
This is the **accepted version** of the book part:

Nel · lo, Oriol; Durà Guimerà, Antoni. «Geographical presences and absences. The role of Spanish academic geography in geopolitical debates». A: Geographies of Mediterranean Europe. 2020, p. 357-392. Springer.

This version is available at <https://ddd.uab.cat/record/306269>

under the terms of the  ^{IN} COPYRIGHT license

GEOGRAPHICAL PRESENCES AND ABSENCES
THE ROLE OF SPANISH ACADEMIC GEOGRAPHY IN GEOPOLITICAL DEBATES

Oriol NEL·LO & Antoni DURÀ

Geography Department, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

The process of global change currently underway is having a particularly strong effect on Mediterranean countries. There are various reasons for this. Firstly, the Mediterranean brings societies that have only recently undergone the demographic transition process into contact with European countries with a low birth rate and an increasingly aging population. Furthermore, the contrast between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean in terms of economic development and income is one of the most blatant anywhere in the world, while the urbanization process has transformed the spatial structures of Mediterranean countries as a whole, leading to the depopulation of large regions and the emergence of large metropolises. Finally, climate change is expected to hit living conditions and the availability of resources particularly hard in this area. The main dynamics of global change –whether demographic, economic, urban or climatic– are thus felt with special intensity in the Mediterranean Basin and serve to exacerbate the contradictions and tensions within both individual countries and the region as a whole.

Since the beginning of the century this combination of factors has triggered ever increasing alarm among the populations of European Mediterranean countries. Accordingly, debates about immigration, the upkeep of the welfare state, the European integration process, the distribution of public powers, land management and adaptation to climate change are now in the forefront of collective concerns. As we can see, these are all issues with a strong spatial element, and so a geographical perspective –and more particularly a geopolitical perspective– is of the utmost importance if they are to be more fully understood and discussed, and possibly resolved.

In recent years, however, academic geography has made only a very patchy contribution to the geopolitical debate in European Mediterranean countries. So, while some subjects have sparked copious and stimulating research, in other cases the voice of academic geography has been notable for its absence. The reasons for this inconsistency are complex and not always easy to unravel: they vary from one country to another and depend on the historical circumstances, which serve to render the exploration of certain subjects either appealing or off-putting. Moreover, other factors intrinsic to the discipline, such as prevailing scientific traditions, corporate strategies, the structure of the academic system, outside influences and a greater or lesser propensity for social commitment, all play a role in this respect.

This chapter focuses on Spain and seeks to analyze the involvement of its academic geography, at different levels, in the examination of the country's geopolitical problems. It will thus tackle issues related to both the Spanish State's policies and external geopolitical relationships (such as those affecting its external borders) and the territorial organization of the public powers within it. As we shall see, the contributions of academic geographers reveal, in both cases, the selective nature of their scrutiny of these subjects. While some issues and scales of analysis have repeatedly been studied –the delineation of the State's external frontiers, cross-border cooperation and metropolitan organization, to name a few–, academic geography has been notably reticent on others –such as the debate on the administrative structure of the Spanish State.

The present work examines the contribution of Spanish geography in the first two decades of this century, on the basis of a systematic review of the main Spanish academic journals in the field, as well as reference to a very considerable –but not exhaustive– bibliography¹. Apart from this introduction, the chapter comprises four sections: the first looks at the output of Spanish academic geography on the geopolitical position of the Iberian countries with respect to various geographical areas; the second focuses on studies concerning the borders of the Spanish state; the third section examines work dealing with the institutional organization of what the 1978 Spanish Constitution calls “nationalities and regions”; finally, the fourth section homes in on research into the spatial aspects of local and metropolitan governments. The chapter is then rounded off by a few brief conclusions.

1. EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL “VOCATION” OF THE IBERIAN COUNTRIES: THE MEDITERRANEAN, EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA AND NORTH AFRICA

One of the elements that explains the current reality of the Iberian countries is undoubtedly the geographical context in which their historical saga unfolded. This context is conditioned, above all, by their “position”, according to the concept from classical geography invoked by Joan Vilà Valentí at the start of *La Península Ibérica*, one of the handbooks used to train various generations of geographers (Vilà, 1968: 17). Until recently, the debate on the position of the Iberian countries mainly revolved

¹ More specifically, the following geographical journals from the period 2000-2018 have been reviewed: *Anales de Geografía* (Madrid Complutense University), *Cuadernos de Geografía* (Valencia University), *Cuadernos Geográficos* (Granada University), *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica* (Autonomous University of Barcelona, Girona University), *Ería* (Oviedo University), *Estudios Geográficos* (Spanish National Research Council), *Geopolítica(s). Revista de Estudios sobre Espacio y Poder* (Madrid Complutense University), *Geographicalia* (Zaragoza University), *Investigaciones Geográficas* (Alicante University), *Lurralde* (Basque Geographical Institute), *Scripta Nova* (Barcelona University), and *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia* (Institute of Catalan Studies).

around the dualities of Europe/Africa and Mediterranean/Atlantic. These oppositions were explored by Manuel de Terán, another of the fathers of contemporary geography in Spain, in another widely publicized work: "Mediterranean and Atlantic, but more Mediterranean than Atlantic: such is the Iberian Peninsula, as a result of its location between two seas. But it cannot be deduced from its location between two continents that it is both European and African [...] The Iberian Peninsula and Africa Minor are Mediterranean, and on this basis they resemble each other and relate to each other; but neither Iberia nor the Maghreb are African, properly speaking. The real Africa is the one that starts to the south of Africa Minor, in the Saharan desert." (Terán, 1978:2).

In recent decades, however, the preeminence of these dualities has been challenged by a more complicated and expansive framework: the globalization process has meant that the study of the Iberian countries' position can no longer be confined to a strictly regional –or even continental– prism but somehow or other has to take other geographical areas and ultimately the entire planet. This situation obviously does not preclude the European integration process, the Mediterranean context and the historical and cultural ties with Latin America from continuing to give rise to more close-knit relationships. Similarly, the proximity of borders brings a special intensity to the links between Spain and Portugal, the South of France (particularly in Catalonia and the Basque Country, where cultures are shared on both sides of the border), Andorra, Gibraltar, Morocco and the Western Mediterranean. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that political geography has bestowed particular attention on relationships with these areas, whether through analysis of thorny issues, such as conflicts, or through investigations into more stabilizing elements (progress on cooperation and integration).

However, as stated above, the globalization process has enabled other geographical areas to rise up the scale as regards the intensity of relationships. Pride of place must go to the (already historic) ascendancy of the United States and, more recently, China, as economic and geopolitical world powers. Beyond them, other geopolitical configurations are emerging, for various reasons: Russia and the former Soviet bloc, Japan and the rest of East and Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, Oceania, the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa, Canada... Economic relationships (marked in the Spanish case by dependence on resources, externalization of production and paucity of R+D), political and military dependence, migratory flows and the establishment of transnational communities, as well as the interaction of multiple religions and identities, combine to form a mesh that is irreversibly becoming ever more dense. At the same time, there has been a noticeable and progressive change in the governance of these relationships, which is partly reflected in states' foreign affairs, participation in supra-state organizations and bilateral and multilateral cooperation agreements, but also in the growing prominence of sub-state bodies at every level. In any case,

globalization and its various regional manifestations are posing tremendous challenges, as evident every day in the media and on social networks, and geography can and must provide valuable understanding from its own perspective.

In this respect, our review of the works on geopolitics by Spanish geographers has revealed some areas in which advances have been made (sometimes through very substantial contributions that could provide the basis for a more robust research agenda in the future) as well as other significant blind spots. The contributions have been grouped here around six axes of reflection: political geography; globalization; Europe and the Eastern neighbours; Morocco and the Mediterranean; Latin America; and other parts of the world.

1.1. The role of political geography: from stigma to vindication

As in other countries, in Spanish academia the study of political geography in the fullest sense, and of geopolitics in particular, has had to confront the legacy of the use of this branch of the discipline by reactionary schools of political thought and, in the specific Spanish context, the role that it played in configuring the ideology of Franco's dictatorship. Accordingly, the vigorous Spanish research into geopolitics in the 1940s and 1950s, spearheaded by the Catalan historian Jaume Vicens Vives, was followed by a fallow period stretching over several decades (Losano, 2011; Gómez Mendoza, 2019).

Nevertheless, in the final phase of the dictatorship the inescapable urge to interpret global geopolitical dynamics gave rise to renewed output. The most important and innovative work in this respect was undoubtedly *Geografía de la Sociedad Humana* (1981-1984), edited by Enric Lluch, the founder of the Geography Department of the Autonomous University of Barcelona. This work expressly strived for innovation by interpreting areas of the world via an all-embracing vision of the social sciences and introducing new conceptual oppositions (centre/periphery, capitalism/planned economy). However, despite this and other contributions, the geographical community in Spain is aware that political geography is still underdeveloped in comparison with other areas of the discipline. This situation is recognized, for example, by Rubén Lois (professor at the University of Santiago de Compostela and current vice-president of the International Geographical Union) in his overview of the discipline published in a special monographic issue of the *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* (Lois, 2009). It is unsurprising, therefore, that the period studied herein has given rise to repeated calls to develop Spanish political geography in order to deal with the challenges of the modern world. Two notable examples of this trend are articles by Javier Gómez Piñeiro (2002) and Josep Vicent Boira (2015) that both recognize political geography as a crucial tool for interpreting the changes thrown up by the 21st century.

One particularly perceptive reflection on limitations of the discipline in this field - and a call to overcome them - can be found in the introduction by Juan Ignacio Plaza, a professor at Salamanca University, to a inspiring monographic work on “Geopolitical conflicts and tensions in the modern world”, published in *Investigaciones Geográficas* (Plaza, 2011). This article provides a useful overview of the achievements (sometimes outstanding, but all too few) and omissions in this field, from the early contributions in the 20th century to the present day. Along the same lines, two manuals that appeared around the turn of the century (López Trigal & Soto, 1999; and Nogué & Vicente, 2001) sought to provide a support for future advances in research. These overviews, particularly far-reaching in the latter two cases, have some significant elements in common:

- a) Recent international references –going beyond a historical presentation of the origins of the sub-discipline–, primarily from English-speaking sources but also from French and other sources.
- b) References to other disciplines with a well-established record in this field (political science, international relationships, law, etc.)
- c) A selection of the main topics for future research.

The increasing interest in political geography evident today is reflected by the emphasis afforded it in the two manuals covering human geography in Spain published during the period studied herein: *Geografía de España*, edited by Antonio Gil Olcina and Josefina Gómez Mendoza (2002), and *Geografía Humana de España*, edited by Juan Romero (2016). Both these works devote an entire section to the subject. The formalization and reclamation of the academic study of political geography have even triggered the publication of a 280-entry *Diccionario de Geografía Política y Geopolítica*, compiled by Lorenzo López Trigal, a professor at the University of León (López Trigal, 2013). Also worthy of note is the appearance of the volume *Espacios globales y lugares próximos* (written by a group of geographers from the Autonomous University of Barcelona and edited by Miguel Solana, 2016), which has the revealing subtitle *Seventy concepts for understanding the territorial organization of capitalism*. Taken as a whole, these works reflect the conceptual renewal that has occurred in the field of political geography since the times of Vicens Vives and Enric Lluch.

One key element in this renewal has been the incorporation of –and dialogue with– research from abroad. In this respect, apart from articles published in academic journals, another crucial factor has been the emergence and consolidation of the collection *Espacios Críticos* (“Critical Spaces”), edited by professors Abel Albet and Núria Benach: this series of books strives to introduce the thought of leading international figures into the Hispanic geographical arena. It is not insignificant or coincidental that the twelve volumes that have appeared to date include works devoted to such prominent figures in the field of political geography as Doreen

Massey, Richard Peet, Franco Farinelli, Neil Smith, Neil Brenner, William Bunge and Claude Raffestin.

1.2. Globalization: the undercurrent

The theme underlying many of the contributions made to political geography is clearly the growing interrelationships and interdependence shared by modern societies as a result of the phenomenon of globalization. This trend is constantly reflected in geographical research by general observations on globalization (touching on both political and economic geography) and on various geopolitical processes unfolding on a worldwide scale. For example, the manuals published during this period have paid particular attention to globalization, whether they cover the global scenario (Romero & Nogué, 2007) or specifically focus on the human geography of Spain (Romero & Boira, 2016).

Among the works specifically devoted to the subject of globalization, particularly worthy of note are that of Ricardo Méndez, a researcher at the Spanish National Research Council, on the world geopolitical map (Méndez, 2011) and the lecture he gave (Méndez, 2015) on receiving the International GeoCrítica Prize. Méndez has also tackled the issue of armed conflicts in the world (Méndez, 2011). Globalization and its effects have similarly been studied by other authors: Gómez Piñeiro (2001) has discussed regional systems and globalization; López del Moral (2013), environmental issues; and March (2013), the relationship between global capitalism and the environment. Marcu (2007) has examined Spain's place within the global processes, taking into account its new geopolitical position as a beacon for migrations from several continents that, in her opinion, create favourable effects in terms of wealth and diversity. And Martí Boada and David Saurí provided a synthesis of the process of global change (Boada & Saurí, 2002).

