

Pär M. Olausson

Autonomy and Islands



A Global Study of the Factors that
Determine Island Autonomy



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I begin this thesis by quoting John Donne: “No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main”. The process of writing a thesis could well be illustrated by these words. Some times you feel very much left by your own, but still you are part of an intellectual environments, surrounded by colleagues, friends and family willing to help and support you when ever it feels as if you have come to a dead stop.

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Täby and Östersund – 2007

Pär M. Olausson

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1. Introduction

“No man is an island, entire of itself
Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main”

The famous words by the English 17th century poet John Donne serve well as a starting-point for a study on islands and autonomy. In fact, the poem could very well be written on islands and autonomies, since they both strive to be separated from the main. Islands are naturally separated from the mainland by water, but are still dependent on it for economical, political and social reasons while autonomies are separated by boundaries; in some cases by real boundaries in the form of borders and territories, in other cases more abstract borders in the form of ethnic groups without a defined territory. Common for both of them is the feeling of difference in relation to the main, often based on a feeling of belongingness, and fellowship, an *us and them* perspective upon which the identification as being different from the main is based. Sometimes it derives from cultural differences, at other times based on pure belonging and affinity.

Autonomy is one of the major concepts in today's social science and often implies freedom from external constraints. In political science it is often defined as self-government or self-rule implying the right of a defined group of people, with or without a defined territory, to govern themselves in certain defined areas. It also implies that a territory and/or a minority group enjoy a special status in relation to other territories and/or groups in the society. The degree of autonomy varies between autonomous entities. In some cases the autonomy only includes the right of a defined group, often a minority group, to exercise their culture and traditions, e.g. the Sami-people in the Scandinavian countries and the Maori-people in New Zealand. In other cases the autonomy includes basically all domestic decision making, except for defence and foreign affairs, e.g. the Faeroe Islands and the island of Aruba in the Caribbean. In some cases the autonomy was forced upon the territory as in the case with the Åland Islands while in other cases the autonomy was self-chosen, as in the case of the Cook Islands.

At the end of the 20th century, some social scientists noted a trend or a paradigm-shift implying the end of nation-states as we know them, replacing them with interstate organisations and local autonomous units, the so-called glocal trend (see Elazar 1994; Watts 2000:20). There are al-

ready many studies performed on autonomy and the factors that explain why some territories have achieved autonomy. However, most of these studies have focused only on autonomies and not on territories that have *not* achieved autonomy, even though they appear to have the same conditions for autonomy. In a few cases the autonomy studies have included cases where the autonomy has ceased to exist, but still there is no major study that includes both cases that have achieved autonomy and cases that have not.

Among the territorial autonomies in the world today, many are constituted by islands, island groups or archipelagos. Among the European autonomous territories for instance a majority are constituted by islands or archipelagos. Apart from the federal entities of Russia and the semi-federal entities of Spain, there are ten autonomous islands or archipelagos in Europe (the Åland Islands, the Faeroe Islands, Guernsey, Jersey, Isle of Man, Svalbard, Sardinia, Sicily, the Azores, and Madeira) while there are only six mainland autonomous territories (Mount Athos, Kosovo, Crimea, Valle d'Aosta, Friuli-Venezia, and Trentino-Alto). In other parts of the world the situation is about the same, in the sense that islands are over-represented among autonomous territories. In the Americas, only three of the autonomous territories are mainland based (Atlantico Norte, Atlantico Sur, and San Blas), while 15 are islands, mainly in the Caribbean and along the Atlantic coast of the two American continents. In Oceania, obviously all autonomous territories are islands. Among the three major territorial autonomy arrangements listed by Elazar, islands are strongly represented. Of the 33 federacies, associated states and home rule arrangements listed, 27 were islands (Elazar 1994:357-364).

The fact that a majority of the autonomous territories in the world are islands is often explained by insularity itself. As will be further discussed in chapter two, one of the main characteristics of islands is believed to be the ability to develop an autonomous status in relation to the mainland, both as a *de facto* autonomy, but also as an identity of belongingness, affinity and the feeling of being different from the mainland, which is often said to characterize islanders (Anckar 1982: 115-116). This study must therefore be seen as a contribution to the understanding of islands, belonging to the tradition of Island Studies, also referred to as *Nissology*.

The relations between autonomy and the island regions in the world is a fairly unexplored field of study in comparative politics. In fact, the studies performed on autonomy focus on autonomous territories in the world, leaving out non-autonomous territories.

The interdisciplinary science of Island Studies, or Nissology, has over the last decades grown to become an established academic subject in many universities all around the world, both in island and in non-island countries. Island Studies aims at finding the essence of islands and insularity. It includes most academic disciplines and focus on both the everyday life of the islanders as well as the characteristics of the islands themselves. Around the world island institutes are founded. Organisations and networks for islands and island researchers have been established, e.g. the ISISA (International Small Island Studies Association), GIN (Global Islands Network), and CPMR (The Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions). However, Island Studies is a fairly young discipline in the scientific community and demands for more studies on islands are often heard. The ability to develop *de facto* and *de jure* autonomy does obviously not embrace all islands. Many island territories in the world today do not enjoy any special status in relation to the state, even though they constitute their own separate divisions. In Island Studies, or Nissology, it is argued that islands possess a unique ability to obtain autonomy. Nevertheless, islands that are regarded as similar in many respects enjoy different political status. Some islands enjoy autonomy while others are still integrated parts of the state, without achieving any special status in relation to other regions or the state.

This study aims at contributing to the understanding of autonomy by analyzing both autonomies and non-autonomies from all around the world. It seeks to test the factors that is believed to be important for autonomy to find which factor or combinations of factors that are important when explaining the difference in autonomy. In order to explain autonomy it is also important to include territories that do not enjoy autonomy. Today, most of the studies on autonomy only include territories that enjoy autonomy. Consequently, they do not have any variation on the dependent variable. According to King, Keohane, and Verba there is only one way to deal with studies that lack variation on the dependent variable “– avoid them! “ (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994:130). We will not include all the autonomous territories in the world. Since a majority of the autonomies are islands we will focus on them. Thereby we will be able to exclude the one most important explanation to autonomy: the island factor. We can then focus on the other factors to find out which ones are important when explaining the difference in autonomy. Our study will also contribute on the understanding of islands and island autonomy. It must therefore be seen as a study in the tradition of Nissology or Island

Studies. In order to select the cases it is of great importance to discuss, analyze, and define the two most important concepts for this study: the concepts of autonomy and island. Both these concepts may at a first glance seem obvious – autonomy means self-government and island means a territory surrounded by water – but a deeper analysis of the two concepts shows that there are several possible definitions found in the literature on the subject.

The aim of this study is to find which factors explain the difference between autonomous and non-autonomous islands by means of the factors that are emphasized in the literature on autonomy. The question for this study will be:

*Why do some islands enjoy autonomy
while others still are integrated parts of the state?*

It must be stated at this point that this is not a study that strives to explain the difference in autonomy arrangements as this would require an index for autonomy. This study aims simply at explaining why islands achieve a special status, whereas other islands do not. Autonomies around the world obviously encompass many different types, associated states (such as the Cook Islands), overseas countries (such as French Polynesia), autonomous regions (such as the Azores) and overseas departments (such as Guadeloupe). However, they share an important characteristic; they are all enjoying special status in relation to the state that is not shared by other regions or sub-national entities in the state. They all have in common that they possess some conditions, or combinations of conditions, that have given them autonomy. This issue will be further discussed in chapter two, since we need to look deeper into the definition of autonomy and to set up some criteria to be fulfilled in order for the island to be classified as autonomous.

This study will only focus on islands, island groups and archipelagos. By selecting cases that are constituted by islands or archipelagos it is possible to control the insularity factor and thereby find what other factors are important in explaining the difference between the autonomous and non-autonomous islands. However, the world is full of islands and it is not possible to include all islands. Islands are found on all administrative levels of a state, both as municipalities and regions as well as parts of land-based municipalities or regions. Since the autonomous islands are all sub-state divisions on the regional level, all islands included must be on

the same sub-state level. Therefore only islands that constitute administrative units on the regional sub-state level will be included. A study of all islands in the world would risk suffering from a bias due to differences concerning their individual administrative level. For instance, if municipalities that are not administered directly under the government also were included, as well as islands that are part of mainland regions or municipalities there would be a variation found among the non-autonomous islands regarding the administrative level while there would be no variance found among the autonomous islands. This problem is avoided by selecting cases that are on the same administrative level in the state, i.e. on the same administrative level as the autonomous islands.

The study of autonomy and islands would open for three possible research designs, based on the political status of the island. One possibility would be to focus on autonomy in relation to non-autonomy as in this study. Another option would be to study autonomy in relation to independence in order to explain why some islands are independent while others are autonomous. Finally, there is the alternative to study autonomy in relation to both non-autonomy and independence, in order to explain why some are non-autonomous, others autonomous, and still others have achieved independence, see Figure 1.

Figure 1. Research Designs: Non-Autonomy, Autonomy, Independence

1. Non-Autonomy – Autonomy – Independence
2. Non-Autonomy – Autonomy - Independence
3. Non-Autonomy – Autonomy – Independence

The first research design focus on the difference between non-autonomy and autonomy. In this design islands, island groups and archipelagos that constitute independent states must be excluded. Since this is the topic for this study, we have already outlined the focus for such an analysis.

Research Design number two focuses on the relation between independent island states and autonomous islands. Such a study would face several problems as to defining the difference between autonomy and independence. The concept of state is a complex one, but nevertheless, as Lane and Ersson argue, whether a state may be said to exist or not in a given society is most of the time quite clear-cut (Lane and Ersson 1994: 29). A state is often defined as a sovereign independent country, which

has domestic control, control of its borders, and is internationally recognized. A state is also defined as such when it is a member of the UN (Derbyshire and Derbyshire 1996:3-4; Lane and Ersson 1994: 29-36). On the other hand, there are several territories in the world today that are not considered to be independent states even though they have domestic control as well as control of its borders. This is for instance the case with Somaliland and Taiwan. Neither of these two territories are recognized by the international community as a whole including the United Nations, but only by some individual states¹. On the other hand, there are territories that sometimes are defined as autonomous, even though they are members of the UN and thereby considered as independent states in an international context, e.g. the European micro-states of Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, and San Marino. However, when studying the differences between autonomous and non-autonomous islands, the independent, or semi-independent territories, must be left out even though the concept of autonomy in some definitions include independent states. This state of affairs is due to the fact that autonomy among the states in the world may vary. For instance, in their article, Engberg and Lane (1980) study the autonomy of independent states in the increasingly internationalized world. Their hypothesis is that when the internationalization of the world increases, the autonomy of the independent states decreases. However, the definition of the concept of autonomy in the context of the autonomous islands of the world will not include independent states. This is an issue we will get back to later.

Research design three would include independent, autonomous and non-autonomous islands in order to find out why some islands have gained independence and some autonomy, while others still are integrated parts of the nation-state. In the world today there are several examples of independent island states that have granted some of the islands autonomy, e.g. Saint Kitts-Nevis, Trinidad and Tobago, as well as the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom is constituted by Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Beside these two entities the state includes several islands both autonomous and non-autonomous as well as several island colonies. All of these islands would have to be studied and compared to each other. The island of Tobago is a part of the independent island re-

¹ For further discussion on de facto states, see Bacheli, T., B. Bartmann, and H. Srebrnik (2004). *De Facto States: The Quest for Sovereignty*. London and New York: Routledge.

public of Trinidad and Tobago, but it is also an autonomous island within the republic. The island of Nevis strived for independence but was forced to join the island of Saint Christopher in the independent state of Saint Kitts-Nevis. The island of Nevis would therefore be studied both as an example of an island that obtained independence, together with Saint Christopher, although they did not want to, but at the same time it would be studied as an island that obtained autonomy within the state of Saint Kitts-Nevis. This would make it difficult to separate the different factors from each other. Which factors gave Nevis independence as the state of Saint Kitts-Nevis and which ones gave the island autonomy as a federal unit within the same state?

Disposition of the Study

The study of autonomy and islands calls for clear definitions of the central concepts included in the present thesis. The first part of chapter two therefore concerns the dependent variable, autonomy, and definitions of *island* and *insularity*. This follows from the selection of cases derived from the criteria used. A categorization into autonomous and non-autonomous islands follows from the definition of the dependent variable. Subsequently, the independent variables will be identified in the context of the literature, but they will also be seen in the light of other causes that might be of importance. Finally, the chapter presents the methods used for the analysis, and the cases selected for this study. But first of all, the two most crucial concepts for this study, autonomy and island, will be discussed and defined.

Autonomy, in the context of comparative politics, is often defined as self-government or self-rule, but in chapter 2:1 we will show that the definition of the concept is not as straightforward as this might indicate. In fact, the concept of autonomy is indeed complicated, with a variety of possible implications and applications. Nevertheless, the discussion on autonomy will lead to a clear definition of the concept as it will be used in this study.

This is also the case with the concept of island. At first, the concept seems obvious, a piece of land surrounded by water, but as will be shown in chapter 2:2, there are several definitions used in Island Studies and among statistical institutions in the world. The concept of island will be analyzed in terms of the different definitions and of the implications of insularity and islandness. The study of difference in autonomy between

autonomous and non-autonomous islands and archipelagos postulates that the geographical positions and characteristics of islands are unique. They reflect the political behaviour of the island. The study field of Island Studies must therefore be regarded as a part of the discipline of Political Geography or Geopolitics, which will also be shown in this chapter.

In 2:3 the cases included in this study will be identified. This will be performed in terms of four criteria that will be set up. In short, the cases selected must be islands, which are not a part of the mainland, constitute a sub-national administrative unit, and have more than 10,000 inhabitants. The islands will then be categorized into autonomous islands and non-autonomous islands by means of the definition given to the concept of autonomy.

The independent variables, the factors that explain autonomy, will be identified in chapter 2:4. In the literature on autonomy cultural difference and ethnic diversity are regarded as the main explanations of autonomy. Other common explanations of autonomy are: distance from mainland, historical circumstances, strategic importance and constitutional change. In addition to the factors found in the literature on autonomy, other aspects will be identified and analyzed in the same way as the already recognized elements. The other factors are closeness to a foreign country, size as both area and population, and economic factors. The factors will be defined and operationalized, i.e. divided into two or more indicators or criteria that need to be fulfilled in order for the factor to be valid for the specific island.

In chapter 2:5 the methodological concerns of this study will be discussed. The analysis of the islands will be performed in two steps, using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Since this study can be seen as a pilot study on the further understanding of autonomy and islands, this two-part analysis is important to ensure the validity of the study. By the use of quantitative analysis it is possible to the explanatory value of the individual factors on the dependent variable, autonomy. The qualitative analysis will be performed using QCA (Qualitative Comparative Analysis). The main advantage using this method is that it is holistic in its orientation and that it combines the case oriented approach with the variable oriented. QCA is based on the logic of Boolean algebra. While the quantitative methods focus on the statistical probability, the QCA focuses on combinations of factors, both existing and non-existing, that explain the outcome on the dependent variable. An extended version of QCA, MVQCA (Multi Value Qualitative Comparative Method), will be used in

the analysis of the islands. A further discussion on the two methods and the technique of Boolean algebra will be given in chapter 2.4.

In chapter three to seven, the factors will be applied on the islands. In chapter three the Geographical Aspects of autonomy will be analysed. First to be analysed is *Distance from the mainland*, followed by *Proximity to a Foreign Country*, and finally, *Population Size*.

In chapter four, *Cultural Difference* will be identified using three aspects of culture; difference in language, in ethnicity, or in religion. Whenever one or more of these criteria are fulfilled, the island is said to display a difference in culture in relation to the mainland.

In chapter five the *Historical and Strategic Aspects* of autonomy will be analyzed. The chapter will start in 5:1 with a historical background of the islands where the important historical and strategic events will be described and analyzed according to the criteria set up for these factors. In 5:2 the *Previous Self-Rule* will be identified and structured for the autonomous islands and the non-autonomous islands, followed by a similar analysis of the *Strategic Importance* in chapter 5:3.

In chapter six the *Constitutional Change* will be analyzed from the existence or non-existence of constitutional change. This might imply both that autonomy is achieved as a result of constitutional change but also that the autonomy is withdrawn and that the island is made an integrated part of the state. Finally, in chapter seven the *Natural Resources* will be discussed and analyzed in terms of the existence or non-existence of natural resources on the island. A study of GRP (Gross Regional Product) would have been desirable, but since the available data on GRP are inaccessible or non-existent for many of the non-autonomous islands, such analysis would be misleading and therefore it has been excluded.

In chapter eight, *Analysis*, the results of the eight variables will be analysed using the quantitative and qualitative methods. MVQCA uses Tosmana© software programme and fs/QCA© software programme while the quantitative crosstab analysis uses SPSS©. The analysis outlines the independent variables or combinations of variables that are shown to be important in explaining the difference in autonomy. In chapter nine, *Conclusions*, we will apply the results of the analysis on the theories and we will conclude which factors or combinations of factors that are important in explaining the difference in autonomy.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. *The Dependent Variable – Autonomy*

The concept of autonomy derives originally from ancient Greek, “auto”, which means self, and “nemos”, which means law and rule. Autonomy is often compared with concepts like self-rule and self-government. The concept is used in a number of scientific disciplines, in philosophy and its derivatives, natural science, and law, political science and international relations. The concept is used differently depending on the definitions given to it. As Matti Wiberg (1998) puts it “Autonomy is a hopelessly confused concept and has many synonyms in political discourse; independence, self-government, self-determination, self-direction, self-reliance and self-legislation” (1998: 43). Hannum and Lillich (1981) cites the American lawyer John Chipman Gray who in 1909 said, “...on no subject of international law has there been so much loose writing and nebulous speculation as on autonomy”, (1981: 215). Lapidoth (1997) reminds us that autonomy can be much more than only self-government and refers to Willemsen Diaz who said, “...if autonomy was a house, then self-government would be a room in that house (1997: 54).

Autonomy is often seen as an important concept within the liberal tradition. Lindley (1986) argues that autonomy requires both a developed self and freedom from external constraints. Autonomy may be applied to social groups, such as nations, government departments, committees, and professional associations. Our relationship with autonomy is ambiguous. We accept the autonomy of regional territories and nation-states, but we tend to consider the autonomy of committees or representative bodies as not always desirable (Lindley 1986: 5-6).

According to Dworkin (1988) the concept is related to actions, to beliefs, to reasons for actions, to rules, to the will of other persons, to thoughts, and to principles. It is sometimes defined as liberty, and other times as self-rule, sovereignty, and freedom of the will (Dworkin 1988: 6).

The concept of autonomy has been frequently used throughout our history and Rousseau, Kant, and Mill are all important contributors in the current understanding of the concept. Niccoló Machiavelli, referred to by Wiberg, discussed the concept in *Discourses*, where he defined autonomy as both freedom from dependence, and power to self-legislate (Wiberg 1998: 44). De Tocqueville was one of the first who emphasized the importance of decentralisation in society (Lane and Ersson 1999: 176-177). When

studying British universities Berdahl argues that autonomy is closely connected to power and responsibility but states that the term is not absolute. Furthermore he declares that "...autonomy in its complete sense means that power to govern without outside controls and accountability means the requirement to demonstrate responsibility actions to some external constituenc(y)ies" (Berdahl 1990: 171).

Most countries have some degree of autonomy vested in their regions or municipalities. For example in the Swedish constitution the municipalities are granted self-government in some issues. Lane and Ersson (1999: 171-89) identify and categorize five types of institutional autonomy in the Western European society: federalism, regionalization, home rule, local government autonomy, and functional autonomy.

The literature on autonomy mainly studies the different autonomy arrangements by dividing them into different categories. Each category only includes a few cases that are said to be representative for the category, without explaining why other cases could not be even more representative for the category in question. Studies on all autonomy arrangements in the world are rare, but studies including non-autonomy arrangements are even rarer. The conditions that will be included in this study as independent variables are derived from these studies on autonomy, but there are also other conditions included that could be used as explanations for the difference in autonomy.

One of the first advocates of autonomy was Karl Renner, who in the early 20th century founded the *Autokomischistische - Zentralistische Schule*. He argued that the state is the sum of all inhabitants, with various cultural and ethnic backgrounds, populating the regions of the state. Therefore, it is essential not to give autonomy to a certain geographic territory, but to the various cultural and ethnic groups to grant the different groups some influence over the decision making of the state no matter in which region they live (Lapidoth 1997: 38-39).

One of the first documents that dealt with minority rights was the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. The signing parties agreed to respect minorities within their jurisdiction in matters of certain (not all) religious minorities. The *Millets* of the Ottoman Empire were a form of religious-based communities that enjoyed a form of autonomy on matters of personal status, inheritance, and other intra-communal relationships. Autonomy arrangements were also included in the Treaty of Vienna in 1815 and the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, in which Mount Athos in Greece was granted autonomy in relation to the Greek state (Hannum 1996: 50-51)

The rights of minorities were before World War I only rarely protected, but during the 1920's the rights were guaranteed, mainly in international treaties and declarations by the League of Nations. After World War II, the human rights have mainly been focused on individual rights and not the rights of minority groups (Lapidoth 1997: 11). To the side of the UN declaration on Human Rights there are two major international declarations that deal with minority rights and autonomy. In Article 27 of the 1966 International Convent on Civil and Political Rights it is stated that "In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such a minority shall not be denied the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language". The report of the 1991 CSCE meetings in Geneva and the 1992 meeting in Moscow emphasizes the importance of autonomy for minority groups, both territorial and personal autonomy (1997: 13-14). Even though the importance of autonomy has been stressed ever since World War I, it has been recognized as a means to satisfy demands from minorities only in exceptional cases (1997: 23). One reason for this is that autonomy is not desired by all minority groups. Some groups only wish to be integrated in to society and to be treated as equals to the majority group. Autonomy would only separate them as a segregated "autonomous" community (Hannum 1996: 474). Minority rights also include the rights of Indigenous people. Even though they in many cases stress the spiritual relationship with the land or earth, they often do not control the natural resources, even though these questions are of increasing importance for these groups (Hannum 1996: 91).

The United Nations' Declaration on Human Rights states that minorities have the right to autonomy or self-government in matters that concern themselves (Article 31 – UN Declaration on Human Rights). The Copenhagen-document (CSCE 1991 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) proclaims the importance of the minority's right to preserve and develop linguistic, ethnic, or cultural identity (CSCE 1990; Articles 25 and 32), but it also prescribes that members of the minority shall respect the territorial integrity of the state (Article 37). In Article 35 it is indicated that granting autonomy is one possible way of protecting the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of national minorities, but there is no recommendation stated in the article. Lapidoth (1997: 12) argues that the conference document points to the fact that minorities should be given the right to develop non-territorial autonomy. The document does not commit

on the signing countries to it, but it certainly opens for a political route to autonomy.

Why is it that the importance of autonomy has increased and been emphasized in today's debate? One explanation is the trend that some social scientists have noted that at the end of the 20th century the nation-state is becoming more and more obsolete. Elazar (1994: x-xiii) calls this trend a paradigm shift from a world of nation states to a world of increased inter-state cooperation and integration of a confederative or federal character. Watts (2000: 19-24) identifies several reasons for this trend. First, he points out the modern development in transportation, social communication, technology, and industrial organizations, which raises the demand for larger political organizations as well as for smaller ones. The desire for progress, a rising standard of living, social justice and influence on the world arena, all call for larger political units to fulfil these goals. The flip-side of the coin is the need for smaller units. This is something that has contributed to the development towards self-government and autonomy within the nation state as well as towards the formation of micro-states. This process includes on the one hand the desire to protect the primary groups and their right to express their linguistic and cultural ties, religious connections, historical traditions, and social practice, and on the other hand to make governments more responsible towards the individual citizen. The development that simultaneously calls for larger and smaller units is sometimes referred to as the "glocal" trend (globality - locality). This trend has led to the demand for federal political partnership as well as for self-government and autonomy.

The second condition is closely related to the first one and encourages various forms of federal relationships. The global economy has unleashed economic and political forces that strengthen both international and local pressure on the nation-state, something that force the nation-state to participate in a larger unit (Watts 2000: 20).

Thirdly, the spread of the market based economy is creating socio-economic conditions that embody the federal idea. As a fourth factor Watts points at the flattened decentralized hierarchies in the new and more feudal models of the industrial organizations, which have influenced the attitudes of people concerning non-centralized forms of political organizations. Modern technology – such as personal computers, telephones, satellite television, and fibre optics – has spawned models that emphasize non-centralized networks. The geopolitics of islands has accentuated their distinctiveness as communities and "islandness" has been a

major factor for the struggle of islands towards autonomy. However, islands also need some form of political partnership with other units in order to gain autonomy or independence (Watts 2000: 20-24).

This process of increased integration between independent states combined with demands for regional and local autonomy can be exemplified by the European Union. In the EU, the principle of subsidiary – a form of regional and local or sub-local autonomy – is emphasized as a crucial part of the internal policy. However, the principle of subsidiary is implemented differently within the member states due to the differences in public administration (von Bergmann-Winberg 2003: 71-73).

The concept of autonomy in this context will be defined as a territory that enjoys a special status within the nation-state. According to Bernhardt (1981: 26), autonomy gives certain rights to the minorities that differ from the majority in matters of language, culture, or ethnic belonging. Snyder (1982) defines mini-nationalisms as smaller nationalisms or regionalisms absorbed into larger centralized states, still regarding themselves as being a distinct people. Mini-nationalists demand either greater autonomy or independence. In his study, Snyder (1982: xvi) defines the aim of autonomy as political independence inside the centralized nation-state. Consequently, autonomy means a special status inside the national state.

In his handbook on federal, confederal and autonomy arrangements, Elazar (1994) equates autonomy with different federal arrangements. He argues that the federal idea has spread throughout the world since World War II, and that nearly 80% of the world population lives in federal states or other federal arrangements, such as federacies, associated states, consociations, or unions. Elazar identifies 16 forms of federal arrangements such as federations, confederations, decentralized unions, feudal arrangements, federacies, home rule, regional arrangements etc. Among these 16 federal arrangements he identifies 91 functioning examples of autonomy arrangements altogether from pure federal states to home rule within 52 independent states in the world (1994: xvi-xix). Islands are well represented among the three major territorial autonomy arrangements listed by Elazar. In the federacy category five out of seven are islands, in the associated states category we find seven out of nine, and 15 out of 17 of the home rule arrangements are islands (1994: 357-364).

In her study *Autonomy as flexible solutions to ethnic conflicts*, Lapidoth (1997: 3) defines autonomy as "...a means for diffusion of power in order to preserve the unity of a state while respecting the diversity of its population" and she adds that "...it has been successful in some cases and failed

in others". In the study edited by Markku Suksi (1998), *Autonomy – Implications and Applications*, the different meanings of the concept is analyzed from different points of view. In the first chapter, *On the legal understanding of autonomy*, Heintze (1998: 7-8) defines autonomy as a territory that is authorized to govern itself, but without constituting an independent state. He also argues that different autonomy arrangements throughout the world must be studied as individual cases since the circumstances of each case are unique and cannot be defined in general. Following this interpretation of the concept, every ambition to create general theories in social science would be a waste of time, since all cases are unique in at least one respect. However, the aim of political science is to find pattern that make it possible to theorize about political issues and phenomena. Therefore the statement by Heintze that autonomy cannot be defined in general will not be taken in to account in this study. On the contrary, since studies including both autonomous and non-autonomous territories in the world are rare or even non-existent, it is important to study the concept in order to find the essence of autonomy.

In *Autonomy as a Conflict-Solving Mechanism* Nordqvist (1998: 63-64) defines autonomy as "...an intra-state territory, which has a constitutionally based self-government that is wider than any comparable region in the state." Nordqvist also includes autonomy arrangements that have ceased to exist, a state of affairs that is explained by the state's violation of the autonomy arrangement, external political events, and that the autonomy arrangement is implemented without agreement from the negotiating group (1998: 71).

