



Universitas Katolik Parahyangan
Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik
Program Studi Ilmu Hubungan Internasional

Terakreditasi A

SK BAN-PT NO: 451/SK/BAN-PT/Akred/S/XI/2014

**Analysis on the Role of FC Barcelona in Promoting Catalonia's
Effort to Gain Independency**

Skripsi

Oleh

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Bandung

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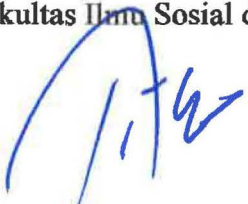
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Hereby assert that this thesis is the product of my own work and that it has not been previously submitted yet by any other party in order to attain an academic degree. Any work, ideas, or information gained from other parties is officially cited in accordance to the valid scientific method.

This statement is made with full responsibility and I am willing to accept any consequences given by the prevailing rules if this statement was found to be false.

Bandung, 21 Januari 2017



Danniell Derandie Revlis



Abstract

Name : Danniel Derandie Revlis
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Title : Analysis on The Role of FC Barcelona in Promoting Catalonia's Effort to Gain Independency

The rights to self-determination and the rights to stand as a sovereign country is a basic right for a nation, and those are the principle of why Catalonia wants to stand as a sovereign and independent nation, apart from Spain, and FC Barcelona, a football club from Catalonia and as part of Catalonia, support the effort. In this research, author will use republican liberalism as the base theory and use qualitative research method with using literature review as its source of information. This research try to explain how FC Barcelona help Catalonia in promoting their independence effort from Spain.

There are at least three way of FC Barcelona help promoting the independence effort of Catalonia from Spain. The first is the usage of Catalan symbol in FC Barcelona's media of promotion, such as club's jersey, logo, and stadium mosaic, to introduce Catalonia and the effort to the world. The second way is through official declaration that the club supports Catalonia effort to secede from Spain, despite being threatened and the criticism. The third way is by FC Barcelona actively promoting Catalonia and the effort through the club's social media, which has many followers. Moreover, the club also use Catalan language as the club's official language whenever the club releasing a statement or as basic language.

This research found that FC Barcelona has been consciously and actively promoting Catalan and their independence effort to the world through the promotion medium the club has. But with the club's massive popularity, the involvement and the promotion done can be more visible and maximized to get better and bigger respond.

Keynote: Catalonia, FC Barcelona, Secession, Promotion



Abstrak

Name : Danniell Derandie Revlis
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Hak untuk menentukan nasibnya sendiri dan berdiri sebagai sebuah bangsa yang berdaulat adalah sebuah hak dasar bagi sebuah bangsa dan hal itu adalah sesuatu yang menjadi dasar Katalonia untuk berdiri sebagai sebuah negara yang berdaulat terpisah dari Spanyol, dan FC Barcelona, klub sepakbola asal Katalonia sebagai bagian dari Katalonia, mendukung upaya tersebut. Dalam penelitian ini penulis akan menggunakan teori liberalisme republikan dan menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif dan bersumber pada studi pustaka. Penelitian ini berusaha untuk menjelaskan bagaimana FC Barcelona membantu mempromosikan upaya kemerdekaan Katalonia dari Spanyol.

Setidaknya ada tiga cara FC Barcelona membantu mempromosikan upaya kemerdekaan Katalonia dari Spanyol. Cara pertama adalah dengan FC Barcelona menggunakan simbol-simbol kenegaraan Katalonia dalam medium yang dimiliki klub seperti seragam, logo dan mozaik dalam stadium, untuk memperkenalkan Katalonia dan upaya kemerdekaannya kepada dunia. Cara kedua adalah dengan secara resmi mengeluarkan pernyataan yang menegaskan bahwa klub mendukung Katalonia berpisah dari Spanyol meskipun mendapat ancaman dan kecaman dari berbagai pihak. Cara ketiga adalah dengan secara aktif mempromosikan Katalan melalui jejaring sosial yang dimiliki oleh klub, yang memiliki jumlah pengikut yang besar. Selain itu, klub juga menggunakan Bahasa Katalan sebagai Bahasa resmi klub dalam tiap mengeluarkan pernyataan resmi atau sebagai bahasa pengantar klub.

Dalam penelitian ini, penulis menemukan bahwa FC Barcelona secara sadar dan aktif mempromosikan Katalan serta upaya kemerdekaannya kepada dunia melalui medium yang dimiliki oleh klub. Namun dengan popularitas klub yang besar, keterlibatan dan promosi yang dilakukan masih dapat diperbesar dan dimaksimalkan..

Kata Kunci: Katalonia, FC Barcelona, Pemisahan Diri, Kampanye



Preface

First of all, the author would like to express the deepest gratitude to The Almighty God, Jesus Christ for His blessing throughout the process of making this thesis and His never ending help throughout my life. Another special thanks goes to my dear advisor, Mas Pur, who had been very understanding, helpful and kind to me, despite the rocky start, for his time, dedication, and support in order to guide me during the research process. The title of this thesis is “Analysis On the Role of FC Barcelona in Promoting Catalonia’s Effort to Gain Independency”.

This thesis was first and foremost composed in order to obtain Bachelor Degree from the International Relations Department of Parahyangan Catholic University, Bandung, Indonesia. But moreover, the author hopes that this thesis would be beneficial and contributes lucratively to the International Relations Society, in particular for undergraduate students whose focusing his/her study in media, campaign and secession.