The influence of foreign writers on this field has been particularly striking. Whereas at the tail end of the last century the predominating influences came from France, via the *Hérodote* group, and from England, via authors like Peter J. Taylor, in the opening decades of this century other authors have had a great impact. Foremost among these are the standard-bearers of what is known as "critical geography": Neil Smith, David Harvey and Doreen Massey. Spanish geography has struck up a dialogue with this critical current of thought that has proved fruitful, albeit one-sided, as if to reflect, paradoxically, within academia the very relationship of subordination and dependence prevailing in so many other walks of economic and cultural life. In contrast, Asian, African and Latin American authors have had little effect on Spanish political geography in these years –the main exception being the Brazilian geographer Milton Santos, who was even given a homage (Bosque Maurel & García Ballesteros, 2003). As for contributions from other disciplines, the interpretations of the globalization

process formulated by sociologists such as Zygmunt Bauman, Saskia Sassen and Manuel Castells have had a notable impact.

1.3. Europe: integration and European politics, neighbours to the East

From a European perspective, it has to be admitted that Spanish geography has failed, by accident or by design, to play any significant role in the debate on the need for greater European integration, during the very period in which it is being widely questioned in some countries. Spanish academic geography has generally supported advances in this integration, probably in keeping with a society that still sees membership of the European Union in a positive light, despite condemnation of the austerity measures imposed at the height of the financial crisis. There has been growing criticism, however, of the “Fortress Europe”, particularly as regards the phenomenon of migration: from Bel (2002), who contemplated the dilemma of open/closed borders, to Domingo (2018), who discussed the EU's “thanatopolitical” climbdown with respect to refugees. Other authors, such as Schmite & Nin (2014), have covered the disillusion sparked by EU policies in the face of this crisis, an issue that probably needs to be tackled in greater depth in the coming years.

In contrast, there has been greater emphasis on explaining and discussing European politics from a territorial standpoint, which are considered to impinge on the topics covered by many geographical studies. In the period under analysis herein, there have been notable works on particular issues in this political field: the new culture of territorial governance in Europe (Plaza, Romero and Farinós, 2003); policies for rural areas (Maya, Hidalgo, 2009, on adjustments to the CAP, and Esparcia, Escribano, 2009, on rural development, the CAP and the LEADER programme); the European Territorial Strategy (Camacho, Melikhova, 2010, and Lois et al, 2013); and the URBAN initiative (Gutiérrez, 2010). Among the foreign contributions, an article by Faludi (2005) on the touchstones and origins of the EU's politics of territorial cohesion provided a key reference, as did comparative studies by Van den Berg, Braun & Van den Meer (2007) and Colomb, Dürh & Nadin (2010).

These overviews were complemented by other works that focused on the application and effects of European policies within Spain. These include a monographic issue of the *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* on “Governance of territory in Spain and initiatives of coordination and territorial cooperation”, overseen by two professors from Valencia University, Joan Romero and Joaquín Farinós (2005). This issue covered various European programmes, such as TERRA (Martín, 2005), LEADER (García Rodríguez et al., 2005) and PRODER (Plaza, 2005). Along similar lines, Nieto Gurría (2008) explored European rural policies for Extremadura; Burriel (2009), urban policies in relation to conflicts derived from city planning in Valencia; and Pillet (2015),

the applicability of the European Territorial Strategy as a means of strengthening the cohesion of Castilla-La Mancha.

Contrary to what might be expected, we found few works that dealt with international relationships with neighbouring European countries (one exception being Rodríguez, 2005, on the Spain-Portugal relationship in the light of World War II). Iberism, historically of great concern to Spanish geography, was, however, barely discussed in its academic studies during the period in question, and there was also a paucity of studies on the Spanish relationships with France and Andorra, and the ever-present conflict over Gibraltar (given greater prominence since 2016 due to Brexit). Nevertheless, this century has been distinguished by numerous collaborations with French and Portuguese academic geographers, most notably the Iberian Geography Colloquium, which reached its 16th edition in 2018. And, as we shall see in the next section, there has also been a steady stream of studies on contiguous areas and cross-border cooperation.

Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have been subjected to searching analysis, almost entirely due to works by Silvia Marcu, from the Spanish National Research Council, on integration in the Black Sea area (2004), the East European frontier (2005), the new geopolitics of post-Soviet Russia (2007), border geopolitics and migrations in Russia (2011a) and tensions and conflicts in the ex-USSR region (2011b). Moreover, *Cuadernos Geográficos* published a monographic issue on Rumanian and Bulgarian migration in Spain (Viruela, 2008, among others), while Machado et al (2004) examined the border between Estonia and Russia and Torres (2014) looked at human trafficking in post-Soviet Moldavia.

1.4. Morocco and the Mediterranean: the overlooked connection

In geopolitical terms, the Mediterranean –whether taken as a whole or with a focus on Morocco and the Maghreb– also seem to have received less attention than it deserves, in the light of its importance. The fact is that Spanish academic geography has tended to produce more work about Orientalism in the Maghreb and the historical perception of its culture than about the pressing problems currently affecting societies in both North Africa and the Mediterranean in general. This omission is all the more striking if we consider that the foremost immigrant community in Spain comes from Morocco (numbering over 750,000 people in 2017).

Be that as it may, the key work in this field is the overview by Villanova (2002) of Spanish geography's vision of Morocco and the Arab-Islamic world since 1975, divided into two parts: the first covering works on geography and Spanish colonialism, the second those exploring the Arab-Islamic world. As regards colonial geography, Villanova himself has published a book (2004) about the political and territorial

organization of the Protectorate of Morocco. With respect to colonial cartography, a work by Muro, Nadal and Urteaga (2004) is worthy of mention, as is a subsequent study of military cartographers in Morocco (Urteaga, 2006). Other notable contributions are provided by the research led by Maria Dolors Garcia Ramon on women travellers' vision of the Maghreb in the early 20th century (Garcia Ramon, 2002; Garcia Ramon et al. 2008), and the collection *España en África. La ciencia española en la Sáhara Occidental. 1884-1976* (Rodríguez Esteban, ed., 2011), where the geopolitical element is very much to the fore. The latter also incorporates an audiovisual edition comprising 10 documentaries.

These valuable cultural studies are complemented by numerous references to demographic, social, economic and historical geography that often touch on geopolitical matters. Examples of this kind would include works on Morocco by Nieto & Boulifa, 2008, focusing on demographics; by Nemmaoui & García Lorca, 2009, on agrarian politics; by Capote, 2011, on migration to Andalusia; by Martín & Arranz, 2009, on development and migration; and by Girone & Lollo, 2011, on immigration via the Straits of Gibraltar and Sicily. More explicitly, Ferrer (2008, 2012) has reflected on the function of the Spanish-Moroccan border, which has also been critically examined by Vives (2008) in the light of racialization processes. Nevertheless, despite the strategic importance of the connection between Europe and the African continent via the Iberian Peninsula, Spanish geography has fallen well short of the body of work produced by the Colegio de la Frontera Norte in Tijuana, Mexico, to take just one example from the Spanish-speaking world.

1.5. Latin America: a fertile exchange

Latin America has been extremely well covered by Spanish geographical journals. This can largely be attributed to the substantial presence of Latin American academics in various universities and research centres in Spain, but another reason is the plethora of exchange programmes with Iberian-American institutions. The International Geocrítica Colloquia run by Horacio Capel, whose proceedings are published in *Scripta Nova*, and other more modest initiatives, such as the monographic issue of *Cuadernos de Geografía* (2007), are proof of this. In terms of geopolitics, some topics crop up frequently:

- a) Conflicts currently underway: conflicts in South America (Cadena, 2011); the US-Mexico border (Mollá, 2011); substatat paradiplomacy in Brazil (Martins et al., 2008).
- b) Geo-historical research: on state organization and territory, within the framework of a monographic work on independence and the construction of nation states in Latin America and Europe (Capel, 2012); the territorial

formation of the USA and Argentina (Zusman, 2010); the construction and consolidation of state borders (Izard, 2002).

- c) Internal geo-economic conflicts (Raymond, 2004, the development of tourism; Ortiz, 2015, and Márquez, Díaz-Diego, 2016, struggles over land in Brazil).

As for the specific relationship of Spain with Latin America, particularly worthy of note are the contributions of Bosque Maurel (2002 and 2006) –also along geo-historical lines– and of Ramos (2007) –dealing with the current Spanish-Mexican relationship, with particular attention to SMEs.

1.6. Other areas: the need to broaden the scope

Finally, there is no escaping the paucity of studies on other areas of the world in the academic publications of Spanish geography. Although parts of Asia (China, the Middle East) and Sub-Saharan Africa have received some attention, there are also sizable blind spots (North America, Oceania, East and South Asia in general), although, as far as geopolitical studies are concerned, there are a few exceptions. Gil (2011) provided an overview of the main conflicts taking place on the Asian continent, while Torres (2011) focused on Kurdistan. As for China, Martín (2014) examined territorial imbalances and Lois (2017) explored Chinese urban geography by presenting a dossier devoted to this topic in *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*.

With respect to Sub-Saharan Africa, there has been some coverage of conflicts: by Mbuyi Kabunda (2011), an expert in International Relationships, on Central Africa and Sudan, and by Almeida (2011), on ethnic conflicts and development in the region as a whole. For historical reasons Equatorial Guinea has been more fully studied, particularly in relation to the historical presence of missionaries in the former Spanish colony, by Vilaró (2012a, 2012b, 2016), while Guerra (2015) has looked at the cartography of logging in the area.

The broadening of the scope of Spanish academic geography to take in these parts of the world –which contain not only a large portion of the world's population but also the homelands of many of the immigrants currently residing in Spain– is undoubtedly one of the greatest challenges currently facing it today.

2. THE IBERIAN FRONTIERS AND CROSS-BORDER COOPERATION. THE RESCALING OF POLITICS VIA RECONSIDERATION OF THE MEANING OF STATE BORDERS

The border is obviously one of the essential, defining elements of the Westphalian state, serving to establish the limits of its sovereignty, mark out its territorial integrity and foster the homogenization of the territory within it. Over the last two centuries, one of the main functions of academic geography in European countries has been to

study and legitimize states' borders by means of “scientific” argument. However, the globalization process discussed above has had a considerable impact on the sovereignty of states and, therefore, on the nature of their borders. So, it is hardly surprising that the study of borders –their demarcation, definition and effects– has incorporated many new elements in recent decades, and Spanish academic geography has not been immune to this general trend.

One of the main geographical focal points in the Iberian countries this century has been the changing conditions of the areas with internal borders within the European Union. Much of the analysis has revolved around cross-border cooperation (henceforth, CBC), reflecting the spread of this phenomenon as a result of the general process of European integration (the Treaty of Union, Schengen Zone, Customs Union, Economic and Monetary Union, etc.). European policies in support of territorial cooperation have played a crucial role in this respect, especially after the Madrid Convention of 1981 –backed by the Council of Europe– and the start of the EU's Interreg financing programmes, which were launched in 1989 shortly after the entry of the Iberian countries. The signing of bilateral agreements between Spain and France (1995) and Portugal (2002) marked the explicit recognition of the capacity of sub-state bodies to develop cooperation agreements with territories in neighbouring states. (Andorra subsequently signed a similar agreement.) This favourable context, now enshrined in the European Territorial Cooperation objective, has resulted in a widespread deployment of cooperative activities, which in Spain have largely been driven by various sub-state levels of administration (autonomous communities, provinces, city councils). These activities have been embodied by both specific projects working under time constraints and more permanent agreements, with the so-called Euroregions as one of the most visible (although not necessarily the most effective) figureheads.

The opening-up and coming-together of Iberian border areas can be interpreted as an important change at various levels. Firstly, the softening (albeit not disappearance) of borders has tended to somewhat reduce the peripheral nature of the spaces on either side of them, as access to these neighbouring areas has been improved and new opportunities for local development have arisen as a result. Apart from these new geo-economic advantages, the increased permeability of borders has also given rise to a reassessment of these territories in terms of culture, identity and politics by triggering recognition of common interests, as well as a restoration of the collective bonds and feelings that had been present, to some extent, in historical periods prior to the consolidation of the nation-state in the last two centuries. This redefinition of cross-border space has even wider repercussions, as it can ultimately contribute to a slow but progressive acknowledgement of a common European identity. Accordingly, we can speak of a territorial rescaling process based on the reinterpretation of these spaces, and also on their management by sub-state bodies, thus depriving central

governments of an area that was traditionally their exclusive preserve as regards the state's international relationships.