Hannum and Lillich state that "...autonomy is understood to refer to independence of action on the internal or domestic level..." (Hannum and Lillich 1981: 860). They set up a more ambiguous attempt to define autonomy in their article "The Concept of Autonomy in International Law" (1981: 250-251). The authors set up five criteria for regions to be referred to as autonomous regions.

1. A locally elected legislative assembly with legislative power, with competence mainly concerning education language and local planning and with control over the local authorities.
2. A locally elected executive organ responsible for the local administration and the implementation of the local rules and regulations.

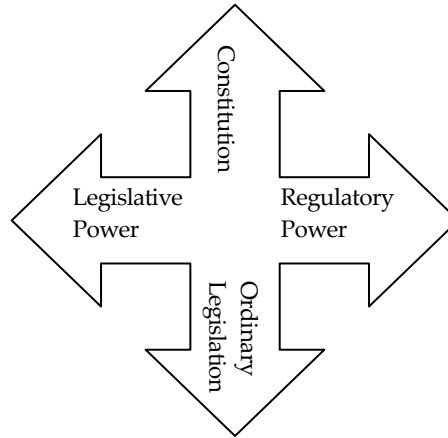
3. An independent judicial system that enjoys full responsibility when it comes to interpreting the local laws.
4. The autonomy arrangement must not be contrary to foreign policy and security of the state.
5. The autonomy arrangement has to be consistent with the distribution of power between the region and the state.

The criteria set up by Hannum and Lillich are essentially the same as the criteria set up by EU for the regionalization process. They also follow the federal arrangements of federal states (Suksi 1995: 14-15). The criteria have been criticized for being more suitable for western democracies.

In his book *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination*, Hannum (1996) presents a somewhat revised list where criteria 4-5 have been replaced. In the new criteria it is stated that "Areas of joint concern may be the subject to power-sharing arrangements between the autonomous and central governments" (1996: 467). He also argues that the model is based on power-sharing as a natural part of the structure of the state. This is not the case with most indigenous societies, which often have a more traditional structure and as long as these societies are maintained they should not be subject of intervention by outside authority (1996: 468). The criteria will therefore not be used in this context, mainly due to the criticism addressed to the Hannum and Lillich criteria, but also due to the risk of setting up too many criteria in order to define political phenomena. It could be dangerous to set up too many and too narrow criteria when defining autonomy, since there will always be cases that only fulfil some of the criteria, but not others.

In *On the Entrenchment of Autonomy* Suksi presents a two-level model, which combines the powers of autonomy with the level of legislation, see figure 2. This combination hinges on two conditions: if the autonomous territory enjoys legislative powers or regulatory powers and if the autonomy arrangements are set up in the constitution or in the ordinary legislation. The aim of Suksi is to categorize the European autonomies on the basis of his model. Suksi argues that the proper autonomies are those that enjoy legislative powers and those in which the autonomy arrangements are set up in the constitution (Suksi 1998: 168-169)

Figure 2. Categorization of Autonomies – According to Suksi



Suksi argues that autonomy arrangements set up in a constitution are more consolidated than those regulated by ordinary laws. The autonomy of the Azores would then be more solid than the one in the Faroe Islands. This would probably be a controversial statement if presented to the two islands, and it most certainly probably be disputed among researchers on autonomy and islands. In fact, in this context I would argue that the autonomy of the Faeroe Islands is more solid than the one of the Azores. The autonomy arrangement of the Faeroe Islands is regulated in an ordinary law, the Home Rule Act of 1948, while the arrangement of the Azores is regulated in the Portuguese constitution. The Home Rule Act may be changed at any time, at least in theory, while the constitution only can be changed in accordance to the statutes set up in it. In the case of Portugal, Part IV, Title II in the Portuguese constitution. Even though Article 288 states that Constitutional revision shall respect 14 items out of which the last one is “The political and administrative autonomy of the Azores and Madeira archipelagos”. The autonomy of the Azores and Madeira may be changed only by following the statutes set up in the Portuguese constitution without paying any special attention to the legislative assemblies of the two islands. Theoretically speaking the autonomy of the Faeroe Islands may be changed like any other ordinary law, but in practice it would be difficult to change it without the agreement of the Faeroese authorities. When comparing the responsibilities of the two territories – accounted for in the Home Rule Act and Article 227, - powers of the autonomous regions in the Portuguese constitution, the autonomy of the Faeroe Islands embrace more areas of responsibilities than the autonomy

of the Azores. However, comparing the degree of autonomy between the autonomous islands is a delicate matter. Moreover, such a comparison is not necessary for this study, since the dependent variable only will be dichotomized, not graded. We will discuss the dichotomization of the dependent variable later on.

Autonomy is often divided into two major types: individual or non-territorial autonomy and territorial autonomy. Territorial autonomy concerns a defined geographical territory while non-territorial autonomy concerns a group of people, often an ethnic minority group. Snyder (2000: 12-14) argues that, although non-territorial autonomy only concerns an ethnic minority, it often contains a network of institutions and organisations that very well might compensate for the lack of territory. In many cities around the world there are autonomous areas and neighbourhoods, e.g. Chinatown, that enjoy a kind of functional autonomy including a clustering of ethnically specific projects, shops, etc. The autonomy of these areas may, in theory, be abolished by the state since it has the character of *de facto* autonomy and not *de jure*. However, in practise the autonomy can be proved to be too strong to eliminate, since the areas might include a whole city district. Territorial autonomy is legally protected, but its main disadvantage is that members of the ethnic minority might be locked in a disadvantageous minority situation with decreased economic benefits. Nevertheless, since the distinction between non-territorial and territorial autonomy is recognized, let us look closer at the two types.

2.1.1. Non-Territorial Autonomy

Non-territorial autonomy is often related to individuals or a group of individuals, often a minority group, within a state. In his article *On the Legal understanding of Autonomy*, Heintze (1998: 20-24) divides non-territorial autonomy into three categories; cultural autonomy, personal autonomy and functional autonomy.

Cultural autonomy is given to an ethnic or cultural group and often only concerns cultural matters. There is always a risk that cultural autonomy might increase the segregation, which might lead to ethnic and cultural conflicts in the society. Therefore, cultural autonomy and influence on the local level always has to be combined with participation of the cultural group on the state level. As an example of cultural autonomy Heintze points to the autonomy given to Russians, Germans, and Swedes in the first Estonian republic in 1925, when the three groups were granted

protection. Another example might be the Sami people in Scandinavia, which has been given cultural autonomy but without any increased influence on the state level.

Personal autonomy assumes that the individuals of a specific ethnic group are organized in more or less formal associations. A board can then negotiate with the government or the authorities on different levels on matters concerning their autonomy. As an example Heintze points at the autonomy given to the German minority in Denmark and the Danish minority in Germany. He also argues that this would have been a better solution for the minorities in the former Yugoslavia. To create territories for the different ethnic groups only generates new minorities within the new territories. This is avoided by granting the ethnic group personal autonomy.

Finally, functional autonomy, which in fact is close to personal autonomy, means that the decision-making is transferred to organizations and associations that represent the minority. Functional autonomy is not based on a general agreement between the government and the minority but on agreements between the state and minority organizations. This implies that the minority is responsible for certain issues. In the long run, functional autonomy can work in favour of integration and thereby reduce the ethnic conflicts in the community. The German minority in Denmark, for instance, is granted functional autonomy as long as the Danish minority in Germany is treated in the same way and vice versa.

In *Autonomy: Flexible Solutions to Ethnic Conflicts*, Lapidoth (1997) argues that autonomy is often related to minority rights and the four conceptual frameworks in the area of human rights; the right to equality and non-discrimination; the right of minorities to preserve and develop their own culture, religion, and language; the right of indigenous population to preserve their traditions, as well as their special rights to land and its natural resources, and the right of people to self-determination (1997: 9).

Furthermore, Lapidoth states that "There is no doubt that the majority of cases the resort to autonomy is caused by ethnic tensions, but other circumstances may also call for the establishment of autonomy" (1997: 25). Consequently, she defines non-territorial autonomy as the right for an ethnic minority to preserve and develop its religious, linguistic, and cultural identity through institutions established by the minority. Through these institutions the state has given the minority authority to take care of its own rights. Personal autonomy can never be forced upon anyone. If any member of the minority does not want to be included in the auton-

omy, no one can force them into it. This is the major advantage of personal autonomy. In a territorial autonomy, the former minority is made the majority in its territory and the former majority is made the minority. Thereby the new minority has lost all its protections of its own culture within the autonomous territory (1997: 37-40).

Non-territorial autonomy is often considered as a well-functioning arrangement for the minority. It has been used mainly to protect the minority's rights to develop their own cultural, religious and linguistic distinctive character. It has been argued that their main advantage is the fact that no new minority is created within the autonomous territory. However, territorial autonomy is one of the recent examples of autonomy given to the different ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia. Safran (2000: 11) notes that there are very few examples of self-government for geographically dispersed minorities, even though this arrangement often is regarded as less threatening to the unity of the country than the autonomy of concentrated minorities.

2.1.2. Territorial Autonomy

Territorial autonomy is the kind of autonomy that is given to a certain geographical region. Examples are the decentralisation of the administration in Corsica and the virtual separation from the law of state in the Åland Islands (Heintze 1998: 18-20).

According to Hannum and Lillich (1981: 250-251) autonomy implies that the territory has (1) a locally elected legislative assembly with legislative power – with competence mainly concerning education, language, and local planning – which has control over the local authorities; (2) a locally elected executive institution responsible for the local administration and the implementation of the local rules and regulations; and an independent judicial system. The autonomy arrangements must not be contrary to foreign policy and security of the state. They also have to be consistent with the distribution of power between the island and the central government.

Autonomy is often described as self-government. However, Lapidoth (1997: 54-55) argues that autonomy can be more than mere self-government. It can also be non-territorial autonomy, as has already been defined in the previous part of this chapter. But territorial autonomy may also be something altogether different than just self-government. Lapidoth points out that territorial autonomy can be an associated state, which

means that the government has chosen to be dependent on the central government. Associated states often have a greater deal of independence. Some of them even count as independent states, as for example the Marshall Islands, the Micronesian Federation, and Palau. Many of them can choose to become an independent state whenever they wish to, e.g. the Cook Islands and Niue. To be an independent state can thus mean both independence and a developed form of autonomy.

Territorial autonomy can offer different solutions but one feature is essential: that it comprises a clearly defined territory. The degree of autonomy can vary from only a limited form of autonomy to an associated state. It can be found in a federal state or as a region within a unitary state. In many cases in the world today, islands, island groups, or archipelagos constitute autonomous regions (Nordqvist 1998: 63-65).

2.1.3. Aspects of Autonomy

The two major types of autonomy have been defined and exemplified with autonomy arrangements throughout the world. When it comes to the conditions that are important in explaining autonomy, they derive from studies of different types of autonomy. The autonomous islands in this context have the character of a well defined territory, but this does not imply that it is not worth considering the conditions that are important in explaining non-territorial autonomy. On the contrary, the conditions behind the two types of autonomy are mainly the same, as has been shown above. They only differ in how the autonomy is implemented.

The literature on autonomy can be categorized as two different groups, those that deal with the legal frameworks of autonomy, and those that deal with the understanding the reasons behind the autonomy, i.e. why some territories or minority groups enjoy autonomy within an independent state. Common to both is that they compare autonomy arrangements, both existent today and autonomies that have seized to exist, thereby using the method of selection on the dependent variable. This method has recently been under sharp attack due to the obvious risk of bias in such a study. King, Keohane, and Verba (1994: 128-131) points out that the main bias that occurs in qualitative or small-n research is the one that leaves out cases that do not answer to the independent variable. Therefore there will be no variation on the dependent variable, and the results will make the researcher jump to conclusions that possibly emanate out of a result of the selection process rather than out of the correlation between the variables

themselves. Nothing can be learned about the dependent variable without regarding other observations that take other values. That is why it is necessary to control cases. If there is not any variation on the dependent variable it is advisable not to avoid the study (King, Keohane and Verba 1994: 128-131). Dion (1998: 127-129) argues against this critique and says that if only necessary conditions are evaluated, the use of the method is perfectly admissible. The researcher needs to minimize any possible bias caused by the selection. By keeping the conceptual characterization of the necessary conditions precise, and by minimizing the possibility of spurious and trivial conditions, the writer can ward off attacks based on the fact that he has no variation since the lack of variation has no bearing whether or not a condition is necessary or not (pp. 140-142). Since we will include both autonomous and non-autonomous islands in this study, this will not be any problem, still the independent variables will to some extent be found in studies only including autonomies.

In her study on autonomy as a flexible solution to ethnic conflicts, Lapidoth (1997) focuses on the ethnic dimension of autonomy and compares what she sees as representative cases of autonomy arrangements throughout the world. However, she also discusses other important conditions that might contribute to the development of autonomy. As have been noted above she argues that ethnic tension is the major circumstance for autonomy. However, she argues that there are other circumstances such as economic conditions and strategic conditions. Economic conditions have mainly been used as a means to preserve an economic system, as in the case of Hong Kong. There are no substantial ethnic differences between Hong Kong and China, but the economic systems that derive from different political systems constituted the main reason as to why the former British colony maintained its special status as an autonomous region when it was reunited with China. The strategic condition, in terms of international treaties and declarations, is another requirement that has proved to be important in the development of autonomy, as the case of Danzig, and the attempts to internationalize Trieste and Jerusalem show (1997: 25).

In his study *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination*, Hannum (1996) mainly focuses on the legal aspects of autonomy and the distribution of competence between the autonomy and the state. He takes up 26 cases and includes both territorial and non-territorial arrangements. Among the examples there are three types of autonomy: (1) autonomies that are based on difference in culture, e.g. Punjab, Northern Ireland, The

Basque Country, Catalonia, and Sudan; (2) autonomies that are granted the indigenous people, e.g. the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, and the Saami people of Scandinavia; and (3) autonomies that are based on international treaties, e.g. Åland Islands, and Memel. As for the distribution of power between the autonomy and the state, Hannum concludes that each situation is unique and that the powers vested in the authorities of the autonomous entity may vary greatly. The major conflict in distributing the powers between the autonomy and the state is often on economical matters, i.e. the control over the land and the natural resources. New natural resources are likely to be found in peripheral areas that are often populated by ethnic minorities with or without autonomy arrangements (Hannum 1996: 458-468).

Autonomy: Implications and Applications, (Suksi 1998) focus on different perspectives of autonomy. Nordqvist (1998: 62-64) highlights four types of autonomy. Firstly, *Expedient autonomies* owe their autonomy to practical reasons, such as the distance between the autonomy and the mainland. In the case of the Falkland Islands, the distance between the islands and the mainland, i.e. the United Kingdom, makes autonomy a practical solution for the administration of the islands. Secondly, *Historical autonomies* owe their self-government to historical facts, such as territories that used to be a part of another country or territories that gained their autonomy during medieval or ancient times and are able to preserve their autonomy although the conditions today have changed. This is the case with the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea and the Åland Islands in the Baltic Sea. Thirdly, *Organic autonomies* are those regions that have developed their autonomy over a long period of time, which is the case with Greenland. Finally, *Seized autonomies* are those that have emerged out of a process of political mobilisation, for example the conflict between minorities in the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua who gained their autonomy after a long series of negotiations. Heintze (1998: 10-12) argues that autonomy can be seen as the only solution of protecting minorities in a state. Beside the protection of ethnic groups, it is also an instrument capable of a legal protection of peoples and minorities in a State.

Furthermore, being given autonomy has shown to be important in conflict resolution, but one must be aware of the fact that granting autonomy to one ethnic group may lead to the opposition of other groups and thereby also to a new ethnic conflict.

In *Politics and Society in Western Europe*, Lane and Ersson (1999: 171-189) identify eight European countries that have territories with different de-

degrees of autonomy or home rule. The 14 territories owe their autonomy to different circumstances. In some cases it is due to cultural differences, e.g. Åland Islands, Greenland, and Mount Athos, in others cases it is based on historical factors, e.g. Jersey, Guernsey, and Sardinia. Sometimes the autonomy is due to the distance from the mainland, as in the case with the Canary Islands. Yet other instances due to a constitutional change as the Azores and Madeira. The authors find a relationship between the demand for and supply of autonomy and supply of and demand for influence. Societies that lack a balance between autonomy and influence tend to be politically unstable (1999: 319-320)

2.1.4. The Concept of Autonomy – Conclusions

Autonomy is often used to describe some kind of special status within a nation-state and can be both connected to a defined territory or to a defined minority group or both. As has been showed above autonomy is often connected to concepts like liberty, sovereignty, self-rule, and decentralization and is often used to describe a special status, either given to a territory or to a special group in the state, often a minority group.

Some authors argues that autonomy can be defined as a territory or minority group that enjoys a special status, others wish to include criteria including a locally elected legislative assembly with legislative powers, a locally elected executive organ, and an independent judicial system. Definitions like that would exclude territories that do enjoy autonomy as a special status but do only have a limited form of legislative powers. These definitions would also exclude many of the non-territorial autonomy arrangements since they often only are responsible for cultural matters such as to preserve and develop its language and religion. To be able to understand why some islands enjoy autonomy this definition would exclude some autonomy arrangements that do not enjoy a straight forward legislative power but more of an indirect legislative power. In these autonomies the decisions made by the locally elected assembly must be approved by the state parliament. As have been stated above, this study will not explain the difference in autonomy arrangements since this would include factors connected to the political culture of the state. Instead we will focus on the territories that are unique in relation to other regions in the country, i.e. territories that enjoy a special status within the state. Therefore, both direct and indirect legislative power will be considered.

The aim of this study is not to find out what explains the difference between the autonomy arrangements, but to analyze why some islands enjoy autonomy as a special status while others do not. The autonomy arrangements must therefore be seen in relation to other sub-national units in the country. If all units enjoy the same kind of special status, then it must be considered as a federal arrangement. However, in some states all sub-national units enjoy a special status even though the degree varies. In these cases these units must be included since the reason behind the special status might differ from case to case. This will lead us to a definition of the dependent variable. In this study autonomy will be defined as:

A defined geographical territory that, in relation to the majority of other sub-national territories, enjoys a special status including some legislative powers, within the state, but does not constitute a federal unit, or an independent state.

The dependent variable, the concept of autonomy, is influenced by the independent variables, the conditions that explain the difference in autonomy. The independent variables in this context derive from the conditions that are emphasized in the literature on autonomy. But before we define the independent variables we need to define the concept of island, the other of the two important concepts for the dependent variable.

2.2. The Concept of Island

What is an island? The answer to this question seems obvious but in the literature on islands several suggestions can be found. In 1920 Jean Brunhes identified four types of islands; the island of the sea, the island of the desert (oases), and the island of peopled oases of the great Boreal or Equatorial forests and finally the island of the highland, enclosed valleys of the mountains (Hache 1998: 36-37). In 1982 the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea defined an island as "...a naturally formed area of land, surrounded by water, which is above water at high tide". (Part VIII, article 121: 1). The distributor of statistical software to the EU, EUROSTAT, has set up four criteria for islands. Firstly, it has to be inhabited by some 50 people, since deserted islands have very little impact from a social-economic point of view. Secondly it must not have any fixed links to the mainland. Thirdly, it must be at least one kilometre distant from the mainland and finally it must not possess any of the major cities of the

community (EUROSTAT). This implies that the Danish Zealand (*Sjælland*) is not considered to be an island, since it possesses the Danish capital, Copenhagen. Furthermore, it implies that the Swedish islands of Orust and Tjörn are not considered as islands since the distance between the mainland and the islands is less than one kilometre, and they are also linked to the mainland by bridges.

Before defining the concept of island for this study we need to define what is unique with islands. The feeling of belongingness and affinity are in Island Studies referred to as insularity and islandness. We also need to look closer at Island Studies as an interdisciplinary sub-discipline.

2.2.1. Island Studies

Island Studies, or Nissology, follow in the tradition of political geography or geopolitics. Geopolitics derives its origin from Berlin during the 1820's and one of its front figures was the geographer Carl Ritter who argued that the geographical surroundings give different outcomes in terms of social systems and political actions.²

In Leipzig during the late 19th century Friedrich Ratzel developed new theories in geopolitics. He saw the state as a living organism that always had the right to expand at the expense of less successful states. Ratzel had a great influence on German politics in the early 20th century and his ideas were used and developed both in the German Empire as well as in the Third Reich³ (Alvstam and Falkemark 1992: 15-17; Taylor 1993: 51-56).

One of Ratzel's followers on the concept of the state as a living organism was the Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellén who argued that states have a desire to find their natural borders, i.e. mountains, seas or big rivers. This is why the geographical position of a state is so important when it comes to developing into a great power. According to Kjellén a world power can never develop from an island but only from continentally based states (Kjellén 1916: 4-50 and 66-69).

² For further reading on the geopolitical ideas of Carl Ritter, see his masterpiece *Die Erkunde, im Verhältnis zur Nature und zur Geschichte des Menschen, oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie, als sichere Grundlage des Studium und Unterrichts in Physikalischen und historischen Wissenschaften* (Berlin 1817-59).

³ For further reading, see Ratzel, Friedrich (1897) *Politische Geographie* Munich and Leipzig, and Müller, Gerhard H (1996) *Friedrich Ratzel (1844 - 1904) : Naturwissenschaftler, Geograph, Gelehrter : neue Studien zu Leben und Werk und sein Konzept der "Allgemeinen Biogeographie"* Stuttgart: Verl. für Geschichte der Naturwiss. und der Technik

In the 1920s geopolitics had its centre in Munich and one of its front figures was Karl Haushofer who presented his theories in the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*. One of his main concepts was the one of *Lebensraum*, living sphere. Haushofer argued that more successful states need more space in order to feel secure and therefore they also have the right to expand at the expense of less successful states (Haushofer 1924: 820-821). Haushofer was intimately connected to the Nazis during World War II and geopolitics was an impossible academic discipline for decades ahead⁴.

The interest in geopolitics in Europe after World War II declined all over the world and was not revived until the 1960s and 70s when, under the name of political geography, it was used by the chief advisors such as Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski during the cold war⁵. Today American political geography can be characterized as critically academic and it originates from neorealism. It combines old ideas of geopolitics and emphasizes the role of history (Alvstam 1992: 15-17; Taylor 1993: 51-56).

Geopolitics or political geography has developed into an academic discipline since the early 19th century. Very few of the early geopolitical scholars discussed islands and the geopolitics of islands, apart from Kjellén. The first studies on this matter were published during the late 20th century. This will be discussed later on, but first it is important to define the concept of island and insularity.

In 1969 Holt and Turner (1969: 233-235) published one of the first studies on islands and insularity. In their article *Insular politics*, they argue that islands tend to develop a sensibility of dominance. By studying the cases of Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Japan and Great Britain they see three strategies through which islands can act. Either island nations tend to occupy mainland territory in order to feel secure, or they give their active support to one of the actors in a conflict in order to maintain the power balance and thereby prevent the mainland state from invading the island. The third strategy for an island to act is to find an ally outside the region to

⁴ *Lebensraum* means that certain states need more space than others to feel secure. This does not necessarily imply that the state invades another country. Neither does it have to suggest acts of violence. The state also feels secure if surrounding countries do not pose a threat to the successful state. It is therefore enough with friendly neighbours, provided that the successful state has reached a natural limit. (Haushofer (1924) s. 820 ff.).

⁵ See Kissinger, Henry (1994) *Diplomacy*. New York: Simon and Schuster and Brzezinski, Zbigniew (1986) *Game plan: a Geostrategic Framework for the Conduct of the U.S.-Soviet Contest*. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press.

avoid a regional Great Power from invading the island. Anckar (1982: 158-160) opposes Holt and Turner, stating that their conclusions are too general and imply that the island possesses a great army, which is not the case for most islands. Instead he points to the attractions that islands present to land-based countries.

In 1980, Dommen showed that islands are different from continental countries. Islands are more densely populated, they have lower crude birth-rates and lower crude death-rates, they are not less urbanized but they do have a higher emigration-rate than continental states. Furthermore, islands have less internal disorder than continental countries and they are more willing to tolerate separatist movements (Dommen 1980: 931-932).

In 1991 a study concerning the British Caribbean colonies were published. It was argued that distrust between the islands was one of the main factors that contributed to the failure of the British attempt to form a West-Indian Federation including the British Caribbean Islands and Guyana. The idea of a Caribbean Federation failed when Guyana, Trinidad, and Jamaica broke loose from the co-operation. The failure was mainly caused by the distrust that had developed among the smaller islands caused by their isolation (Clarke 1991).

The distrust between smaller islands can also be found in the state of Vanuatu. Before 1980 the territory was ruled as a condominium between France and the United Kingdom and as a consequence the two colonial powers had developed two different administrative systems and differences in religion, language and educational system. The regions demanded an extended autonomy on the account of the powers of the central government (Premdas and Steeves 1992).

The geopolitics of the Sea was dealt with in a research study published in 1990 by Glassner. In his research study, called *Neptune's domain*, he delineates the geopolitics of the Sea and also deals with islands, but he focuses on the sea and does not say anything about the geopolitics of islands (Glassner 1990: 1-3).

In the mid-1990's McCall published an article on Nissology that he defines as "...the study of islands on their own terms" and serves to remind "...continental dwellers that island world view is not theirs; and that an island integrity belongs to Islanders" (McCall 1996: 82). McCall identifies eight characteristics that islanders and island states share. Firstly, the clear borders of an island, i.e. the shore. Secondly, the importance of sea resources and the importance of EEZ (Exclusive Economic Zone) that helps

Kiribati, a small island state with only 811 sq. km., but measured in EEZ its area is five million sq. km. Thirdly, the strategic position of islands, which often attract continental states because they see islands as advanced guards or protections. The fourth characteristic is the lack of land, agriculture, forestry, hunting, and natural recourses. Fifthly, that they are bounded entities. The sixth feature is a greater sense of limitless resource availability. The seventh, as in all small places, is that the relations are *particularistic*. Finally, McCall lists migration, both as emigration and immigration. Due to the limited land area, there is not always land enough for a growing population (McCall 1996: 82-83).

McCall argues that nissological knowledge should be multi-dimensional, in the sense that the benefits and findings of the nissological research should be implemented with political will (height), that the meaning of its work should be communicated to a wider society (width), that the research should deal with the deepest and most basic questions in the spirit of international science (depth) and that the findings should be published and explained for the future leaders of the twenty-first century (McCall 1994: 6).

Over the last few years a number of Island Studies have been published. Several research programmes have emerged. *The North Atlantic Islands Programme* and *An Island Living* are two interdisciplinary projects at the University of Prince Edward Island Baldacchino and Greenwood (1998) and Baldacchino and Milne (2000). In *A Geography of Islands*, Royle (2001) focus on the human geography of islands, with some considerations given to the physical geography of islands. What makes islands special is the feeling of belongingness and affinity that in many respects is a consequence of islandness, of the specific isolation and boundedness that is characteristic of islands. In 2007, an overview of the study of islands was published. The volume, *A World of Islands* provides an insight of theoretical principles, ideas, observations, and policy proposals presented by 42 scholars and contributors (see Baldacchino 2007).

The studies of island autonomy that have been performed are fairly rare. This study is to be seen as a contribution to the understanding of islands and the unique characteristics that is related to geographical conditions of islands.

