elaborated about 10 months after the process had started. As the initial draft presumably set the very framework for the constitution to be adopted, this can be interpreted as an exclusion of the Basques from the drafting of the constitution. Galicians and Catalans are therefore coded as being junior partners and the Basques as powerless from 1976 - 1978. After the death of Franco, the persecution of Roma stopped and policies were crafted to further their inclusion into society. However, they were not included into the national executive. Therefore the Roma are coded as being powerless.

³²⁸⁰ [Moreno, 1997]

³²⁸¹ [Linz, Jerez Corzo, 2003]

³²⁸² [Birnir, 2007]

Democracy 1979 - 2013: In 1978, Spain ratified its new Constitution, creating a system of differentiated regional autonomy for its major ethnic/linguistic groups, and of equal rights for Roma. In 1979 the first elections were held.

The political relevant ethnic groups were represented in the national government. With regard to socialist periods of the ruling PSOE (1982-1996 & 2004 - 2011), this can be seen, inter alia, in the persistence with which Narcis Serra, member of the Partido de los Socialistas de Catalunya (PSC), has been Minister for Defense from 1982 to 1991 to then become Prime Minister from 1991 to 1995. The PSC is associated with the greater socialist PSOE, which is also described as being "federalist" having its own regional bodies in all regions (³²⁸³).

³²⁸³ [Moreno, 1997]

With regard to times of power of the Partido Popular (1997-2004 & 2012-2013) there are also indications for the inclusion of ethnic minorities in the government. From 1996 to 2000, the Basque PNV supported the government and since 2011 the Basque/Navarrese FAC (³²⁸⁴, 141-145 for the time before 2007). The nationalist Catalán party CiU supported the investiture of the PP president Aznar in 1996 and 2000. Furthermore, the PP had merged with the Basque/Navarrese regionalist UPN from 1991 to 2008. Linz and colleagues (³²⁸⁵) present summary statistics for regional representation of the Spanish regions in all political periods (not governments) of importance. These show that Catalan, Basque and Galician politicians were overall included in the government (although Catalans were underrepresented, while Basques and Galicians were overrepresented). In the human rights reports of the US government and other sources, no indication of an exclusion of any of Galicians,

³²⁸⁴ [Birnir, 2007]

³²⁸⁵ [Linz, Jerez Corzo, 2003]

Catalans or Basques during the years 1980 to 2013 were found.

Taking these various facts together, a distinctive pattern emerges: first, despite the ethnonationalist claims marking politics in Spain, the main national parties seem to cut across regional differences, including members of all groups once in power; this leads to an inclusion of the Galicians, Catalans and Basques in the national government. The cooption of even nationalist parties from these regions suggests that this inclusion goes beyond mere token representation. As the main parties at the national level are multi-ethnic and no legislature-level data for the ethnic identity of ministers exists, Galicians, Catalans and Basques are coded as being junior partners for all years from 1980 to 2013.

The Roma are coded as powerless after the ratification of the new Constitution; no signs have been found neither for their discrimination nor for their inclusion into executive power at the national level (see also ³²⁸⁶). Being remarkably large in size, geographically concentrated and historically distinct, the three autonomous regions of the Catalan, Galician and the Basque stand out having special constitutional rights and are coded with regional autonomy since 1979.

³²⁸⁶ [US State Department, 1999-2013]

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Political status of ethnic groups in Spain

From 1946 until 1975

| Group name | Proportional size | Political status |
|------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Spanish | 0.68 | DOMINANT |
| Catalans | 0.169 | POWERLESS |
| Galician | 0.06 | POWERLESS |
| Basques | 0.054 | POWERLESS |
| Roma | 0.019 | DISCRIMINATED |

From 1976 until 1978

| Group name | Proportional size | Political status |
|------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Spanish | 0.68 | SENIOR PARTNER |
| Catalans | 0.169 | JUNIOR PARTNER |
| Galician | 0.06 | JUNIOR PARTNER |
| Basques | 0.054 | POWERLESS |
| Roma | 0.019 | POWERLESS |

From 1979 until 2013

| Group name | Proportional size | Political status |
|------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Spanish | 0.68 | SENIOR PARTNER |
| Catalans | 0.169 | JUNIOR PARTNER |
| Galician | 0.06 | JUNIOR PARTNER |
| Basques | 0.054 | JUNIOR PARTNER |
| Roma | 0.019 | POWERLESS |



Figure 690: Political status of ethnic groups in Spain during 1946-1975.