López Trigal (2017) recently produced an overview of geographical research into the borders of the Iberian Peninsula, which can be considered a starting point for our own examination herein. The works that we have assembled on this subject comprise over thirty articles (largely drawn from two monographic collections published by *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica* in 2010 and 2018), as well as some specific books. These works can be categorized in terms of two complementary viewpoints:

- a) Those focusing on the global analysis of the phenomenon of borders, CBC and the collation of international experiences.
- b) Those examining cases and topics specifically pertaining to the Iberian Lusitanian and Pyrenean borders (leaving aside references to the border with Morocco, already discussed in the previous section).

There follows a more detailed look at some of the major contributions to these two lines of research.

2.1 Analysis of borders: definition, evolution and policies

The phenomenon of borders has been broadly examined in the political geography manuals mentioned in the previous section: López Trigal & Soto (1999) devote a whole chapter specifically to “Borders and cross-border cooperation”, while Nogué & Vicente (2001) examine the subject transversally, within the framework of the crisis of the State. Meanwhile, the two manuals on the human geography of Spain published during the period studied herein (Olcina & Gómez Mendoza, 2001; Romero, 2016) unquestioningly accepted the frontiers of the Spanish state as their starting point and did not delve into any specific analysis of the demarcation of the current borders, or the integration into the State of the set of territories contained within them.

Apart from these general accounts, the book edited by Farinós & Romero (2006) on territorial governance in Spain includes, among other interesting studies, chapters specifically devoted to CBC in the Basque Country (Cruz, Lozano & Koldobika, 2006), on the Atlantic Axis (Rodríguez, Lois, Miramonte, Piñeiro & Suárez, 2006) and in Extremadura-Alentejo (Mora & García Flores (2006). Furthermore, the aforementioned monographic editions of *Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica*, initiated by the Autonomous University of Barcelona and Girona University, provide European case histories, as well as a global perspective, in an attempt to align this area of research in Spanish political geography with current international thinking. Oliveras, Durà & Perkmann (2010), in the article introducing the first of these monographs, trace the main stages in the development of CBC in Europe, following the path marked out by the work of Markus Perkmann, the European trailblazer in this field. These authors saw CBC as having

reached a phase of stabilization and greater institutionalization, following a period of spectacular growth. Eight years later, Giband & Vicente (2018), in the article that opens the second monograph, investigated this latter stage in depth, highlighting the tension existing in cross-border spaces between a desire for cooperation (within “soft spaces”) and states' tendency to tighten borders in response to the pressures of international migration. From a different angle, the jurist Beltrán (2010) analyzed the role of the European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation, and the political scientist Letamendia (2010) examined cross-border capital/labour relationships from a global viewpoint. Finally, these overviews were complemented in both monographs by comparative studies by various European authors of international experiments: Sohn (2010) looked at metropolitan areas, Dorrembacher (2010) at the Grande Région, Schönweitz (2010) at the Baltic Sea, Emsellem et al. (2010) at the French-Italian-Monacan border, Bramanti and Rosso (2010) at the Adriatic-Ionic region, and Janzac (2018) at the German-Polish border. More generally, the Portuguese researcher Medeiros (2018) evaluated the recent policies of Interreg, while Feliu et al (2018) used a comparative analysis methodology to examine four European CBC projects.

A recently published work by Durà et al. (2018) seeks to complement these European perspectives with a wide-ranging study that identifies and analyzes all the Euroregions active within the EU. This work provides data on their geographical profiles, their governance structures and their activities involving cooperation, along with a catalogue of good practices.

2.2. The borders of the Spanish State: specific studies

There has also been considerable output on CBC with respect to both the Iberian borders as a whole and to individual cases. Among the overviews, Mora Aliseda et al (2005) analyzed the Interreg III programme (2000-06) in Spain, which also covered the border with Morocco; overall, they gave a positive assessment of the programme, although the disputes between Autonomous Communities and regions in Portugal and France led them to propose the municipal and central scales as being more appropriate areas of cooperation. In contrast, Trillo & Lois (2014) noted that the Autonomous Communities have been able to deploy their own strategies through CBC, in a broader framework of international cooperation, thereby calling into question the control of central government: they use the Basque and Catalan cases as examples of this trend. Martín & Castañer (2018) applied their project analysis methodology to the Interreg IV-A programme at both these borders and found that the autonomous communities do indeed have great leadership capacities, due to the solidity of their jurisdictions. The study of the Galician-Portuguese relationship was the subject of considerable attention from Trillo & Pires (2016), who edited a collection of reports on the Iberian Peninsula, the fruit of an illuminating session in the fourteenth Coloquio

Ibérico de Geografía devoted to CBC and borders. Finally, Paül et al (2017) also provided a comprehensive overview of Spanish participation in CBC, and European territorial cooperation in general, as part of *La Geografía regional de España*, edited by Farinós and Olcina, thereby broaching a subject that had been poorly covered in previous manuals of this kind.

Reflections on the Spanish-Portuguese border have traditionally summoned up the picture of a predominantly rural peripheral area (with relative exceptions in coastal areas and other places, particularly in Galicia-Northern Portugal) that still experiences significant socio-economic difficulties, albeit with a growing awareness of shared space. The last few decades, however, have given rise to new critical viewpoints. The journal *Geopolítica(s). Revista de Estudios sobre Espacio y Poder* (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) has been especially persistent in this respect, with no less than six articles on the topic since 2011, by Maria Lois & Cairo (2011), Kavanagh (2011), Rovisco (2011), Trillo & Lois (2011), López Trigal (2016) and Lange (2017). In this and other publications, the contributions have particularly focused on the relationship between Galicia and Castilla y León, on the one hand, and on territories bordering on Portugal, on the other. An overview of the border can be found in Lois & Carballo (2014), who highlighted its progressively increasing permeability, as well as the contrasting territorial dynamics along its length. The relationships between Galicia and Northern Portugal have also been examined at the scale of the Autonomous Community-Region by Palmeiro, Pazos (2008), by Trillo & Lois (2011,) and by the political scientist Cancela (2010); and at a local scale by the political scientist María Lois (2013), and by Trillo, Lois & Paül (2015). As regards the relationship between Castilla y León and Northern and Central Portugal, Manero (2012) provided a positive assessment of the dynamics of municipal CBC in the Duero-Douro Euroregion, while Martín & Hortelano (2017) cast light on the difficulties of some areas hard hit by depopulation and inactivity, and Trillo & Paül (2018) questioned the aims of the Biosfera Meseta Ibérica Reserve, which they consider excessively geared toward tourism. Gutiérrez et al. (2010) examined the local mobility between Extremadura and Portugal as a parameter of a border's increasing permeability. With respect to Andalusia-Southern Portugal, Mulero (2018) has pointed out the problems in cooperating on the preservation of natural spaces.

The complex nature of the Pyrenean border is also reflected in the literature on the subject. It is more permeable and urbanized at its ends (particularly on the Western Basque coast) but has very few open spaces elsewhere, with an especially difficult terrain in its central section (Huesca-Altos Pirineos and Ariège). The detailed study by Capdevila (2008) of the border's demarcation process strikingly broke new ground. Of the works on the Pyrenees as a whole, Feliu et al (2013 and 2018) applied an analysis of Interreg projects to the area, highlighting the CTP's efficiency in distributing resources along the border, particular in those areas closest to it. Oliveras, Colomb &

Durà (2016) provided a viewpoint that went beyond the Interreg projects, while Giménez-Capdevila (2005, 2012) have focused on cross-border transport policies. Homing in on specific areas, we have found various studies of the Basque border (Sansinenea, 2001; Koldobika, 2006; Lozano 2007, Alberdi 2013). The output on the Central Pyrenees is more limited, although the journal *Geographica* has published some articles (Gorría, 2011; Capdevila, 2013) as part of a monographic issue on Pyrenean CBC. The remaining publications have examined the Catalanian border from various viewpoints: the political scientist Morata (2010) on the Mediterranean Pyrenees Euroregion; Castañer et al (2011) and Castañer & Feliu (2012) on the white paper of the Catalanian Cross-Border Eurodistrict, working in collaboration with the French MOT (MOT, UdG, 2008); Pallarès et al (2013) on the Alto Segre; Oliveras & Durà (2013) on the Barcelona-Toulouse axis; the foreign perspective of Giband & Mary (2018) on higher education in the same area (2018); and, looking at the particularly rich experience of the border county of La Cerdanya, Oliveras (2013), Berzi & Castañer (2018) and Nogué & Sala (2018), the latter focusing on a cross-border landscape plan.

It is appropriate to end with the contribution of Oliveras & Trillo (2013), two authors who have reflected deeply on CBC, while also taking a critical look at cooperation between Spanish Autonomous Communities, with an emphasis on areas that seem to replicate on a regional scale the paradigm of state borders and thus create a need for strategic approaches, along the historical lines of federal states. A similar focus could be ascribed to articles by Boira (2010), Oliveras & Durà (2010) and Durà (2012) on the relationship between the territories that comprise the Mediterranean Arc, understood as a shared geo-economic space. These studies suggest that management of the Iberian border territories (both inter- and intra-state) should evolve from the cooperation mechanisms currently in place to new visions more in keeping with the interdependencies triggered by the age of globalization.

3. TERRITORIAL ORDERING OF THE SPANISH STATE. THE LONG SILENCE OF SPANISH ACADEMIC GEOGRAPHY

One of the most notable consequences of the globalization process is the weakening of the power of states. It is well known that this process has several different origins. Technological advances and political agreements have enabled an unprecedented mobility of various factors: capital, goods, information and, to a lesser extent, people. This has led to an integration of economies and societies on a worldwide scale that has sparked flows that have overwhelmed the borders of states –flows that the latter find extremely difficult to not only manage but also to assess. Furthermore, globalization has been paralleled by the emergence of economic and political players –large corporations, lobbies– that act on a supra-state scale, have a great capacity to stand up to state powers and in many cases elude their regulations. In social terms, these

dynamics, which have been exhaustively described and studied (Harvey, 2012; Stiglitz, 2012; Urry, 2009), have propitiated the upsurge and consolidation of a so-called “corporate class”. This class has accumulated a very large proportion of the world's resources and consequently, due to its financial capacity and life style, it has been able to evade the obligations imposed by states on the rest of the population –including fiscal obligations.

At the same time as states are seeing their power curtailed by phenomena that are too big for them to handle, they are often further weakened by their own internal dynamics. As so many geographical and sociological studies have shown (Harvey, 1990; Castells, 1997), the dismantling of spatial barriers, far from reducing the importance of place, has in fact boosted it. The globalization process and the subsequent increase in interdependence have bestowed a particular importance on the comparative advantages that each place can offer to attract activities and investments. Moreover, in societies governed by flows and interests that often bring with them evident threats, a place becomes a refuge and a source of meaning. This largely explains the emergence of the identity-based, nationalist and localist upsurges that are affecting modern societies, including, obviously, those of the European Mediterranean countries.

The combination of these factors –globalization, on the one hand, and the increased importance of place, on the other– is one of the main wellsprings of the need for a “rescaling” of European politics (Keating, 2013). In the Spanish case, the issue is further complicated by historical developments, as the Spanish State contains within it a marked social, linguistic and cultural diversity that has, in the opinion of many historians, endowed it with a “plurinational” status (Romero & Furió, 2015). The Spanish Constitution of 1978 sought to channel this territorial diversity on an institutional basis, by recognizing the right to autonomy of the “nationalities and regions” that make up the State (article 2, Spanish Constitution). These provisions gave rise to the configuration, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, of the map that still holds sway today, consisting of 17 Autonomous Communities. Over the forty years since then, however, this process has been encumbered by problems and tensions of all kinds, most notably the difficulties of fitting the aspirations to self-government espoused in some parts of the State's territory (particularly Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia) into a relatively homogeneous framework. This has set in motion far-reaching disputes, from the long Basque conflict to the outbreak of the Catalanian crisis, that have had (and continue to have) a decisive influence on Spanish politics. The territorial component is clearly crucial to the birth and development of these conflicts, but, paradoxically, Spanish academic geography has played a very limited role in the research and public debate about the territorial ordering of the State in contemporary Spain.

3.1. The debate on the configuration and development of the Autonomic State

The failure of Spanish academic geography to intervene in this debate has been particularly striking in recent years but it has a longer history, stretching back, at the very least, to the aforementioned configuration of the Autonomic map after the passing of the Constitution in 1978. This has been pointed out by Professor Josefina Gómez Mendoza, who was a member of the Council of State and Rector of the Autonomous University of Madrid: "I have commented more than once on the startling fact that throughout the pre-Autonomic, Constitutional and Autonomic process, the voice of geographers was clamorously absent. It seems even more paradoxical to me taking into account that geographers, as a scientific community, had established the objective of regional division and had made the geography of Spain and, above all, the regional geography of Spain, the centrepiece of the first study plans for the geography curriculum. However, in the pre-Autonomic times, when what would go on to be the map of Autonomic Spain was being configured and big controversies were emerging [...] geographers seemed to have nothing to say, or if they did nobody knew about it" (Gómez Mendoza, 2013).