What does insularity mean and how can it be measured? The feeling of belonging or affinity is something that has interested social scientists. Newitt (1992) argues that islanders often develop a feeling of affinity due to the isolated position. This is also pointed out by Sutton and Payne

along with an emphasis on the desire of islands to maintain their own tradition and special identity (Hadenius 1992: 124; Sutton and Payne 1993: 584-583). Anckar (1982: 115-116) argues that the geography of islands tends to strengthen the feeling of togetherness of people despite cultural or ethnic backgrounds. The cultural integration and the feeling of belonging make islanders think that they constitute a unit that should enjoy special treatment in relation to the mainland. However, not only insularity itself but also size contributes to the feeling of belonging and Anckar means that this is something that could be seen in the independence process of the Åland Islands. He argues that the ethnic nationalism of Åland is likely to be understood as a consequence of its smallness and geographical distance from Finland, i.e. its proximity to Sweden (Anckar and Bartmann 2000: 78-79).

Hache (1998: 51-52) argues that the assertion often made by islanders regarding their specific island condition has two purposes. Firstly, the islanders assert a certain identity due to their isolation. On the island people often feel that they belong to the same community due to the insularity and the boundaries given by the geography. Secondly islanders often assert that the central authorities have a lack of understanding for the particular political, economical, and social problems of islands. In this respect insularity will play an important role in justifying these problems. Islands will always have to live with the implications given by the maritime isolation and the island economy will always be vulnerable because of problems connected to transport and size.

Furthermore, Hache argues that to be able to measure insularity, it is important first to outline a broad spectrum of situations. Firstly, there are the cases of a high level of insularity, i.e. the peripheral islands that usually energetically strive for autonomy. These islands are determined to get it, preserve it and defend it. Secondly, there are islands where social insularity is residual or nonexistent. These islands live in total isolation and are not affected by the mainland. It could also be islands that play a key role economically and politically, such as Great Britain and Japan. Finally there are islands that are so close to the mainland that they are eager to be integrated with it, e.g. the Inner Hebrides in the United Kingdom, Fünen (*Fyn*) in Denmark and Öland in Sweden. Hache also points out that insularity can change over time. Today the Danish Zealand does not emphasize its insularity while Sicily, Greenland and Prince Edward Island in Canada do. However, if Quebec were to become an independent state and

Charlottetown the new capital of Canada, the focus on insularity for Prince Edward Island would decline (Hache 1998: 59-65).

Insularity can also be a disadvantage to the territory. Fisher and Encontre (1998: 70-72) have identified two economic disadvantages related to small island countries. First the external economic risk makes islands more vulnerable to economic shock since islands are more affected by increased prices of imports and decreased tourism which both can derive from natural disasters such as the cyclone that the Solomon Island experienced in 2003. Secondly, islands suffer from internal economic handicaps that derive primarily from smallness and remoteness, which often make the islands more vulnerable than small mainland countries. This situation is due to island-specific factors such as obstacles to transport, and communications which can affect economic competitiveness.

2.2 2. The Concept of Islands – Conclusion

The concepts of island and of insularity are not as straight forward as it might seem at first. The definition of island can both be very simple, a piece of land surrounded by water. However, it can also involve other characteristics such as proximity to mainland, if it can be regarded as mainland, and if it has any fixed links to mainland, i.e. bridge, tunnel etc. Insularity concerns the belongingness of the people that populate the island. The size and the isolation of islands tend to create a certain identity, separate from the identity found in the mainland. It is also important to point out the strategic importance of many islands that have been showed in many of the studies that have been performed.

This brings us back to the definition of the concept of islands. For this study, the definition of islands draws on the definition given by the UN: *a naturally formed area of land, surrounded by water, which is above water at high tide*. However, since there are thousands and thousands of islands in the world that would answer to this definition it needs to be completed together with the definition of autonomy. An autonomous island is:

A territory surrounded by water and, in relation to the majority of other sub-national territories, enjoys a special status including some legislative powers, within the state, but does not constitute a federal unit, or an independent state.

In order to understand the conditions that explain autonomy, we need to study also the non-autonomous islands. Therefore, island territories that do not enjoy a unique status in relation to the other territories in the state need to be included. In order to identify these islands we need to set up criteria for the selection of cases.

2.3. Selecting Cases

The selection of cases or observations in large-*n* studies is often made randomly. This however requires a large-*n* study since random selection in small-*n* research often causes serious selection biases (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994:126-8). In all research it is crucial that the consequences of the population are fully recognized. When conducting a large-*n* study or a variable oriented study the research population is rarely problematized at all. In fact, most research populations are seen as given and are usually only addressed whether they are adequate for generalizations or not (Ragin 2000: 46). When conducting a small-*n* or intermediate-*n* studies we need to select the observations using other techniques (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994:128-39).

As have been discussed above, most studies on autonomy uses selection on the dependent variable. According to King, Keohane, and Verba (1994:129) "...nothing whatsoever can be learned about the dependent variable without taking into account other instances when the dependent variable takes other values". In small-*n* or intermediate-*n* studies the population is often seen as a working hypothesis and be revised during the research process (Ragin 2000: 53). However, when performing this type of research it is important that the researcher is aware of the attached biases.

In order to explain autonomy we therefore need to include cases or observations that show different values on the dependent variable. This would imply selecting a range of values of the dependent variable, a so called "case-control" study. In this context it is important for the researcher to be aware of the bias connected to this method of selection. Firstly, this method of selection can be useful for causal inference but it is useless for descriptive inference. Secondly, this method might also affect the causal inference since it requires descriptive data. Therefore it is necessary to select cases without paying attention to the values on the explanatory variables since the observations needs to be as representative as possible in order to generalize (King, Keohane, and Verba 1994: 141).

Furthermore, Mahoney and Goertz (2004: 655-656) points out that when selecting cases in comparative research it is important to include cases that resembles each other, i.e. to exclude positive-irrelevant cases and negative-irrelevant. The problems with including all cases are firstly, that it is a waste of time and resources to analyze cases that do not teach us anything about the outcome. Secondly, a weak theory might be confirmed by all irrelevant cases included. Thirdly, if all irrelevant cases are included, the research population might include too many positive or negative cases which can bias the result.

The selection of cases for a study on islands and autonomy must obviously issue from the different values on the dependent variable, i.e. autonomy. The selection of cases will be based on the definition given on the dependent variable above. The cases will be found among the coastal and island countries of the world. Since there are thousands and thousands of islands around the world and the study will include both autonomous and non-autonomous entities we need to set up criteria for the selection: and categorization of the cases. In order to select positive cases and negative that resemble each other in as many ways as possible we need to set up some criteria. The selection of cases will be made using three criteria:

1. The *Sub-National Criteria*. The islands must constitute an administrative unit on the sub-national level in the state, i.e. an island region
2. The *Mainland Criteria*. The island must not constitute a natural part of the mainland.
3. The *Size Criteria*. There has to be 10,000 inhabitants or more.

Firstly, the *sub-national criteria* imply that the island must constitute an administrative unit on the sub-national or the regional level in the state. This excludes islands on the municipal level as well as many of the small islands in the archipelagos close to the mainland, such as the Stockholm archipelago, the Åbo archipelago, the islands of the Great Barrier Reef, and the mainly uninhabited Canadian islands in the Northwest Territory. In social science it is important that the cases selected are comparable to each other. The islands selected in this study must be on the same administrative level. In some countries there is no regional administrative level, but only municipalities with a local administration. These countries will

be excluded from this study. The islands must constitute an administrative unit on the regional level, which will make them comparable to each other.

The concept of region⁶ in political science is a complex one with many different meanings. When used in this study, region will be defined as the sub-national level between national and local level in a certain state, sometimes referred to as province, county, department etc. The sub-national criteria imply that the island, island group or archipelago must constitute an administrative unit on the sub-national level. According to the definition of the concept of region, it could be said that the island must constitute an island region. In different political systems of the world, the sub-national level is given different names. In Sweden they are called counties, while in Vanuatu they are called provinces. In some countries, e.g. Tanzania, there are both regions and districts on the sub-national level, while in others there is no level between the state and the municipalities. To avoid confusion in the terminology, and to make sure that the islands are as comparable to each other as possible, only islands on the sub-national level, but above the municipal level, will be included.

⁶ The concept of region is a complex one and like the concept of autonomy it is used in many scientific disciplines. In political science there are several definitions of the concept. The discipline of international politics, for instance, identifies world regions, e.g. Scandinavia or the Baltic States in Europe, but the concept is also used to describe the sub-level between the national and the local level in a state (Johansson 1995: 23-26). According to this definition, there are three different kinds of regions: 1. The administrative region, for instance the Swedish counties (län) or the German Länder. 2. The functional region, for example the Öresund region which includes the Swedish administrative region of Scania (Skåne) and the Danish Zealand. 3. The identity or cultural region, e.g. the Basque region in north of Spain and the south of France, the Sanwi region in Ghana and the Ivory Coast, and Abkhazia in Georgia and Russia. But region could also be explained as a network if we accept the assumption that the changing regional process could be described as a change in the total resources in any given society, including administrative and cultural components (Johansson 1995: 24-25). The Assembly of European Regions (AER) has defined a region as sub-state administrative level, which divides the European countries in to six categories. 1. Regions as federal units, Länder, states etc., found in Austria, Belgium, and Germany; 2, Politically independent/autonomous regions, mainly found in Italy, Spain, Portugal and the United Kingdom; 3, Regions in decentralized countries, found in France, Netherlands, and Poland; 4, Regions as counties and departments, found in the Nordic countries, Greece, Turkey, and most of the Eastern European countries; 5. Regions based on counties and departments but in a more centralized state, found on Ireland, and finally, 6. Non-regionalized countries, such as Bulgaria, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, and Portugal (Gren 2002: 9-13).

Secondly, *the mainland criteria*, which states that the islands must not be a part of the mainland. This leaves out peninsulas, and also parts of islands, e.g. the Papua province in Indonesia that is only the western part of the island of New Guinea, since the other part constitutes the independent state of Papua-New Guinea. Every country has its own mainland. This might at first seem as a bold or even risky statement but still, every country must have a central part that could be defined as mainland even though the mainland might not be a part of the continent. In island states or archipelagos the mainland would often be defined as the island where the capital of the country is situated, such as St Christopher in St Kitts-Nevis and Upolu in Samoa. In most cases, this is unproblematic since the state only consists of one island, such as Cyprus, Dominica, and Nauru. In other cases, the mainland is constituted by the island where the capital is situated together with the close neighbouring islands making up the central part of the country. For example in Denmark, The Danish mainland embraces not only the island of Zealand, where the capital is, but also the neighbouring islands, Fuenen, Lolland etc. In earlier times Denmark consisted of the Jutland peninsula, Scania in the south of the Scandinavian Peninsula, and the islands in between. In 1658, Scania was conquered by Sweden, and the islands that used to be in between the two continental parts of Denmark became islands east of the continent, i.e. Jutland. Nevertheless, the islands constitute a natural part of Denmark and can therefore not be included in this study. The British regions of Scotland and Wales will also be excluded since they embrace only a part of the island of Great Britain, the mainland of the United Kingdom. All the counties and boroughs of New Zealand and Ireland are also excluded for the same reason, since they constitute a natural part of the mainland.

However, in order to define mainland for each island country it is necessary to look at all the individual cases. It is important to find out which islands – apart from the island where the capital is situated – will be defined as the mainland of the country, and which islands will not be included in that category.

The administrative unit does not necessarily need to include only one island. Single islands, island groups and archipelagos will be included. Among the autonomous islands of the world there are few, examples of single islands that enjoy autonomy. Even the Rotuma Island, an isolated island under the sovereignty of Fiji, consists of more than one island, though most islands are smaller and less populated than the Rotuma Island. The cases selected must embrace the whole island, or the major part

of an island to be included. Among the islands in the world there are eight islands that are divided: Cyprus, though not internationally recognized, Ireland (Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland), Hispaniola (Dominican Republic and Haiti), Sint Maarten/Saint Martin (the French overseas department of Guadeloupe and Netherlands Antilles), Tierra del Fuego (Argentina and Chile), Borneo (Brunei, Indonesia and Malaysia), New Guinea (Indonesia and Papua New Guinea), and Timor (East Timor and Indonesia). On Cyprus and Cuba there are military bases, on Cyprus the British Akrotiri and Dhekalia Sovereign Base Areas, and on Cuba the US Guantanamo Naval Base. In many ways Sri Lanka is also a divided island, although theoretically united (Royle 2001: 149-52).

Finally, *the size criteria* consider the size of the island in terms of population. In the world there are more autonomous island regions than there are non-autonomous island regions. In order to avoid a selection bias, as discussed above, we need to set up a size criterion in order to get comparable units for our study. We could choose to set an upper cut-off point or a lower one or both. It could be argued that a higher cut-off point would be more interesting when studying the differences between autonomous islands and independent island states. Nevertheless, there are almost as many autonomous island regions as non-autonomous that have more than one million inhabitants. Subsequently, we would not face any selection bias in this respect.

As for the lower cut-off point there are far more autonomous island regions that have less than 10,000 inhabitants than there are non-autonomous ones. In fact, almost all the islands that form an administrative unit on the sub-national level, i.e. an island region, with less than 10,000 inhabitants could be defined as autonomous islands. Common for all of them is that they are all situated far away from the mainland of their mother country. Since there is a risk that this could bias our findings we will use a lower cut-off point. Among the autonomous and independent islands of the world, there are only a few examples of islands that have less than 10,000 inhabitants. Many of the small and remote islands in the world enjoy some form of *de facto* autonomy even though many of them are considered as non-self-governing territories, e.g. the Christmas Islands and the Easter Island. Among the independent states in the world there are 14 that have less than 100,000 inhabitants, eight that have less than 50,000 and only three have less than 20,000 inhabitants. Only the Vatican City State has less than 10,000. In order to select cases that resembles each other and to get as homogeneous research population as possible and

thereby avoid a selection bias, we will set the benchmark at 10,000 inhabitants.

In order to select the cases we need to look at the coastal and island states in the world, especially since one of the criteria set up for the selection is that the island must not be part of the mainland. It would be difficult to argue that islands found in lakes would not be a natural part of the mainland, and therefore only islands found in the sea will be included. To identify the islands we therefore need to look at the coastal and island countries of the world, which excludes 41 of the independent countries. As we will see below, while there are many coastal and island countries, several of them only possess a small stretch of coast, so the numbers of countries that actually will be considered are significantly fewer. The selection of the cases is made by means of the dependent variable, but unlike most studies of autonomy we will include variation on the dependent variable.

As has been shown above, most studies on autonomy only focus on autonomies and not on non-autonomies. In a few studies autonomies have been compared to autonomies that have ceased to exist, but most studies only include cases that are said to be representative for the different types of autonomy. Since there are no general study performed including both autonomies and non-autonomies, this study will contribute to a deeper understanding of the concept, and it will also test the factors that by most researchers are brought up as explanations to why some territories have achieved autonomy.

Since random-selection is not generally appropriate when performing a study with a small number of cases, a small-*n* research (King, Keohane and Verba 1994: 128), it is necessary to make observations using other methods. By studying cases that show different values on the dependent variable, it is possible to verify or falsify the independent variables that derive from studies on autonomy where the selection was made on the dependent variable. The problems connected to the method of selecting on the dependent variable are thereby avoided.

The cases will be identified using the three criteria set up above: *The Sub-National Criteria*, *The Mainland Criteria*, and *The Size Criteria*. The cases will also be categorized as two groups: autonomous islands and non-autonomous islands. The establishing of these two groups will need to utilize the definition of the dependent variable,

An island territory which is surrounded by water and, in relation to the majority of other sub-national territories, enjoys a special and unique status including legislative powers, within the state, but does not constitute a federal unit, or an independent state.

The categorization will be made by first identifying the administrative division of each country to find the sub-national units, i.e. regions, provinces, districts, counties, prefectures etc. Thereafter we will consult the constitutions and other laws that regulate the autonomy to find out if there are anything said about any entity enjoying autonomy or if any of the sub-national territories enjoys any special status. If so, then the special legislations of this entity will also be consulted to find out if the territory fulfils the definition of an autonomous entity or not. In this context it might be important to keep in mind that constitutions are often seen as maps of power organization that tell us something about the use and control of public power⁷. They do not really tell us anything about the will of the people, but more about the political leaders' ideas about how they think that people would like things to be (Ducachek 1973: 3-5). It is, however, important to remember that a constitution, as Jan-Erik Lane puts it, is only "...a compact document that comprises a number of articles about the state" and it does not tell us anything whether it is obeyed or implemented. Most countries have a written constitution but some lack a written constitution. Instead these countries have legal documents that enjoy the same status as a constitution, as for instance Magna Charta in the United Kingdom (Lane 1996: 5-6). In this context it is not important if the

⁷ According to Finer, Bogdanor and Rodden (1995: 1-2) there are four major arguments against the study of constitutions. Firstly they argue that constitutions are highly incomplete and often divergent from the actual practice. Secondly, rules indicated in one constitution could be obtained in others. Thirdly, constitutional texts are often interpreted in courts. Fourthly, the texts say little about the extra-constitutional organizations that conduct the political practice. Moreover, many of the constitutions are constantly changed or suspended, something that explains why they often are considered as ineffective. On the other hand, Israel, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom do not have any written constitutions but follow the constitutional rules they possess. They also state that if the power-holders exercise self-restraint the written constitution is unnecessary – if not, then it is useless (Finer, Bogdanor and Rodden 1995: 2). Ducachek (1973: 4) argues that most constitutions are not violated as regards organizations and political power, but more in terms of the actual practice on bills of rights and their implementation.

autonomy arrangements are defined in the constitution or in an ordinary law. The main point is that the competence of the autonomy is defined. Therefore it is necessary to consult constitutions, or other laws that regulate the autonomy, and the special legislation on the islands. This makes it possible to separate the autonomous islands from the non-autonomous islands. Even though the constitutions play a secondary role in the categorization of the cases it might be important to consider on the constitution concept and to think about what role a constitution actually plays. It is not only important to study the constitutions and the special legislation of the different islands, but it is also of the greatest value to analyze how the distribution of power works in practice. From here on we will continue by identifying the cases by looking at one ocean at the time, starting with the Atlantic Ocean.

The Islands of the Atlantic Ocean

The Atlantic Ocean is the second largest of the three great oceans. It is divided into the North Atlantic and South Atlantic and it has several seas and bays, Barents Sea, Baltic Sea, North Sea, Mediterranean Sea, and Caribbean Sea, and Baffin Bay, Hudson Bay, etc. There are five continents, sixty-nine coastal countries and 18 island states along the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean.

In the Atlantic Ocean we find 44 island regions, departments, provinces and dependencies, distributed on three continents. We have 21 in Europe, five in Africa, and 18 in North America, that will be included in this study, see table 1.

The Bahamas obtained independence from Britain in 1973 and consists of nearly 700 islands that are divided into 19 districts for administrative purposes, but none of the islands enjoy any special status or autonomy. The capital, Nassau, is situated on the island Nassau, which together with the neighbouring islands constitute the Bahamas mainland. The two districts, Abaco with 131,700 inhabitants (2000) and Grand Bahama with 46,994 (2000), lies up north from Nassau. They will both be coded as non-autonomous islands.

Table 1. Islands in the Atlantic Ocean

Mother Country	Islands	Mother Country	Islands
Bahamas	Abaco	Netherlands	Aruba
	Grand Bahama		Netherlands Antilles
Cape Verde	Santo Antão	Portugal	Azores
	São Nicolau		Madeira
	São Vicente	Spain	Balearic Islands
Colombia	San Andrés y Providencia		Canary Islands
Cuba	Isla de la Juventud	Sweden	Gotland
Denmark	Bornholm	Trinidad and Tobago	Tobago
	Faeroe Islands	United Kingdom	Anguilla
	Greenland		Bermuda
Estonia	Hiiumaa		British Virgin Islands
	Saaremaa		Cayman Islands
Finland	Åland Islands		Eilean Siar
France	Corsica		Guernsey
	Guadeloupe		Isle of Man
	Martinique		Jersey
Greece	Crete		Orkney Islands
	Ionian Islands		Shetland Islands
	North Aegean Sea		Turks and Caicos Islands
	South Aegean Sea		USA
Honduras	Islas de la Bahía		
Italy	Sardinia		
	Sicily		

The Cape Verde archipelago consists of ten islands and five islets divided into two island groups, the southern Sotavento group and the northern Barlavento group. The capital, Praia, is situated in the Sotavento group and these islands must therefore be considered as the Cape Verde mainland. The Barlavento group includes the islands of Santo Antão 43,845 inhabitants (2000), São Nicolau 13,665 (2000), São Vicente 51,277 (2000), Santa Luzia, Sal and Boa Vista. The constitution of Cape Verde states in Part 1, Title 1 that “Cape Verde shall be a sovereign unitary and democratic Republic”. The islands can exercise influence on the decision-making through the Council for Regional Affairs that consists of two representatives from each island. The influence is however restricted since the council only shall give advice on matters that are of relevant interest to regional development. Cape Verde is divided into 17 counties, of which São Vicente also includes the island of Santa Luzia. None of the islands is defined as autonomous either by the constitution or through any special legislation.

The Colombian island department of San Andrés y Providencia is situated in the Caribbean Sea and it has 71,000 inhabitants (1999). The Colombian constitution, one of the world's oldest still in use, was adopted in 1886 and states in Title 1, Article 1 that "Colombia is a lawful state, organized as a single Republic, decentralized, with autonomous territorial entities". The unitary governmental system however, relegates the local governments to more of implementers with limited policy making authority. The country is divided into 22 departments (departamentos), as of which none enjoys any special status in relation to the central government or in relation to the other departments (Hudson 1990: 211-212).

The Cuban island Isla de la Juventud (Isle of Youth) with 86,600 inhabitants (2002) is situated south-west of the Cuban mainland. The country is divided into 14 provinces (provincias), and one special municipality (municipio especial), the Isla de Juventud. The special municipality enjoys no further rights than the provinces, but unlike the other municipalities, it answers directly to the government, and is therefore often characterised as a province (Robinson 1987: 170-171). The Cuban constitution of 1976 states that the country is divided into subunits for "politico-administrative purposes" and that the National Assembly retained the right to change their matters, boundaries and names at any time. Even if the Isla de Juventud is considered to be a special municipality it does not enjoy any special status in relation to the 14 provinces. Since the island answers directly to the government and enjoys the same status as the provinces it will be included as a non-autonomous island.

The three Danish islands, Bornholm with 43,774 inhabitants (2004), the Faeroe Islands (Føroyar) with 47,700 (2002), and Greenland (Grønland or Kalaallit Nunaat) with 56,124 (2000) enjoy a different status in relation to the Danish government. In Section 82 of the Danish Constitution it is stated that Denmark is a unitary state with some autonomy for the municipalities. According to Lane and Ersson (1999: 217; 224) the autonomy of the Danish local government varies from time to time depending on whether decentralisation and variation or centralization and equality are emphasized. Denmark is divided into 14 counties (amter), and out of these. Bornholm is the smallest as concerns both area and population. In

2007 the 14 counties will be reorganized into five regions. Bornholm will then be part of Region Hovedstaden⁸.

Denmark also includes the two dependencies of the Faeroe Islands and Greenland. The autonomy, or home rule, of the two islands is not regulated in the Danish constitution, but in special legislations that regulate the relations between Denmark and its two autonomous regions. The home rule acts were set up in 1948 for the Faeroe Islands and in 1979 for Greenland. The two regions are entitled to decide on most domestic matters such as taxes, schools, health care, public administration etc. Matters that concern foreign policy and defence are subordinate to the Danish state. The islands have their own parliaments that are responsible for the legislation on the matters within their competence. Their governments are responsible for the implementation of the decisions made by the parliaments and are formed from the principle of parliamentarianism (Lov Nr 137, 23. Marts 1948, om Færøernes Hjemmestyre; Lov nr 577, 29. november 1978, om Grønlands hjemmestyre). The relations between Denmark and the two autonomous regions can only be changed through a consensus (The Danish Constitution, Section 88). Since both the Faeroe Islands and Greenland enjoys special status, they will be regarded as autonomous, while Bornholm enjoys the same status as the other Danish counties and will be regarded as non-autonomous.

Estonia is divided into 15 counties (maakonnad). The regional level government has a weak decision-making power in comparison to both the central government and the local self-government of the municipalities (Jauhiainen 2000: 186-187). The Estonian islands of Hiiumaa, with 10,289 inhabitants (2004) and Saaremaa with 35,356 (2004), do not enjoy any autonomy vis-à-vis the Estonian state. Due to the weak power of the counties and the fact that the islands do not enjoy any special status in relation to the other counties they will be categorized as non-autonomous.

Finland is considered to be a unitary state and the process of division into regions has been very slow and the regions have historically been governed by the State. Since 1994, when Finland joined the European Union, the government has intended to expand regional autonomy (Bergmann-Winberg 2001: 39-40; The Finnish Constitution, Chapter 11). The country is divided into six regions (lääni). The Åland Islands enjoy self-

⁸ For further reading on the Danish local government reform, see The Local Government Reform – In Brief: (http://www.im.dk/publikationer/government_reform_in_brief/index.htm).

government in accordance with what is specifically stipulated in the Act of the Autonomy of the Åland Islands first set up in 1922 after a decision in the League of Nations. The responsibilities of the Åland Islands and the distribution of powers between the central government and the islands are not found in the constitution, but in the Act of Autonomy of the Åland Islands. It is stated that the region is entitled to decide on matters that concern domestic issues, some taxes, health care, social welfare, education, roads, labour etc. The Finnish state is responsible for foreign policy, defence, ecclesiastical matters, and some taxes etc. The islands have their own parliament, the Lagtinget, and the government is formed on the principles of parliamentarianism (Act of Autonomy of the Åland Islands). The Finnish Constitution can either be changed if two similar decisions are taken with a general election in between or, if 5/6 of the Riksdag considers the change to be urgent, it can be changed with a statutory majority. The relations between Finland and the Åland Islands can only be changed by consensus (Act of Autonomy of the Åland Islands). The Åland islands will therefore be categorized as an autonomous region.

The powers of the French regions are quite limited and focus mostly on questions concerning education, labour, culture and aspects of the economy (Biggi 1992: 42-43; Lane and Ersson 1999: 178-179). The idea of local or regional autonomy has been feared due to the belief that it might undermine the integrity of the national territory and also that it is regarded as an essentially anti-nation concept (Elgie 2003: 212-213). The regionalization of France is a relatively recent creation and the first election to the regional councils was not held until 1986 (Elgie 2003: 231-232). In practice the powers of the departments and of the municipalities limit the powers of the regions and their role is reduced to being in charge of co-ordinating and conducting regional development. As for Corsica, the French government has started a process towards autonomy for the island and it is considered as a collective territoriale with some special status in relation to the other French departments since 1982.

France has two insular overseas departments (*departements d'outre-mer*) in the Caribbean: Guadeloupe, and Martinique, Guadeloupe consists of seven islands divided into two groups. The main group consists of Basse-Terre, and Grande Terre, and the three adjacent islands of Îles de Saintes, La Désirade, and Marie-Galante. About 250 km northwest of the main group is the two islands of Saint Barthélémy, and the northern part of

Saint Martin (the southern third of the island is a part of the Netherlands Antilles)⁹. Since 1983, the overseas departments enjoy limited autonomy due to their geographical position in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean (Balme 1998: 181-183). The status of the French overseas departments is regulated in Article 72 and 73 of the French constitution.

The Greek regions consist of smaller municipalities made up into larger areas. The constitution states that "The administration of the state shall be organized in accordance with the system of decentralization" (The Greek constitution, Article 101). However, Greece is a unitary state with a strong central government and the powers of the local authorities are limited and they are to be supervised by the state. As Lane and Ersson (1999: 219-220) stated "There is nothing of territorial autonomy or regionalism in general in Greece". One exception can be found, however, the peninsula of Athos. This Holy Community gained autonomy due to its religious status and is ruled by a non-secular authority. A religious council governs the community and women are still not allowed to visit the peninsula (Speake 2002: 2, 163-164; The Greek constitution, Article 105). Among the 51 prefectures (nomoi), none enjoy any special status. Due to the weak powers of the Greek regions and because of the fact that none of the four Greek island regions enjoys any special status in relation to the state or the other regions, they will be considered as non-autonomous.