Finally, the author realizes that this thesis is far from perfect. Therefore, constructive critics and suggestion would be highly appreciated. Should any of you interested to discuss anything regarding this topic, please do not hesitate to contact the author through email at: d.derandie@live.com

Bandung, 6 January 2017

Danniel Derandie Revlis



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List of Terms and Abbreviation

AFC	: Asia Football Confederation
Catalan	: People living in the Region of Catalonia
El Clasico	: Terms for football match between FC Barcelona and Real Madrid
ERC	: <i>Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya</i> / Catalonia Left Party
FC	: Football Club
FCB	: Football Club Barcelona
FIFA	: Fédération Internationale de Football Association
Generalitat	: Special Autonomy Government
La Liga	: Spanish Football League
UEFA	: Union of European Football Associations

*For you,
Mom, Ola, Alexa.*



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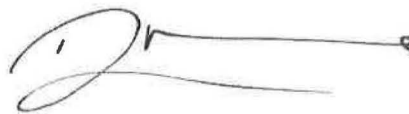
To everyone that have supported me and help me throughout my study years that I can't mention one by one. Thank you for everything.

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It's been one hell of a ride. I may have stumble and fall, but with all your help, all of you, I did not get lost and can get back up and find my back. It's been an honor.

May The Force be with us all.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Daniel Derandie Revlis'. The signature is stylized with a large, looped initial 'D' and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Daniel Derandie Revlis, S.IP.



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Globalization undeniably had its impact in human history, as it affects a lot of aspects and areas, including in international relations. Globalization gives birth to new challenges and problems for many states all around the world, such as poverty, human rights issue, and secession. An issue can be categorized as a global issue if that issue affects a large number of people on different sides of national boundaries, is one of significant concern, directly or indirectly, to all or most of the countries of the world, often as evidenced by a major United Nations (UN) declaration or the holding of a global conference on the issue, and if the issue has implications that require a global regulatory approach; no one government has the power or the authority to impose a solution, and market forces alone will not solve the problem¹.

One of the hot issue that caused by globalization is secession. Secession itself is defined as a withdrawal of territory (colonial or non-colonial) from part of an existing

¹ Vinay Kumar Bhargava, *Global Issues for Global Citizens: An Introduction to Key Development Challenges*, The World Bank, 2006, page 1

state to create a new state². It has become an issue of its own because of the violation that many people see by this concept. The one concept that has been violated by this is the concept of sovereignty. In international relations, state is regarded as the highest form of authority due to its nature and its concept. No body of organization or even individual that has bigger or higher authority than a state. It is because only state possess and exercise the concept of state sovereignty. Sovereignty itself is defined as the totality of international rights and duties recognized by international law³. When these two terms meet, it is clear to see that these two terms are very much in opposite direction and opposing one to another. This situation is explicable by the fact that secession represents a challenge to perhaps the two most fundamental principles of international law and international relations, which highly uphold in The Westphalia Treaty: the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. But to deny the rights of a state or people to pursue and/or to fight for their rights to be independent, it is also violating the basic principle of human rights to be independent. It is a paradox of its own, and clearly sparks so many debates on whether secession challenges the concept of sovereignty and whether secession is really about the fulfilment of the rights to self-determination.

² Glen Anderson. 2013. *Secession in International Law and Relations: What Are We Talking About?*, 35 Loy. L.A. Int'l & Comp.L.Rev.34. page 3

Available at: <http://digitalcommons.lmu.edu/ilr/vol35/iss3/1>

³ Ibid, page 6

But then again, secession is not an instant fact. It always implies a complex series of claims and decisions, negotiations and/or struggle, which may- or may not – lead to the creation of a new State, according to Marcelo Kohen⁴. In many cases the effort to split from the parent country failed and the stateless-nation had to remain under the flag of the real state, and also, the effort often sees the struggle use the threat of force to gain the penultimate goal of creating a state of its own. Secession itself can be divided into two categories; consensual and unilateral. The two types of secession really differs from the way they get to their goal, one is doing it by making the most of the, may it seems as a, loophole in the constitution and the other one doing it “the hard way”. In some cases, secession is allowed to happen and it is written on the institution of a state, and this can be the triggering factor to so many stateless-nations to pursue for their independence.

In the era of globalization, this issue has become more and more prominent. With the addition of the element of like internet, it is easier for a certain group to raise awareness of their effort to gain support from the fellow countryman or even from international society. Internet is widely regarded as the ultimate technology of freedom, its diffusion among citizens has been hailed as a potential savior for the political ills of representation and participation⁵. Some cases had proven that through the power of media, it is possible to gain the support they need and eventually to reach the goal

⁴ Kohen, Marcelo G. 2006. *Secession: International Law Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge.

⁵ From Media Politics to Networked Politics: The Internet and the Political Process By Araba Sey and Manuel Castell http://www.uvm.edu/~tstreete/deanbook/files/Araba_Sey_corrected.pdf

aimed. For example, even though they failed, Scotland effort to be separated from The United Kingdom had shown the how the mass media can play a major part in aiding the cause. But not only have the media, other cultural element also played part in influencing the people. Take football for example, the presence of the Scotland national football team, also play its part in shaping the mindset of the people that they have a national identity that differs them from the United Kingdom.

It is clear that humans are entitled to the rights to be independent and to have the self-determination, and this concept also applies to state and sovereignty. This right is clearly stated on the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which highly regarded as the most important legal texts concerning human rights on the international level, which first adopted in 1966, that stated;

1. All people have the right to self-determination. By virtue of the right they freely determine their political states and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development.
2. All people may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based on the principles of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.
3. The State Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall

promote the realization of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations⁶

And subsequently after the end of The World War 2, many of the colonialized country seeks independency from their respective colonialist. Take example of Indonesia, right after the end the war, after centuries of being colonized and afters years of struggling and to gain independency, they finally got it by claiming it on August 17th 1945, taking advantage of the weak position of The Netherlands, back then. It is one example from the successful unilateral colonial secession. But then again, this concept of the right to self-determination raise so many question on whether it contrasting to the very foundation that has been long uphold regarding state's sovereignty. Is it something that should be banished for good or it is a right that should be given a space to happen? A lot of debates still going on this matter.