This behaviour cannot be attributed to any lack of polemics and tensions in the process of configuring the Autonomic map. In contrast, the very definition of the boundaries of the Autonomous Communities was fraught with numerous challenges of both a political and geographical nature (or geopolitical nature, as some would say): the possible fusion of Euskadi and Navarra; the relationship between the Catalan-speaking territories (Catalonia, Balearic Islands, the Valencian region); the position of Madrid on the Autonomic map; the fusion of Castilla and León; and, finally, the decision to establish single-province communities such as Murcia, Cantabria and La Rioja (Gómez Mendoza & García Álvarez, 2002). Furthermore, the evolution of the Autonomic map occasioned some extremely important turning points that have decisively influenced all subsequent developments. The most significant of these was undoubtedly the virtual homogenization of the systems of jurisdiction (with the notable exception of the Basque Country and Navarra). The Spanish Constitution foresaw, in principle, a distinction between regions with an "ordinary regime" and the so-called historic communities (Catalonia, the Basque Country and Galicia, which had already passed Statutes of Autonomy during the Second Spanish Republic of 1931-1939). This opened up the possibility of a territorial ordering of the State with two levels of self-government: on the one hand, the historic nationalities and, on the other, the regions. However, after the referendum on the autonomy of Andalusia in 1982, which led to an equivalence between this territory and the historic nationalities, that interpretation of the Constitution was put aside and the doors were opened for the progressive homogenization of the Autonomic system over the entire territory of the State, which has taken shape via various pacts and provisions, with the aforementioned exception of the Basque Country and Navarra (Romero, 2009).

Spanish academic geography has not only been absent, as we have seen, from the debate on the configuration of the Autonomic map, but also from that on the avatars that have marked its evolution. This avoidance of the topic of the territorial ordering of the State on a regional and national scale contrasts with the numerous studies on mapping in relation to local government (a subject that will be further discussed below). This reticence also contrasts with the notable participation of Spanish academic geographers in political life over recent decades, whether through taking on elected posts or responsibilities in State, Autonomic or local administrations. Consequently, it does not seem feasible to attribute their non-participation in the study and debate on the territorial ordering of the State to a general refusal to tackle questions of a political and administrative nature.

In any case, the almost total absence of works on the configuration of the political map of the Spanish State in academic geographical journals is extremely striking. In all the issues of the 12 publications systematically consulted for the writing of this text, no more than half a dozen articles dealt with this topic in the period 2000-2018. There have been some notable exceptions, however –the most noteworthy undoubtedly being that of Joan Romero, a professor at Valencia University who, over the last two decades, has repeatedly published studies of the territorial organization of the State and the possibility of developing it along federal lines (Romero, 2006; 2009; 2012; 2015; 2017).

3.2. The crisis of the Autonomic State and the growing involvement of academic geography

Nevertheless, this apathy does seem to have been changing over the last few years. It is evident that the territorial structure drawn up by the Spanish Constitution seems to have entered into a deep crisis at the start of the present decade. This crisis is not removed, in some ways, from the tensions sparked by the globalization processes common to all Mediterranean countries; in this particular case, the tensions have manifested themselves in demands for more self-government, on the one hand, and a push towards the recentralization of the State, on the other. The most striking expression of this situation is the crisis triggered by the aborted intent to renew Catalonia's Statute of Autonomy, and the subsequent rise of a powerful independence movement from 2010 onwards.

This crisis had been building up for some time, but academic geography had barely referred to it, even in those parts of the territory in which the conflicts were most apparent, or in the publications whose subject matter would make them, in principle,

best placed to tackle this issue². In recent years, however, the tide seems to have turned somewhat, precisely because of the crisis that had flared up. Accordingly, a conference was held in Toledo in 2013 specifically to reflect on the topic, with the participation of some twenty geographers from universities in Andalusia, Catalonia, Castilla, Galicia, the Balearic Islands, Madrid, the Basque Country and Valencia. This meeting gave rise to the publication *Repensar el Estado. Crisis económica, conflictos territoriales e identidades políticas en España*, which dealt with the State's territorial crisis, with special reference to the Catalanian question but not exclusively so, through the prism of resources, infrastructures, culture, language and administration (Gómez Mendoza, Lois & Nel-lo, 2013).

Initiatives of this kind had little discernible impact, however, although, more recently, the Spanish Association of Geography has embarked on a new phase by reinforcing the involvement of Spanish Geography in these debates of such importance to both politicians and the public at large. Accordingly, the Association's Geographical Thought Group organized another conference on the subject, which took place in the summer of 2018 in Cocentaina. This resulted in a new publication: *España: geografías para un Estado postmoderno*, whose editors advocated “a reinterpretation of sovereignties, the coexistence of multiterritorialities –without spurning the specifics of each one in its own particular living space, which is already multi-tiered and multi-dimensional thanks to the means of transport and new computer technologies available– and the reconsideration of perimeters and borders, once sharply defined and impermeable but now diffuse boundaries of permeable spaces. In this new reality, sovereignty becomes flexible and shared, demanding the renunciation —by agreement, *foedus*— of the use of force and defining in its turn new codes based on cohabitation and the stable and non-unilateral conjunction of interests. Therefore, the question is not one of more or less State but of what type of State we want, and need, for Spain; or for Spains, as our country has been called with normality throughout our history” (Farinós, Ojeda & Trillo, 2019).

As we can see, such initiatives are still emerging, and they have been accompanied by the appearance of the occasional article or book chapter (Nel-lo, 2015; Rojas, 2017; Nel-lo & Gomà, 2018), but if academic geography wants to make a constructive and useful contribution to a debate that is crucial to the Spanish society of our times, it still has a great distance to catch up.

² Note, for example, that between 2000 and 2016, a period that coincided with a decisive phase in the evolution of the Basque conflict, *Lurralde*, the journal of the Basque Geographical Institute, did not publish any works on this issue. Meanwhile, *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia*, which over the course of these two decades has published around thirty articles on the administrative organization of Catalan territory, has not featured a single one dealing with how Catalonia fitted into the Iberian context. Nor has a journal such as *Geopolítica(s)*, launched in 2011 with the express intention of contributing to the study “of the relationship between space and power”, particularly in Latin America and the Iberian countries, published any article on the territorial ordering of the Spanish State along Autonomic, federal or any other lines.

4. THE MAPPING OF LOCAL POWERS: MUNICIPALITIES, COUNTIES, PROVINCES AND METROPOLITAN AREAS

As mentioned above, the growing integration of European Mediterranean countries into the globalization process has occurred in parallel with substantial territorial transformations inside each of them. Over the course of the 20th century they were subject to extremely intense urbanization, which unfurled in two distinct phases: the first was distinguished by the concentration of the population and its activities in the main urban areas, resulting, on the one hand, in the depopulation of huge territories and, on the other, in the emergence of conurbations that concentrated a significant proportion of the population; the second phase was characterized by the growing expansion of these urban areas, the functional integration of the whole of the territory around them and the dispersion of urbanization.

One of the main effects of this two-way movement –which, in keeping with the famous metaphor of Henri Lefebvre, could be seen as both an urban implosion and an urban explosion– has been to spark considerable tensions in the territorial organization of the public administration. This is particularly true of a country like Spain, which has an administrative base that was assembled in the 19th century according to a homogeneous and rigidly hierarchical Napoleonic template. As a result, over 8,000 municipalities and some 50 provinces ended up covering the State's entire territory, like two all-embracing and barely diversified meshes. However, the demographic changes associated with urbanization have led to over 70% of Spain's 8,000 municipalities having a population of less than 2,000, while one thousand of them contain less than 100 inhabitants –in other words, their population is so small that most of them find it extremely difficult to fulfil their jurisdictions and provide the services incumbent on their town councils. At the other extreme, the urbanization process has led to the configuration of over 40 metropolitan areas that embrace around 1,300 municipalities and are home to three quarters of the country's population. Despite their demographic weight and the complexities inherent in their administration, these metropolitan areas are almost invariably lacking in appropriate mechanisms of coordination and governance (Nel-lo, 2016; Fera & Martínez, 2016).

While, as we have seen, Spanish academic geography has proved reluctant to enter into the debate on the State's territorial ordering with respect to nationalities and regions, it has, in contrast, produced numerous studies of local government. This output can be categorized in terms of municipal mapping, division into *comarcas* (counties), provincial mapping and, finally, the governance of the metropolitan areas.

4.1. The municipal map: studies and proposals for an urgent reform

For an overview of the characteristics of the Spanish municipal map and the geographical studies devoted to it, the work of Burgueño & Guerrero (2014) is extremely helpful. These authors not only analyze the main features of the municipal layout and provide a useful bibliography of the relevant geographical literature but also stress the importance of studying this topic from the viewpoint of academic geography: “We consider it necessary to stop regarding the municipal map as an established reality that is inscrutable and intangible, and instead start to ask ourselves about its *raison d'être*, so that, with this in mind, we can also be capable of making proposals to rationalize it by reforms of all kinds: from a 'simple' improvement and clarification of the frontiers to a modification of the municipal layout by merging municipalities, optimizing boundaries and resolving territorial dysfunctions, especially when they affect urban continuums. The municipal map is a field of study particularly suited to geographers, in which political, cultural, physical and historical elements converge and interact.” (Burgueño and Guerrero, 2014).

It is indeed the case that Spanish geography, which had already accumulated a relatively significant corpus of works on this subject in the second half of the 20th century, has continued this output in the last two decades. Particularly outstanding in this respect are the studies published by Jacobo García Álvarez (2004 and 2008), Jesús Burgueño (2004) and Román Rodríguez González (2005 and 2009) on the current reality of the layout and the possibilities of reforming it. Burgueño has also examined historical episodes in the evolution of the municipal map of the Balearic Islands (Burgueño, 2000), as well as its history in Catalonia (Burgueño & Lasso, 2002, Capdevila, 2005). The characteristics and dysfunctionalities of the municipal map have also been studied in Andalusia by Benito & de la Vega (2003), in the case of the Galician *concellos* by Rodríguez González (2004), and in Catalonia by Mendizábal (2014) and Guerrero & Burgueño (2018).

4.2. The *comarcas*: a tradition of studies and thwarted expectations

There is a strong tradition of studies of *comarcas* (counties) in Spanish geography. Throughout the 20th century, and even before, Spanish geographers expended great energy in demarcating these territorial areas, which are bigger than a municipality but smaller than a province. This academic tradition is particularly long in certain parts of the Spanish territory, such as Catalonia, Aragon, Galicia and the Valencian region. The laborious implementation of the provincial model (linked with the difficulties of the bourgeois revolution in Spain), the persistence of the areas with traditional rural markets and the desire to transpose the analytical methods of the French Possibilist school of geography to the scale of some of the peninsular territories could help explain the liveliness of this line of research over the years.

From the viewpoint of political geography, this matter is important because the *comarca* has often been seen as a field susceptible to administrative uses. Thus, on the basis of the precedent set by Catalonia, where, back in the 1930s, the autonomous government established its own division of the territory into counties as an alternative to that of the provinces (Vila, 1937; Lluch & Nel·lo, 1983; Lluch & Nel·lo, 1984), the county has repeatedly been championed as a basis for administrative organization, and recognized as such in several of the Statutes of regional autonomy passed during the period of the Constitution. Accordingly, the county has been used as a demarcation for the constitution of local entities, as a means to organize territory, as a statistical unit and as a space for strategic planning and the promotion of local development (Precedo, 2007; Membrado-Tena, 2016). The process by which counties have been demarcated and put in place as an administrative tool has met with repeated resistance and obstacles, however, and in most cases they have failed to fulfil the expectations invested in them.

In the last two decades Spanish academic geography has made a very active contribution to the debate about the counties, especially with respect to territories like Asturias, Aragón, Galicia and most particularly Catalonia, where the subject has been treated with such intensity that it has been said that the issue of territorial organization “can be considered the most important differential trait of the school of Catalanian Geography” (Luna & Mendizábal, 2004). So, since 2000 *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia*, the journal of the Catalanian geographers' association, has devoted no less than thirty articles to the subject, along with one monographic issue (published to mark the association's 75th anniversary) and three thematic dossiers. The counties of Galicia have similarly attracted great attention from geographers (Precedo, 2004; Paül & Pazos, 2009; Lois & Aldrey, 2010). It should be borne in mind that, as in the case of Catalan nationalism, Galicia's historic nationalism saw the counties as an alternative to the provinces within the framework of self-government. There have also been noteworthy, and often critical, geographical contributions to this debate in territories such as Aragón (Infante, 2010; Calvo & Pueyo, 2006), Asturias (Maurin, 2013) and the Valencian region (Membrado-Tena, 2013).