The departments and the municipalities in Honduras have traditionally been dominated by the government. Even though a new constitution marked a shift on the road towards more decentralized features for the departments and municipalities, Honduras is considered as a unitary and centralised state. The Honduran constitution has traditionally been considered to be made up of aspirations or ideas than of legal instruments of a working government. The constitution has been changed ten times and the present one was adopted in 1982. There are 18 departments (departamentos) of which none, including the Islas de la Bahía Bay Islands) enjoys any special status in relation to the central government (Sullivan 1995: 149-151; 167-169).

The regional legislative powers of the Italian regions includes urban and rural police, fairs and markets, local museums and libraries, town planning, tourism, hunting, fishing in inland waters, and handicrafts etc.

⁹ In February 2007, Saint Barthélémy and Saint Martin was separated from the overseas department of Guadeloupe and achieved the status as overseas collectivities. The first elections to their new parliaments were held on July 1st.

The power of the regions can be divided into two categories, a small sector where the region has a real responsibility and a large sector, which is determined by national taxpayers (The Italian Constitution, Title V, Article 119; Hine 1993: 263-265). Concerning the role of the Italian regions in the European Union, regions still play a modest role. However some changes have been done to reduce the role of the state in the implementation of EU directives on issues connected to the regions (Pinelli 1999: 45-47). Italy is divided into 20 regions (regioni), and in the constitution that was adopted in 1948 after World War II, it is stated that "The Regions shall be constituted as autonomous territorial units with their own powers and functions according to principles established by the Constitution" (Title V, article 115). It is further stated that five of the regions shall enjoy particular forms and conditions of autonomy; the five includes the northern regions of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, Trentino-Alto Adige, and Valle d'Aosta, and the two island regions of Sardinia, Sicily. The autonomous regions have their own Statutes, "Statuto della Regione Siciliana", and "Statuto speciale per la Sardegna" for the island regions. They also have their own parliaments and governments. The Italian constitution guarantees the autonomy of the regions, and the regions themselves are to be consulted in the changes that might concern their competence. The Italian island regions will therefore be categorized as autonomous.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands consists of three parts, The Netherlands, Aruba, and Netherlands Antilles. The Kingdom is divided into twelve provinces and two autonomous regions, Aruba and Netherlands Antilles that are integral parts of the Netherlands, but enjoy full autonomy in internal affairs. The relations between the Netherlands' state and the two islands are regulated in the Netherlands' constitution and in the separate constitutions of the two autonomous regions (The Charter for the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Bulletins for Acts and Decrees 1954, no. 503). In 2008, the Netherlands Antilles will be dissolved in its present form. The islands of Curaçao and Sint Maarten will form their own countries within the Kingdom of the Netherlands, which is a similar status to the one of Aruba. The three remaining islands, Bonaire, Sint Eustatius, and Saba will be kingdom islands, which is a status that still has to be defined in detail¹⁰. Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles will be categorized as

tail¹⁰. Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles will be categorized as autonomous.

In Section VII, Article 227-236, of the Portuguese constitution there are two autonomous regions defined, the Azores and Madeira. This Section also regulates the relations between the Portuguese State and the two island regions, and the powers and limits of powers of the two Portuguese autonomous regions. It says that the regions have the rights to legislate on matters that concern themselves. They are entitled to taxation in conformity with the law. They also have the right to participate in definition of policies concerning their territorial waters and to participate in the negotiations concerning international agreements that directly concern them. The limits of powers state that the regions are not allowed to impose restrictions on the passage of goods and persons between them and the mainland. It also says that a Minister of the Republic, who has the power to coordinate between the state authorities and the authorities of the regions, shall represent the republic in the region. The islands have their own legislative assemblies and the governments are responsible to the assemblies (The Portuguese Constitution, Section VII). The Portuguese island regions, who gained their autonomy in 1974, when the new constitution came into force, must therefore be considered as autonomous. None of the other 18 districts (distritos) enjoy are islands or enjoy any special status.

Spain is regarded as a union-state consisting of 15 autonomous regions (comunidades autonomas). The Autonomous Communities and their competence are outlined in the Spanish constitution (Chapter III) that was adopted in 1978, replacing the old fascist constitution. Among the regions there are two island regions to be found, the Canary Islands and the Balearic Islands. The tax system of the Canary Islands is also defined in the constitution. Furthermore there is special legislation set up for the autonomous regions (The Spanish Constitution, Article 2, 143-158; Title XI, Article 3; Estatudo de Autonomía de Canarias; The Statute of Autonomy of the Balearic Islands). In Title VIII on Territorial Organization in the Spanish constitution it is said that the autonomous regions shall be based on historical, cultural, economical and/or geographical foundations. The

¹⁰ For further reading on the dissolving of the Netherlands Antilles, see Oostindie (2006) *Dependence and Autonomy in Sub-national Island Jurisdictions: The case of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in The Round Table*, vol. 95, No 386 (pp. 609-626); Curaçao Government Website (<http://www.curacao-gov.an/>).

communities are responsible for their own institutions and regulations of their territory. Moreover, they are responsible for the infrastructure, the agriculture, the forests, the fishing in inland waters, the handicrafts, tourism, health and hygiene etc. However the communities have no competence concerning international relations, defence, administration of justice, the judicial system, customs, monetary system, and maritime fishing, indeed all the matters that are in the interest of more than one autonomous region etc. As concerns taxation, the regions are only entitled to their own taxes in order to fulfil their obligations. The regions have their own parliaments and the regional government is responsible to the parliament (The Spanish Constitution, Article 143-148, 152; Estatudo de Autonomía de Canarias; The Statute of Autonomy of the Balearic Islands). However, the Canary Islands enjoy special status in other respects as well. The island became a free-port in 1852 and was not formally integrated into Spain until 1927. They have lower taxes and are not a member of the EU Customs Union (Beautell 1992: 91-92, Protocol No 2 (1985) concerning the Canary Islands and Ceuta and Melilla). According to Lane and Ersson (1999: 213-214) the competence of the Spanish regions are more similar to a semi-federal system. The Spanish regions must therefore be considered as autonomous.

Sweden is divided into 21 counties, (län), of which three are considered as regions, Skåne, Kalmar, and Västra Götaland. The Swedish regions have traditionally been weak. The local authorities mostly have to implement the government decisions without having any real influence on the decisionmaking (Pierre 1997: 122). The Swedish municipalities do enjoy a limited autonomy and Sweden is therefore often characterized as a decentralized state. Studies of the regions in Sweden have argued that there are too many regions and that the number ought to be reduced from 21 to 9 or 10. In the study made by Lindeborg (1997) it is argued that nine regions would be sufficient and that the island of Gotland should constitute a region of its own. In 1998 four regions, Gotland, Kalmar, Scania and Västra Götaland, were given special regional statutes. The regions had their own assemblies, (regionfullmäktige), but whether or not this has increased the power of these regions remains to be seen (Ström 1999: 11-13; Fernandez 2000 and SOU 2000: 87). In 2003 the regional status of Gotland was withdrawn. Due to the weak powers of the Swedish regions the island of Gotland will be categorized as non-autonomous.

The Republic of Trinidad and Tobago consists of two main islands of which the island of Trinidad must be considered as mainland since the

capital, Port-of-Spain, is situated there. The country is divided into nine regional corporations, two city corporations, three borough corporations and one ward. The latter one is the island of Tobago. According to a Legal Supplement to the Trinidad constitution, the Act 37 of 1980, also called the Tobago House of Assembly Act, the island of Tobago enjoys internal self-government in most internal matters. Therefore Tobago will be categorized as autonomous.

The United Kingdom has no written constitution but the country sometimes considered as a union state is often described as a centralized state. Within the United Kingdom there are three islands that are included, Eilean Siar (formerly the Western Isles), the Orkney Islands, and the Shetland Islands. The lack of constitution in the United Kingdom makes it difficult to determine the competence of the islands. However, the Westminster model of governing is founded on the idea of a sovereign parliament and does not admit any institutionalised autonomy (Lane and Ersson 1999: 215-216). It must therefore be concluded that the three islands do not enjoy any autonomy vis-à-vis the British government or the regional government in Scotland (Mack Kim 1992: 119-136 and Lane and Ersson 1999: 217-218). These islands will be categorized as non-autonomous.

Within the British Isles there are three regions that are not formally part of the United Kingdom, but considered Crown dependencies: the Bailiwick of Guernsey, the Bailiwick of Jersey of the Channel Islands in the English Channel, and the Isle of Man in the Irish Sea. The status of these three regions for the most part derives from a number of historical circumstances. The relations between the three regions and the British government are mostly based on common law. None of the islands is a member of the European Union. The regions have their own parliaments, the States of Guernsey, the States of Jersey and Tynwald on Man. The government is responsible to these parliaments (Bogdan 1988: 155-156; Loveridge 1975: 1-3.; Protocol No 3 (1973) on the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man).

The United Kingdom is considered to be a unitary state, although it embraces four different legal systems, England and Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the United Kingdom. The Isle of Man, the Bailiwick of Guernsey and the Bailiwick of Jersey are not parts of the United Kingdom but are Crown dependencies (Finer, Bogdanor, and Rodden 1995: 18). The three islands are entitled to decide on all domestic and foreign matters that are of their concern (Bogdan 1988: 155-156). However, the three islands are strictly theoretically subjected to the authority of the UK

parliament, but in practice this is restricted to defence, international relations, customs, postal services, wireless telegraphy, fishery and civil aviation. The three islands all deny the rights of the UK parliament to legislate for them without the consent of the local parliaments (Phillips 2001: 767-769). Since the relations between the three islands and the UK parliament is regulated by common law and customs the distribution of power is vague. This could be exemplified by the OECD report in 2000, which identifies 35 tax havens that damage free trade including the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands. Although the UK government welcomed the report it is not clear what power it has to implement changes (Phillips 2001: 769). As for the European Union, none of the three islands is a member. These three regions will be categorized as autonomous.

As for the British overseas territories in North America, Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, and Turks and Caicos Islands, they all enjoy self-government in relation to the British government. The relations between the UK and the islands are regulated in the *British Overseas Territories Act* of 2002 and in the individual constitutions of the islands; *The Anguilla Constitutional Order*, established in 1976, *the Bermuda Constitutional Order*, established in 1968, *the Virgin Islands Constitutional Order*, established in 1977, *the Cayman Islands Constitutional Order*, established in 1959, and *the Turks and Caicos Islands Constitutional Order* established in 1986.

The United States is a federal state with 50 states and eight outlying territories. Since this study focuses on autonomous islands, the US island state of Hawaii will not be included. Among the outlying territories, two are found in the Caribbean, Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands. Puerto Rico achieved Commonwealth status in 1952, and the territory's constitution dates back to the same year. The US Virgin Islands is considered an unincorporated territory and the constitution dates back to 1954. Both of the territories enjoy internal self-government and must therefore be considered as autonomous islands.

Apart from the 44 islands included there are thousands of islands in the Atlantic Ocean that do not fulfil the criteria set up for this study and are therefore not included. Up north in the Arctic Sea there are the Russian islands of Novaja Semlja, Franz Josef Land, Severbaya Semlja, the New Siberian Islands and the Wrangle Island. However, they are all parts of mainland regions. Among the Norwegian islands of Svalbard, Jan Mayen and Björnöya, only Svalbard is inhabited. The island is administered by the Arctic department through a governor, according to the treaty of Sval-

bard, that states that the island is a demilitarised part of Norway and that ensures equal rights for the nine signatory countries (today 40) on Svalbard (Protocol No 7 (1994) on Svalbard; Ulfstein 1995: 26-28). However, the island has only 2,423 inhabitants (2005).

Among the British islands there are also the Inner Hebrides, the Isle of Angelsey and the Scilly Islands that are not included since they do not constitute regions, but are parts of mainland regions. Along the Irish coast there are only smaller islands to be found. The German island of Heligoland is not a part of the EU taxation union. However the island is an integrated part of the Bundesland Schleswig-Holstein and has only 1,900 (1999) inhabitants and will therefore not be included.

In the Baltic Sea area, the Swedish island of Öland is a part of a mainland region, while the Danish islands of Zealand, Fuen, Lolland, etc. are all considered as parts of the Danish mainland, since some of the major cities of Denmark are found on the islands, as well as the capital itself.

Along the western coasts of France, Portugal, and Spain there are only smaller islands to be found. In the Mediterranean Sea there are the Spanish islands of Chafarinas, Penon de Alhucemas, and Penon de Velez de la Gomera. These islands, together with the Italian islands of Lampedusa and Pantelleria, are all smaller islands that do not fulfil the criteria. This is also the case with the Croatian Dalmatian Island, and the Tunisian islands of Jalitah, Juzur Qardannah, and Jarbah. In Malta there are the islands of Gozo and Comino, but none of them are considered as regions and they are governed directly from Valetta.

Along the African West coast there are the Sherbro Island in Sierra Leone, the Guinean island of Iles de Los, Isla Tristao and the Bijagós Archipelago in Guinea Bissau. They are all part of mainland regions and are therefore not included. Along the coasts of Mauritania, Senegal, Gambia, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, and Cameroon only smaller islands are found. The capital of Equatorial Guinea, Malibo, is situated on the Bioko Island and the island will therefore not be included. The other five islands of Equatorial Guinea will not be included since they do neither fulfil the population nor the region criteria.

The island state of São Tomé and Príncipe consists of two major islands, São Tomé and Príncipe. The first one must be regarded as mainland, since the capital, also called São Tomé, is situated on the island. Príncipe does not fulfil the population criteria and is therefore not included. Along the coasts of Gabon, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa,

Angola, and Namibia there are only smaller islands to be found. The situation is the same along the Atlantic coast of South Africa.

Among the islands in the Mid-Atlantic, St Helena, Ascension, and Tristan da Cunha form the British colony St Helena, but they are not included since they do not fulfil the population criteria. This is also the case with the British islands of South Georgia, South Sandwich Islands, South Orkney Islands, and Shag Rocks, as well as the Norwegian Bouvet Island and the other islands along the Antarctic coast.

Along the South American eastern coast no island is found for this study. The Isla del Fuego is divided between two countries, Argentina and Chile, and the island does not fulfil the population criteria or the region criteria. The British Falkland Islands, or Islas Malvinas as it is called in Argentina, is ruled by the British but claimed by Argentina. However, since the islands only have 2,379 (2001) inhabitants they will not be included. The Brazil islands of Fernando de Noronha, São Paulo, and Trindade do not fulfil the population criteria, or the region criteria, and are therefore excluded. Along the coasts of Surinam, Guyana, and Venezuela only smaller islands are found.

In the Caribbean there are the Haitian islands of Île de la Gonave and Le Tortue, which both form parts of mainland regions and they will therefore not be included. The Grenadines in St Vincent and the Grenadines do not fulfil the population criteria. St Kitts and Nevis regards itself as a federal state. However, only Nevis enjoys a federal status with its own parliament and legislative powers. The island of St Christopher is ruled directly by the federal government (Karvonen 2003: 26-27). Nevertheless, St Kitts-Nevis is defined as a federal state in its constitution and therefore we must exclude the island from this study.

The most populated island in Bahamas, the New Providence, is considered as the Bahaman mainland since the capitol, Nassau, is situated on the island. None of the other Bahaman islands fulfil the population criteria. The population of the British island of Montserrat declined dramatically in 1997 when there was a volcano eruption on the island and more than 8,000 of the 9,245 inhabitants fled. The island will therefore not be included in this study.

There are some famous islands along the US coast, such as Manhattan and Long Island. However, all the islands along the US Atlantic coast will be excluded, since they must be considered to be part of the US mainland and part of federal states. Along the Canadian East coast there are the Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. However, Canada is a federal

state and the islands will therefore be excluded. In the Saint Lawrence bay there are the French territorial collectivity of St Pierre et Miquelon that only has 6,316 (1999) inhabitants and it will therefore be excluded.

The Islands of the Indian Ocean

The Indian Ocean is the third largest sea in the world, but it is also the smallest of the three great oceans. There are several seas, gulfs and bays, such as the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Bengali Bay. There are four continents, 24 coastal countries and seven island countries along the coasts of the Indian Ocean. In the Indian Ocean there are eleven islands found that will be included, shown in table 2; five in Africa and six in Asia.

Table 2. Islands in the Indian Ocean

Mother Country	Islands	Mother Country	Islands
France	Mayotte	Maldives	Addu
	Réunion		Huvadhu
Indonesia	Maluku	Mauritius	Rodrigues
	Maluku Utara	Tanzania	Mafia
	Nusa Tenggara Barat		Zanzibar
	Nusa Tenggara Timur		

The French dependencies in the Indian Ocean, the overseas department of Réunion and the departmental collectivity of Mayotte both enjoy internal self-rule. As the two overseas departments in the Caribbean, Réunion owe its special status to the geographic distance to mainland France. It gained this status in 1983 and the status is regulated in Article 72 and 73 of the French Constitution. Mayotte is geographically a part of the Comoros archipelago and the Comoros claims sovereignty over the territory. The island desire is to gain status as an overseas department has not been fulfilled by the French government, mainly because of the dispute with the Comoros over the territory (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 228-232). The status of Mayotte is defined in Article 72 and 74 of the French Constitution. Both Mayotte and Réunion will be considered as autonomous islands.

Indonesia consists of more than 13,600 islands. Three of the islands are shared with other states; Borneo is shared with Malaysia and Brunei, New Guinea with the state of Papua New Guinea and Timor with the Republic of East Timor. The constitution of Indonesia that was adopted in 1945, states that Indonesia is a unitary state with special regions that enjoys

autonomy (see Chapter 6: 6 of the Indonesian constitution). The country is divided into 30 provinces (propinsi-propinsi) and two special regions (daerah-daerah istimewa): Aceh in the north-east Sumatra and Yogyakarta on the south coast of central Java Island. There is also a special capital city district, Jakarta Raya. The Indonesian mainland embraces the islands of Java, Sumatra, and Sulawesi and the smaller islands in between including the island of Bali. The two outer provinces in Nusa Tenggara and the two Maluku regions are therefore not viewed as mainland. None of the provinces enjoys any special status and therefore the four Indonesian islands will be regarded as non-autonomous.

The Maldives embrace 20 atolls and more than 1,800 islands and islets. The capitol Malé is situated on the atoll with the same name, which together with the 17 surrounding atolls form the Maldives' mainland. South of the central group there are the Huvadhu atoll, the Fuvahmulah atoll, and the Addu atoll. The Fuvahmulah atoll has only 7,528 (2001) inhabitants and will therefore not be included. The Addu and Huvadhu atolls fulfil the criteria and will be included. The constitution of the Maldives dates back to 1998 and declares that the Maldives shall be a unitary state. It is divided into 20 administrative districts of which none enjoys any special status or special legislation (Law 2006: Atolls of Maldives). Therefore the two Maldives atolls of Addu and Huvadhu will be categorized as non-autonomous.

Mauritius consists of the islands of Mauritius, divided into nine districts, and the three island dependencies of Agalga Island, Cargados Caragos Shoals, and Rodrigues Islands. The Mauritius constitution states that "The Republic of Mauritius is a sovereign democratic state within the Commonwealth with a long tradition of parliamentary democracy". In 2002 the Parliament adopted an amendment to the constitution, the *Rodrigues Regional Assembly Bill*, granting the island of Rodrigues autonomy in internal matters (Law 2006: Districts of Mauritius; Rodrigues Regional Assembly 2006: Regional Assembly). The island will therefore be categorized as autonomous.

The Tanzanian constitution states that "Tanzania is one State and is a sovereign United Republic". Further on in the First chapter of the constitution it is stated that the powers of the United Republic is vested in two bodies with legislative power (the Parliament of the United Republic and the national Assembly of Zanzibar), two with judicial powers (Judiciary of the United Republic and Judiciary of Tanzania Zanzibar) and two with executive power (the Government of the United Republic and the Revolu-

tionary Government of Tanzania Zanzibar) (Part 1, Article 4). Chapter four of the Tanzanian constitution defines the distribution of powers between the Union Government and Zanzibar. The union-matters mainly include matters of Foreign affairs, Security, Citizenship and Immigration, Higher education and Research, Civil aviation, and Statistic. The internal matters of Zanzibar includes Information, Agriculture, Natural Resources, Environment and Cooperatives, Trade, Industry, Marketing, Tourism, Education, Culture and Sports, Health and Social Welfare, Water, Construction, Energy and Land, Communication and Transport and finally, youth, employment, women and children development, etc (Chapter one and Chapter four of the Tanzanian constitution). The island of Zanzibar must therefore be considered as an autonomous island. Mainland Tanzania is divided into 21 regions (mkoa), 119 districts (wilaya). The island of Mafia constitutes a separate district within the region of Pwani and does thereby fulfil the sub-national criteria. There is no special legislation set up for Mafia and the island is therefore considered to be non-autonomous.

Among the other islands in the Indian Ocean, which do not fulfil the criteria are the South African islands, Prince Edward Islands, and the uninhabited Marion Island. Along the coasts of Mozambique, Kenya, Somalia, Djibouti, Sudan, and Egypt, there are only small islands to be found.

Among the four island states, the Comoros Archipelago consists of four islands, Njazidja, Nzwani, Mwali, and Mayotte, of which Mayotte has already been discussed. The three other islands constitute the republic of the Comoros. The capital Moroni is situated on Njazidja (Grande Comore), which entails that the island must be regarded as the Comoros mainland. The first Article of the Comoros constitution states that "L'Union des Comores est une République, composée des îles autonomes de Mwali (Mohéli), Maoré (Mayotte), Ndzuwani (Anjouan), N'gazidja (Grande Comore)". The individual islands enjoy a limited form of autonomy and the Comoros is usually defined as a federal state (Karvonen 2003: 26-27).

In Madagascar there is the island of Nossi Be that constitutes a part of a mainland region, which therefore will be excluded. In the Seychelles only the main island, Mahé, where the capital Mahé is situated has more than 10,000 inhabitants. The 115 islands will therefore be excluded.

In the Red Sea there is the Eritrean territory of the Dahlak Archipelago, which consists of more than 8,000 islands, most of which are uninhabited. We also find the uninhabited Hamish Islands that are claimed by both Eritrea and Yemen, but which are now under the control of Yemen, ac-

cording to a verdict in the Court of Arbitration in The Hague in 1998. Yemen has also the island of Socotra (Suqutra) that constitutes a part of a mainland province while the smaller islands of Kamaran and Perim have less than 5,000 inhabitants. The Saudi Arabian islands in the Red Sea are all smaller, mostly uninhabited islands that do not fulfil the criteria, as is the case with the Oman islands of Kuria Muria (the Halaniyat Islands) and the Masirah Island. Along the coasts of the Persian Gulf there are only smaller islands found, of which the Iranian island Qeshm is the largest with 7,600 (1999) inhabitants.

Along the coast of Pakistan only smaller islands are found, while the islands of India, the Lakshadweep Archipelago and the Andaman and Nicobar Islands are federal territories in a federal state. The islands in the Ganges-Brahmaputra deltaic plain are all parts of mainland regions while the Mergui Archipelago in Myanmar (Burma) consists of mostly uninhabited islands. In Thailand there are the Ko Phangan, the Ko Samui and Phuket, which are all parts of mainland regions. None of these islands will therefore be included.

Finally the Australian islands in the Indian Ocean, the Ashmore and Cartier Islands, Christmas Islands, Cocos (or Keeling) Islands, and Heard and MacDonal Islands only have smaller population – Christmas islands has the largest population with 1,508 (2001) inhabitants – or they are uninhabited, and will therefore not be included.

The Islands of the Pacific Ocean

The Pacific Ocean is the largest of the three great oceans and stretches over five of the world continents, Asia, North America, South America, Oceania and Antarctica. There are several seas, gulfs and bays, such as Bering Sea, the Coral Sea, the South Chinese Sea and the Ochotan Sea. There are 22 coastal countries and 17 island states along the coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

There are 18 islands found in the Pacific Ocean that fulfil the criteria set up, 14 in Oceania and four in Asia, see table 3. Along the North American and South American coasts there are no islands that fulfil the criteria.

As concerns the French dependencies in Oceania, New Caledonia is considered as a Territorial Collectivity and the status is defined in the organic and ordinary laws adopted in 1999. French Polynesia is regarded as an overseas country and the 1984 constitution was amended in 2003 when the territory gained its new status. Finally, Wallis et Futuna is an overseas

territory. The status of the overseas territories of France is regulated in Article 72 and 74 in the French constitution. New Caledonia consists of four main groups of islands and has 212,709 inhabitants (2001). French Polynesia consists of more than 130 islands and atolls divided into five major island groups and altogether it has 219,521 inhabitants (2002). Wallis et Futuna consists of two major island groups and has a population of 14,166 inhabitants (2003). All these territories will be included.

Table 3. Islands in the Pacific Ocean

Mother Country	Islands	Mother Country	Islands
France	French Polynesia	Philippines	Muslim Mindanao
	New Caledonia		Palawan
	Wallis et Futuna	Solomon Islands	Temotu
Japan	Okinawa	South Korea	Jeju Island
New Zealand	Cook Islands	Tonga	Vava'u
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville	USA	American Samoa
	Manus		Guam
	New Britain		Northern Mariana Islands
	New Ireland	Vanuatu	Tafea

Japan consists of more than 3,000 islands of which the four largest ones account for about 98% of the land area and 97% of the population, Honshū (101,000,000), Hokkaidō (5,683,062), Kyūshū (13,445,495), and Shikoku (4,154,033). These four islands must be considered as the Japan mainland and will therefore not be included. South of the Japanese mainland we find the Ryūkyū Islands that consists of 70 islands of which Okinawa is the largest both in area and population. Japan is divided into 47 prefectures (ken) of which one is Okinawa, consisting of the two southern island groups in the Ryūkyū Islands, i.e. the Okinawa island group and the Saki-shi island group. None of the prefectures enjoys any special status and Okinawa must therefore be considered as non-autonomous.

In New Zealand, North Island, South Island, Stewart Island, and the small islands in between constitute the New Zealand mainland. The country is divided into 16 regions. There are also nine uninhabited minor island territories, Antipido Islands, Auckland Islands, Bounty Islands, Campbell Island, Chatham Islands, Kermadec Islands, Snares Islands, Solander Island, and Three Kings Islands. Furthermore, there are two overseas territories: the Tokelau Island with 1,507 inhabitants (2001) and the uninhabited Ross Dependency. There are also two self-governing overseas territories in free association with New Zealand: the Cook Is-

lands, with 19,103 inhabitants (2001) and Niue with 1,789 inhabitants (2001). The status of the Cook Islands is defined in the 1965 Constitution. Both of them enjoy full internal self-government and are also responsible for the foreign policy in cooperation with New Zealand. Only the Cook Islands will be included in this study since Niue does not fulfil the population criteria.

Papua New Guinea consists of the eastern part of the island of New Guinea, which constitutes the Papuan mainland, and the islands and islets north and east of it. Papua New Guinea is divided into 20 provinces. The four largest islands, Bougainville, New Britain, New Ireland, and Manus all constitute provinces in Papua New Guinea and will therefore be included in this study. One of the provinces, Bougainville, signed a peace agreement with the Papuan government in 2001 that would guarantee autonomy for the island and eventually a referendum on independence. The autonomous arrangement for the island is about to be implemented and in 2005 elections to the legislative assembly was held. The Papuan constitution was amended in 2001 and the competence between the island and the Papuan government was set up (*Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea: Part XIV – Bougainville Government and Bougainville Referendum*). Bougainville will therefore be categorized as an autonomous island. Concerning the other Papuan islands, none will be considered as autonomous.