And when it comes down to the international law, it's a paradox of its own when talking about the case of secession. International law often sees the problem of secession only as a domestic problem due to its nature where problem rises within a country and dealt with by the law of the parent country, while the international law always tries to take the neutral by only regulating the consequences of secession. No real punishment or regulation that really take the matter of secession deeply and more specifically, which raise question on whether secession is prohibited or there is a room for secession to happen.

⁶ Art. 1 in the ICCPR and the ICESCR

One thing that captures the author's attention when talking about Catalan as the case is the element that is for some has been regarded as a minor influence, and sometimes understated; and that is football. Sports in general and football in particular, have been used to build political and national or regional identities⁷. Over the years, football has attained a traditional and symbolic standing, as well as becoming a source of national identity within many countries all over the world⁸. Football has grown into one phenomenon that influences billions of people all around the world. The football industry also has become a big business that generates billions and billions of dollars. From the very beginning, football has been a useful tool in stimulating symbolic integration in order to build state (imagined communities') identities⁹. And football has become part of culture in many societies all around the world, including in Spain and Catalan. With the success of Spain national team in the last couple of years, football in Spain and Catalan has grown bigger ever since. With more and more people tuning in to the television channel to see their favorite team play in the Spanish League. In Catalan itself, football is part of their culture, with FC Barcelona as their front catalyst of the sense of Catalan pride. Author had found several founding regarding how football helps to shape the sense of nationalism in among Catalan people, and how FC Barcelona also play part in that. One example that clearly can be seen is the rivalry

⁷ Llopis, R. (2008b). Identity, Nation-State and football in Spain: the evolution of nationalist feelings in Spanish football. *Soccer and Society*, 9(1), 56-63.

⁸ Jorge Tuñón and Elisa Brey, Sports and Politics in Spain – Football and Nationalist Attitudes within the Basque Country and Catalonia. *European Journal for Sport and Society* 2012, 9 (1+2), 7-32

⁹ *ibid*

between Real Madrid and Barcelona that many people also seen as the representation of the rivalry between Spain and Catalan. This whole phenomenon can be seen from two different perspectives that in this case, closely related; sport nationalism ¹⁰and media. The mass media has played a decisive role in strengthening common national imagery building through the nationalization of football. Indeed, the mass media (organised according to national trends) has often encouraged feelings of national identity.¹¹

This thesis assessed the effort being made by Catalan in gaining independency from Spain and how football and FC Barcelona in particular, can aid their effort. FC Barcelona and football play a major part in the everyday life of Catalanian, and the effort through football, that has gain major attention through its popularity, can be proven very effective. Therefore, the author focuses on the subject how football can aid the effort of Catalan to gain independency.

1.2 Research Problem Identification

The problem of secession that arises in Catalan has been the result of economic disparity between Madrid, representing The Kingdom of Spain, and Catalan. Ever since

¹⁰ De Waele, J.-M. & Husting, A. 2008. Football et identités. Brussels: Université de Bruxelles.

¹¹ ibid

the era of the oppressing dictatorship, Catalan has been living under the shadow of Madrid's governance. Despite generating significant amount of money to the Spanish treasury, Catalan never really enjoy the same treatment as the capital. With the economic fact that Catalan alone has a higher number of GDP compared to the Spanish, it really strengthens the will to go on separate way from Spain. But the root of this problem is far more than just an economic problem within the state of Spain, but moreover, this problem has far broader problem than just economic.

Prior to uniting to Spain, Catalan Catalonia was an independent region of the Iberian Peninsula with its own languages, laws and custom¹², who then first emerged as a distinct entity with the rise of the County of Barcelona to pre-eminence in the 11th century. In the 12th century, the county was brought under the same royal rule as the neighbouring kingdom of Aragon, going on to become a major medieval sea power.¹³ Catalan has become of the prominent figure within the region and has the potential to threaten the existing power.

Catalan reign comes to an end at the end of 1714, after they were defeated by the Spanish, forcing them to integration to what we know now as the modern-day Spain¹⁴. And since that integration, Catalan loses so much that it eventually leads them

¹² Telegraph. 2015. Why does Catalonia want independence from Spain? – Telegraph. [online] available at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/spain/11179914/Why-does-Catalonia-want-independence-from-Spain.html> [accessed on 18/3-15]

¹³ BBC. Catalonia profile - BBC News. [online] available at <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-20345071> [accessed on 1/1-15]

¹⁴ Telegraph, 2015. Ibid

into running for secession from Spain. Despite the fact that Catalan thrive economically, living a stateless nation with power and capability, sparked the nationalism among Catalonian. More and more support coming from the people asking for full independency from Spain, after turbulences in the relationship between the Kingdom and Catalan. It got worse with the economic situation in Spain where the Eurozone Crisis hit the country hard, and as the nation's wealthiest region, Catalan felt that the weak moment could be the moment for them to gain full independence. The fact that Catalan has an economy that can put the among the top 30 of world economy power¹⁵ if they go on their separate way, even strengthen the feel that can actually survive, moreover thrive, in the world as an independent country.