Figure 691: Political status of ethnic groups in Spain during 1976-1978.



Figure 692: Political status of ethnic groups in Spain during 1979-2013.

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Spain

From 1946 until 1978

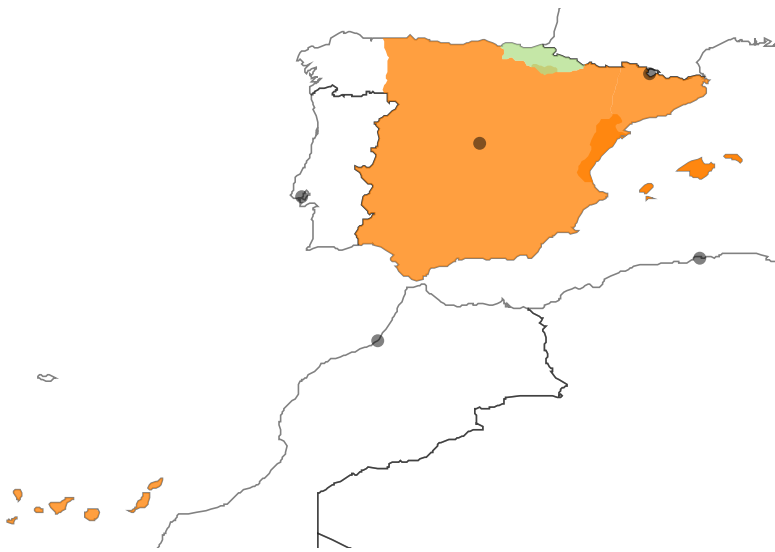


Figure 693: Map of ethnic groups in Spain during 1979-2013.

| Group name | Area in km ² | Type |
|------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| Spanish | 428 476 | Regional & urban |
| Catalans | 47 374 | Regional & urban |
| Basques | 11 586 | Regional & urban |
| Roma | | Migrant |

Table 202: List of ethnic groups in Spain during 1946-1978.

From 1979 until 2013

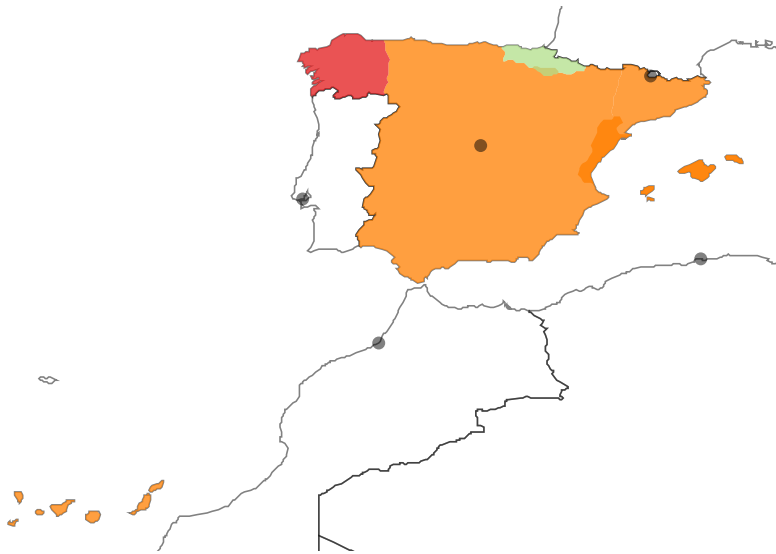


Figure 694: Map of ethnic groups in Spain during 1979-2013.

| Group name | Area in km ² | Type |
|------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| Spanish | 428 476 | Regional & urban |
| Catalans | 47 374 | Regional & urban |
| Galician | 35 111 | Regional & urban |
| Basques | 11 586 | Regional & urban |
| Roma | | Migrant |

Table 203: List of ethnic groups in Spain during 1979-2013.

Conflicts in Spain

Starting on 1968-06-07

| Side A | Side B | Group name | Start | Claim | Recruitment | Support |
|---------------------|--------|------------|------------|----------|-------------|---------|
| Government of Spain | ETA | Basques | 1968-06-07 | Explicit | Yes | No |