The Philippine consists of 7,100 islands. The islands stretch for about 1,850 kilometres from south to north and falls into three groups, the Luzon group, the Visayan group, and the Mindanao group. These groups constitute the Philippine mainland. There are three island groups that do not constitute parts of the mainland, Palawan, Sulu and Tawi-Tawi. The country is divided into 73 provinces (*lalawigan* or *probinsya*) grouped into 16 regions (*rehiyon*). The Philippine constitution (Article 10, Section 15-21) states that any region that so decides can achieve autonomy. The Parliament also made it possible for other regions to obtain autonomy if the people in a referendum decided so. In 1990 a referendum was held in the five provinces of the Cordillera region, but only in one of the provinces a majority voted in favour of autonomy. So far only the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) has obtained autonomy, as a result of the 1996 peace agreement between the Muslims and the state. Only five of the Muslim dominated islands have decided to join the autonomous region, of which two are the island provinces of Sulu and Tawi-Tawi. ARMM also includes the mainland provinces of Basilan, Lanao del Sur

and Maguindanao and the chartered city of Marawi in the southern part of the island of Mindanao. Since the major part of the ARMM is not considered to be Philippine mainland the ARMM will be included in this study together with the province of Palawan. Muslim Mindanao will therefore be categorized as autonomous, while Palawan will be categorized as non-autonomous.

The Solomon Islands consists of more than 900 islands and is divided into nine provinces. The capital, Honiara, is situated on Guadalcanal Island in the central part of the island group, which thereby must be considered as the Solomon mainland. Two provinces are situated apart from the main island group, Rennell and Bellona Islands with 2,377 inhabitants (1999) and Temotu or Santa Cruz Islands with 18,912 inhabitants (1999). Only the latter one will be included.

South Korea is divided into nine provinces (do) and seven metropolitan cities. The Jeju Island constitutes a separate province. In February 2006 the island was granted the status as Special Self-governing Province (The Special Act on the Jeju Island Special Self-governing Province). The self-government of the island was implemented in July 2006. The competence of the province is regulated in the *Special Act on the Jeju Island Special Self-governing Province*. None of the other provinces enjoys any special status (Law 2006: Provinces of South Korea). Jeju Island will therefore be considered as autonomous.

Tonga consists of some 169 islands divided into three major groups: Niuas in the north, Vava'u in the centre, and Tongatapu in the south. The last one also includes the capital of the Kingdom of Tonga, Nuku'alofa, and is therefore to be considered as the Tongan mainland. Since Niuas only has 2,018 inhabitants (1996) only Vava'u with 15,715 inhabitants (1996) will be included.

USA has nine outlying territories in Oceania: American Samoa with 57,291 inhabitants (2001); the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands with 69,221 (2000); Guam with 154,805 (2000); Howland, Baker and Jarvis Islands with 1,168 (1995); Johnston Atoll with 1,200 (1996); Midway Islands with 453 (1995); Wake Island with 302 inhabitants (1995), and the uninhabited Kingman Reef and Palmyra Atoll. Only three of the US islands will be included. The Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands has its own constitution, adopted in 1977. American Samoa is considered an unincorporated and unorganized territory and has its own constitution that dates back to 1967. Guam is considered an unincorporated territory with a constitution that dates back to 1982. All these three

islands enjoy full autonomy as concerns internal affairs and will therefore be considered as autonomous islands.

Vanuatu consists of more than 70 islands of which 67 are inhabited. The capital, Vila, is situated on the island of Efaté. Therefore this island, together with the surrounding islands of Espirito Santo, Malakula, and Pentecost, constitute the state mainland. Vanuatu is divided into nine provinces. In the south of Vanuatu we find the province of Tafea, which includes the islands of Erromango, Tanna, Anatom (Aneityum), Aniwa, and Futuna. The province has a population of 27,530 (1999). None of the districts enjoys any special legislation or special status. Therefore the island of Tafea will be categorized as a non-autonomous island.

Along the South American coast there are several islands to be found, but none of them fulfil the criteria set up. The Chilean islands of Islas Juan Fernández and Isla de Pascua or Rapa Nui (Easter Island) have only 516 and 3,791 inhabitants (2002) respectively. The Peruvian islands are mainly smaller islands and the islands along the coast of Ecuador have only a minor population.

The Galapagos Islands is situated 925 km from the coast of Ecuador and 982 km from Peru. The islands have 18,640 inhabitants (2001). The islands constitute an Ecuadorian province. The islands were settled by Ecuadorians after the arrival of the Europeans. The islanders are mainly Ecuadorians. Immigration has increased during the last decades, mainly due to the relative high quality of life on the islands (Kerr 2005: 512). They played an important role during WORLD WAR II as a naval base for the USA (Tartter 1991: 222). Since 1959 the Galapagos National park was established and in 1998 The Special law for the Conservation and Sustainable Use of Province of Galapagos was declared. The law includes limited immigration and limited fishing to locals. The Authority for Inter-Institutional Management (AIM) holds the final authority (Kerr 2005: 512). The islands enjoy a special status within Ecuador, although they do not enjoy any formal autonomy. Their status mainly derives from the unique ecology of the islands and the aim to protect the islands from exploitation. Due to this ambiguous status of the islands, they will not be included in this study.

This is also the case along the coast of Venezuela, the Colombian Pacific Ocean coast, and along the seaside of the countries in Central America. Along the Canadian coast there are the Queen Charlotte Islands and the Vancouver Islands that both are part of the federal territory of British Columbia. In the USA we find the state of Hawaii, the Aleuts Islands, and the

Alexander Archipelago. However, since Hawaii is a federal state and the Aleuts only have a minor population, none of these islands will be included.

The Russian islands along the Russian Pacific coast, The Komandorski Islands form part of the Kamchatka krai while the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin Island together forms the Sakhalin oblast. However, all the Russian islands will be excluded since Russia is a federation and the islands form federal units. The islands along the North Korean coasts are only minor islands that do not fulfil the selection criteria.

The islands along the Chinese coast, Taiwan and Hainan will also be excluded. Taiwan since the status of the island is disputed and Hainan since the island is a part of a mainland region. Finally, in Vietnam there is the island of Phu Quốc that is also part of a mainland region.

The Federation of Malaysia consists of the southern part of the peninsula of Malacca and the north-east part of the island of Borneo. There are also several small islands connected to the state. The country is divided into 13 states and 3 federal territories. One of the federal Territories is Labuan, which is an island in the South China Sea. However, since Malaysia is a federation, the island will be excluded from this study.

Several islands are situated along the Pacific coast of Australia: Groote Eyland, and Melville Island in the Northern Territory; Mornington Island, the largest island among the Wellesley Islands, the mainly uninhabited Fraser (or Great Sandy) Island, and the islands of the Great Barrier Reef in Queensland; and, finally, Flinders Island, King Island, and Tasmania Island, in the state of Tasmania. Since Australia is a federation and the islands, apart from Tasmania, are poorly populated, none of the Australian islands will be included. Other excluded islands in the area are the external territories of the Norfolk Islands with 1,470 inhabitants (2001) and the uninhabited Territory of Coral Sea Islands.

Among the Micronesian islands, Palau consists of more than 250 islands, out of which Koror and Babelthuap are the largest. Since the capital Koror is situated on the island of Koror and none of the other islands fulfil the population criteria, none of the Palau islands will be included. The Republic of Nauru only consists of one island, which therefore must be considered to be the Nauru mainland. The Federated State of Micronesia is a federation and therefore none of the islands will be included. The Marshall Islands consist of 30 atolls with more than 1,000 islands and islets, widespread over 1,300 km from northwest to southeast. The capital, Dalap-Uliga-Darrit, is situated on the Majuro Atoll, one of the 30 atolls.

There are no administrative divisions on the Marshall Islands and no island or island group can be regarded as mainland. Therefore none of the Marshall Islands will be included.

The Republic of Kiribati consists of three major groups of islands, the Gilbert Islands, the Phoenix Islands, and the Line Islands. The capital of Kiribati is situated on Tarawa Island in the Gilbert Island group. The Gilbert Islands must therefore be considered as the Kiribati mainland. However, none of the other islands fulfil the population criteria, the Line Islands have 2,598 inhabitants (2000) and the Phoenix Islands only 24 (2000). Therefore none of the Kiribati islands will be included.

The Republic of Fiji consists of two major islands that form the Fijian mainland, Vanua Levu and Viti Levu. There is also the island of Rotuma that has 2,000 inhabitants (1996) and forms an autonomous unit. However, Rotuma does not fulfil the population criteria and will therefore not be included in the study. Samoa consists of nine islands of which the two largest – Savai'i with 42,824 inhabitants (2001) and Upolu with 115,000 inhabitants (2001) account for approximately 96% of the total land area and 99% of the population. They form the Samoan mainland. The island of Manono has only 1,500 inhabitants (2001), and Apolima 150 (2001). None of the Samoan islands will therefore be included.

The United Kingdom has one overseas territory in Oceania, the Pitcairn Island which is inhabited by ancestors of the mutineers of HMS Bounty. The island has only 48 inhabitants (2003) and will therefore not be included in this study.

The selection of the cases has been made and we have found altogether 73 island regions, 39 autonomous and 34 non-autonomous shown in table 4. In Appendix 1 there are maps that show the location of the different islands.

The dependent variable has been defined, the cases have been selected using the dependent variable and the criteria set up, subsequently they have been categorized as autonomous or non-autonomous. We therefore have to continue the discussion on autonomy by identifying the independent variables for the study on autonomous islands.

Table 4. The Research Population

Presence of Autonomy		Absence of Autonomy	
Denmark	Faeroe Islands	Bahamas	Abaco
	Greenland		Grand Bahama
Finland	Åland Islands	Cape Verde	Santo Antão
France	Corsica		São Nicolau
	French Polynesia	São Vicente	
	Guadeloupe	Colombia	San Andrés y Providencia
	Martinique	Cuba	Isla de la Juventud
	Mayotte	Denmark	Bornholm
	New Caledonia	Estonia	Hiiumaa
	Réunion		Saaremaa
Italy	Wallis et Futuna	Greece	Crete
	Sardinia		Ionian Islands
Sicily	North Aegean Sea		
Mauritius	Rodrigues		South Aegean Sea
Netherlands	Aruba	Honduras	Islas de la Bahía
	Netherlands Antilles	Indonesia	Maluku
New Zealand	Cook Islands		Maluku Utara
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville		Nusa Tenggara Barat
Philippines	Muslim Mindanao		Nusa Tenggara Timur
Portugal	Azores	Japan	Okinawa
	Madeira	Maldives	Addu
South Korea	Jeju Island		Huvadhu
Spain	Balearic Islands	Papua New Guinea	Manus
	Canary Islands		New Britain
Tanzania	Zanzibar		
Trinidad and Tobago	Tobago	Philippines	Palawan
United Kingdom	Anguilla	Solomon Islands	Temotu
	Bermuda	Sweden	Gotland
	British Virgin Islands	Tanzania	Mafia
	Cayman Islands	Tonga	Vava'u
	Guernsey	United Kingdom	Eilean Siar
	Isle of Man		Orkney Islands
	Jersey		Shetland Islands
	Turks and Caicos Islands	Vanuatu	Tafea
USA	American Samoa		
	Guam		
	Northern Mariana Islands		
	Puerto Rico		
	US Virgin Islands		

2.4. The Independent Variables

There are numerous case studies on individual autonomy arrangements performed and there are also numerous studies that compare different autonomy arrangements. In the literature there are some factors that are repeatedly emphasized as explanations of autonomy and why a certain territory or a certain group enjoys autonomy within a nation-state. Some of these factors have already been discussed above. The factors are mainly found on the structural level and reflect qualities or characteristics of the island itself.

Other factors are found on the institutional level reflecting processes of change in the mother country. In the individual case studies, actor-oriented factors are sometimes emphasized as important for the autonomy of the individual island. It is sometimes suggested that individuals or groups of individuals played an important role in the process that lead to the establishment of autonomy. For instance, in some of the literature on the development of autonomy on the Åland Islands, it is sometimes argued that the *Ålandsrörelsen* and specially its leaders Julius Sundblom and Carl Björkman, played an important or even crucial role in the establishment of autonomy for the islands. However, the goal for the movement was not to gain autonomy, but to be reintegrated as a part of Sweden. Furthermore, the Ålandish autonomy rests on two pillars; the demilitarization and neutralization of the islands, and the political and cultural autonomy (see Dreijer 1982: 15-26). Since the neutralization and demilitarization dates back to 1856, years before the foundation of the *Ålandsrörelsen*, it would be questionable to argue that it would have been crucial for the autonomy of the islands.

It is always difficult to define and to evaluate the role of individual actors in a development process. As in the case of the Åland Islands, the autonomy of a specific territory would not only be due to individual actors but would rather be based on characteristics or qualities of the island itself. Furthermore, the actor-oriented perspective is not in focus in the literature on autonomy in general; in fact it is hardly discussed at all. Therefore we will not include any actor-oriented independent variables in this study.

The independent variables are instead found on the structural or institutional level. The variables reflecting structural qualities of the individual islands are the ones most commonly used in the literature on autonomy. As was shown above, geographical, cultural, and historical aspects are often used as explanations of autonomy.

Geographical aspects are believed to be of importance when explaining autonomy. If the territory is distant from the mainland of the state it would be more likely to be granted autonomy as a practical solution. For instance, the distance between French Guinea and France, between the Falkland Islands and the United Kingdom, and between the Azores and Portugal makes it difficult for the mainland government to exceed the same authority as in the mainland regions. Therefore these territories have been granted autonomy as a practical solution (see Anckar 1982: 160-161; Nordqvist 1998: 64). Distance from the mainland will be further discussed in chapter 3.1.

Proximity to a foreign country is another factor that can be of importance when explaining autonomy. If the island is closer to a foreign country than to its own mainland the state can grant the territory autonomy only in order to keep it under its realm, thereby both securing for any movements from inside the territory, but also from the closer state to intervene (see Nordqvist 1998: 64; Cornell 2001: 122-123). For a further discussion on proximity, see chapter 3.2.

The population size of the island may be of importance. If the island is big enough it might demand independence instead of autonomy while a smaller island would strive for self-government or autonomy instead. A territory with a small population size would therefore strive to remain a part within the nation-state but gain an extended form of autonomy or self-government. Although not used as explanation of the difference in autonomy, size has lately been used when explaining other political phenomenon (see Dahl and Tufte 1973; Sutton and Payne 1993; Duursmaa 1996; Anckar 1998). We will continue the discussion on population size in chapter 3.3.

Cultural difference or ethnic diversity is another factor that is often considered as one of the most important explanations of autonomy. If the island is populated by people that differ in language, religion and/or ethnicity from the majority in the state it is believed to be more likely to enjoy autonomy. Autonomy could be a means to preserve and to develop the cultural heritage (see Bernhardt 1981; Anckar 1982; Hannum 1996; Lapidot 1997; Lane and Ersson 1999; and Safran 2000). The cultural factor will be further discussed in chapter 4.

Historical and strategic factors may also be important in explaining autonomy. If the island for instance used to constitute a separate state, as for example Sardinia and the Isle of Man, it may be likely that it strives to

regain its autonomy (see Nordqvist 1998: 63). The historical aspects, especially previous self-rule will be further discussed in chapter 5.2.

Strategic importance is another factor that is believed to be important in explaining autonomy. The strategic value often makes islands attractive for neighbouring countries and as a result of this islands are often embraced by international treaties (see Anckar 1982: 156-157; Ahlström 1995: 49-51); and Nordqvist 1998: 63). For a further discussion on strategic importance, see chapter 5.3.

Economical aspects may also show to be important when explaining the difference in autonomy, although it has not frequently been used in the literature on autonomy (Hannum 1996: 91; and Lapidoth 1997: 25 and 187-188). One measure of economical aspects would be GDP per capita. However, for many of the islands there is no information on GDP on the regional level. Therefore we will use the possessions of natural resources as measure of economical aspects. If the island possess important natural resources it may be likely that the state wish to maintain its rule over the island and avoid any autonomy arrangements for the island, on the other hand, if the island do not possess any important natural resources the state may be more willing to offer autonomy to it. We will get back to a further discussion on natural resources in chapter 6.

The above discussed seven variables all reflect qualities or characteristics of the individual island, i.e. they are all structural variables. In the literature on autonomy there are also one variable that could be characterized as an institutional variable; Constitutional change. Constitutional change reflects characteristics in the mother country rather than on the individual islands. Constitutional change is often combined with a regionalization process of the mother country, as in Italy, Portugal, and Spain. In some cases the constitution is changed as a result of a transition process from authoritarian rule (see Lane and Ersson 1999: 175-177; 183).

Constitutional change is in many respects a problematic variable since it differs from the other variables. While the other seven variables reflect qualities of the individual islands, constitutional change reflects a political process in the mother country and does not necessarily have anything to do with the process towards autonomy on the island itself. It would therefore be most convenient to exclude this variable from the study and thereby eliminating the difference in analytical level between the independent variables. However, theoretically speaking constitutional change could revile that the autonomy of the island is not a result of characteristics of the island itself, but more a result of a political processes within the

mother country. Since constitutional change has been used as an explanation of autonomy we choose to include it, although we must keep in mind that it differs from the other variables. Therefore we must be cautious when concluding on the results of this variable. We will also perform analysis excluding constitutional change to see what impact it has on the result of the analysis. A further discussion on constitutional change is found in chapter 7.

All together we have identified eight independent variables, shown in table 5. Seven are structural variables while one is of more institutional character. Five variables are found in the literature on autonomy and in case studies on individual islands while three are not. The independent variables will be further discussed, defined and operationalized in the following chapters.

Table 5. The Independent Variables

Aspects of Autonomy	Independent Variable
Geographical Aspects	Distance from the mainland
	Proximity to a foreign country
	Population size
Cultural Aspects	Cultural difference
Historical and Strategic Aspects	Previous self-rule
	Strategic importance
Economical Aspects	Lack of Natural resources
Constitutional Aspects	Constitutional change

We have thereby defined the dependent variable and identified the independent variables. We shall now continue by focusing on the quantitative and qualitative methods that will be used for the analysis of island autonomy.

3. Methods

The comparative method is probably one of the oldest scientific research methods and was first used by Aristotle in his study of the constitution of the ancient Greek city-states (Aristotle 1986). In his article on comparative method Lijphart (1971: 683-684) concludes that “the experimental method is the most ideal method for scientific explanation, but unfortunately it can only rarely be used in political science because of practical and ethnical impediment”. The statistical approach raises demands for a large number of observations. It analyses the relationship between variables and can also function as a control for other variables. The case study calls for only one observation and gives deep knowledge of one case, but the approach does not say anything that could strengthen the hypothesis. To use this approach it would have been necessary to choose only one of the islands, which obviously does not suit the present study. Between the statistical approach and case study, Lijphart finds the focused approach or the small-n study. Lijphart suggests four ways of strengthening the comparative method. Firstly, he suggests that the number of cases should be increased as much as possible. Secondly, he argues that the property-space should be reduced. Thirdly, he claims that the analysis should focus on comparable cases and finally that the analysis should focus on key variables (Lijphart 1971: 683-693). In our study of the autonomous islands, focused comparison seems to be the obvious choice since we are dealing with an intermediate-n. However, since we are dealing with a dichotomous dependent variable many of the most commonly used methods are disqualified. The study of the autonomous islands calls for a method that has the capacity to produce an outcome of combinations of factors, and which allows the cases to be as important as the independent variables.

In 1987, Charles Ragin presented a systematic comparative case analysis technique called QCA (Qualitative Comparative Analysis). The main goal of QCA is to “integrate the best features of the case-oriented approach with the best features of the variable-oriented approach” (Ragin 1989: 84). Ragin states that it is difficult to address questions on causal connections in variable-oriented research, while it is difficult to generalize the findings in case-oriented research. In variable-oriented research the sample is often seen as empirically given and it needs to be fixed before the investigation is conducted. The population itself is often seen as empirically given and therefore rarely problematized. The cases are more or

less invisible and focus is on the independent variables in the attempt to establish which one gets the highest score in explaining the variance on the dependent variable. Ragin describes this as if the independent variables are competing with each other. The one that explains the most variance wins (2000: 26-34). In case-oriented research the cases are chosen with regard to their theoretical relevance and often share the same outcome. It is also important to only include cases that resemble each other, i.e. to exclude positive-irrelevant cases and negative-irrelevant, since irrelevant cases might be a waste of time and resources; a weak theory might be confirmed by all irrelevant cases; or the research population might include too many positive or negative cases which can bias the result (Mahoney and Goertz 2004: 655-656).

As an intermediate path between variable and case-oriented research, Ragin presents the diversity-oriented approach in which QCA constitutes a part. This approach treats the cases as a fixed group but combines this with focusing on the specificity of each case. Since the cases may include unknown heterogeneity, the set of cases can be revised until the very end of the project. It regards social phenomena as kinds and types, but it also allows for generalizations. As case-oriented research, the diversity-oriented approach is based on configurational thinking, and as a consequence it tends to be heavily theory-dependent (Ragin 2000: 35-42). QCA can be described as a configurational comparative method and has in recent years developed into a family of methods, such as multi-value QCA (MVQCA), fuzzy set, and MSDO/MDSO (Rihoux 2006: 681).

3.1. Qualitative Analysis - QCA

Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) was first introduced in 1984, and it was formalised three years later in Ragin's book *The Comparative Method – Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. QCA uses the logic of Boolean algebra and makes it possible for the scholar "...to bring the logic and empirical intensity of qualitative approaches to studies that embrace more than a handful of cases – research situations that normally call for the use of variable-oriented, quantitative methods" (Ragin 1987: 299). The independent variables in QCA are called conditions while the dependent variable is called outcome. Frequency criteria are not as important in QCA as in statistical analysis since the focus is on types of situations. However, frequency criteria can be applied, for instance to exclude combinations that are too rare (Ragin 1989: 88-89).

QCA can be described mainly as an extension of the Millsean methods of agreement and difference. The Millsean method of agreement implies that if two cases show the same outcome on the dependent variable y_1 , the similarities can only be explained by an independent variable x_1 that also show the same outcome for both cases. The other independent variables x_2 and x_3 can therefore be excluded. A major risk when using this method is that the author only identifies the necessary conditions. The possible outcome is that the comparative results produced might be poor. This method is more or less the same as Przeworski and Tuenes (1970) method of most different systems design (Janoski and Hicks 1994: 13-16).

The method of difference focuses on cases that have different features on the dependent variable but are similar on some of the independent variables, e.g. if the dependent variable y_1 occur in one of the cases but not in the other and two of the independent variables, x_1 and x_2 , also occurs in both of the cases, none of them can explain the difference in y_1 . But if x_3 occurs in one of the cases and does not occur in the other, then x_3 can explain the difference in y_1 (Janoski and Hicks 1994: 13-16). The method of difference might be considered more useful than the method of agreement in establishing valid causal association. It is also possible to combine several cases with a positive outcome on the dependent variable with negative cases as a contrast (Skocpol 1984: 378-379).

However, Lieberson argues that Mills methods are shaky when dealing with probabilistic theories, interaction effects, and measurement errors when dealing with *small-N* research (Lieberson 1991: 318; Lieberson 1994: 1235). QCA constitutes a heavy formalization and extension of the two methods since it makes it possible to handle a larger number of cases. It also makes data reduction easier since it provides algorithms. The matrix, the so called truth table, makes it possible to analyse non-events (Lieberson 1991: 1235; Janoski and Hicks 1994: 16). QCA bridges the two strategies of case-oriented strategy and variable-oriented strategy together. Ragin argues that such a combination calls for implementation of methods and strategies that "...bring the logic of intensive, case-oriented research to investigations with large number of cases" (Ragin 1994: 304).

It is important for the researcher who conducts a large- n study to preserve the features of case-oriented research and pay attention to cases as configurations, causal conjunctures, causal heterogeneity, deviating cases, and as concerns for invariance, to qualitative outcome, and outcome complexity. Firstly, as a case-oriented type of research, the diversity-oriented approach is configurational. The different parts of a case is defined and

related to each other, from a holistic perspective. Secondly, causal conjunctures, or combinations of causes, are typical for the explanation of the outcome. Thirdly, causal heterogeneity means that the same combination of conditions can produce different outcomes. Fourthly, deviating cases and concern for invariance implies that the cases often diverge from the common pattern. Fifthly, qualitative outcome considers specific qualitative change from their specific context. Sixthly, outcome complexity which considers heterogeneity in the result but it also considers causal heterogeneity (Ragin 1994: 304-306).

QCA may be described as knowledge dependent, which means that the researcher needs to deepen his or her understanding of each individual case in order to build a truth table. Each condition must be grounded in theory and each threshold must be explained and justified on theoretical and substantive grounds. If there are contradictions involved, i.e. if the same combination of conditions produces different outcomes, the researcher must go back to the cases to deepen his or her knowledge in order to explain the contradictions. QCA also gives the researcher the opportunity to choose between striving to obtain the shortest solution and thereby involve the logical remainders, i.e. logical combinations that is not found in the population, or to exclude them altogether and thereby obtain complexity rather than parsimony (Ragin 2005; Rihoux 2006).

QCA can be described as a well established method and it has since it was introduced in 1987 been used in several works with increasing frequency. It has been used to understand the conditions of democracy, the success of political parties, and revolutions.

In 1994 Berg-Schlusser and De Meur analysed the chances and failures of democracy in 16 European countries during the interwar period. By analysing conditions derived from theories of eight authors they concluded that some countries, Italy, Spain, and Germany, corresponded to the conditions in a negative and the United Kingdom in a positive way, while others; Finland, Czechoslovakia, Greece, and France, corresponded poorly. The conditions emphasized by Hermens and Sartori, the electoral system and party popularisation, did not corresponded well, while the social-economic conditions, emphasized by Lipset and Linz, showed a much better record of correspondence (Berg-Schlusser and De Meur 1994).

In his study of political parties published in 2001, Gordin showed that by using QCA, the success of ethno regionalist parties in Western Europe was not due to electoral systems with proportional representation – as had been argued in previous research – but more to the “...presence of a dis-

tinctive local language, understood as a facilitating factor to translate regional demands and protest into political influence” (Gordin 2001). In 2003 Jungerstam-Mulders used the method in a similar way as Gordin in order to explain the success of Far Right parties in four European countries (Jungerstam-Mulders 2003).

In a study of revolutions, both Foran and Wickham-Crowley have used QCA. Foran analysed social revolutions in the Third World and he included both failures and successes, and both attempts and non-attempts. By using QCA, Foran concluded that there are eight combinations of conditions that explain the failure of revolutions and if only the absent conditions are considered there are seven possible combinations left. Among the successful revolutions, only one combination was found, one where all five conditions of explanations were included (Foran 1997: 227-267). Wickham-Crowley studied the guerrillas and revolutions in South America and concluded that in the successful social revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua, all the conditions were present. In the non-successful ones, three different combinations of absence and presence of conditions were found. By using QCA the author could reveal and explain what previous works on revolutions had failed to find (Wickham-Crowley 1992).

QCA has been used as a complement to other methods, and it has also been utilized in combination with other approaches. In 1991, Kangas studied the developmental patterns of social rights, especially the sickness insurance in advanced OECD countries (Kangas 1991). In 1999, Boswell and Brown used QCA combined with game theory to “...illustrate a methodology that links deductive and inductive strategies and incorporates an interactive, temporal dimension” (Boswell and Brown 1999: 180). The authors use game theory to “...demonstrate sequential contingency in a highly abstract deductive framework”, and QCA since it “...offers a systematic methodology for testing deductive arguments” (Boswell and Brown 1999: 162). In 2005, Befami showed that QCA could be associated with CMO (contest-mechanism-outcome) configurations when studying the mechanisms behind suicide. The realist synthesis and the Boolean synthesis could also be used for mutual support, since a parallelism between the two was brought out (Befami 2005).