Moreover, the political oppression that Spain does on Catalan also is the determining factor that in some way gives Catalan another reason to pursue independence from Spain. The political oppression done by the early government of Spain has leaved a bad impression for Catalonian for generations to come. The effort to eradicate the Catalonian culture by imposing the Spanish language and law on the region has caused big trouble for the government of Spain that time, who back then led by General Francisco Franco. Even after the region given a degree of autonomy in 1977, the call for independence still grow stronger each passing day. The urge grow even bigger when in July 2010, Constitutional Court in Madrid overruled part of the

¹⁵ ibid

2006 autonomy statute, stating that there is no legal basis for recognising Catalonia as a nation within Spain¹⁶.

But the effort does not stop there, various efforts and attempts are done many times by the regional government in order to gain full independence and also to gain international recognition through various media and medium. One conventional effort made was through constitutional pursuit within the Spanish government, which up until this very moment still cannot find a way through. The Spanish government is particularly in a strong and unaltered position towards this effort. With not much international effort shown towards this effort, especially with the EU favouring the Spanish government, the effort seems to find a dead end. The Spanish government's stance is not without a reason; with the region contributing a big number towards the economic, Spanish government just cannot afford losing their main economic contributor, besides it will cause a domino effect towards other regions that are particularly in a similar situation and condition with the Catalan region, so if one can actually constitutionally separate themselves from the Kingdom, there is no guarantee that other regions may not be taking the same step, especially with the current economic situation the Spanish are in.

While the effort gains support through conventional efforts keeps on going, one particular of culture that has been closely related to Catalan people is football. Football

¹⁶ *ibid*

has become an integral part of the life of Catalan people, with the presence of one of the biggest and most successful football club in the world, FC Barcelona, as the main catalyst. Football is as important as the culture of food in Catalan, if it's not bigger. With FC Barcelona consistently filling their stadium with more than 80,000 people in each of their home match and millions more watching from the television from all around the world, cannot be denied that FC Barcelona have a influential part in the life of Catalan people. Moreover, the popularity of FC Barcelona has brought awareness of the presence of a stateless-nation by the name of Catalan to the entire world. With Barcelona participating directly in the effort through signing the Catalan National Pact for Self-Determination¹⁷, the campaign could get any stronger. With millions of followers on social media, FC Barcelona has the power to influence the mind and the perspective of many through, not only the football, but also the marketing campaign.

FC Barcelona during the period of struggle had been subtly active promoting Catalonia as their country of origin, instead of Spain. FC Barcelona, as a global brand recognized by many, had been using various medium to spread the information about the nation to the world. This effort in some way is in contrast with their status as a sporting institutions that should have been very far away from politic. But driven by

¹⁷ FC Barcelona. 2014. FC Barcelona sign Catalan National Pact for Self -Determination - FC Barcelona . [online] available at <https://www.fcbarcelona.com/club/news/2014-2015/fc-barcelona-sign-catalan-national-pact-for-self-determination> [accessed at 4 April 2015]

their sense of nationality, FC Barcelona broke the tradition and join in the effort, like mentioned on the previous paragraph.

The success that FC Barcelona had in the past decade had given them an unprecedented numbers of followers, globally. With the rising power of social-media, the number of the club's following on their official club page and social media account had grown significantly. The success on the field has brought them off the field success with many global brands and companies racing to be the club's official partner and sponsors, giving the club more access to a larger and wider range of audience that they previously unable to reach.

Moreover, the recent success of the Spanish National Football Team in the recent year also brought a new sense of nationalism for some Catalans. With many Catalan-born players played a major part in the success, it somehow sparks the sense of nationalism as Catalan doesn't really rate the success highly due to the long-going sense that Catalan is not Spain. The success is somehow spark even more hatred towards the Spanish, as for some, the win doesn't represent the Catalan whatsoever. The fact that waving Spanish flag in the Catalan region is considered as taboo explains how much it means for them be an independent from their Spanish counterparts.

Football as part of culture has become a modern tribalism in some way, with football club becoming a major part of their supporter's pride. Simon Kuper describe this as a form of tribalism where the group of supporters' act are very much driven by

how their football club are performing and represent. In the case of FC Barcelona, the club has become the symbol and representation of Catalonia, especially when they are facing Real Madrid, club from the capital.

Looking at how football and Barcelona can affect the mindset of many Catalans and more from all over the world, it raises the question of how big is the impact of football in Catalan effort to gain independency and to what extend is this factor can influence the effort in the long run.

1.2.1 Scope of Research

The author will be covering the case from the period of 2010 to 2014 as during that period of time the effort and the pursue of independency got intensified. Even though the case has a close relation to the economic crisis that hit Spain in 2009, author will not be covering from that period of time as 2012 also sees the first real effort from Football Club Barcelona in promoting the Catalan Nationalism, and 2014 represents the 100th year anniversary of the Catalan defeat to Spain that led to the integration of Catalan to Spain.

1.2.2 Research Question

In this research the author will highlight and focus on the question:

How did FC Barcelona help Catalonia in promoting their independence effort from Spain?

1.3 Purpose and Significance of Research

1.3.1 Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research is to describe how FC Barcelona, as part of Catalonia, a football club and a global brand, help Catalonia in gaining international exposure to their effort to gain independency from Spain in which to identify the effort made in reaching that. Moreover, this research will also to some extent try to evaluate the success and the effectiveness of the effort made by FC Barcelona to help promote Catalonia's effort.

1.3.2 Contribution of the Research

In the process of undertaking this research, the author hopes to provide information and explanation especially to readers who are doing research on issue related to the cultural influence toward the effort of particular group of stateless nation in gaining independency.