4.3. The provincial question: inheritance and boundary

There are some elements in the configuration of the governance of territory in Spain that are extremely striking. As explained above, the constitutional municipalities and the provinces were established in the 19th century with the advent of the modern State and the end of the diversity of jurisdictions under the *ancien régime*. The provinces, clearly inspired by the unifying, centralist French model, sought to guarantee the territorial ordering of the State and establish a homogeneous model of

governance for the entire territory of Spain. However, the difficulties encountered by the bourgeois revolution in Spain meant that some notable exceptions had to be established –the three Basque provinces and Navarra (the so-called *régimen foral*)– and that the division into provinces would be viewed with animosity by those movements struggling to obtain a degree of self-government in some parts of the country (particularly Catalonia and Galicia) in the late 19th century. As we have already seen, these territories even explored other forms of territorial organization based on the counties or *comarcas*.

As we have seen, the Spanish Constitution of 1978 tried to resolve this issue by establishing the possibility that the “nationalities and regions” that form the State could achieve a high degree of political and administrative autonomy via the creation of the 17 Autonomous Communities. In most of the territory, however, the establishment of the autonomic system did not lead to the abolition of the provincial system, either as a conduit for the peripheral administration of the State or as a conduit for local administration. Thus, despite the introduction of the Autonomous Communities, the *diputaciones provinciales* (the local governments corresponding to the provinces) continued to exist in most cases³. Furthermore, the modification of the provincial boundaries and the regulation of provincial government continued to be the responsibility of the State, rather than the Autonomous Communities. Hence the paradox that, while the Spanish Autonomous Communities have acquired a level of autonomy that in other states would make them entities of a federal nature, they do not have a free hand in the organization of the local governments within their respective territories.

As we can see, this situation is imbued with a juridical and political complexity that has triggered a debate over the last forty years that has proved irresoluble –and Spanish academic geography has made some notable contributions to this debate over the last two decades. Firstly, it has studied the history of the provincial division, particularly through the work of Jesús Burgueño, who had already published some key texts on the subject in the 1990s and has continued working in the same vein in this century (Burgueño, 2011). Secondly, there have been analyses of the functioning of the current provincial system, such as works by Jacobo García Álvarez (2002) and Josep Báguena & Xavier Bertrana (2013). Thirdly, the possibilities of reform have been explored from a federal perspective by Romero (2009), and via a comparison with the Italian situation by Trupiano & Nel-lo (2013). The latter publication contains a study by Burgueño –who, as we have seen, has been one of the geographers who has examined the administrative map most thoroughly– which proposes a revision of the State's territorial ordering through reform of the provincial system (Burgueño, 2013).

³ The exceptions to this rule were the single-province Autonomous Communities, i.e., those that were constituted on the basis of the territory of one province only: Asturias, Cantabria, La Rioja, Madrid and Murcia. In these cases, the jurisdictions of the respective *diputaciones provinciales* were taken on by the autonomous governments and the *diputaciones* ceased to exist.

Once again, it is in Catalonia that geographers have tackled this subject with the greatest insistence over the last twenty years. This is largely due to the fact that the 2006 Statute of the Autonomy of Catalonia attempted to mediate the substitution of the provinces existing in Catalonia by newly created demarcations: the *veguerías*. The sentence passed by the Spanish Constitutional Court in July 2010 put a stop to this project by declaring that any modification of the provincial boundaries would require the acquiescence of the State legislator. Nevertheless, the proposal provoked a considerable debate, in which Catalan academic geographers have played their part (Burgueño, 2009; Nel-lo, 2008 and 2009; Oliveras, 2009).

4.4. The metropolitan areas: administrative fragmentation and the need for governance

We have already shown how the ordering and hierarchization of the Spanish urban system during the 19th and 20th centuries contrasts with the rigid homogenization of the administrative template. This was particularly evident in the context of the main Spanish cities, where the expansion of the urban areas has resulted in the incorporation therein of a great many municipalities. Spanish urban geography has studied this phenomenon closely, both from a general viewpoint, as in the works of Feria & Albertos (2010), Feria & Martínez (2016) and Nel-lo (2004 and 2016), and with a focus on specific urban areas: Madrid (Solís 2011), Barcelona (Muñoz, 2011; Nel-lo & López, 2016), Asturias (Rodríguez, Menéndez & Blanco, 2009), Mallorca (Rullan, 2002; Mestre, 2016), Valencia (Sorribes & Romero, 2001), Galicia (Souto, 2009; Lois & Pino, 2015), to cite just a few examples.

Such studies have shown that the expansion of the urban areas has led to considerable fragmentation and administrative complexity. According to the demarcation established by Feria & Martínez, for example, the urban area of Madrid contains 172 municipalities, while that of Barcelona has 139 and that of Valencia 80 (Feria & Martínez, 2016). This situation has led to enormous complexity in the management of many fields, such as public transport and environmental control. It also makes it very difficult to plan the urban areas as a whole. Moreover, as this urban expansion was accompanied by the residential segregation of social groups, each of the municipalities within a metropolitan area tends to find itself segregated in terms of income, which in its turn prejudices the implementation of social policies. Finally, administrative fragmentation also brings with it problems of democratic representativity and a lack of transparency in decision-making.

The attempts to endow major Spanish cities with a type of metropolitan administration that would enable them to tackle, even partially, the problems of administrative fragmentation have encountered a host of difficulties over the last few decades. So much so that multi-functional metropolitan governments can only be

found in the metropolitan areas of Barcelona (reestablished in 2010) and Vigo (created in 2012).

Spanish geography has paid attention to the problems and needs derived from this situation, as evidenced by a substantial number of studies on this subject, both in the form of overviews and of examinations of some of the issues associated with metropolitan governance, particularly territorial planning. Of particular note among the overviews are Sorribes & Romero (2006), Romero (2009) and Feria & Albertos (2010); as regards territorial planning in the metropolitan sphere, it is worth mentioning Hildebrand (2016), Feria (2011), De Miguel (2008) and Nel-lo (2012 and 2014).

5. BY WAY OF CONCLUSION

Spanish academic geography boasts a long tradition of research in political geography, but at the present time the latter's focus and projection is highly dispersed. Whereas some fields have been covered, at various scales and via various territorial units, by numerous, thought-provoking studies, others have received markedly less attention. This chapter has sought to provide an overview of this situation, by looking firstly at studies of Spain's geopolitical position within Mediterranean, continental and global frameworks. This was followed by a discussion of works that examined the State borders and experiments in cross-border cooperation. Thirdly, we analyzed the (sparse) contribution of academic geography to the study and discussion of the territorial ordering of the State on the basis of nationalities and regions that integrate it, according to the terms of the Spanish Constitution. Finally, there was an exploration of the studies of the territorial organization of local governments (municipalities, counties and provinces) and problems related to metropolitan areas. This survey has led us to the following conclusions:

- a) There is a need to describe, analyze and understand the fact that the Iberian countries' place in the globalization process. This need derives not only from the challenges posed by its position and relationships in the global system but also from the growing diversity inside their societies. There has been an interesting revitalization in this respect on the part of Spanish political geography, which had been stigmatized for so long, due to its use for ideological purposes, even by the State. Spanish academic geography has conducted fruitful research on Latin America and elsewhere, but it presents some notable omissions as regards the European space, the Mediterranean and, most strikingly, the southern border, which is undoubtedly one of the most strategically important points of contact in the world. There is also little work available on more distant geographical areas such as Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia, Eastern Europe and North America. If Spanish political geography is to

consolidate its output, it cannot afford to renounce the ambition to contemplate the world in its totality, as well as via each of its major geographical areas.

- b) Spanish academic geography traditionally defined itself largely through the justification of the State borders. In the current situation, where the dynamics of globalization tend to call into question the very concept of sovereignty, the study of borders often takes on another aspect. Spanish academic geography has a good body of research in this field, as regards both the demarcation of the State borders and the experiments in cross-border cooperation that have arisen after they have become more permeable. Obviously, the next stage would involve moving away from work on the border and its consequences to exploration of the possible effect of the two conflicting trends seen today: on the one hand, the push toward stronger state sovereignty and a return to hard borders (including physical barriers) and, on the other, the drive toward a gradual erosion of the traditional state borders, thanks to the combined effects of communication technologies and globalization.
- c) Paradoxically, the dynamics of globalization have led to an increase in the importance of place, and this has triggered a rebirth of national, identity-based tensions. In Spain this situation has been intensified by its considerable territorial, cultural and linguistic diversity, which has historically encountered great obstacles as regards acceptance via institutional means. The resulting conflicts have an evident spatial component, but Spanish academic geography has been reluctant to use its vantage point to tackle the issue of the territorial ordering of the State, even in periods of heated debate and upheaval when it could have made a useful and explicative contribution. This was the case with the drawing-up of the Autonomic map, this was the case during the long Basque conflict, and it continues to be the case in the institutional crisis opened up by the demands for independence emanating from Catalonia in recent years. This reticence contrasts with the unremitting output from other academic fields, particularly political science, administrative law and sociological studies. It is only recently that Spanish academic geography seems to have become more involved in this debate. If this engagement is further consolidated, a rigorous contribution from geography could be of great help in understanding and handling the conflicts that have been set in motion.
- d) Finally, the transformations described above have been accompanied, not by chance, by profound changes in demographics and land use, as well as in the relationship of society with the environment. One of the main vectors of these changes has been the urbanization process, which has led to a concentration of population on a territory, followed by an expansion of urban areas, an increased territorial interdependence and a dispersion of urbanization. The local administrative map, inspired by the 19th-century drive towards rigid

homogenization, has thus become ever more obsolete, due both to the depopulation of large expanses and the emergence of enormous urban areas that straddle administrative boundaries. Spanish geography has observed these phenomena closely, with respect to both the municipal and the provincial maps. It has also contributed to the formulation of alternative organizational solutions, based on either counties or metropolitan areas.

This survey shows the potential of political geography to confront some of our societies' crucial challenges: the avatars of the globalization process, the crisis of the Westphalian State, the emergence of new social agents, the increase in territorial conflicts and the struggle over resources. The usefulness and relevance of Spanish geography in the coming years will largely depend on its capacity to further understanding of these issues and improve how they are handled.

REFERENCES

- Alberdi J C (2013) Evolución de las relaciones transfronterizas en el Bidasoa: de la conurbación a la communauté. *Geographicalia*, 63-64, 5-26.
- Almeida García F (2011) Reflexión sobre los conflictos étnicos y el desarrollo en el África Subsahariana. *Estudios geográficos* vol. LXXII (270): 7-33
- Almoguera Sallent M P, López Lara E, Miranda Bonilla J, Del Valle Ramos C (2007) Análisis y evolución de la comunidad ecuatoriana en Sevilla: Integración espacial y socioeconómica. *Cuadernos geográficos* 41(2): 133-148
- Alonso Santos J L, Ramos Pérez D (2007) Las relaciones económicas España-México: el papel de la PYME industrial. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 45: 5-29
- Álvarez-Ossorio Alvariño I (2008) La hoja de ruta de Hamas: del irredentismo a la realpolitik. *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* vol. XII (núm. 70)
- Álvarez-Ossorio I (2011) El mito de la conflictividad del mundo árabe. De la época colonial a las revueltas Populares. *Investigaciones Geográficas*, 55: 55-70
- Arran B, De la Vega Benayas S. (2003) Consideraciones geográficas sobre la superficie de los municipios de Andalucía. *Espacio y Tiempo: Revista de Ciencias Humanas* 17: 9-28
- Baguena J, Bertrana X (2013) Il governo del territorio nella Spagna democratica: il ruolo delle Province. In: Nel-lo O, Trupiano G (2013) Province e territorio. Riforme amministrative e pianificazione di area vasta in Italia e Spagna. Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane
- Bel Adell C (2002) ¿Fronteras abiertas, fronteras cerradas?. *Papeles de geografía* 35: 5-16
- Beltran S (2010) Els organismes de cooperació territorial a Europa : una mirada cap al futur. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 56(1): 57-69
- Berzi M, Castañer M (2018) Los Pirineos entre las políticas europeas y las iniciativas locales de cooperación transfronteriza: el caso de la Cerdaña. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 64(3): 529-550
- Boada M, Saurí D (2002) El canvi global. Barcelona, Rubes
- Boira J V (2015) Deconstruyendo el mapa conservador. Sobre el renacimiento de la geografía en el siglo XXI. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 67: 233-250
- Boira Maiques J V (2010) L'Eix Mediterrani: entre les dinàmiques locals i la perspectiva megaregional. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 56(1): 91-109
- Boisier S (2003) Globalización, Geografía Política y fronteras. *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense* 23: 21-39
- Bosque Maurel J (2002) La península Ibérica, el Atlántico y América. ¿Una etapa en el pasado de la globalización?. *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense* 22: 79-111
- Bosque Maurel J (2006) España e Ibero América. Cambios estructurales y nuevas relaciones tras la emancipación de Hispanoamérica (1824-2005). *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense* 26: 67-94
- Bosque Maurel J, García Ballesteros A (2003) Milton Santos (1926-2001). *Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense* 23: 9-19
- Bramanti A, Rosso P (2010) Un ejemplo de cooperación de área vasta. La experiencia y las perspectivas de desarrollo en la Eurorregión Adriática. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica*, 56(1): 221-235
- Burgueño J (2000) El projecte de reforma del mapa municipal de 1829 a les Balears. *Estudis Baleàrics* 66-67: 161-172