3.1.1. Boolean Algebra

The technique of Boolean algebra is not a recent innovation in the scientific community. The technique has been used in mathematics, and it has

its origin in some of the ideas of G.W. von Leibniz that were presented in 1758 in his *Dissertio de Arte Combinatoria* (The Art of Combination). These ideas were later developed and formalised by the mathematician George Boole in 1854 (Ulin 2001: 13). It got its modern and even more formalised formulation, which combines mathematics and language, in 1904 when E.V. Huntington presented his *Sets of Independent Postulates for the Algebra of Logic* (2001: 51-52). The use of Boolean algebra in comparative social enquiry is quite simple and logical. Within this field, it draws on data on the nominal scale, i.e. absence or presence of events, structures and phenomena. The presence of a condition is indicated by capital letters while absence is indicated by lower-case letters¹¹. There are two main approaches in Boolean algebra, Boolean addition and Boolean multiplication.

Boolean addition indicates logical “or”. The outcome, i.e. the dependent variable, may in Boolean algebra be true even if none of the configurations, or terms, is satisfied. Let us say that we have three conditions, A, B, and C, which explain the outcome, Z. If Z=1 when A=1 and B=1 but C=0 we get the following expression: $Z=A+B+c$. This means that Z is present when A is present or when B is present or when c is absent. If Z=0 when A=0 or B=0 or C=1, then we get $z=a+b+C$, which means that Z is absent when A is absent or when B is absent or when C is present. Boolean addition is not arithmetic so when using this technique on the examples above, $1+1+0=1$ and $0+0+1=0$. In Boolean addition the statement shown above, $A+B+c=Z$ is equivalent to A=1 or B=1 or C=0 then Z=1 while $a+b+C=z$ is equivalent to A=0 or B=0 or C=1 then Z=0 (Ragin 1989: 89).

Boolean multiplication is rather different from Boolean addition, and implies that that the product could be expressed as a combination of specific conditions. This means that when Boolean addition indicates logical “or” (as for the geographical conditions distance *or* proximity) Boolean multiplication indicates logical “and” (as for distance *and* proximity). This means that if A=1 and b=0 when Z=1 then $A \bullet b=Z$. If A=1 and B=1 when Z=1 then $A \bullet B=Z$. If a=0 and B=1 when Z=1 then $a \bullet B=Z$ as well (Ragin 1989: 91-92). The number of possible configurations of variables can be found by using the expression 2^k where k stands for the number of variables. In this study, it would imply $2^8 = 256$ possible configurations. It is

¹¹ In Ragin (2000) a different way of indicating presence and absence is introduced, using the ~-sign to indicate absence. In this case the two possible values of distance would be indicated by; *distance*, for presence and *~distance* for absence.

also possible to calculate the number of logically possible groupings by using $3^k - 1$, which would imply $3^8 - 1 = 6,560$ logically possible groupings.

As in all analyses it is important to be able to test necessity and sufficiency, i.e. which, if any, variable or variables that are *necessary* conditions for the outcome and which are *sufficient*. A necessary cause is one that is always present in all combinations that produce a certain outcome. Necessary causes thereby work backwards. First one must isolate the cases that produce the same outcome and then look for any condition that are present in all the cases. In this context this would imply an analysis of all the autonomous islands to see whether or not there are one or more conditions that is present in all cases. There are two ways of testing for necessity: veristic and probabilistic. The veristic way allows for no discordant outcomes and is performed directly from the truth table. By dividing the cases into two groups one can easily determine whether or not there are any conditions that are common for all cases. The probabilistic way is based on the same principle as statistic analysis. First one needs to set up benchmarks for the test. Ragin identifies three possible benchmarks; *more necessary than not* (.5), *usually necessary* (.65) and *almost always necessary* (0.80) (Ragin 2000: 131-132).

A sufficient cause is one that only produces one outcome. In contrast to necessary causes, sufficient causes work forward. The researcher needs to identify the conditions or combination of conditions that only produce one outcome. If a combination produces both autonomy and non-autonomy it is judged as not being a sufficient combination. In this test all possible combinations must be run through. With our eight conditions this means that $3^8 - 1 = 6,560$ combinations must be tested to find which ones only produce one single outcome. As the necessity test, the sufficiency test can be performed in a veristic and a probabilistic way. The probabilistic way (the z-test) involves, as for the necessity test, a one-tailed test at .05 significance level for testing *almost always sufficient*. As was indicated in the discussion of the necessity test, the researcher needs to set up a proportion for cases showing the outcome to see if it is *almost always sufficient* (.80), *usually sufficient* (.65) or *more sufficient than not* (.50) (Ragin 2000: 132-133). The veristic sufficiency test uses Boolean minimization. This test is used to reduce the primitive expressions and simplify the complexity. Ragin (1989: 93) states that:

“If two Boolean expressions differ in only one causal condition yet produce the same outcome, then the causal condition that distinguishes the two expressions can be considered irrelevant and can be removed to create a simpler, combined expression.”

Boolean minimization is used in order to find the lowest common denominator that explains the development of autonomy, i.e. *abc* combined with *ABC* produces *A* and *ABC* and *AbC* produce *AC* (Ragin 1989: 93-95; Ragin 2000: 138). In this study we will use Boolean Minimization to find the combination of conditions that explain autonomy and non-autonomy among the islands.

3.1.2. Weaknesses of QCA

Even though the method of QCA could be considered a useful method in comparative analysis, there are weaknesses connected to it, as is the case for all scientific methods (Ragin 1989: 103-124; Peters 1998: 168-171; Ragin 2000: 256-8; Rihoux 2003: 357-360; and Seawright 2004:26-27). First, QCA depend deeply on the theoretical and conceptual framework to define the conditions or the independent variables that are important in explaining the difference of the outcome or the dependent variable. Therefore the study will be considered as valid only if the conditions included are considered as reliable indicators of the outcome.

Second, the method might face the problem of limited diversity among the cases, and the lack of sufficient variety could endanger any experimental-like comparative analysis. Since this study includes both autonomies and non-autonomies represented by all together 73 cases there are sufficient variety among the cases. The method also provides for the use of logical cases, remainders in order to achieve sufficient diversity (Ragin 2004: 22).

Third, the problem of contradiction, i.e. the same combination of variables might give different outcomes. The researcher faces four major options for dealing with contradictions. First one can ignore them and remove the contradictions from the truth table. Secondly one can include only one of the cases that are contradictory, i.e. to assume that the probability of the occurrence of any specific outcome of the contradiction is 0.5. Consequently, when the positive outcome is analysed only the positive case is included and vice versa. Thirdly, one can re-examine the contradic-

tory cases for missed idiosyncrasies, which might imply an addition of new conditions or independent variables (Osa and Corduneanu-Huci 2003: 15-16). A fourth way of dealing with the problem of contradictions is by using multi-value QCA (MVQCA). This opens up the possibility to differentiate one or more conditions into more than only two categories. We will get back to MVQCA in the discussion on the problem of dichotomization.

Fourth, in QCA there exist purely logical, i.e. cases that do not exist in the data set but only as logical cases. When including a number of conditions in QCA the researcher gets a theoretical number of possible combinations. If there are four conditions there are $2^4 = 16$ possible combinations. When studying the included cases the researcher might find that only twelve of these are represented in the study. The missing combinations can be included in the study as logical cases to give the researcher opportunity to find an even more parsimonious Boolean equation. This strategy has been criticized since it gives the researcher to include cases that do not exist. Some even argues that it gives the researcher the opportunity to cheat. However, if the researcher wishes to produce any sort of generalization he or she needs to include logical cases since the existing social data often are limited in their diversity. The result achieved will otherwise only describe the included cases. Ragin also add that all analytical techniques involves simplifying assumptions (Ragin 1989: 32; Ragin 2004: 6-7).

Fifth, the QCA is purely static and does not allow the researcher to include the time dimension and consequently it does not deal with process. This can be dealt with since QCA allows the researcher to analyze the temporal sequence of the key conditions in the configuration(s). Other possible ways to deal with the problem is to operationalize some individual conditions in a way that makes them dynamic, or the cases can be chosen to reflect the time sequence. In this study this study the problem will be dealt with by analysing the autonomous islands at the time that autonomy was obtained and the non-autonomous islands as the situation is today. No further time dimension will be included.

Sixth, and perhaps the most problematic one, the use of QCA calls for a dichotomization of the material. The conditions will either be coded as present or absent. This suggests that the material can be divided into either-or and not into more or less. In some cases this is not a problem. As was stated in the introduction to this study, the dependent variable, autonomy, will only be divided into either/or since the interest for this

study lies in explaining why some islands are enjoying autonomy in the meaning that they are enjoying a special status in relation to the state and the other regions in the state. The interest lies not in explaining the reason for why there are different autonomy arrangements in the world since this might involve other independent variables than is the case in this study. The islands are either enjoying a special status in relation to other regions and the state or they are not.

The dichotomization also implies that information may get lost since the cases are categorized as either or. The cases that are almost in or almost out are not specially considered. However, this is always the problem when categorising the material in groups. Even if the material is divided into three or more groups information will be lost. There will always be cases that are almost in or almost out of the category. However, every form of empirical enquiry needs some form of simplification (King, Keohane and Verba 1994: 42). The dichotomisation can also be used to preserve the complexity of the phenomena while simplifying them and, as De Meur and Rihoux puts it "simplification through dichotomisation allows one to make progress in the comprehension of complexity" (Rihoux 2003: 358). The researcher is also free to compare the results of QCA with other scientific methods such as logistic regression.

Seawright (2004) compared regression analysis with QCA from assumptions of correct functional form; association is causation; and missing variables. Seawright findings show that QCA is as problematic as regression analysis in two of the three assumptions: For the third assumption, concerning missing variables, QCA turned out to be more problematic than regression analysis since it "requires more restrictive or even mutually inconsistent assumptions" (pp. 26-27).

Among the eight conditions related to island autonomy there are some that are easily and naturally dichotomized, for instance, the historical factors, constitutional change and lack of natural resources. Either the island has enjoyed some form of autonomy or independence or it has not. It could be argued that independence or autonomy might be two different things. However, both imply that the island to some extent have enjoyed the right to self-rule. This would be important as a common memory of a time when the island was ruled by islanders and not by mainlanders. As for constitutional change, the autonomy either derives from a constitutional change in the state or it does not. Either the island possess significant natural resources in terms of minerals, natural gas, oil etc. or it does not.

Cultural difference can also be easily dichotomized. Either there are a cultural difference between the islands and the mainland or there are not. However, it could be argued that cultural difference can be more or less. The island can be different from mainland in all the three sub-categories, language, religion and ethnicity, or in only one or two. The island could also be totally different in the meaning that there are no minority found in the mainland that is similar to the one on the island. For instance, the difference between France and French Polynesia would be bigger than the one between the Åland Islands and Finland since there is a Swedish speaking minority in the coastal regions of Finland. However, in this context it is more important to establish whether or not there are any differences at all or found between the island and the mainland. The existence of a minority group that shares the cultural characteristics is not of importance in this context. One of the key characteristics of islanders, as has already been discussed, is the feeling of affinity and belongingness and consequently a feeling of difference in relation to the mainland. What is important is if this island characteristic is combined with a measurable difference in terms of language, religion or ethnicity. If this is the case, then the island will be coded as different from mainland, otherwise not.

Strategic value is also a condition that both can be easily dichotomized but also divided into more than two categories. The island either has a strategic importance in terms of been occupied by/part of a foreign country or has been subject of dispute or has played an important role in a conflict, or it has not. It could be argued that if the island fulfil all these three criteria, then it should be regarded as more strategic important than if it only fulfil one of them. However, in this context we are only interested if the island has some kind of strategic importance or if it is not strategically important at all.

Thus, there are some variables that are not naturally dichotomized, distance from the mainland, proximity to a foreign country, and population. The limit for distance from the mainland is set to 100 km¹², but this is no absolute value, but only a fixed benchmark in order to be able to dichotomize the variable. It could have been set to 50 km or 200 km as well. The variable size is another example. As will be shown there are no fixed value that measures large or small. When defining micro-states different researchers set different border-values that in some cases varies greatly.

¹² The benchmark for distance is further discussed in chapter 3.1.

Therefore it is necessary to combine the qualitative analysis with a quantitative one to find out if the results are the same or if they differ in any way.

As has already been discussed, after the introduction of QCA there are three related techniques developed, fuzzy-set, MVQCA and MSDO/MDSO. The latter one, MSDO/MDSO (most similar, different outcome/most different, similar outcome) is the most recent development to which there is no software available yet even though it exist beta-versions (Rihoux 2006; Berg-Schlusser forthcoming).

Fuzzy set was developed by Ragin as a response to the critique of dichotomization in QCA. In Fuzzy set both the outcome and the conditions are graded. Since the dependent variable in this study is a dummy variable, fuzzy set is not applicable on this study. However, there is another technique available that allows the researcher to grade the conditions while the outcome is a dichotomy, multi-value QCA (MVQCA).

3.1.3. Multi-Value QCA (MVQCA)

MVQCA was first developed by Cronqvist (2003) and is mainly an extension of QCA and unlike fuzzy set it retains the original ideas of QCA. In MVQCA the outcome is dichotomized while one or more of the conditions are multi-value variables. Using this technique the original upper case letter to indicate presence and lower case letters to indicate absence can not be used. Instead the different values are indicated by symbols, $x\{s\}$ where x indicates the condition and s indicates the set of values of x . If cultural difference would be divided into three categories 0, 1 and 2 the cultural condition would be indicated by $culture\{0\}$, $culture\{1\}$, and $culture\{2\}$.

One of the goals in QCA is to find the shortest possible solution that explains the outcome. By using Boolean minimization we can perform the veristic test of sufficiency. Since the rule of Boolean minimization says that the expressions only may differ in one causal condition this rule must be re-written. Cronqvist suggests that:

If all n multi-value expressions ($c_0 \Phi, \dots, c_{n-1} \Phi$) differ only in the causal condition c while all possible values of c yet produce the same outcome, then the causal condition c that distinguishes these n expressions can be considered irrelevant and can be removed to create a simpler, combined expression Φ (Cronqvist 2005: 5).

This implies that if we have a Boolean expression that differs in $C\{0\}$, $C\{1\}$ or $C\{2\}$, then C can be reduced. If we for example have three expressions; $A\{1\} \cdot B\{1\} \cdot C\{0\} + A\{1\} \cdot B\{1\} \cdot C\{1\} + A\{1\} \cdot B\{1\} \cdot C\{2\}$, these differ only in the three possible values of C and therefore they can be reduced to $A\{1\} \cdot B\{1\}$. As in QCA logical remainders can be included in the reduction to find the shortest possible combination. As a matter of fact if we choose not to include logical remainders would make the minimization a very short event since there would be a large number of logical remainders due to the fine-graded scales of one or more conditions (Cronqvist 2005: 5-6). Cronqvist suggests that the rule for multi-value reduction then should be changed to:

“If two or more multi-value expressions $c_i \{c_0, \dots, c_{n-1}\}$ differ in only in the causal condition C with n possible values yet produce the same outcome, then the causal condition C that distinguishes these n expressions can be considered irrelevant and can be removed to create a simpler, combined expression, if there is no expression implied by the new expression Φ producing a different outcome” (Cronqvist 2005: 6).

MVQCA has mainly been developed as a response on the critique of dichotomization in QCA. It can be used to solve the problem of information loss that might be a problem with dummy variables, but it may also solve the problem of contradictory configurations (Berg Schlosser and Cronqvist 2006: 160-161). However, the researcher should be careful in using to fine graded variables in MVQCA since this might be an obstacle to meaningful minimization (Cronqvist 2005: 7).

There are two software programmes developed that deals with QCA, The first one, *fs/QCA*®, was originally developed by Charles Ragin and Chris Drass but has been updated by Ragin and Sean Davey and deals with QCA crisp-set analysis and fuzzy-set analysis. The second programme, *Tosmana*, is developed by Lasse Cronqvist and deals with QCA and MVQCA. The analysis will be performed primarily through *Tosmana* since this programme can handle MVQCA. However, since *Tosmana* can not be used for the probabilistic test of necessity, *fs/QCA* will be used for this operation (Ragin et.al. 2006: 3).

Reflections on Comparability

Before we continue to study the islands from the conditions shown above, we need to reflect on the comparability of the conditions between the autonomies and the non-autonomies. As have already been discussed the selection of cases has been made from three criteria and the cases are thereby comparable to each other. However, when collecting data from the different cases we must focus on the data that was important for the autonomies at the time they achieved their special status, and not on the current data from today. This implies that the independent variables must be studied from the day the islands achieved autonomy and backwards in history. This does not have any impact on the geographical data, i.e. distance and proximity. Even though the continental plates do move in different directions, this does not have any influence on the period of time that is under discussion in this study.

As for the demographic conditions, population size is in some cases somewhat problematic, since the statistical data from the post-war period are not always reliable. Therefore size in terms of population will be measured both at the time of the autonomy and today according to the latest available data. The possible cases that show different result between the two will be discussed individually.

As for cultural conditions, the difference between today and the time when the island achieved its autonomy will be discussed individually. In some cases the language that used to be important for the cultural identity of the island has declined or even ceased to exist, while in other cases the pidgin spoken on the island has developed into a Creole language and the difference between the island and the mainland has increased.

Historical, strategic, economic and constitutional conditions will be measured from the time of special status and backwards in history to find the explanatory indicators from the operationalization of the different conditions, shown above.

The non-autonomous islands will be measured today, since there is no given time when the islands did not achieve autonomy. Even though this calls for some concern when comparing the autonomies and the non-autonomies and elucidating the results of the comparison, it should not have any major impact on the results. This said we will focus on the quantitative methods that will be used in our study.

3.2. Quantitative Analysis

Quantitative analysis, or variable oriented analysis, focus on the independent variables and how they interact with the dependent variable to find which ones are significant in explaining the dependent variable. In order to build the best explanatory equation for a dependent variable researchers often use regression analysis. In the case of the autonomous islands the method could be used to explain which independent variables that have the highest explanatory value in relation on the dependent variable. Pampel (2000) describes two serious problems in using ordinary regression with a dichotomized dependent variable, one conceptual in nature and one statistical in nature. The conceptual problem stem from the fact that ordinary regression has no limits upwards or downwards. The line can extend towards positive infinity and negative infinity whereas the dummy dependent variable, by definition, cannot exceed 1 or 0 (2000: 2-3).

The statistical problem concerns the problems of normality and homoscedasticity. An ordinary regression assumes that the error distribution is similarly and normal since the dispersion of the error value should be the same for each X. This also effects the homoscedasticity and the standard error will suffer from heteroscedasticity, i.e. the variation on the dependent variable increase with increasing values on the independent variable, and thereby be incorrect (Pampel 2000: 9-10; Edling and Hedström 2003: 163; 174-175). Therefore it is necessary to use another estimation technique, in this case logistic regression.

The most frequently used estimation technique for equations with a dichotomized dependent variable is the binominal logit model. Other used techniques are the multinomial logit, used when there are more than two qualitative choices available. (Studenmund 2005: 461-463). However, the use of logistic regression calls for larger samples than an ordinary regression does. In an ordinary regression analysis it is recommended that there are a sufficient number of cases, i.e. at least 25 observations (Studenmund 2005: 396). In this study the number of cases is 73, which should be sufficient for conducting regression analysis. However, since the dependent variable is a dummy variable, ordinary regression cannot be used. Instead logistic regression will be used in order to avoid the unsoundness problem of the linear probability model. Logits are based upon maximum likelihood (ML), while an ordinary regression model is based upon ordinary least squares (OLS). However, this call for larger samples, up to 500 observations, some researchers argues (2005: 455-456).

In this study we have 73 cases included together with eight independent variables. Since the number of independent variables is fairly large in relation to the small number of cases, it seems impossible to use logistic regression for the study of the autonomous islands¹³. Since we are dealing not only with a dichotomized dependent variable but also graded or dichotomized independent variables we can use simple descriptive statistics as well. By using crosstabs we can get the same results as in a logistic regression that includes dichotomized dependent and independent variables (Dahmström (2005: 224). Therefore we will analyze each independent variable by using crosstabs to see which ones are important in explaining autonomy and which ones are not. Pearsons Chi-square-test will show which variables are significant and which ones are not. From the chi-square value we will be able to tell if the achieved result differs significantly from the expected one indicating that there is a relationship established between the dependent and the independent variable, the higher value, the stronger relationship. The crosstabs will be performed using SPSS©.

This said, we will continue our study of island autonomy by analyzing the 73 islands and the eight independent variables to find out which ones are present on the islands and which ones are absent. The qualitative analysis will be performed after the individual variables while the quantitative on will be performed for the individual variables throughout the study and summarized in the analysis.

¹³ Despite the small number of cases and the large number of independent variables we have performed an analysis using logistic regression. The result reviles what we have assumed – that the number of cases is too small and that the number of independent variables is too many. Therefore the result is not reliable. This said we can conclude that the result is close to the one achieved in both the crosstab and Pearson’s chi-square analysis.

4. Geographical Aspects

As was shown above, the geographical position and isolation of islands are often used as explanations to the special characteristics of islands. In fact, geography and the geographical position is often said to be the main reason for achieving autonomy (Anckar 1982: 160-161; and Nordqvist 1998: 64). As have already been shown in chapter 2.4, there are three independent variables that relate to the geographical aspects of autonomy; distance from the mainland, proximity to a foreign country, and the population size.

It is often argued that the distance often makes it hard for the mainland government to obtain central government on the island. Therefore the distance is a sufficient obstacle to grant autonomy for the region, as in the cases of most of the French and British colonies that enjoy more or less extended autonomy from the mainland, due to the geographical distance. Beside the geographical distance between the mainland and the island, Proximity to another country may be sufficient for obtaining autonomy, as in the case of the Channel Islands or the Spanish Enclaves Ceuta and Melilla. Distance from the mainland and proximity to a foreign territory can also be combined as is the case with Aruba and Martinique. Both these territories are more than 100 km away from the mainland of their respective mother country, but they are also closer than 100 km from a foreign country. The third geographical aspect that can be used to explain autonomy, the population size, derives from the hypothesis that the autonomous islands are smaller in population than other islands.

Worth noting in this context is the fact that there are no given definition to any of the geographical aspects. What is considered as a long distance for some might in fact be quite short for others. What is a small population size in one context might be a large in others. We need to keep in mind that space, time and place are social constructs. Harvey (1996: 211-212; 291) clarifies this by pointing out that; firstly, space and time are shaped out by humans in their struggle for survival, e.g. night and day, the seasons etc. Secondly, the conception of time and space depends on cultural, metaphorical, and intellectual skills. Thirdly, the fact that time and space are social constructs does not imply that they are personally subjective. On the contrary, some concepts have become pervasive, e.g. clock-time. Finally, space and time might concern processes of social reproduction. Since there are no given definitions to any of the geographical

aspects we need to discuss the individual factors theoretically before we define them.

4.1. Distance from the Mainland

Distance from the mainland focuses on the geographical distance between the island and the mainland of the mother country, i.e. the mainland of the nation-state that the island is dependent upon. In the case of Greenland, the mainland would be Denmark, which is not the closest mainland, even if mainland Canada is closer. Mainland can also be constituted by an island, island group, or an archipelago. In the case of Rotuma the mainland is the Fiji Islands, and the closest foreign country would be another island state, Tuvalu.

Distance often makes it hard for the mainland government to establish central government control on the island. This obstacle makes it easier for the region to obtain autonomy. Nordqvist (1998) argues that expedient autonomies owe their autonomy to practical reasons such as geographical distance or other physical hindrances. This is the case for most of the former British colonies throughout the world, both island colonies and others. The British overseas territories are often situated on another continent than the mainland Britain, and the distance makes it difficult for the British government to maintain control (1998: 64). Except for foreign policy and defence, these islands are self-governing in most of their internal affairs.

This was also the reason why the socialist government in France in 1983 gave the four overseas departments autonomy. According to the constitution of the Fifth republic all departments were integrated parts of France. However, due to the distance from mainland the central government was not able to maintain the same control over the overseas departments as over the European departments. This was combined with the fact that the conditions and needs for the overseas departments were not the same as for the European ones (Balme 1998: 181-183). This is also the case for the Dutch, Australian, and New Zealand colonies and former colonies, as well as for the Russian regions in Siberia.

Anckar (1982:153; 158-159) argues that islands possess a unique ability to develop autonomy due to the distance from the mainland. He argues that the isolation of islands often constitute a breeding ground for nationalism and protectionism. In this respect, the mental distance between islanders and mainlanders are equally important as the physical. Neverthe-

less, mental distance, as the physical one requires a significant distance and it would not have the same effect on islands that are close to the mainland.

None of the authors gives a clear definition of distance. How far away must an island be from the mainland to be considered distant? This is a difficult question to answer. What is meant by distant is often dependent on the context. What might be considered as distant in one case could be regarded as close in another. The ultraperipheral European regions, such as the Azores, Madeira, the Canary Islands and the French overseas departments, are often considered to be distant from the mainland. This is also the case with the overseas territories, and former colonies of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the USA. However, in relation to these islands the Channel Islands would not be considered distant from mainland Britain, although all of us would consider the islands to be distant from Britain in relation to the distance from France.

As indicated above, it has to be decided what is meant by distant in this study. According to the Guinness Book of World Records, the longest bridge in the world, the Pontchartrain Bridge in New Orleans, USA, is 38.6 km. There is also stretch of bridging's that measures 55.21 km long. It could therefore also be agreed that 50 km is not distant from mainland, since it theoretically could be connected to the mainland with a bridge and what can be connected to the mainland cannot be considered as distant. If we consider the islands included in this study we find that the mean distance from the mainland is 210 km. If we use the TOSMANA software programme and perform a cluster analysis with two thresholds we find that the higher one is set at 9,600 km and if the lower one at 3,192 km. Among the non-autonomous islands included the median value is 108 km while for the autonomous islands it is 1,664 km. This shows that it could be argued that the threshold should be set somewhere between 50 km and 9,000 km.

Therefore we will use the opportunity given by MVQCA to set up two thresholds for distance from the mainland. The first one will be set in the middle between 50 km and 210 km at 100 km indicating distance from mainland. It could be argued that 100 km is distant from mainland since it would be almost impossible to build a bridge between the island and the mainland at that distance. Some of the definitions of the concept of island, as has been shown earlier, argues that what can be connected with the mainland cannot be considered as an island. As a consequence thereof, 50 km cannot be considered as distant. On the other hand, if we chose to set

the threshold at 210 km we would disqualify some of the islands that usually are argued to owe their autonomy to the distance from the mainland. Therefore, a distance of 100 km or more will be considered distant and consequently a distance less than 99.9 km as close. Consequently, if the distance between the island and the mainland is 100 km or more the island will be considered as distant, while if it is 99.9 km, or less, it will not. As a consequence of the first threshold we will set the second one at 1,000 km, ten times longer distance than the first threshold indicating a long distance from mainland.

The geographical distance between the island and the mainland is considered as important in explaining the difference in autonomy, i.e. why some enjoy autonomy while others do not. In this context the distance is defined as the shortest path between the island coast and the mainland, as the crow flies. Among the islands there are 38 islands that are part of an island state. What is defined as mainland of the island state has already been discussed above.

The data on distance is found on the web sites of the statistical authorities of the island or of the mother country. In many cases where data on distance is found, it measures the distance between the capitol of the island and the capitol of the mainland, or the distance between the main island and the mainland. In order to find the closest distance between the island and the mainland, Google Earth (www.googleearth.com) has been used. The distance is calculated in terms of the position of the island (latitude and longitude), and therefore the data must be considered to be approximate rather than absolute¹⁴, but it gives an indication of the distance and therefore it can be used in this study. In none of these cases the distance is close to 100,0 km or 1,000 km and the approximate character of the value has therefore not had any influence on the outcome. The results on the Distance factor for the autonomous islands are shown in table 6.