1.4 Literature Review

- *How Did Football Club Barcelona Promote Catalan Nationalism in the period 2008-2012*

Master Thesis by Maike Stoeckel

This journal is regarded by author as one of the key source in looking at how FC Barcelona FC Barcelona had been making their effort to promote Catalonia to the world through their media. In this master thesis, can be seen the data of social media follower of FC Barcelona, giving a good look on how great the impact could be if its maximed. On this thesis, the author explains the statistical data regarding FC Barcelona social media spread in multiple platform, and try to analyse the usage of it.

But this literature only explains the usage of modern media and less on traditional media that FC Barcelona had been using as well in promoting the effort. Not

only that, the literature emphasize less on club political stance and history, focusing solely on the new media.

- *Secession in International Law and Relations: What Are We Talking About?*

Journal by Glen Anderson

This journal is also regarded important by author. The journal written by lecturer in Newcastle University Australia provides author with legal basis of secession according to the international law. And the journal also explained the definition of secession through several sources that includes etymological meaning to scholars opinion of secession.

In this journal as well explained how secession is actually a process and an outcome at the same time. Author of the journal explained that there are two basic secessions process that can be done to gain independency from an existing state; consensual and unilateral, with the first one also can be derived into two other types; constitutional and politically negotiated. And also in the journal, explained criteria accepted for statehood based on the widely accepted theories.

- *Cheering for Barça: FC Barcelona and the shaping of Catalan identity*

Master Thesis by Emma Kate Rcanachan

After understanding the concept of secession and self-determination, author found the thesis written by Emma Kate as key to understanding how football in Catalan can help shaping the sense of nationalism among Catalonian. Author can found the historical background regarding football in Catalan with FC Barcelona as the catalyst with its relation to Spanish occupation within the region. The political relations between football and politics in Spain is also well explained with how the club is now become national and cultural instrument for Catalan. In this thesis also well explaining how football closely related to almost every element of life with relating football to the effect of globalization.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

To understand the issue, this research uses theoretical framework to facilitate deeper understanding of various variables in this research. A theory shall be used to explain the issue's wide range phenomena, and the concepts derived from it will serve its purpose for systematic reflection on phenomena, designated to explain them and to show they are related to each other in a meaningful, intelligent pattern¹⁸. These theories will stand to correlate in order to address the research question of how big is the impact

¹⁸ J. Dougherty and R. Pfaltzgraff. 1997. *Contending Theories in International Relations: A Comprehensive Survey, 4th Edition*. New York: Longman. p. 17

of football and FC Barcelona in aiding the effort of Catalan to gain independency from Spain.

The discipline of International Relations grows and evolve each passing time, with more issues come to the surface and new way of thinking as well as theories making take center stage in helping resolving those issue and as well as giving new perspective to the scholars of international relations to dig in to. One fundamental theory that scholars used to explain many international phenomena is liberalism. Liberalism is considered by many as the basis of where the international relations study grows. This view was first started with John Locke in 17th Century who saw a great potential for human progress on modern civil society and capitalist economy, both of which could flourish in states which guaranteed individual liberty¹⁹. This perspective generally has a positive view of human nature. Liberalist have a great faith in human reasons and convinced that rational principles can be applied to international affairs, despite acknowledging that human has a competitive nature and has the tendency to fulfilling self-interest first above all else²⁰. Liberalist view human share many interest thus can engage in collaborative and cooperative social action, both domestically and internationally for the better of everyone at home and abroad.

¹⁹ Jackson, Robert H and Sorensen. 2007. Introduction to International Relations: Theories and Approaches. Oxford; Oxford University Press. Page 98

²⁰ *ibid*

The more specific style of liberalism that can best describe the relations in this thesis is the republican liberalism. This style of republican is based on the beliefs that liberal democracies are more peaceful and law-abiding than are other political systems. This theory believes that democratic states will not go to war against each other²¹. Moreover, Michael Doyle claimed there are three elements that democracy leads to peace with other democracies; the existence of domestic political culture based on peaceful conflict resolution, democracies hold common moral value which lead to the formation of a “pacific union”, and peace between democracies is strengthened through economic cooperation and interdependence²².

Globalization is one of the concept that arise in recent years that have a big impact towards almost all aspect in life, and as well become a very familiar term that often used by many international relations scholars, politician, and many state figure from all around the world. With the advancing information technology, communication, and transportation, and with the increasing level of quantity and quality of international commerce, the world become a lot closer; borders between states become more and more blurry as the world a new age of globalization.

Globalization give a new dynamic towards sovereignty as a concept and as well as in the practice of it in the global political scene. With the globalization, access to information is open even bigger to everyone; the speed of the access to it is also faster

²¹ ibid

²² Doyle, Michael W.. 1986. Liberalism and World Politics. *The American Political Science Review* 80.

than ever before, the easier way to transfer people and goods across states and continent, the rise of the social networking, and as well the global economic and new political system, are some of the positive impacts that globalization brought to the table, but the role and the capacity of a state as a the main actor with sovereignty the international politic could see a drastic change in negative way as the impact of all of that²³. Moreover, with sovereignty of states challenged by the increasing level of interaction using the new media available, sovereignty of states also being challenged with the rise of challenge comes from within the states by the form of arising effort to gain independency from what it now known as the stateless nation.