- Burgueño J (2004) El eterno debate sobre la reforma del mapa municipal. *Revista de Geografía* 3: 7-33
- Burgueño J (2009) Un país amb set territoris. *Treballs de la Soceitat Catalana de Geografia* 67-68: 13-37
- Burgueño J (2011) La invención de las provincias. Madrid, Catarata
- Burgueño J (2013) I progetti sulla riforma dell'amministrazione provinciale in Spagna: antecedenti, proposte e prospettive di futuro. In: Nel-lo O, Trupiano G (2013) *Province e territorio. Riforme amministrative e pianificazione di area vasta in Italia e Spagna*. Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane
- Burgueño J, Lasso De la Vega, F (2002) *Història del mapa municipal de Catalunya*. Barcelona, Direcció General d'Administració Local
- Burgueño, J, Guerrero M (2014) El mapa municipal de España. Una caracterización geográfica. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 64: 11-36
- Burriel De Orueta E L (2009) La Unión Europea y el urbanismo valenciano. ¿Conflicto jurídico o político? *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 49: 5-23
- Cadena Montenegro J L (2011) La geopolítica en Sudamérica: conflictos potenciales y efectos globales. *Investigaciones geográficas* 55: 113-133
- Calvo J L, Pueyo A (2006) La comarcalización de Aragón. In: Romero J & Farinós J (eds.) *Gobernanza territorial en España. Claroscuros de un proceso a partir del estudio de caos*. Valencia, Universitat de València
- Camacho Ballesta J A, Melikhova J (2010) Perspectiva territorial de la Unión europea: el largo camino hacia la cohesión territorial. *Cuadernos geográficos* 47 (2): 169-188
- Cancela Outeda C (2010) Panorama de la cooperación territorial en la eurorregión Galicia-Norte de Portugal. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica*, 56(1): 149-165
- Capdevila i Subirana J (2005) Els treballs de delimitació municipal del Instituto Geográfico Nacional a Catalunya, 1909-1930. *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia* 60: 45-69
- Capdevila J (2013) El deslinde de la frontera en los Pirineos Centrales (1857-1863). *Geographicalia*, 63-64, 43-61
- Capdevila Subirana J (2008) Mapes i fronteres. El plano en que se manifiesta la línea de división de los reynos de España y Francia por la parte del Ampurdan y coll del Pertús de 1764. Segon Congrés Català de Geografia, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, pp 349-360
- Capel H (2012) Organización del Estado, territorialización y socialización. América y Europa, siglos XIX y XX. *Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* vol. XVI (núm. 418)
- Capote Lama A (2011) Reencuentros en Marruecos de los inmigrados marroquíes en Andalucía. *Investigaciones geográficas* 56: 131-146
- Castañer M, Feliu J (2012) L'eurodistricte català transfronterer. Un espai emergent sense marc administratiu. *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia* 74: 41-58
- Castañer M, Feliu J, Gutiérrez O (2011) Llibre Blanc de l'Eurodistricte Català Transfronterer: creació de projecte i reestructuració territorial. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 57(2): 281-292
- Castells M (1997) *The Power of Identity, The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* Vol. II. Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Cohen A (2003) Las categorías estadísticas de la inmigración: acotaciones a un debate francés. *Ería* 60 (2003): 5-15
- Cohen Amselem A (2017) De la inmigración a la 'diversidad' para una reflexión sobre términos, categorías y problemáticas de anàlisis. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 63(2):353-37
- Corna Pellegrini G (2008) La grande e la piccola Cina nell' ultimo decenio. *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* vol. XII (núm. 270)

- Del Moral Ituarte L (2013) Crisis del capitalismo global. Desarrollo y medio ambiente. Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica, 59 (1):77-103
- Dixon, D (2017) La geopolítica de la ferida: compartint el patiment amb Charles Bell. Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia 84: 97-111
- Domingo A, Vono D (2007) El retorno de españoles desde América latina: características demográficas y distribución espacial de los flujos entre 1988 y 2006. Cuadernos geográficos 41(2): 7-31
- Domingo i Valls A (2018) Postveritat i demografia a la "Crisi dels refugiats". El plec thanatopolític a la Unió Europea. Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia 85: 9-30
- Dörrenbächer H P (2010) La "Gran Región". Institucionalización de una región europea tranfronteriza. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica, 56(1): 185-200
- Dühr S, Colomb C, Nadin V (2010) European Spatial Planning and Territorial Cooperation, Abingdon, Routledge
- Durà A, Camonita F, Berzi M, Noferini A (eds.) (2018) Euroregions, Excellence and Innovation across EU borders. A Catalogue of Good Practices. Department of Geography Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Kit-Book Servicios Editoriales, Barcelona
- Durà A, Oliveras X (eds.) (2010) "Arc mediterrani, euroregions i cooperació transfronterera". Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 56(1)
- Durà Guimerà A (2012) La cooperació territorial transpirinenca en el context de l'Arc Mediterrani. Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia 74:59-77
- Durà Guimerà A, Oliveras González X (2010) Cooperación territorial y articulación del Arco Mediterráneo. Papeles de Geografía 51-52: 95-104
- Escolano Utrilla S, Ortiz Véliz J, Moreno Mora R (2007) Globalización y cambios funcionales recientes en las ciudades del sistema urbano chileno. Cuadernos geográficos 41(2): 33-60
- Esparcia Pérez J, Escribano Pizarro J (2012) La dimensión territorial en la programación comunitaria y el nuevo marco de políticas públicas: Desarrollo rural territorial, reforma de la PAC y nuevo LEADER. Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense 32(2): 227-252
- Faludi A (2005) La política de cohesión territorial de la Unión Europea. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 39: 11-30
- Farinós Dasí J, Olcina Cantos J (eds.) Geografía regional de España. Espacio y comunidades. Bases para una regionalización renovada del territorio español, Tirant lo Blanch, Valencia
- Farinós J, Ojeda JF , Trillo JM (2019) España: geografías para un Estado postmoderno. Madrid-Barcelona, AGE.
- Feliu J, Berzi M, Martín J, Pastor R, Castañer M (2018) Cuatro fronteras europeas bajo la lupa: Una metodología para el análisis de los proyectos de cooperación transfronteriza (INTERREG). Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 64(3): 443-465
- Feliu J, Berzi M, Vicente J, Castañer M, Llussà R (2013) Análisis de los proyectos y actores transfronterizos España-Francia en el período 2007-2013. Geographicalia 63-64: 75-93
- Fenster T (2003) Separated Spacecs – Shared Spaces in Jerusalem Today. Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia, 56: 61-78
- Feria JM, Albertos JM, eds. (2010): La ciudad metropolitana en España: procesos urbanos en los inicios del siglo XXI, Madrid, Civitas
- Feria JM, Martínez L (2016): La definición y delimitación del sistema metropolitano español: permanencias y cambios entre 2001 y 2011. Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios Territoriales, XLVIII, 187:9-24

- Feria, JM (2011): La ordenación del territorio en las áreas metropolitanas españolas. In: Jurado Almonte, JM, coord., Ordenación del Territorio y Urbanismo: conflictos y oportunidades, Sevilla, Universidad Internacional de Andalucía
- Ferrer Gallardo X (2008) Acrobacias fronterizas en Ceuta y Melilla. Explorando la gestión de los perímetros terrestres de la Unión Europea en el continente africano. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica, 51: 129-149
- Ferrer Gallardo X (2012) Conflicte i cooperació: (dis)continuitats territorials a l'escenari fronterer Ceuta-Marroc. Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia, 73: 53-76
- García Álvarez J (2002): Provincias, regiones y comunidades autónomas: la formación del mapa político de España. Madrid, Secretaría General del Senado
- García Álvarez J (2004) Mapa municipal y políticas territoriales en España: elementos para un debate. Xeogràfica. Revista de Xeografia, territorio e medio ambiente 4: 7-23
- García Álvarez J (2008) L'evolució dels territoris locals a Espanya (1985-2005). De les inèrcies del mapa municipal a la construcció d'una nova geometria supramunicipal. In: Tort J et al., (coord.) L'organització del territori, un repte per al segle XXI? Barcelona, Fundació Universitat Catalana d'Estiu-Galerada
- Garcia Ramon MD, Nogué J, Zusman P, eds. (2008). Una mirada catalana a l'Àfrica. Viatgers i viatgeres dels segles XIX i XX (1859-1936). Lleida, Pagès
- Garcia Ramon, MD (2002). Viajeras europeas en el mundo árabe: un análisis en la geografía feminista y poscolonial. Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica 40:105-130
- García Rodríguez J-L, Febles Ramírez M F, Zapata Hernández V M (2005) La iniciativa comunitaria LEADER en España. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 39: 361-398
- Giband D, Mary K (2018) Cooperació territorial transfronterera en l'educació superior. L'estudi de cas de la frontera oriental dels Pirineus. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 64(3): 587-601
- Giband D, Vicente Rufí J (2018) Los espacios transfronterizos europeos: ¿un objetogeográfico de difícil definición? Una aproximación desde la perspectiva de los *soft spaces*. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 64(3):421-441
- Gil Olcina A, Gómez Mendoza J (2001) Geografía de España. Barcelona, Ariel
- Gil Pérez J (2011) Mapa de los conflictos de Asia. Investigaciones geográficas 55: 39-53
- Giménez i Capdevila R (2005) Els Pirineus: geografia de la circulació i política de transports. Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia 58: 89-107
- Giménez i Capdevila R (2012) Ideologia i geopolítica en la configuració del sistema de transports transpirinenc (1982-2011). Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia 74: 79-99
- Girone S, Lollo G (2011) Las migraciones de tránsito: Estrecho de Gibraltar vs Canal de Sicilia. Investigaciones geográficas 54: 37-70
- Gómez Mendoza J (2013) Crisis catalana ¿Crisis del Estado de las autonomías?. In: Gómez Mendoza J, Lois R, Nel-lo O (2013) Repensar el Estado. Crisis económica, conflictos territoriales e identidades políticas en España. Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Gómez Mendoza J (2019) La idea de España (y de Cataluña) en Vicens Vives. De la Geopolítica a la Geohistoria. In: Farinós J, Ojeda JF , Trillo JM (2019) España: geografías para un Estado postmoderno. Madrid-Barcelona, AGE.
- Gómez Mendoza J, García Álvarez J (2001) Organización política y administrativa. In: Gil Olcina A, Gómez Mendoza J (2001) Geografía de España. Barcelona, Ariel
- Gómez Mendoza J, Lois R, Nel-lo O (2013) Repensar el Estado. Crisis económica, conflictos territoriales e identidades políticas en España. Santiago de Compostela, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

- Gómez Piñeiro F J (2002) La importancia de los estudios de la geografía política en los análisis estratégicos del mundo actual. *Lurralde* 25: 13-20
- Gómez Piñeiro J (2001) Los sistemas regionales en el contexto de la globalización y la Mundialización. *Lurralde* 24: 13-19
- González Rego R A (2007) Migraciones y efectos socio- ambientales en América latina: La Habana de los años noventa. *Cuadernos geográficos* 41(2): 97-111
- Gorría (2011) La recuperación de las relaciones transfronterizas entre los valles de Ansó y Roncal como modelo de colaboración para el futuro. *Geographicalia*, 59-60, 137-149.
- Guerra Velasco J C, Ruiz-Valdepeñas H P (2015) Dominando la colonia: cartografía forestal, negocio de la madera y apropiación del espacio en la antigua Guinea Continental española. *Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* vol. XIX(num. 525)
- Gutiérrez Gallego J A, Pérez Pintor J M, Mora Aliseda J (2010) Dimensión y tipología de los movimientos transfronterizos en la frontera entre España (Extremadura) y Portugal (Alentejo y Región Centro. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 64(3): 133-148
- Gutiérrez Palomero A (2010) La iniciativa comunitaria URBAN y la construcción inconclusa de una política urbana para la Unión Europea. *Papeles de Geografía* 51-52:159-168
- Harvey D (1990) *The Condition of Postmodernity. An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell
- Harvey D (2012) *The Enigma of Capital and the Crises of Capitalism*. Londre, Profile Book
- Hildenbrand, A (2016) *Gobernanza y planificación territorial en las áreas metropolitanas: análisis comparado de las experiencias recientes en Alemania y de su interés para la práctica en España*, Sevilla, Universidad de Sevilla (Tesis doctoral)
- Infante J (2010) Aproximación al modelo de comarcalización de Aragón. Una reflexión crítica. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 52: 59-80
- Isabel Rivas A, Natera Rivas J J (2007) Inserción de la inmigración boliviana en la actividad hortícola del Departamento de Lules (Tucumán, Argentina) a mediados de la década de los noventa. *Cuadernos geográficos* 41(2): 113-131
- Izard M (2001) Fronteres, fronterers i frontisses. *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia* 53-54: 47-72
- Jańczak J (2018) Simetries, asimetries i cooperació transfronterera a la frontera germano-polonesa. Cap a un nou model de (des)fronterització. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 64(3): 509-527
- Kabunda M (2011) Conflictos en África: el caso de la región de los Grandes Lagos y de Sudán. *Investigaciones geográficas* 55: 71-90
- Kavanagh W (2011) Identidades en la frontera luso-española: permanencias y transformaciones después de Schengen. *Geopolítica(s)* 2/1:23-50
- Keating M (2013) *Rescaling the European State: The Making of Territory and the Rise of the Meso*, Oxford University Press
- Koldobika J (2006) Proyectos de cooperación transfronteriza en el País Vasco : objetivos y realidad. *Lurralde* 29
- Lange E (2017) Densidad institucional transfronteriza: de la Raya Ibérica a Galicia- Norte de Portugal. *Geopolíticas* 8/2
- Letamendía F (2010) Cooperación transfronteriza europea: regulación, historia y trabajo. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 56(1): 71-88
- Lladó Mas, B (2005) Discurs, història i poder : lectures geogràfiques de Michel Foucault. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 46:151-160