¹⁴ For further reading on the problems connected with approximating distance by using longitude and latitude positions, see Ekman, M. (2002) *Latitud, longitud, höjd och djup: referenssystem och kartprojektioner inom geodesi, hydrografi och navigation*. Gävle: Kartografiska sällskapet.

Table 6. Geographical Distance from the Mainland – Presence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Autonomous Island	Distance (km)	Boolean Code
Denmark	Faeroe Islands	1,005	2
	Greenland	2,050	2
Finland	Åland Islands	70	0
France	Corsica	172	1
	French Polynesia	17,854	2
	Guadeloupe	6,195	2
	Martinique	6,295	2
	Mayotte	7,310	2
	New Caledonia	13,624	2
	Réunion	11,246	2
	Wallis et Futuna	16,019	2
Italy	Sardinia	208	1
	Sicily	4	0
Mauritius	Rodrigues	580	1
Netherlands	Aruba	7,954	2
	Netherlands Antilles	7,917	2
New Zealand	Cook Islands	2,683	2
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville	630	1
Philippines	Muslim Mindanao	0	0
Portugal	Azores	1,370	2
	Madeira	850	1
South Korea	Jeju Island	70	0
Spain	Balearic Islands	80	0
	Canary Islands	1,040	2
Tanzania	Zanzibar	35	0
Trinidad and Tobago	Tobago	32	0
United Kingdom	Anguilla	6,440	2
	Bermuda	4,820	2
	British Virgin Islands	6,380	2
	Cayman Islands	7,340	2
	Guernsey	120	1
	Isle of Man	28	0
	Jersey	161	1
	Turks- and Caicos Islands	6,478	2
United States	American Samoa	3,700	2
	Guam	5,300	2
	Northern Mariana Islands	5,300	2
	Puerto Rico	1,600	2
	US Virgin Islands	1,664	2

Among the autonomous islands there are 31 that are 100 km or more distant from the mainland, of which 13 is in North America or the Caribbean, eight in Oceania, five in Europe, one in Asia, and five in Africa. Twenty

islands are situated in another continent than the mainland. The UK dependencies of Anguilla, Bermuda, Cayman Islands, and Turks- and Caicos Islands, all in North America or the Caribbean, the French overseas departments, territories or countries of French Polynesia, New Caledonia, Wallis et Futuna, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Mayotte, and Réunion. In North America there are also the Danish dependency of Greenland and the Dutch territories of Aruba, and Netherlands Antilles. In Oceania there are the US dependencies of American Samoa, Guam, and Northern Mariana Islands, and along the African west coast there is the Portuguese island of Madeira, and the Spanish Canary Islands.

Among the islands that show distance from the mainland, 24 are more than 1,000 km distant from the mainland. Among these, two are situated in Europe, the Faeroe Islands and the Azores. In North America and the Caribbean there are 13, while in Oceania there are seven islands. The remaining two are found in Africa.

There are eight islands that are not coded as distant, four European islands, the Finish Åland Islands, the Spanish Balearic Islands, the Italian island of Sicily, Jeju Island in South Korea, and the British dependency of Isle of Man; one Asian island region, the Philippine region of Muslim Mindanao; and one in Africa, Zanzibar, which is a part of the Union republic of Tanzania. Finally there is one island in the Caribbean, the island of Tobago, a part of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, which is not distant from the mainland. This also implies that the differences between the island that is closest to the mainland, Muslim Mindanao, and the one most distant, French Polynesia, is considerable, 17,854 km.

There are 22 islands that are closer to another domestic territory than the mainland. French Polynesia and Wallis et Futuna are closer to each other than to the mainland France while New Caledonia is closer to Wallis et Futuna. Mayotte and Réunion, and Guadeloupe and Martinique are also closer to each other than to France. The Netherlands Antilles and Aruba are closer to each other than to the mainland Netherlands, and Cook Islands are closer to Niue than to the mainland New Zealand. Anguilla and Turks and Caicos Islands are closer to British Virgin Islands than to mainland Britain, British Virgin Islands are closer to Anguilla, while Bermuda and Cayman Islands are closer to Turks and Caicos Islands, and Guernsey and Jersey are closer to each other than to the mainland Britain. American Samoa is closer to Jarvis Island, while Guam and Northern Mariana Islands on the one hand, and Puerto Rico and US Virgin Islands on the other, are closer to each other than to mainland USA.

However, since none of these domestic territories are defined as mainland they will not be taken into account.

The results for the non-autonomous islands show that the number of islands that are coded as distant and non-distant are more equally distributed. There are 18 that are more than 100 km away from the mainland, while 17 are closer than 99.9 km. As is shown in Table 7, there are no islands that are more than 1,000 km away from the mainland.

Table 7. Geographical Distance from the Mainland – Absence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Non-Autonomous Island	Distance (km)	Boolean Code
Bahamas	Abaco	86	0
	Grand Bahama	180	1
Cape Verde	Santo Antão	238	1
	São Nicolau	144	1
	São Vicente	214	1
Colombia	San Andrés y Providencia	710	1
Cuba	Isla de la Juventud	70	0
Denmark	Bornholm	138	1
Estonia	Hiiumaa	6	0
	Saaremaa	7	0
Greece	Crete	95	0
	Ionian Islands	2	0
	North Aegean Sea	65	0
	South Aegean Sea	10	0
Honduras	Islas de la Bahía	56	0
Indonesia	Maluku	219	1
	Maluku Utara	152	1
	Nusa Tenggara Barat	45	0
	Nusa Tenggara Timur	201	1
Japan	Okinawa	110	1
Maldives	Addu	263	1
	Huvadhu	106	1
Papua New Guinea	Manus	320	1
	New Britain	88	0
	New Ireland	629	1
Philippines	Palawan	586	1
Solomon Islands	Temotu	555	1
Sweden	Gotland	90	0
Tanzania	Mafia	16	0
Tonga	Vava'u	64	0
United Kingdom	Eilean Siar	35	0
	Orkney Islands	32	0
	Shetland Islands	210	1
Vanuatu	Tafea	148	1

Among the islands that are marked as distant, none is found on another continent than the mainland and if the nearest mainland would be defined as the nearest territory of the mother country, the number of cases that are closer than 99.9 km would be 27, and thereby a majority of the non-autonomous islands. Consequently, the number of cases that are 100.0 km or further away from the closest domestic territory would be eight. However, in all these cases the closest domestic territory is in fact another island in this study. The two Indonesian provinces of Maluku and Maluku Utara that are both closer to each other than to the Indonesian mainland and Nusa Tenggara Timur and Nusa Tenggara Barat are only 15 km away from each other and therefore closer to each other than to other parts of Indonesia. However, since the two provinces have been defined as not being parts of the mainland, the nearest mainland is the islands of Bali and Sulawesi.

The Addu atoll in the Maldives is closer to the Huvadhu atoll than to the Maldives mainland, and the Papua New Guinea islands of New Britain and New Ireland are only 35 km away from each other. However, none of these islands are considered as part of mainland and therefore the closest mainland is the northern coast of New Guinea. The Cape Verde islands of Santo Antão and São Vicente are closer than 100.0 km to each other, while São Nicolau is closer to Santa Luzia. Crete and North Aegean Sea are both closer to the islands in the South Aegean Sea than to mainland Greece, while the Shetland Islands are closer to the Orkney Islands than to the British mainland and the two Bahamas Islands are closer to each other than to the mainland Bahamas. However, since the mainland of Cape Verde has been defined as the Sotavento islands, the island group where the capital, Praia, is situated, the three islands are more than 100.0 km away from the mainland. Since none of the three islands are considered to be the mainland, the distance between them is irrelevant for this study.

These results show that the difference between the island that is most distant from the mainland, New Ireland, and the one that is closest to the mainland, the Ionian Islands, is not considerable, only 627 km as compared to 17,854 for the autonomous islands. Let us analyse the results from the variable distance in a crosstab, see table 8.

Table 8. Crosstab of Autonomy and Distance from the Mainland

		Distance from the Mainland			Total	
		Absence <100 km	Presence >100, <1,000 km	Presence <1,000 km		
Autonomy	Absence	Count	16	18	0	34
		Expected Count	11.2	11.6	11.2	34
	Presence	Count	8	7	24	39
		Expected Count	12.8	13.4	12.8	39
Total	Count	24	25	24	73	
	Expected Count	24	25	24	73	

Pearson Chi-Square: Value: 31.31; Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): 0.000000159

The result shows that distance from the mainland is important in explaining autonomy. Among the autonomous islands there are 31 that are 100 km or further away from the mainland, of which 25 are more than 1,000 km away. This means that 67% of all autonomous islands are more than 1,000 km away from the mainland. The non-autonomous islands are almost equally distributed between non-distance and distance, more than 100 km but less than 1,000 km. There are 17 non-autonomous islands that show no distance according to our definition, while there are 18 that show distance. None of the non-autonomous islands are more than 1,000 km away from the mainland.

Among the islands that show no distance, 73.9% are non-autonomous and among those showing some distance 75% are non-autonomous. If we examine those cases that show a distance larger than 100 km there are seven that are less than 200 km away from the mainland and only one island is more than 500 km away from the mainland. Among the islands showing a large distance, 100% are autonomous. This is reflected in the fact that distance from the mainland shows significance in Pearson Chi-Square on the .01 level. The result does not resemble the expected result. If there would not have been any relationship between autonomy and distance, twelve autonomous and twelve non-autonomous islands would have been more than 1,000 km away from the mainland. Instead there are none non-autonomous islands and 25 autonomous that are a long distance away. As a consequence, the value in the chi-square test is very high.

The conclusion must therefore be that distance seems to matter, as was emphasized by Anckar, Lane and Ersson and Nordqvist. The longer the distance the more important factor it is as an explanation to explaining autonomy. It remains to be seen whether or not distance is important as

an explanation together with other factors and thereby included in a configuration. Let us now continue with the geographical aspects by analysing the factor Proximity.

4.2. Proximity to a Foreign Country

Proximity to a foreign country is another geographical factor that is assumed to be of importance when explaining the difference in autonomy. Proximity to a foreign country may include a combination of a cultural difference to the mother country and a geographical distance from the mainland of the mother country. This variable could therefore be seen as a combinatory variable. However, this is not true in all cases. There are islands, and also continental territories, that are proximate to a foreign country but still culturally more similar to the mother-country. Many of the former British colonies are closer to a foreign state than to the state upon which they are dependent. For instance, Gibraltar is closer to Spain than to the United Kingdom and the Falkland Islands are closer to Argentina. In the Falkland Islands, most inhabitants are of British origin, while in Gibraltar there are many Spaniards. Proximity to a foreign country can therefore not be seen as a combination of two other factors, but must be seen as a factor of its own.

If the island is close to a foreign country, it could be granted autonomy in an attempt by the mother country to make sure that the island will stay within the realm of its mother country, and not move for unification with the closer country. When the Åland Islands gained autonomy in 1921 they had first struggled to be unified with Sweden. One of the arguments that were used in this process was the fact that the islands are closer to the Swedish mainland than to the Finnish. Therefore it would be more natural for the islands to be reunited with Sweden than to be a part of the newly independent state of Finland. However, in the decision by the League of Nations it is stated that Åland is a part of Finland and that it should remain as such (Fagerlund 1993: 15-16).

The Channel Islands are closer to France than to the mainland Britain. The proximity itself is of importance, since there were movements on the islands to be reunited with Normandy. As a means of ensuring the sovereignty over the territory, England offered the islands self-government as long as they stayed within the realm of the state. Guernsey and Jersey therefore were granted autonomy and could maintain their cultural heritage, instead of forcing the islands to become an integrated part of Britain

and thereby also jeopardize the loyalty of the islands towards the British crown (Leemprière 1974: 36-38).

To some extent the proximity to a foreign country would mainly apply to continental autonomies. There are numerous examples of autonomies that are situated on the border and subsequently where the neighbouring country has played an important role in the struggle for autonomy, independence or unification with the neighbouring country. In Georgia for instance, Russia has played an important role in the conflict in Abkhazia and in South-Ossetia (Cornell 2002: 108-109).

In many of these cases the struggle for self-rule implies cultural differences and external support. However, since these two factors will be covered by two other independent variables, cultural difference and strategic importance, we choose to not include them in the proximity variable. Instead this will only embrace the geographic distance between the island and the neighbouring country, here defined as the mainland of the nation-state that is closest to the island. As was discussed above concerning the definition of mainland, this includes islands close to the mainland, which therefore are defined as part of the mainland, and islands in an island state that is defined as mainland. In the case of the Guadeloupe the closest mainland would be the island of Dominica, although two of the island dependencies of Guadeloupe, Saint Martin and Saint Barthélemy, are closer to islands that are not considered to be mainland. Saint Martin is shared with the Netherlands dependency of Netherlands Antilles and the island of Saint Barthélemy is closer to the island of Saba in the Netherlands Antilles. Since the Netherlands Antilles is not a part of mainland Netherlands, this can not be considered as the closest mainland.

It is important that the foreign country must be closer than the mainland. If the island is close to a foreign country but still closer to the mainland of its own mother country it can not be considered to be proximate to a foreign country. It is also important to distinguish that the importance of the proximity would decrease with distance. We have already defined the distance from the mainland as 100 km or more. This will be used as a threshold for this variable as well, but we will not add any more thresholds. If the closest foreign country is more than 100 km away, the effect of the proximity to this state would not have such an impact that the proximity itself would make the mother state willing to offer autonomy to the island in order to ensure that it would stay within the realm of the mother country. If the island is more than 100 km away from the closest foreign country and still even further away from the mainland of its

mother country, the distance from the mainland would most probably be of greater importance in explaining the autonomy of the island than the proximity to the foreign country.

Proximity to a foreign country will be operationalized as follows. If an island is 99.9 km or less away from a foreign territory but more distant from the mother country, it will be considered as close. If it is 100 km or more away, it will be considered as not close. The distance between the island and the closest foreign country has been calculated in the same way as distance from the mainland using Google Earth. In none of these cases the result was close to the border value, therefore it has not affected the result of the study. The results are shown in table 9.

Among the autonomous islands there are 13 that are closer than 100 km to a foreign mainland and not closer to the mainland of its own mother country. Three islands are closer than 100 km away from the closest neighbour but still closer to its mother country, see table 4. In Europe there are the Finnish Åland Islands, which are close to Sweden, and the British Guernsey and Jersey that are close to the French coast. In the Caribbean, the British Anguilla is close to St. Kitts-Nevis and the Tuks- and Caicos Islands are close to the Bahamas; the Netherlands Aruba and Netherlands Antilles are close to Venezuela; the French Guadeloupe and Martinique are close to Dominica; and the US Puerto Rico is close to Haiti.

In Africa the French Mayotte and Réunion are close to the Comoros and to Mauritius. The Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, and Zanzibar are both closer than 100 km from the closest foreign country but still more close to their own mother countries. For 28 autonomous islands, the closest foreign territory is closer to the island than the domestic mainland. However, we must keep in mind that for the Åland Islands there are smaller islands in the Åbo archipelago only a few kilometres away from Åland that could be defined as a part of the Finnish mainland. This would imply that the islands are not closer to Sweden than to the mainland of Finland. The difference between the island closest to a foreign country, Jersey, and the most distant one, the Azores, is a considerable 4,001 km.

Table 9. Proximity to a Foreign Country – Presence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Autonomous Island	Distance (km)	Closest Foreign Country	Boolean Code
Denmark	Faeroe Islands	589	Norway	0
	Greenland	290	Canada	0
Finland	Åland Islands	36	Sweden	1
France	Corsica	83	Italy	1
	French Polynesia	510	Kiribati	0
	Guadeloupe	32	Dominica	1
	Martinique	25	Dominica	1
	Mayotte	42	Comoros	1
	New Caledonia	455	Vanuatu	0
	Réunion	173	Mauritius	0
Wallis et Futuna	280	Fiji	0	
Italy	Sardinia	300	France	0
	Sicily	148	Tunis	0
Mauritius	Rodrigues	1,300	Madagascar	0
Netherlands	Aruba	25	Venezuela	1
	Netherlands Antilles	56	Venezuela	1
New Zealand	Cook Islands	441	Kiribati	0
Philippines	Muslim Mindanao	64	Malaysia	0
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville	45	Solomon Islands	1
Portugal	Azores	1,500	Morocco	0
	Madeira	662	Morocco	0
South Korea	Jeju Island	233	Japan	0
Spain	Balearic Islands	287	France	0
	Canary Islands	105	Morocco	0
Tanzania	Zanzibar	56	Kenya	0
Trinidad and Tobago	Tobago	148	Venezuela	0
United Kingdom	Anguilla	87	St Kitts-Nevis	1
	Bermuda	1,060	USA	0
	British Virgin Islands	208	St Kitts-Nevis	0
	Cayman Islands	210	Cuba	0
	Guernsey	56	France	1
	Isle of Man	55	Ireland	0
	Jersey	22	France	1
Turks- and Caicos Islands	60	The Bahamas	1	
USA	American Samoa	70	Samoa	1
	Guam	2,040	Philippines	0
	Northern Mariana Islands	2,160	Philippines	0
	Puerto Rico	114	Dominican Rep.	0
	US Virgin Islands	220	St. Kitts Nevis	0

In eleven islands, the distance from foreign mainland is wider than from the closest foreign territory. This is explained by the fact that the closest foreign territory in these cases is an island that is not defined as part of the

mainland. The two Virgin Islands territories are closer to each other than to St Kitts–Nevis, which is the closest foreign mainland, while the island of Anguilla is closer to Guadeloupe than to St Kitts-Nevis. The Faeroe Islands are closer to the Shetland Islands than to mainland Norway, and Corsica and Sardinia are closer to each other than to France and Italy. Guadeloupe and Netherlands Antilles both share the island of Saint Martin/Sint Maarten, the northern part of the island is a part of the Netherlands Antilles, while the southern part belongs to Guadeloupe. The two are consequently closer to each other than to the closest mainland, Dominica (Guadeloupe) or Venezuela (Netherlands Antilles). Madeira is closer to the Canary Islands than to the Moroccan mainland.

The results for the non-autonomous islands show the same pattern as for the autonomous islands. The results for the non-autonomous islands are shown in table 10. Only five are closer than 100 km to a foreign mainland while 30 are not. Thus Saaremaa is only 30 km away from Latvia it is even closer to the Estonian mainland and is therefore coded 0 for proximity.

For the Indonesian provinces of Maluku, Nusa Tenggara Barat, and Nusa Tenggara Timur, the closest foreign mainland is the newly independent East Timor that used to be a part of Indonesia. Since East Timor has seceded from Indonesia it will not be considered as the closest mainland. Instead Australia is considered as the closest mainland.

Consequently, in the group of non-autonomous islands there are only four that are proximate to a foreign country but still not closer to the mainland of its mother country. The Danish Bornholm is closer to the South coast of Sweden than to the Danish coast and the two Greek island regions of North Aegean Sea and South Aegean Sea are closer to the Turkish coast than to the Greek coast. In Asia, the Philippine province of Palawan is closer to Malaysia. For Maluku, Nusa Tenggara Barat, and Nusa Tenggara Timur the Republic of East Timor is the closest foreign country. Since East Timor used to constitute a province of Indonesia and gained independence as late as in 2001, the closest foreign territory for these islands has been defined as Australia.

For 19 autonomous and eight non-autonomous islands, the closest mainland is constituted by an island state. The mainland of these island states has already been defined above, except for St Kitts-Nevis and Tuvalu. In both of these cases the mainland will be defined as the island where the capital of the state is situated, i.e. the islands of St Kitts and Funafuti.

Table 10. Proximity to a Foreign Country – Absence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Non-Autonomous Island	Distance (km)	Closest Foreign Country	Boolean Code
Bahamas	Abaco	305	USA	0
	Grand Bahama	102	USA	0
Cape Verde	Santo Antão	837	Senegal	0
	São Nicolau	818	Senegal	0
	São Vicente	722	Senegal	0
Colombia	San Andrés y Providencia	190	Nicaragua	0
Cuba	Isla de la Juventud	423	Mexico	0
Denmark	Bornholm	36	Sweden	1
Estonia	Hiiumaa	105	Latvia	0
	Saaremaa	30	Latvia	0
Greece	Crete	210	Turkey	0
	Ionian Islands	105	Italy	0
	North Aegean Sea	10	Turkey	1
	South Aegean Sea	3	Turkey	1
Honduras	Islas de la Bahía	140	Guatemala	0
Indonesia	Maluku	290	Australia	0
	Maluku Utara	468	Philippines	0
	Nusa Tenggara Barat	1,063	Australia	0
	Nusa Tenggara Timur	426	Australia	0
Japan	Okinawa	454	China	0
Maldives	Addu	1,150	India	0
	Huvadhu	1,000	India	0
Papua New Guinea	Manus	625	Indonesia	0
	New Britain	490	Solomon Islands	0
	New Ireland	435	Solomon Islands	0
Philippines	Palawan	87	Malaysia	1
Solomon Islands	Temotu	180	Vanuatu	0
Sweden	Gotland	148	Estonia	0
Tanzania	Mafia	289	Mozambique	0
Tonga	Vava'u	481	Fiji	0
United Kingdom	Eilean Siar	167	Ireland	0
	Orkney Islands	390	Norway	0
	Shetland Islands	345	Norway	0
Vanuatu	Tafea	901	Fiji	0

Proximity to a foreign country has been defined as proximity to the nearest foreign mainland. Among the non-autonomous islands there are two that are closer to a foreign territory that has not been defined as foreign mainland. Okinawa is closer to Taiwan than to mainland China, and Tafea is closer to New Caledonia than to Fiji. In none of these two cases has this fact any impact on the outcome, since the islands are more than 100 km away from the closest foreign territory.

The crosstab analysis shows that among both the autonomous and the non-autonomous islands, a majority shows no proximity to a foreign country. There are only five non-autonomous islands and twelve autonomous that do show proximity. Among them, 69% are autonomous islands. However, this only constitute 30%, or twelve islands, within the group of autonomous islands.

The result of Pearson’s chi-square test shows that “proximity to a foreign” state is significant at the .05-level. However, the Chi-square value is rather low. As is shown in table 11, there are no patterns found for the proximity factor that can explain the difference in autonomy and the value in the chi-square test is low.

Table 11. Crosstab of Autonomy and Proximity to a Foreign Country

			Proximity to a Foreign Country		Total
			Absence	Presence	
Autonomy	Absence	Count	30	4	34
		Expected Count	26.1	7.9	34
	Presence	Count	26	13	39
		Expected Count	29.9	9.1	39
Total	Count	56	17	73	
	Expected Count	56	17	73	

Pearson Chi-Square Value: 4.73; Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): 0.030

It was argued that proximity could be important as an explanation for the difference in autonomy since the mainland may be more willing to offer autonomy as a mean to maintain some control over the island keeping it within the jurisdiction of the state. The result of the crosstab analysis reveals that it can be concluded that proximity to a foreign country in itself can not explain the difference in autonomy. If it is shown to be important as a part of a configuration remains to be seen. Let us continue with the final geographic factor, which is population size.

4.3. Population Size

Size is another condition that is often emphasized as an explanation to other issues in political science. Dahl and Tufte (1973) as well as Anckar (1998), emphasise the importance of size in comparative politics. In their study *Size and Democracy*, Dahl and Tufte discuss the autonomy of independent states. They argue that smaller states are more vulnerable, since they are dependent on neighbouring countries for their trade, their import

of both raw material and work force, and their higher education etc. The latter can easily damage the cultural identity of a country. The education in neighbouring countries is not likely to be given in the mother tongue of the smaller country and therefore there is a risk that the number of speakers might decline (1973: 128-133). This is for instance the case on the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. Since all higher education is given in the mainland UK, it is necessary to speak English properly, which has affected the knowledge of Manx, Guernsiais, and Jèrriais negatively, even to the point of extinction for Manx.

Recent research has shown that micro-states are vulnerable in matters of economy, environment, and security. The vulnerability is however, not only due to size but also to the fact that many of the micro-states are SIDS (Small Independent Development States) and/or island states (see Sutton and Payne 1993; Sutton 1999; Anckar 2002; Payne 2004). Despite the vulnerability, micro-states are more often democracies. This is often explained by the colonial heritage, many of the micro-states are former British colonies; and by the insularity of a majority of the micro-states (Anckar 2002: 383-385).

Size has not been the subject of discussion when explaining the difference in autonomy. However, it could be argued that due to the vulnerability, small territories strive for autonomy within their mother country and not independence, this mainly due to the vulnerability in matters of economy and security. For instance, the vulnerability due to size has been the main argument against independence in Aruba, in the Faeroe Islands and Greenland (see Oostindie 2006; Näslund 2000: 14, 21-22). It was also one of the main issues in the study by Anckar and Bartmann (2000) on the conditions for an independent Åland. Size could therefore explain why some islands enjoy autonomy and not independence. However, it could also be argued that larger territories do not enjoy autonomy, since they in general would be integrated parts of the mother country. Therefore, autonomy would apply more to small territories, while larger unit would be either independent states or integrated parts of their mother-country. Therefore, we will test also for size as an explanation, or part of an explanation, of autonomy.

Size can be understood as population, area, and density. Population may imply the total population, the number of eligible voters or actual voters in a democracy, the number of adults etc. Plato defined population size as the number of free men, thereby excluding women, minors, foreigners and slaves (Dahl and Tufte 1973: 17-19).

In this study population will be defined as the total population of the island. Since this study includes only islands, area is defined differently. Because of the fact that many of the islands included are island groups or archipelagos, size may be defined both as the total land area or the total area, including the water area between islands. Anckar (1998) exemplifies the problem with the archipelago state of Kiribati. If the area is understood as the total area, Kiribati is one of the smallest independent states of the world with its sq. km. If, on the other hand, the water area between the islands is included, Kiribati would be one of the largest countries in the world (1998: 44).

Most studies on size focus on population and not on area. However, area could be interesting, if the region that struggles for autonomy embraces a large part of the country. Area would therefore be defined as large compared to the total area of the country. Among the islands included in this study, only one may be defined as a large part of the country, namely Greenland. The island is more than 50 times the size of Denmark. None of the other islands constitutes more than 2.5% of the total area of the country. Therefore, area size per se will not be investigated in this study¹⁵. Density may both imply the number of people per sq. km and the distribution of people between cities and the countryside. In this study, however, density will not be considered as a dimension of size.

Size, as concerns the aspect of population, will be included as one of the geographical aspects in this study. The assumption here would emanate from the theory that larger units, in terms of area and population, would more likely strive for independence, while smaller units that do not possess the necessary conditions for independence strive for autonomy. Following this line of thought it would be likely that more populated territories are capable of managing as an independent state, while less populated units would be less likely to manage. There are independent states that are less populated. Many of them are dependent on foreign aid, often coming from the former colonial power. Furthermore, the state would be more reluctant to grant autonomy to a larger unit, due to the risk that the autonomy is only the first step towards independence. The criteria for the size condition would be that the less populated a region is, the more likely it is that it enjoys autonomy.

¹⁵ In a study of the European island regions it was shown that size as area in sq km was of no importance as an explanation of island autonomy, see Olausson (2004).

The importance of size, in the context of autonomy, has not been the subject of any major study, neither has it been emphasized as a major explanation for the existence of autonomy. Common for most of the islands included are that they can be defined as small, since they are only part of an independent state and not independent states themselves. There is no natural benchmark for what should be considered as small or large in this context. We might all possibly agree on the fact that the population of Sicily must be considered as large, while the population of Anguilla ought to be regarded as small, but there are 71 islands in between that are not as easy to define as these two.