The concept of stateless-nation was derived from a state of statelessness, but before that, it's better to first understand the definition of a state according to the international law. As according to Article 1 of the 1933 Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States²⁴, a putative state must satisfy the four criteria stipulates, which:

The state as a person in international law should possess the following qualification: (a) permanent population; (b) a defined territory; (c) government; and (d) capacity to enter into relations with other states

²³ Chandra, B.A. 2007. 'Kedaulatan dalam Tekanan Globalisasi'. *Transformasi dalam Studi Hubungan Internasional*, Graha Ilmu. Yogyakarta, p. 134 KUTIP DARI SKRIPSI SIAPA

²⁴Yale Law School. 2015. The Avalon Project : Convention on Rights and Duties of States (inter-American); December 26, 1933. [online] available at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/intam03.asp

It's also included in the declaratory, constitutive, and constitutive-collective recognition theories that widely regarded as the main references and generally accepted criteria for statehood. But outside the four criteria accepted, one more additional criterion was added and also widely regarded as essential to the satisfaction of the criteria for statehood; independence. It is added based on the effectiveness, and is thus common to proponents of the declaratory, constitutive, and constitutive-collective recognition theories²⁵.

As according to Oppenheim, a permanent population as defined as “an aggregate of individuals of both sexes who live together as a community in spite the fact that they may belong to different races or creeds, or be of different colour²⁶.” But permanent in this case may not necessarily mean living constantly together; as for example, the ICJ ruled out that nomadic tribes satisfied the criterion²⁷.

Second criteria which is stated that state must possess a defined territory, is well explained and defined on a 1929 German-Polish Mixed Arbitral Tribunal which remarking:

Whatever may be the importance of the delimitation of boundaries, one cannot go so far as maintain that as long as this delimitation has not been legally effected the State in question cannot be considered as having any territory whatever. In order to say that a state exist it is enough that this territory has a sufficient consistency, even though its boundaries have not yet been accurately

²⁵ Ibid Glen Anderson p. 356

²⁶ F L Oppenheim. 2008. *International Law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 125-126

²⁷ Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, 1975 I.C.J. 12 (Oct. 16).

delimited, and that state actually exercises independent public authority over that territory.²⁸

And this rule was later affirmed by the ICJ in the *North Sea Continental Shelf Case*²⁹ and *Case Concerning the Territorial Dispute (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya v Chad)*³⁰.

Third, regarding the effective government criterion, recent development indicated that a state created by secession pursuant to the law of self-determination will *not*, by virtue of the “compensatory force principle³¹,” be required to strictly satisfy the effective government criterion.

The fourth criterion is the state ability to enter relations with other states; this requires that it must politically and legally represent itself to other states and within international forum³².

And referring to these criteria, there are some nations that had fulfilled all the criteria mentioned above but still yet to gain statehood status as they are, in most cases, incorporated to a larger state, whether due to mutual consent or by annexation. And this what brings the term Stateless in to the surface. As according to Montserrat Guibernau, stateless nation is a state or nation that they are well-defined territories with unique historical, cultural, economic, and political identities, and they have maintained

²⁸ *Deutsch Continental Gas Gesellschaft v. Polish State*, 5 I.L.R. 11, 14–15 (1929); *see generally* CRAWFORD, *supra* note 4, at 49–50; RAIČ, *supra* note 5, at 61.

²⁹ *North Sea Continental Shelf (Ger. v. Den. & Ger. v. Neth.)*, 1969 I.C.J. 3, 32 (Judgments); *see generally*, CRAWFORD, *supra* note 4, at 50.

³⁰ *Case Concerning the Territorial Dispute (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya v. Chad)*, 1994 I.C.J.

³¹ David Raic. 2002. *STATEHOOD AND THE LAW OF SELF-DETERMINATION*. Kluwer Law International. p. 308.

³² RAIČ, *supra* note 5, at 415–16.

their unique identities despite being incorporated for long periods of time within larger states³³. This can be seen in the case of Scotland and United Kingdom and of course the case of Catalan and Spain.

A nation can be categorized as a state when the nation is independence from any form colonization or being part of other state. According to Oxford Dictionary, independence is defined as

Free from outside control; not subject to another's authority
(of a country) self-governing³⁴

the term independence is closely related to the ability to self-governing, but in the development of it, many stateless-nation under the flag of another country has been given a certain degree of independence from their parent state, but does not make a nation independence. Independence is what makes a nation a state, added with de jure or formal recognition from other states. A nation can be categorized as a state when a nation is given or earned full independence, whether through struggle or political effort, from their colonizer or parent state, giving the rights to govern fully over their territorial limitation without any interference from the previous colonizer or parent state.

This statelessness itself has become an issue in the last decade or so, with so many of these stateless nations, trying to gain their statehood through many ways so they can stand on their own as an independent and sovereign state. And these states are

³³ Montserrat Guibernau. 2003 *Nations Without States: Political Communities in the Global Age*. New York: John Wiley and Sons Publishing

³⁴ Oxford Dictionaries. 2016. independent - definition of independent in English | Oxford Dictionaries. [online] available at <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/independent> [accessed 2 January 2016]

basing them pursue for independence on the rights to self-determination. The right to self-determination is one of the most important yet contentious, principles of international law. It has served as a powerful slogan and a vital justification for the independence for many people. Self-determination itself consists of two conflicting elements which are equally fundamental and in fact imperative in the international law. First element is the one relation to sovereign equality, territorial integrity, and non-intervention. This entails an obligation in international law to respect sovereignty of an independent state by refraining from the use of force or from interfering with internal affairs of that State in other ways. The second element regards the very essence and the *raison d'être* of the right to self-determination in the first place, namely the idea that people have a right to govern themselves, where a people is not self-governing³⁵.