- Lluch E dir. (1981-1984) Geografía de la sociedad humana. Barcelona, Planeta, VIII vol.
- Lluch E, Nel·lo O (1983) La gènesi de la divisió territorial de Catalunya (1931-1936). Edició de documents de l'arxiu de la ponència, Barcelona, Diputació de Barcelona
- Lluch E, Nel·lo O (1984) El debat de la divisió territorial de Catalunya (1939-1983). Edició d'estudis, propostes i documents, Barcelona, Diputació de Barcelona
- Lois González R C (2009) La geografía y el análisis territorial en España: argumentos para la reflexión. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 50: 7-42
- Lois González R C, Aldrey Vázquez J A (2010) El problemático recorrido de la ordenación. Cuadernos Geográficos de la Universidad de Granada 47: 583-610
- Lois González R C, Carballo Lomba A (2015) La frontera hispano-lusa en la actualidad: una visión geogràfica. Revista de Historiografía 23: 191-1214
- Lois González R C, Feal Pérez A M, Paül Carril V (2013) La dimensión territorial de la Estrategia Europa 2020. Las regiones europeas en la senda oficial para salir de la crisis. Ería 93: 211-242
- Lois González R, Piñeira Mantiñán M J (2017) La imatge de la Xina i la geografia urbana xinesa a Occident: Reflexions des de la península Ibèrica. Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica 63(2): 255-276
- Lois González R & Pino D coords. (2015) A Galicia urbana. Vigo, Edicións Xerais
- Lois M (2013) Re-significando la frontera: el caso de la eurociudad Chaves-Verín. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 61: 309-327
- Lois M, Cairo H (2011) Desfronterización y refronterización en la Península Ibérica. Geopolítica(s) 2/1: 11-22
- López Trigo L (2013) Diccionario de geografía política y de geopolítica. León, Universidad de León
- López Trigo L (2016) Centralidades y nuevas actividades en la "Raya" ibérica. Geopolítica(s) 7/2
- López Trigo L (2017) Investigación geográfica sobre las fronteras de la Península Ibérica. Polígonos: Revista de geografía 29: 327-346
- López-Trigo L, Benito-Soto P (eds.) (1999) Geografía Política, Ediciones Cátedra, Madrid
- Losano M (2011) La geopolítica del Novecento. Dai Grandi Spazi delle dittature alla decolonizzazione. Milano, Bruno Mondadori
- Lozano Valencia P J (2007) La eurociudad Baiona-Donostia. ¿Ejemplo o utopía en la colaboración transfronteriza?. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 44: 325-340
- Luna A, Mendizábal E (2004) Geography in Catalonia. Belgeo 1:45-57.
- Machado Santiago R, Kurs O (2000) Diferenciación espaciotorritorial de dos regiones periféricas en Europa (Introducción históricogeográfica). Cuadernos Geográficos 30: 165-191
- Machado Santiago R, Kurs O (2002) Estructuras y articulaciones territoriales de Andalucía y Estonia: Análisis comparado. Cuadernos Geográficos 32: 125-152
- Machado Santiago R, Kurs O, Aunap R, Iglesias Campos A (2004) Las fronteras de Estonia como estado miembro de la Unión europea. Cuadernos geográficos, 35 (2): 117-141
- Manero Miguel F (2012) La cooperación intermunicipal como estrategia de ordenación desarrollo territorial en espacios transfronterizos: la Agrupación Europea de Cooperación Territorial Duero-Douro. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 58: 249-272
- March H (2013) Neoliberalismo y medio ambiente: una aproximación desde la geografía Crítica. Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica 59(1): 137-153
- Marcu S (2004) La región geopolítica del Mar Negro: entre la integración y la fragmentación. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 38: 199-224
- Marcu S (2005) La frontera este de la Unión Europea escenario actual y estrategias de futuro. Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense 25: 93-114

- Marcu S (2007) España y la geopolítica de la inmigración en los albores del siglo XXI. Cuadernos geográficos 40 (2007-1): 31-51
- Marcu S (2007) La geopolítica de la Rusia postsoviética: desintegración, renacimiento de una potencia y nuevas corrientes de pensamiento geopolítico. Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias sociales vol. XI (núm. 253)
- Marcu S (2011) Geopolítica fronteriza y migraciones en la Rusia postsoviética. Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense 31: 83-106
- Marcu S (2011) Pax Russica: ambigüedad geopolítica de las tensiones y conflictos en el espacio de la antigua Unión Soviética. Investigaciones geográficas 55: 91-111
- Maria Madaleno I (2007) Etno-farmacología en Iberoamérica, una alternativa a la globalización de las prácticas de cura. Cuadernos geográficos 41(2): 61-95
- Márquez Domínguez J A, Díaz-Diego J (2016) The Nicaragua interoceanic grand canal in the central american regional development context: considerations for the debate. Investigaciones geográficas 66: 27-41
- Marston S A, Hawkins H, Straughan E (2017) Encontres glacials: una geopolítica feminista sobre el canvi climàtic. Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia 84:69-96
- Martín Fernández C S, Martín Martín V O (2016) Geopolítica e hidrocarburos: Las prospecciones petrolíferas en el área canario-sahariana (1940-1980). Estudios Geográficos, 77 (280): 217-239
- Martín Jiménez M I (2005) Programa TERRA, una experiencia de cooperación para la ordenación del territorio. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 39: 285-305
- Martín Jiménez M I, Hortalano Mínguez L A (2017) Cohesión y convergencia en la frontera de Castilla y León con Portugal (1986-2016): Población, economía y territorio. Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense 37(1): 182-216
- Martín Roda E M (2014) Desequilibrios territoriales en el auge económico chino. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos 66: 143-160
- Martín Ruiz J F, Arranz Lozano M (2009) Los factores del desarrollo socioeconómico y territorial de Marruecos: la aportación de las remesas de sus emigrantes. Anales de Geografía de la Universidad Complutense 29(2): 9-35
- Martín-Uceda J, Castañer Vivas M (2018) Actores y proyectos transfronterizos en las fronteras ibéricas: análisis comparativo a partir de INTERREG IV-A. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 78: 154-179
- Massey D (2009) Concepts of space and power in theory and in political practice. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 55:15-26
- Maurin M. (2013) Un nuevo diseño territorial para Asturias. In: I congreso ¿Territorios ante la crisis. Territorios en crisis? Barcelona, UB-ANTERRIT
- Maya Frades A, Hidalgo González C (2009) Nuevas funciones y desarrollos de los territorios rurales europeos: su necesaria adaptación a métodos de producción duraderos y sostenibles. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 49: 255-279
- Medeiros E (2018) Haurien els programes de cooperació transfronterera de la UE de centrar-se principalment en la reducció dels obstacles fronterers?. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 64(3): 467-491
- Membrado J C (2013). La división territorial valenciana: Antecedentes, problemas y política de la Generalitat. Investigaciones Geográficas 59: 5-24
- Membrado Tena J C (2016) Entes territoriales de escala comarcal en la administración local española. Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica 62: 347-371

- Méndez R (2015) De la globalización capitalista al desarrollo territorial: por una geografía económica socialmente relevante. Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales vol 19, nº 522(2)
- Méndez R (2015) Tensiones y conflictos armados en el sistema mundial: una perspectiva Geopolítica. Investigaciones geográficas 55: 19-37
- Méndez, R (2011) El nuevo mapa geopolítico del mundo, Editorial Tirant lo Blanch, Valencia
- Mestre M (2016) Ciutat i territori a Mallorca. Una aproximació a la relació entre Palma i el sistema urbà mallorquí. Bellaterra, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Tesis Doctoral)
- Miguel R de (2008) Planificación territorial, gobierno y gobernanza metropolitana en las grandes ciudades españolas. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 48: 355:374
- Mollá Ruiz-Gómez M (2011) La región fronteriza México-Estados Unidos, un lugar de unión y desencuentros. Investigaciones geográficas 55: 169-180
- Mora Aliseda J, Pimienta Muñiz M, García Flores S (2005) La iniciativa comunitaria INTERREG III en España. Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles 39: 267-284
- Morata F (2010) Euroregions i integració europea. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 56(1): 41-56
- MOT (Mission Opérationnelle Transfrontalière), UdG (Universitat de Girona) (2008). Livre Blanc de l'Eurodistrict, pour un avenir transfrontalier / Llibre Blanc de l'Eurodistrict, per a un futur transfronterer. París: Generalitat de Catalunya i Consel General Pyrénées Orientales
- Mulero Mendigorri A (2018) Fronteras y territorios: la gestión de las áreas protegidas en cuestión. Cuadernos geográficos 57(1): 61-86
- Muñoz, F (2011): Estrategies vers la ciutat de baixa densitat: de la contenció a la gestió, Barcelona, Diputació de Barcelona
- Muro Morales J I, Nadal Piqué F, Urteaga González L (2004) Los planos urbanos de la Comisión de Marruecos (1882-1908). Ería 64-65: 261-283
- Nel-lo O (2008) L'organització territorial en el nou Estatut de Catalunya. Gènesi i concreció d'una reforma incompleta, In: Tort J, Paül V, Maluquer J L'organització del territori: un repte per al segle XXI, Barcelona, Fundació Universitat Catalana d'Estiu
- Nel-lo O (2009) La incerta reforma de l'organització territorial de Catalunya d'ençà l'aprovació de l'Estatut d'Autonomia de 2006, Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia, 67-68: 111-152
- Nel-lo O (2012) Ordenar el territorio. La experiencia de Barcelona y Cataluña, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch
- Nel-lo O (2014); Barcelona. In: Van den Berg L, van den Meer J i Carvalho L, eds., Cities as engines of sustainable competitiveness. European Urban Policy in Practice, Farnham, Ashgate
- Nel-lo O (2015) La ciudad en movimiento. Crisis social y respuesta ciudadana; Madrid; Díaz & Pons
- Nel-lo O (2016) El proceseo de urbanización: motor y expresión de las transformaciones sociales y territoriales. In Romero J, ed. Geografía humana de España, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch
- Nel-lo O, Gomà A (2018) The Geographies of Discontent. Urban segregation, political attitudes and electoral behaviour in Catalonia. City, Territory and architecture 5:23
- Nel-lo O, López J (2016) El procés d'urbanització. In: Giner S, Homs O, eds., La societat catalana, Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana
- Nel-lo O, Trupiano G (2013) Province e territorio. Riforme amministrative e pianificazione di area vasta in Italia e Spagna. Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane
- Nel-lo, O (2004) ¿Cambio de siglo, cambio de ciclo?. Las grandes ciudades españolas en el umbral del siglo XXI, Ciudad y Territorio. Estudios Territoriales, XXXVI, 141-142: 523-542
- Nemmaoui A, García Lorca A (2009) La irrigación en Marruecos: El Caso de Tadla-Azilal. Cuadernos geográficos 44: 113-132
- Nieto Calmaestra J A, Boulifa F (2008) La fractura demográfica del Estrecho. Cuadernos geográficos 42: 7-36