And often this effort that based on the pursue for self-determination ended up in what known as secession. Secession etymologically means moving apart or withdrawing, and as according to Oxford English Dictionary, defined as: “[t]he action of seceding or formally withdrawing from an alliance, a federation, a political or religious organization, or the like.”³⁶

So secession, in literal definition means an end process where someone/an institution withdraw from an existing agreement or long standing relationship, and as according to Crawford, secession is defined as “the creation of state by the use or threat

³⁵ Maya Abdullah. 2006. THE RIGHT TO SELF DETERMINATION IN INTERNATIONAL LAW – Scrutinizing the colonial aspect of the right to self-determination. Gothenburg: Department of Law University of Gotenborg.

³⁶ 9 OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY, 348 (Clarendon Press, 1933).

of force without the consent of the former sovereign.” Secession itself in international law and relations discipline is more commonly seen as process which leads to an outcome³⁷, with two main type of process; consensual and unilateral.

Consensual secession occurs with the existing state’s consent, and does not involve the use or threat of force. And from this type, it can also be divided into two more types; negotiated and explicit. The negotiated secession occurs within the framework of the existing state’s constitution, even though there are no specific constitutional provisions relating to secession³⁸. Typically, a constitutional amendment is negotiated, which allows for the lawful secession of part of the existing state’s territory. While the explicit secession occurs when the existing state’s constitution prescribes a specific procedure for the secession of part its territory.

Politically negotiated secession occurs with the existing state’s consent and does not necessarily involve the use or threat of force. It requires that the existing state and the secessionist entity be willing to politically negotiate the resolution of a secessionist situation. It is most likely to occur when the existing state fails to provide any constitutional avenue for secession for constituent national groups and when relations between the existing sovereign and secessionist entity are amicable.³⁹

³⁷ Aleksandar Pavković & Peter Radan. 2007. *CREATING NEW STATES: THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SECESSION*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing. p.5–30.

³⁸ Andrei Kreptul. 2003. *The Constitutional Right of Secession in Political Theory and History* in *Journal of Libertarian Studies*.

³⁹ Robert A Young. 1994. *How Do Peaceful Secessions Happen?* *CAN. J. OF POL. SCI.* 773, 773–92 (1994)

While unilateral secession occurs without the existing state's consent and may also involve the use or threat of force⁴⁰. It usually occurs in the absence of relevant constitutional provision and political negotiations. But, in some cases, unilateral secession may occur despite the presence or the existence of constitutional provisions, and can be preceded by initial attempts at political negotiations, which ultimately fail. When it does happen, unilateral secession often sees the existing state's claim to have sovereignty over the seceding territory conflict with that of the secessionist state.

And in the globalization era, where the use of technology is often used to elevate the issue to the international stage, media played an important role in secessionist effort. To its correlations with the other variable that this research uses, which is football, media is the most important element to find the correlation between the two and to analyze how big the impact they played. Football, as part of the culture of Catalan, as according to Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary is any of several games played between two teams on a usually rectangular field having goalposts or goals at each end and whose object is to get the ball over a goal line, into a goal, or between goalposts by running, passing, or kicking⁴¹. This sport is played by either national team that represents a country in international football game or by sports club that play within a country's football competition. And most of the time these football matches, club or international football, are broadcasted locally and internationally, which is why

⁴⁰ According to the definition of secession provided by Crawford, unilateral secession and the use or threat of force are concomitant. See CRAWFORD, *supra* note 4, at 37

⁴¹ Merriam-Webster Dictionary. 2016. Football | Definition of Football by Merriam-Webster. [online] available at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/football>

football has grown into a global business. And through this international broadcast, football gain popularity at all level of the society.

In the international communication, there is a concept of campaign that is defined as a communication action that is done intensively within a planned certain period of time and done continuously. First, a campaign must have a theme. Second, it must be done in a certain period of time. Third, campaign must be well planned; in a way it has specific and well defined target audience, set along with the theme of the campaign, and the approach to get the target. Next, theme of each campaign must be decided along with the approach take, including media used and the figure use as the face of the campaign. Fourth, continuity, as in it being followed by other sustain activity (sustainable campaign). It serves as purpose so that the campaign can be well remembered by many⁴². In campaign method, usually an organization do communicate to get positive respond from their targeted audience.

In the modern era, media has become one of the most effective tool and weapon to spread information and to influence the mass. According to Oxford Dictionaries, media is defined as “The main means of mass communication (broadcasting, publishing, and the Internet) regarded collectively⁴³”. Media for many years now has been used by many to, not just delivering news and entertainment, but also to promote certain issue to gain international attention. Media is now can be categorized into two

⁴² Sukawarsini Djelantik dan Arie Indra Chandra. Efektifitas Kampanye Fair Trade dan Perbandingan Sikap Mahasiswa Bandung dengan Mahasiswa Solo. Bandung, 2005, p. 5

⁴³ OxfordDictionaries.com. 2017. media - definition of media in English | Oxford Dictionaries. [online] available at <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/media> [accessed at 18 January 2017]

different types; traditional and new media. The traditional media consist of the older media such as television, radio, and newspaper, traditional store and activities, or magazine, while the new media is the kind of media that making the most of the platform of internet⁴⁴. The rise of internet, has given media new platform of promotion and as well as wider range of audience as it can now be accessed anywhere at any time.

One particular method to make the most of the usage of the media is by implementing the agenda-setting concept into it. The agenda-setting concept is The power of the news media to set a nation's agenda, to focus public attention on a few key public issues, is an immense and well-documented influence. Not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news⁴⁵. The principle outline of this concept was first pitched by Walter Lippmann in 1922, where he noted the media is main source of the picture in our head about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizen is "Out of reach, out of sight, out of mind."⁴⁶ The word agenda itself according to Oxford Dictionaries means A plan of things to be done or problems to be addressed⁴⁷. Moreover, the agenda-setting influence of the news media is not limited just creating

⁴⁴ Stoeckel, Maïke. 2012. How Did The Football Club Barcelona Promote Catalan Nationalism in the Period of 2008-2012. Amsterdam: Universiteit van Amsterdam.

⁴⁵ McCombs, Maxwell. 2011. The Agenda-Setting Role of the Mass Media in the Shaping of Public Opinion. Texas: University of Texas. Available online at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237394610_The_Agenda-Setting_Role_of_the_Mass_Media_in_the_Shaping_of_Public_Opinion

⁴⁶ Lippmann, Walter. 1922. Public Opinion. New York: Macmillan. P.29

⁴⁷ Oxford Dictionaries. 2016. agenda - definition of agenda in English | Oxford Dictionaries. [online] available at <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/agenda> [accessed at 18 December 2016]

the focus of the mass towards the certain issue. The media also influence the next step in the communication process, our understanding and perspective on the topics in the news⁴⁸.

Within the use of media, the usage of symbol within the campaign and promotion itself is regarded as an effective method to raise awareness of the audience. Semiotic is defined as a general philosophical theory of signs and symbols that deals especially with their function in both artificially constructed and natural languages and comprises syntactics, semantics, and pragmatics⁴⁹. The study of symbol then become more prominent with Umberto Eco's study of it. According to Umberto Eco,

semiotic is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. A sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else. This something else does not necessarily have to exist or to actually be somewhere at the moment in which a sign stands for it. Thus semiotic is in principle the discipline studying everything in which can be used in order to lie.⁵⁰

According to Umberto Eco, there are two process of semiotic; communication and signification. In the book, Eco defines communication as "the passage of a signal... from a source... to a destination" where acts of human communication are made possible by signification, the process by which a code links "present entities with absent

⁴⁸ McCombs, 2011. Ibid.

⁴⁹ Merriam-Webster. 2017. Semiotics | Definition of Semiotics by Merriam-Webster. [online] available at <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/semiotics> [accessed at 18 January 2017]

⁵⁰ Eco, Umberto. 1976. *A Theory of Semiotics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. Pp.354.



unites”⁵¹. This then can be used to explained how the use of certain symbol can lead to association to a certain other entity.

And through football and its exposure through media, play a crucial role to the campaign of the topic of this research, which is secession. Just like at any other aspects, media played a pivotal role in bringing awareness to an issue. In this globalisation era, campaign is a method is no longer strange in the world. Globalization has a mean to intensified social networking from all around the world that connected even to remote regions so that a local issue can be created from an issue that originated from miles away, and vice versa⁵², while campaign itself is defined as a chain of well-planned communicating action with the purpose of creating certain effect to specific or large number of people that being done in certain period of time. Campaign can be done through media and could capitalize on certain event such as sporting events⁵³. So that explains why football and FC Barcelona is the good vehicle to promote the agenda in order to gain more exposure towards their effort.

⁵¹ Ibid. Umberto Eco (1976)

⁵² Bakri Abbas. 2003. *Komunikasi Internasional: Peran dan Permasalahannya*. Jakarta: Yayasan Kampus Tercinta-IISIP. p.2.

⁵³ Venus, A. 2004, *Manajemen Kampanye: Panduan Teoritis dan Praktis dalam Mengefektifkan Kampanye Komunikasi*. Bandung: Simbiosis Rekatama Media

1.6 Research Methodology and Data Collecting Technique

1.6.1 Research Method

The author will explain the efforts made FC Barcelona had in promoting the effort of Catalan to gain independency from the Kingdom of Spain by using qualitative method. Author will explain systematically about the phenomena that happened, facts and characteristic that related to the influence towards the topic of this thesis. Qualitative research tries to construct reality and to understand the means so the content of the research pay attention to process, events and authenticity⁵⁴. The final product of this research will become a simple explanation and denote fundamental interpretation of the problem. According to Creswell, qualitative research is “an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem.”⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Ibid

1.6.2 Research Technique

Data collecting in this process of writing is done through document study, which is a method that uses any written materials that contain the information that author wishes to study. The document consists of primary data, such as official statement of the Kingdom of Spain Government; secondary data, which according to Bailey, documents that are written not from a direct eyewitness but from those who compile information from interviewing eyewitnesses or reading primary documents, with the examples such as from books, journals, newspapers articles, magazines, publications, reports, and relevant websites⁵⁶.

1.7 Thesis Structure

This research will consist of five chapters. Introduction will be on the first chapter, the studies and research itself will be divided into three chapters, and the last one will state the conclusion.

The first chapter of this research will explain the background, identify the problem, determine the scope of the problem, analyze the problem, the purposes and

⁵⁶ Kenneth D. Bailey, *Method of Social Research*, 3rd edition, (New York: The Free Press, 1987) p. 289

the significance of the research, the theoretical framework of the research, research method, and last, the research methodology.

The second chapter will take an in-depth look on the brief history of Catalan, the ongoing relations between Catalan as a stateless-nation and The Kingdom of Spain, also will look at the ongoing effort of Catalan in order to gain independency from Spain.

The third chapter will explain more on football as part of Catalonian culture, how it affects the life of Catalonian and how significant it is football as a culture. And this chapter will also explain the role of FC Barcelona as a institutions that so-called represents the voice of Catalan independence effort to the global scope.

The fourth Chapter will analyses the efforts made by FC Barcelona in their role to help promoting Catalonia and their independency effort and as well as to analyses the impact made by FC Barcelona both inwards and outwards.

The fifth chapter will summarize all the findings to one final conclusion.