- Nieto Masot A, Gurría Gascón J L (2008) Las políticas rurales europeas y su impacto en Extremadura. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 48: 225-246
- Nogué J, Sala Martín P (2018) La planificació i la gestió d'un paisatge transfronterer. *El Pla de Paisatge de la Cerdanya. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 64(3): 567-586
- Nogué J, Vicente J (2001) *Geopolítica, identidad y globalización*, Editorial Ariel, Barcelona
- Oliveras González X, Trillo Santamaría J M (2014) Fronteras en el contexto español: ¿barreras o puentes para la cooperación sanitaria?. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 60(1): 135-159
- Oliveras J (2009) Reflexions sobre l'organització territorial de Catalunya, *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia*, 67-68: 179-198
- Oliveras X (2013) La cooperación transfronteriza en la Cerdanya (frontera España-Francia). *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 62: 25-48
- Oliveras X, Durà A (2013) Agentes locales y proyectos transfronterizos en el eje transpirenaico Barcelona-Toulouse. *Geographicalia*, 63-64, 205-234
- Oliveras X, Durà A, Perkmann M (2010) Las regiones transfronterizas: Balance de la regionalización de la cooperación transfronteriza en Europa (1958-2007). *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica*, 56(1): 21-40
- Oliveras, X, Durà A (2011) Cooperación transfronteriza en el Pirineo Mediterráneo. In: Letamendía F (coord.) *Pueblos y fronteras en los Pirineos y el altiplano andino*, Fundamentos, Madrid
- Oliveras-González X, Colomb C, Durà-Guimerà A (2016) La cooperación transfronteriza en el contexto pirenaico: retos de la multiplicidad. In: Trillo Santamaría J M, Pires I (eds.) *Fronteras en la investigación peninsular: temáticas y enfoques contemporáneos / Fronteiras na investigação peninsular: temáticas e abordagens contemporâneas*. Servicio de Publicacions e Intercambio Científico da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela
- Ordóñez Morales C E, Loras Castillo E, Ochoa Galicia M A, Loarca Moreira H, Reyes M I (2007) Acceso a la tierra y organización productiva en la Boca Costa Quetzalteca, Guatemala. *Cuadernos geográficos* 41(2): 149-172
- Ortiz Pérez S (2015) Territorialidad cooperativa y campesina del movimiento de los trabajadores rurales sin tierra (MST) de Brasil. *Investigaciones geográficas* 64: 57-72
- Pallarès-Blanch M, Tulla A, Vera A (2013) Reintegración de un territorio entre fronteras: el Alto Segre, Pirineos. *Geographicalia*, 63-64, 121-156.
- Palmeiro Piñeiro J L, Pazos Otón M (2008) La Eurorregión Galicia-norte de Portugal: una aproximación a la movilidad en el contexto ibérico. *Estudios geográficos* Vol. LXIX(264): 215-245
- Paül i Carril V, Pazos Otón M (2009) Els darrers capítols del debat al voltant del mapa immutable de Galícia: Qüestions actuals d'organització territorial gallega. *Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia* 67-68: 199-229
- Paül V, Castañer Vivas M, Trillo Santamaría J M, Martín Uceda J, Vicente Rufí J (2017) La participación española en la cooperación transfronteriza y territorial europea. In: Raffestin C (2007) *A propòsit d'algunes paradoxes limitològiques*. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 50: 121-133
- Pillet Capdepón F (2015) 30 años de la autonomía de Castilla-la Mancha: ¿Ordenación territorial o pentaprovincia? *Investigaciones geográficas*, 63: 5-15
- Plaza Gutiérrez J I (2005) Desarrollo y diversificación en las zonas rurales de España: el programa PRODER. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 39: 399-422
- Plaza Gutiérrez J I (2011) Conflictos geopolíticos y tensiones en el mundo actual. *Investigaciones geográficas* 55: 7-15

- Plaza Gutiérrez J I, Romero González J, Farinós Dasí J (2003) Nueva cultura y gobierno del territorio en Europa. *Ería* 61: 227-249
- Prat Carvajal E (eds) (2010) Las raíces históricas de los conflictos armados actuales, Publicaciones Universidad de Valencia, Valencia
- Prats Ferret M (2011) Una revisió crítica de la recerca sobre geografies de la infància en el context de l'Àfrica subsahariana. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica* 57(1): 127-146
- Precedo Ledo A (2004) El modelo de desarrollo comarcal. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 38: 29-47
- Precedo Ledo A (2007) La comarcalización en España: Evolución reciente y nuevas perspectivas. *Territorio y desarrollo local* 9: 19-26
- Raymond N (2004) Geopolítica del desarrollo turístico en América Latina. *Cuadernos geográficos* 35 (2): 55-72
- Rodríguez Esteban J A (Ed.) (2011) España en África. La ciencia española en el Sáhara Occidental (1884-1976), Ediciones Calamar, Madrid (book + 1 DVD)
- Rodríguez F, Menéndez R & Blanco J (2009) El Área Metropolitana de Asturias: Ciudad Astur, el nacimiento de una estrella urbana en Europa, Oviedo
- Rodríguez Garoz R (2005) Geopolítica crítica: el pacto ibérico de 1939. *Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales* vol. IX (núm. 198)
- Rodríguez González R (2005) Territorio y gobierno local en España. Un planteamiento de reestructuración por fusión como realidad necesaria. Madrid, Thomson Civitas
- Rodríguez González R (coord.) (2009) Reformar la administración territorial. Municipios eficientes y viables, Oleiros, Netbiblio
- Rojas C (2017) Los vascos y sus estrategias de política exterior para potenciar su demanda de independencia. *Lurralde* 40:111-122
- Romero González J, Farinós Dasí J (2005) Presentación. El Gobierno del territorio en España iniciativas de coordinación y cooperación territorial. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles* 39: 5-8
- Romero J (2006) España inacabada. Valencia, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valencia
- Romero J (2009) Geopolítica y gobierno del territorio en España. Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch
- Romero J ed. (2016) Geografía humana de España, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch
- Romero J, Alcaraz M (2015) Estado, naciones y regiones en la España Democrática. In Romero J, Furió A (2015) Historia de las Españas. Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch
- Romero J, Boira JV (2016) El contexto geopolítico. In Romero J, ed. Geografía humana de España, Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch
- Romero J, Furió A (2015) Historia de las Españas. Valencia, Tirant lo Blanch
- Romero, J , Nogué J (2007) Globalización y nuevo (des)orden mundial. In: Romero J (dir.) Geografía humana. Procesos, riesgos e incertidumbres en un mundo globalizado. Editorial Ariel, Barcelona
- Rovisco E (2011) Frontera y turismo en el "municipio más portugués de Portugal". *Geopolítica(s)* 2/1:91-107
- Rullan O (2002) La construcció territorial de Mallorca. Palma, Moll
- Sansinenea G (2001) La eurociudad Bayona - San Sebastián. *Lurralde* 24: 45-76
- Schmidt di Friedberg M, Neve M, Cerarols Ramírez R (2018) Claude Raffestin: Territorio, frontera, poder, Icaria Editorial, Barcelona
- Schönweitz M (2010) Construcción regional en la Región del Mar Báltico1 : territorialidad vs. funcionalidad. *Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica*, 56(1): 201-220

- Senhoras E M, Moreira F de A, Vitte C (2008) C. S. A geografia da paradiplomacia subnacional na América do Sul. Scripta Nova. Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales vol. XII (núm. 270)
- Shmite S M, Nin M C (2014) Europa en crisis, el desencanto de la Unión Europea. Papeles de geografía 59-60: 173-186
- Smith N (2004) Geografías perdidas y globalizaciones fracasadas. De Versalles a Irak. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 44:19-41
- Smith N (2004) Nuevo globalismo, nuevo urbanismo, Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 38:15-32
- Sohn C (2010) El papel ambivalente de las fronteras en la construcción de las metrópolis transfronterizas en Europa. Los casos de Basilea, Ginebra y Luxemburgo. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica, 56(1): 167-184
- Solana M et al (2016) Espacios globales y lugares próximos. Barcelona, Icaria
- Soledad Suescún J I (2007) Las migraciones forzadas: el desplazamiento interno en Colombia. Cuadernos geográficos 41(2): 173-189
- Solis E (2011) Del área metropolitana hacia la región urbana policéntrica madrileña: cambio de escala, estructura y articulación territorial, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (tesis doctoral).
- Sorribes J, Romero J (2001): Dinámicas y procesos recientes en las áreas metropolitanas. In: Romero J et al., coords., La periferia emergente. La Comunidad Valenciana en la Europa de las regiones, Barcelona, Ariel
- Sorribes J, Romero J (2006): "El fracaso de las experiències de gobierno metropolitano en España". In: Romero J, Farinós J, coord., La gobernanza territorial en España. Claroscuros del proceso a partir del estudio de casos, Valencia, Universitat de València.
- Stiglitz J (2012) The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future. New York, W.W. Norton and Company
- Taibo, C (2006) La descartografía del mundo. Estados fallidos y conflictos olvidados. In: Nogué J, Romero J (eds.) Las otras geografías. Editorial Tirant lo Blanch, Valencia
- Terán M (1978) Síntesis introductoria. In: Teran M et al, Geografía general de España, Barcelona, Ariel.
- Torres Adán A L (2014) El tráfico de seres humanos en la Moldavia postsoviética (1991-2004). Papeles de Geografía 59-60: 187-197
- Tort J, Paül V, Maluquer J (2008) L'organització del territori: un repte per al segle XXI, Barcelona, Fundació Universitat Catalana d'Estiu
- Trillo Santamaría J M, Lois González R C (2011) La frontera como motivo de atracción: una breve mirada a las relaciones Galicia-Região Norte. Geopolítica(s) 2(1): 109-134
- Trillo Santamaría J M, Lois González R C (2014) Estrategias para cuestionar el control central del espacio estatal. Acción exterior y cooperación transfronteriza. Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales Vol. XVIII(núm. 493)
- Trillo Santamaría J M, Lois González R C, Paül Carril V (2015) Ciudades que cruzan la frontera: un análisis crítico del proyecto Eurocidade Chaves-Verín. Cuadernos geográficos 54(1): 160-185
- Trillo Santamaría J M, Paül Carril V (2018) La Reserva de la Biosfera Meseta Ibérica como espacio natural protegido transfronterizo: ¿herramienta de conservación o marca promocional?. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 64(3): 493-508
- Trillo Santamaría J M, Pires I (eds.) (2016) Fronteras en la investigación peninsular: temáticas y enfoques contemporáneos / Fronteiras na investigação peninsular: temáticas e abordagens

- contemporâneas. Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico da Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Santiago de Compostela
- Universitat de Barcelona (ed.) (2012) Independencias y construcción de estados nacionales: poder, territorialización y socialización, siglos XIX-XX Scripta Nova. Revista electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales vol. 16 (núm. 418)
- Universitat de Granada (ed.) (2007) Sociedad y Territorio en América Latina. Cuadernos geográficos 41(2)
- Urry J (2009) Offshoring. Cambridge, Polity
- Urteaga González L (2006) Vigilia colonial. Cartógrafos militares en Marruecos (1882-1912). Edicions Bellaterra / Ministerio de Defensa, Barcelona
- Van den Berg J, Braun E & Van den Meer J (2007) National Policy Responses to Urban Challenges in Europe. Abingdon, Ashgate
- Viana Suberviola E, Fernández Salinas V (2017) Referentes geopolíticos de la situación legal de la comunidad LGBTI. Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia 84: 161-177
- Vicente Rufí J, Castañer i Vivas M, Pastor Batllori R (eds.) (2018) Espais fronterers i cooperació transfronterera a Europa. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 64(3)
- Vilà Valentí J (1968) La península ibérica. Esplugues de Llobregat, Ariel
- Vila, P (1937) La divisió territorial de Catalunya, Barcelona, Conselleria d'Economia de la Generalitat de Catalunya
- Vilaró i Güell M (2012a) La segunda expedición misionera al Golfo de Guinea a cargo del reverendo Miguel Martínez Sanz, primer prefecto apostólico de Fernando Poo. Hispania Nova: Revista de historia contemporània 10
- Vilaró i Güell M (2012b) Las acciones del gobernador José Barrasa en los litigios territoriales con Francia en Río Muni. Documents d'anàlisi geogràfica 58(2): 265-284
- Vilaró i Güell M (2016) La Guinea Española en sus décadas de indolencia. Sociedad Geográfica Española 55: 106-121
- Villanova J L (2004) Marruecos y el mundo árabo-islámico en la Geografía espanyola a partir de 1975. Estudios geográficos Vol. LXV (257): 705-722
- Villanova, J L (2004). El protectorado de España en Marruecos: organización política y territorial. Bellaterra, Barcelona
- Viruela Martínez R (2008) De este a oeste: la inmigración desde los nuevos países comunitarios (Rumanía y Bulgaria). Cuadernos de Geografía 84: 127-134
- Zusman P B (2010) La alteridad de la nación. La formación del Territorio del Noroeste del Río Ohio de los Estados Unidos (1787) y de los Territorios Nacionales en Argentina (1884). Documents d'Anàlisi Geogràfica 56 (3): 503-52