Since there are no given criteria on how to define smallness, we need to get help from studies on size. If we consider studies on micro-states there are several definitions available. In his study on microstates, Anckar (1991) uses a fourfold figure to identify small island states. By calculating the medium value of the included islands in terms of both population and territory Anckar finds four categories: islands with large territory and large population; islands with large territory and small population; islands with small territory and large population; and islands with small territory and small population. He is able to identify the island micro-states by repeating this procedure including the islands with small territory and small population and the islands close to the border value among the islands with small territory or small population. The analysis shows that a small island is an island with a territory smaller than 1,510 sq km and a population smaller than 200,000. However, despite this definition Anckar also includes islands with a territory smaller than 1,510 sq km but a population larger than one million as well as islands with a population smaller than 200,000 but a territory larger than 100,000 sq km in his analysis of microstates in the world (1991: 11-22).

In his study of the European micro-states, Duursmaa (1996) refers to Ehrhardt's definition, which includes all states with less than 300,000 inhabitants. Duursma herself does not set up any fixed figure, but argues that a micro-state is an "...entity with exceptionally small territory and population". As a consequence thereof it follows that micro-states suffer from a deficiency of human and natural resources (1996: 2-3). In the 1960's the UN acknowledges the problem of micro-states. Many member states feared the entrance of micro-states, since they all together would cover two-thirds of the votes in the General Chamber, but only represent 4% of the world's population. A committee of experts failed to come up with a clear definition of a micro-state, but the USA seemed to suggest that states

with less than 100,000 inhabitants would be defined as a micro-states (1996: 134-142). In her own study, Duursmaa includes Andorra, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, and the Vatican City State. Consequently, she defines the border line for micro-states to be somewhere between the 46,166 inhabitants of Andorra and the 439,539 in Luxembourg. As concerns the area she proposes something between the 467.67 sq. km. of Andorra and the 2,586 sq. km. of Luxembourg.

In their article *Liliput under Threat*, Sutton and Payne (1993) define smallness as denoting states with less than one million inhabitants. They also refer to Taylor, who in 1969 defined smallness as a territory smaller than 14,822 sq. km. and a population less than 2,928,000 (Sutton and Payne 1993: 579-593) In his study *The Micro-State Experience*, Bartmann (2000) uses the same definition of a micro-state, i.e. a state with less than one million inhabitants. The number of micro-states in the world from that definition would be 46, of which 31 are island states. He also refers to a Whitehall report from 1958, in which it was stated that territories smaller than Sierra Leone, i.e. less than 2,5 million inhabitants, could not entertain the prospect of self-determination, if that meant independence.

Since this study does not deal with independent countries, it would be difficult to argue that the measure of smallness in this context should be the same as when dealing with entities on a higher level, i.e. independence. Therefore, we will not use the most common definition of micro-states, i.e. a population less than one million people. On the other hand, the definition suggested by the USA on 100,000 inhabitants as the higher limit when defining smallness seems to be too low. The most appropriate measure in this context would therefore be found somewhere in between. We could choose between the definition given by Anckar on 200,000 and the definition given by Duursmaa on 300,000. Since Anckar also includes islands with a population larger than one million, we will choose to follow Duursmaa in her definition of smallness and set the highest limit of smallness to 300,000 inhabitants. The criteria for the size factor, as have already been discussed, is that the less populated a region is, the more likely that it enjoys autonomy.

In order to be able to compare the size of the population size today with the situation when autonomy was first given, we will measure the autonomous islands at both the time they achieved autonomy and at the latest census. In table 12 the result of population size among the autonomous islands is shown.

Table 12. Population Size – Presence of Autonomy

Mother country	Island	Population	Population – Latest Census	Boolean Code
Denmark	Faeroe Islands	31,664 (1950)	47,700 (2002)	1
	Greenland	49,338 (1979)	56,124 (2000)	1
Finland	Åland Islands	27,351 (1919)	26,347 (2003)	1
France	Corsica	240,178 (1982)	260,196 (1999)	1
	French Polynesia	166,753 (1983)	245,516 (2002)	1
	Guadeloupe	328,400 (1982)	422,496 (1999)	0
	Martinique	328,566 (1982)	381,427 (1999)	0
	Mayotte	47,246 (1978)	160,265 (2002)	1
	New Caledonia	133,233 (1976)	212,709 (2001)	1
	Réunion	515,798 (1982)	728,400 (2001)	0
Wallis et Futuna	5,380 (1959)	14,944 (2003)	1	
Italy	Sardinia	1,220,000 (1949)	1,631,880 (2000)	0
	Sicily	4,383,000 (1949)	4,968,991 (2001)	0
Mauritius	Rodrigues	35,779 (2000)	36,200 (2003)	1
Netherlands	Aruba	62,500 (1988)	91,065 (2000)	1
	Netherlands Antilles	180,776 (1953)	175,653 (2001)	1
New Zealand	Cook Islands	19,247 (1966)	17,700 (2001)	1
Philippines	Muslim Mindanao	2,103,000 (1995)	2,412,159 (2000)	0
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville	175,160 (2000)	175,160 (2000)	1
Portugal	Azores	489,096 (1970)	241,763 (2001)	0
	Madeira	251,059 (1970)	245,011 (2001)	1
South Korea	Jeju Island	559,747 (2005)	559,747 (2005)	0
Spain	Balearic Island	558,287 (1970)	841,669 (2001)	0
	Canary Islands	1,170,224 (1970)	1,694,477 (2001)	0
Tanzania	Zanzibar	354,360 (1967)	984,625 (2002)	0
Trinidad - Tobago	Tobago	40,700 (1980)	54,084 (2000)	1
United Kingdom	Anguilla	5,395 (1966)	11,561 (2001)	1
	Bermuda	50,097 (1967)	62,059 (2000)	1
	Br. Virgin Islands	6,253 (1961)	20,254 (2000)	1
	Cayman Islands	7,616 (1960)	39,410 (1999)	1
	Guernsey	43,036 (1901)	59,807 (2001)	1
	Isle of Man	54,752 (1901)	76,513 (2001)	1
	Jersey	52,576 (1901)	87,186 (2001)	1
Turks and Caicos Islands	5,716 (1960)	19,530 (1999)	1	
USA	American Samoa	8,324 (1920)	57,291 (2001)	1
	Guam	105,979 (1980)	154,805 (2000)	1
	Northern Mariana Islands	15,000 (1978)	69,221 (2000)	1
	Puerto Rico	2,210,703 (1950)	3,808,610 (2000)	0
	US Virgin Islands	24,000 (1955)	108,612 (2000)	1

The Statesman's Yearbook 1925, 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1995, 2000, 2007

Among the autonomous islands there are 28 that are regarded as small: ten in America, eight in Oceania, six in Europe, and three in Africa. There are eleven that are regarded as large: four in Europe, three in both Africa and in America, and two in Asia. If we compare the population today with the one at the time of autonomy, we find that none of the islands would have been defined differently if we would have chosen to measure the population size today instead.

There are two islands that were close to the border value, but still considered as small when they were given autonomy: Madeira and Corsica. If we look at the situation today, five islands are close to the border value, but still considered as small: Azores, Corsica, French Polynesia, Madeira, and New Caledonia.

There are three islands that at the time of autonomy were close to the border value but considered as large: Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Zanzibar. Today, only one island, Martinique, has less than 400,000 and is close to the border value, but considered to be large.

If we had chosen the definition given by Sutton and Payne that smallness is defined as less than one million inhabitants – only five islands would be defined as large: Canary Islands, Muslim Mindanao, Puerto Rico, Sardinia, and Sicily.

Worth noting in table 12, is that all islands but five have increased their population since the time they were given autonomy. The Azores has lost 13% of its population, while the Cook Islands have lost 8% as compared with the time before they were given autonomy. There are seven islands that have increased their population with more than 300% since the time they were given autonomy. American Samoa has increased its population with the incredible 688% since 1920, and Cayman Islands have an increase with 517% since 1960.

Let us continue with the results for the non-autonomous islands, presented in table 13. Among the non-autonomous islands, there are 26 that have less than 300,000 inhabitants and thereby coded 1 for population size. All the African and American non-autonomous islands, five out of six of the Oceanian islands, and nine out of the eleven European have less than 300,000 inhabitants. Only among the Asian islands the ones that have more than 300,000 are in majority: five of the eight Asian islands have more than 300,000 inhabitants.

Table 13. Population Size – Absence of Autonomy

Mother country	Island	Population	Boolean Code
Bahamas	Abaco	131,700 (2000)	1
	Grand Bahama	46,994 (2000)	1
Cape Verde	Santo Antão	43,845 (2000)	1
	São Nicolau	13,665 (2000)	1
	São Vicente	51,277 (2000)	1
Colombia	San Andrés y Providencia	71,000 (1999)	1
Cuba	Isla de la Juventud	86,600 (2002)	1
Denmark	Bornholm	43,774 (2004)	1
Estonia	Hiiumaa ²	10,289 (2004)	1
	Saaremaa ²	35,356 (2004)	1
Greece	Crete	601,131 (2001)	0
	Ionian Islands	212,984 (2001)	1
	North Aegean Sea	162,526 (2001)	1
	South Aegean Sea	346,281 (2001)	0
Honduras	Islas de la Bahía	38,073 (2001)	1
Indonesia	Maluku	205,539 (2001)	1
	Maluku Utara	785,059 (2001)	0
	Nusa Tenggara Barat	4,009,261 (2000)	0
	Nusa Tenggara Timur	3,952,279 (2000)	0
Japan	Okinawa	1,339,000 (2001)	0
Maldives	Addu ¹	18,515 (2000)	1
	Huvadhu ¹	20,135 (2000)	1
Papua New Guinea	Manus	43,387 (2000)	1
	New Britain	404,641 (2000)	0
	New Ireland	118,350 (2000)	1
Philippines	Palawan ⁴	755,412 (2000)	0
Solomon Islands	Temotu	18,912 (1999)	1
Sweden	Gotland	57,381 (2003)	1
Tanzania	Mafia ³	40,557 (2002)	1
Tonga	Vava'u	15,715 (1996)	1
United Kingdom	Eilean Siar	26,200 (2002)	1
	Orkney Islands	19,210 (2002)	1
	Shetland Islands	21,940 (2002)	1
Vanuatu	Tafea ⁵	29,047 (1999)	1

¹. Statistical Yearbook of the Maldives (2004)². Europa World Book (2006)⁴. Philippines National Statistics Office (2006)³. Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics (2006)⁵. Vanuatu Statistics Office (2006)

There are two islands that have more than 200,000 inhabitants, but less than 300,000: the Ionian Islands and Maluku. Only one island has more than 300,000 but less than 400,000: South Aegean Sea in Greece. There are

three islands that have more than one million inhabitants, all in Asia: Nusa Tenggara Barat, Nusa Tenggara Timur, and Okinawa. Among the eight islands with more than 300,000 inhabitants, 5 are located in Asia, two in Europe and one in Oceania.

The result from the crosstab analysis shows that the number of cases that are not small is almost identical among the autonomous islands as among the non-autonomous (see table 14). There are 27 autonomous islands that are not small and 26 non-autonomous. It was argued that the size in terms of population of the island would be important in explaining autonomy, since it would be more controversial to grant autonomy to an island with a large number of inhabitants than to one with a small number.

Table 14. Crosstab of Autonomy and Population Size

		Population Size		Total	
		Absence	Presence		
Autonomy	Absence	Count	8	26	34
		Expected Count	9,3	24,7	34
	Presence	Count	12	27	39
		Expected Count	10,7	28,3	39
Total	Count	20	53	73	
	Expected Count	20	53	73	

Pearson Chi-Square: Value: 0.48; Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): 0.489

The test of significance shows that population size is not significant at the .05-level. In the table 14 we find that the result of the variable is almost identical to the expected result, and as a consequence thereof the value achieved in Pearson’s chi-square test is indeed very low.

Population size can not be used to explain the difference in autonomy. It remains to be seen if it is important as a part of a configuration. Let us now summarize the results of the geographical aspects.

4.4. Geographical Aspects – A Summary

As has been shown above, only one of the independent variables deriving from the geographical aspects of autonomy shows a clear pattern in explaining the difference in autonomy. Among the autonomous islands a majority showed the presence of distance to mainland, but so did a majority of the non-autonomous islands. The main difference between the two is that the autonomous islands are further away from their mother coun-

tries than the non-autonomous islands. None of the non-autonomous islands are 1,000 km or more away from their mother countries. Among the autonomous islands, 67% of the cases are further than 1,000 km away from the mainland, while 16% are more than 100, but less than 999 km away.

Among the non-autonomous islands 51% are more than 100 km away but less than 1,000 km. If the closest mainland would be defined as the closest domestic territory, 76% of the cases are 99.9 km or closer to domestic territory. If this principle would be used also on the autonomous islands, six cases would be closer than 99.9 km. The two Netherlands dependencies of Aruba and Netherlands Antilles are 67 km away from each other, and the US dependencies of Guam and Northern Mariana Islands are 80 km away from each other. In the case with Aruba and Netherlands Antilles the two used to be one. In 1986 Aruba broke away from Netherlands Antilles. In the case of Guam, the island is geographically a part of the Mariana Islands. Finally, the two US dependencies of Puerto Rico and US Virgin Islands are 64 km away from each other. In all other cases the distance between the autonomous island and the closest domestic territory is wider than 100,0 km.

Proximity to a foreign country seems not to explain the difference in autonomy. 70% of the autonomous islands and 86% of the non-autonomous are not proximity to a foreign country. If we would define this variable as close to a foreign territory, 59% of the autonomous islands and 20% of the non-autonomous islands would be close. If we would include all the islands that are closer to a foreign country than to its own mother country, 78% of the autonomous islands would be defined as close.

Population size seems not to be important in explaining the difference in autonomy, 73% of the autonomous and 74% of the non-autonomous have more than 300,000 inhabitants. If we would have defined small as less than one million inhabitants, 91% of both the autonomous and non-autonomous islands would have been defined as small.

5. Cultural Aspects

Cultural difference, in terms of language, religion and ethnicity, is considered as one of the most important factors in the literature on autonomy, but what exactly does the concept of culture mean? According to *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, culture is: "the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behaviour. Culture thus defined consists of language, ideas, beliefs, customs, taboos, codes, institutions, tools, techniques, works of arts, rituals, ceremonies and other related components" (*The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 3 1993: 784)

In his article on *Federalism and Autonomy*, Bernhardt (1981: 25-27) argues that autonomy often is a means to protect of language, ethnicity, and religion. By comparing ten autonomies, or plans for autonomy, he concludes that the special life of the minority needs to be secured from interference from the majority culture. Autonomy can therefore be seen as recognition of minorities and minority rights.

When it comes to autonomy in relation to islands, Anckar (1982: 158) points out that the geographical position of many islands tend to strengthen the solidarity between people with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. This solidarity seems to have its origin in cultural integration, i.e. the fellow feeling, fellowship, and the cultural homogeneity that develop over a long period of time, despite different origins. This also seems to be one major condition for the development of autonomy. Since the inhabitants on the island identify themselves so strongly with each other, they tend to dissociate themselves from the rest of the country, and thereby make greater demands for autonomy.

In their study on micro-states, Caldwell, Harrison, and Quiggin (1980:953-954) showed that 14% of the island micro-states were unsettled at the time of the European discovery. Furthermore, 85% of the island micro-states were predominantly Christians, 91% had a European language as official language, and 87% had a majority that spoke either a European or a Creole language. The authors conclude that most of the micro-states are culturally closer to Europe than to the closest indigenous people. It must be noted that among the 59 island micro-states that were included, 33 would not be considered as independent but more as autonomous territories.

In his study of mini-nationalisms, Snyder studies the smaller nationalisms, or regionalisms, that identify themselves as being a distinct people

from the majority group. Snyder argues that mini-nationalists often demand some form of autonomy. Some demand what Snyder refers to as semi-autonomy, i.e. partial self-government, others strive towards greater autonomy (defined as political independence inside the centralized nation-state) and others go for full independence (Snyder 1982: xv-xvii). The difference in culture between the majority and the mini-nationalism is thereby essential in Snyder's study.

Difference in culture is also a major condition of explanation in Safran's article on *Spatial and Functional Dimensions of Autonomy*. Safran (2000: 21-22) argues that minorities within a larger, ethnically homogeneous country more often achieves autonomy, than minorities in smaller, ethnically heterogeneous countries. This would explain why minorities in Georgia and Fiji have not been granted autonomy. Another explanation would be the strength of the state. A younger state would be less willing to grant autonomy, since that might threaten the unity of the state.

In most studies on autonomy and cultural difference, the operationalization of culture will include three indicators, language, religion and ethnicity. If any of these indicators occurs, then the island will be regarded as culturally different from mainland. As has been shown above, islanders often tend to develop a feeling of belongingness due to their isolated position on an island. This feeling of belongingness is often combined with a difference in culture from the mainland. The isolation of an island prevents the language, religion, and ethnicity to be affected by surrounding cultures and therefore will not change in the same way as the culture of the mainland. On the other hand the isolated position also makes the island affected by different cultures due to its isolation and size. On an island people with different ethnic background gets together and therefore the culture is often a mix of ideas, beliefs, and customs but also words from the different ethnic groups. This mix of people with a different ethnic background makes the island identity and therefore islanders often differ from the people in the mainland. Therefore, culture will be measured in terms of difference as regards language, religion, and ethnicity, in order to see whether or not any differences between the mainland and the island are found.

Influences on the language are often brought to island from the neighbouring mainland. The importance of language is emphasized in most literature on autonomy. Due to the isolated geographic position that islands enjoy, the language is not so much influenced by others, as is often the case with the mainland. Because of this circumstance, the language

that once was the same has today developed into two different languages. This could be one of the reasons why language could be one explanation as to why some islands have developed autonomy. For instance, the Vikings brought Old Norse to the Faeroe Islands from Norway and Denmark when it was discovered in the 9th century. Due to the isolated position of the islands, Old Norse has been better preserved in the Faeroese language than it has in mainland Denmark. What used to be one and the same language are today two different languages.

Religion is another condition that can be used to measure difference in culture. Religion was one of the first reasons why people in Europe were granted autonomy, as a means of religious freedom after the Thirty-Years'-War. Religion is often spread in waves. After the fall of the Roman Empire in the 6th century, the Arabs invaded Southern Europe and brought Islam with them. Today, traces of the Arabs and the era of the Caliphate in Cordoba are found in Portugal and Spain. The Arabs were fought back by the Christians, but still there are Muslim minorities in Europe, for instance in the Balkan countries of Bosnia and Albania. The difference in religion can be used as an explanation for the conflict on the island of Cyprus. On the northern part of the island, Muslims are in the majority, while on the southern part, Christians are in a majority. In 1974, the conflict led to the Turkish invasion of the northern part of the island and the proclamation of the Turkish state in northern Cyprus. The two divisions of the Christian church, first into Orthodox and Catholics, and then into Catholics and Protestants, have also caused conflicts, mainly the Thirty-Years'-War between Catholics and Protestants. Today this conflict still continues between Catholics and Protestants on Northern Ireland, even though the conflict is more complex.

Ethnic groups are defined as "a group differentiated from the main population of a community by racial or cultural background" (*The Oxford Encyclopaedic Dictionary* 1991: 488). This is a condition that has been, and indeed is, relevant in Europe today. The wars in former Yugoslavia were mainly wars between ethnic groups. In many of the European countries there are minority groups and in some countries there are or have been conflicts between the minority and the majority. In the Nordic countries, for instance, there are the Saami people who have been granted individual autonomy, as has already been discussed. The operationalization of cultural difference will be further discussed in chapter 4.

The figures that are shown under each of the individual islands as well as under each and every individual mainland reflect the situation of to-

day, while the autonomous islands should be measured at the time when they achieved autonomy. For some of the islands it is impossible to find figures, especially for Guernsey, Isle of Man, and Jersey, which all achieved autonomy during the Middle Ages, but also for some of the Caribbean and Pacific islands where the autonomy stretches out to the early 1920's, which makes it difficult to get reliable data on language, ethnicity, and religion. It must therefore be assumed that today's figures show the same pattern as the situation at the time of the autonomy. The colonisation of the islands took place before the islands achieved autonomy, and therefore the influence of European culture in terms of language and religion should already have affected the island at the time of autonomy. In some cases the indigenous language has died out after the island achieved autonomy. This must therefore be discussed under the individual islands. For the non-autonomous islands this is not a problem, since it is the situation today that is to be measured. Cultural difference will be operationalized through the concepts of language, religion, and ethnicity. Let us therefore continue with the definitions of these concepts.

5.1. The Cultural Indicators

5.1.1. Language

How do you distinguish a language from a dialect? Over the centuries linguists and philosophers have tried to establish a plain definition of the concept of language but have failed (Jansson 2002: 85). First it is necessary to distinguish dialect from accent. The latter refers only to pronunciation, while dialect denotes pronunciation as well as grammar and vocabulary. As for the difference between dialect and language there is a basic rule: If two people speak differently and cannot understand each other, then they speak two different languages. If they can understand each other, then they only speak two different dialects. This would imply that the Nordic languages, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish only are dialects of the same language, Scandinavian. However, the nationalist factor, i.e. the fact that the languages are spoken in three different countries, acknowledges them as three different languages. There are of course other examples of this phenomenon, for instance Croatian and Serbian. Before the Yugoslavian civil war the two languages were considered to be one, Serbo-Croatian. The split of Yugoslavia also split their common language. There are also examples of the opposite situation, where people cannot understand each other although they are speaking the same language, for instance the Sami

language in Scandinavia. Those who only speak one of the two dialects, North Sami or South Sami, can not understand the other dialect (Crystal 1997: 286-287).

On some islands, the language spoken by a major part of the population is not the same as the official language. For instance, on the British Virgin Islands, English is the only official language, even though the people on the islands speak English Virgin Island Creole, which is a language that has sprung up through a mix of local languages and English. This is also the case in many former colonies all around the world. In some countries English serves as a lingua franca in order for the people of the different parts of the country to be able to communicate with each other. In other cases, a pidgin has sprung up that serves as a lingua franca even though it is not naturally spoken by anyone in the country. In this context it could be worthwhile explaining the difference between a Pidgin and a Creole. Pidgin is commonly defined as a reduced number of codes, while Creole is considered to be an expanded version of these reduced codes. A pidgin is always a second language, based on one or more languages which enable communication within a country between people with different native tongue to communicate with each other. A Creole language is a Pidgin that has become the first language of a new generation of speakers (Lefebvre 2004: 5-6). Consequently, Creole will be considered to be a separate language, while Pidgin will not. Often the language of the colonial power, i.e. English, French, Portuguese, Spanish etc, serves as a lingua franca beside the pidgin or the Creole.

The focus in this study will be on the differences in language between the island and the mainland. Since language often is considered a bearer of the cultural heritage it is more important that it is a living language, i.e. a language that is used daily by a significant number of inhabitants on the island, not necessarily by a majority, but also by a significant minority. The main sources on languages are the *Atlas of World Languages*, published in 1994, and the online version of *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, edited by R.G. Gordon at the SIL International in Dallas, Texas. The CIA World Factbook of 2006 has also been used.

5.1.2. Religion

According to *The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (p. 988), religion is the "Belief in the existence of a God or Gods; esp. the belief that they cre-

ated the Universe and gave human beings a spiritual nature which continue after the death of the body”.

Religion will here be defined by the religious communit(y)ies that are found in the island region and on the mainland. Difference in this context implies both difference in terms of religion, but also difference in terms of different branches within a certain religion. The most obvious difference in religion is the one between the five world religions, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. If the mainland is mainly Christian and the autonomy is mainly Muslim, then the difference has been established. The difference in terms of branches within one of the world religions is also important to study. As was shown in the discussion on the independent variables, autonomy was first used in the Treaty of Westphalia when Catholics and Protestants were ensured autonomy when living in a society dominated by the others. Therefore difference between Catholicism, Protestantism and orthodoxies; between Sunni and Shiite; between Taoism and Zen etc, must be seen as equally important as the one between world religions. The main sources on religion used in the study are the CIA World Factbook of 2006 and Europa World Book 2006.

5.1.3. Ethnicity

The word ethnicity originates from ancient Greek, and etymologically it originates from the words “ethnos” and “ethnicos”, which means people and heathen. The concept has been used by social anthropologists since the 1950’s.

Eriksen (1993: 12-13) argues that ethnicity implies the relations between groups that define themselves, and are defined by others as culturally separate from other cultural groups. He points out that ethnicity is only functional in an interaction between two or more groups, thus it does not denote cultural characteristics within one group (Eriksen 1993: 47). On the island of Mauritius, there are four ethnic groups defined in the constitution: Indo-Mauritian, Creole, Sino-Mauritian, and Franco-Mauritian. There are seven major languages and three major religions: Hindu, Catholics, and Muslim. The Indo-Mauritians are considered to be an ethnic group but this group is also divided into Catholics and Muslims, and several of the Mauritian languages are spoken in this group. This is only one example of the fact that ethnicity is not only defined by language and religion, but also by the definition given to the group by surrounding groups (Eriksen 1993: 47-53). Benža (1997: 3) points out that the debate on ethnicity in

Europe has mostly been focused on Central and Eastern Europe, although ethnic minorities can be found all over Europe. Benža identifies 26 ethnic groups without any statehood, of which six are found on islands, Faeroese on the Faeroe Islands, Gaels on Eilean Siar, Corsicans on Corsica, Sardinians on Sardinia, Manx on the Isle of Man, and Greenlanders on Greenland (Benža 1997: 11).

The focus will be on the major ethnic groups on the island and on the mainland, i.e. if ethnicity, expressed as major ethnic groups, differs between the major ethnic group on the mainland and the major ethnic group on the island. The main sources on ethnicity are the CIA World Factbook of 2006, Statesman's Yearbook 2006, and Europa World Book of 2006.

Cultural difference is operationalized so that if one of the indicators exists then the island will be coded as different from the mainland. The variable will not be divided into separate groups, due to the difficulty to evaluate the different indicators. If we would have chosen to grade the indicators in, for example, four groups, (one where none of the indicators are found, one with one indicator one with two and one with three) we would first and foremost face the problem of deciding which of the three indicators that is most important or if they all are equally important. If we look at the islands in this study, ethnicity, and language follow each other in most of the cases. It would only be religion that separates them from each other. Among the islands, as we will see, there are only three that differ in religion, of which two are within the same world religion (Catholic Church and Protestantism). To grade the island would therefore not contribute to an explanation of the difference in autonomy. Cultural difference will therefore be used as a dichotomized variable.

5.2. Cultural Difference

Difference in culture in terms of language, religion and ethnicity are believed to be one of the major explanations autonomy. To be considered as different, the island needs to show difference in one of these three indicators, i.e. if the people on the island speak a different language, but are of the same ethnic group and belief as the people on the mainland, the island will be coded as culturally different. Below, the islands will be discussed in relation to their mother country, starting with The Bahamas.

Bahamas: Abaco, Grand Bahama

The Bahamas were first discovered by the Europeans when Columbus arrived on his first voyage to what he believed was India in 1492, and the first settlers arrived in 1649 from Britain. Until the independence in 1973, the islands were a British colony and thereby very much influenced by the British way of life. At the time of the arrival of Columbus, the islands were inhabited by the Lucayans, an ethnic group closely related to the Arawak Indians. Due to diseases brought to the islands by the Europeans, the Lucayans were decimated and finally wiped out by the after-effects of the conquest (Sullivan 89: 521-522).

On the Bahamas, English is the official language, even though it is only spoken by approximately 20% of the islanders. The most common language is Bahamas Creole English that is closely related to Sea Islands Creole and is spoken by 80% of the population. There are no local variations on the islands and the only domestic language, Taino, was extinct together with its speakers, the Lucayans, after the arrival of the Europeans (Gordon 2005: Bahamas).

As for ethnicity and religion there are no local variations among the islands. There are three major ethnic groups on the Bahamas: 85% are black, for the most part descendants from slaves imported to the island from North Africa; 12% are white; and 3% are Asian and Hispanic. As for religion, the inhabitants are predominantly Christians, dominated by the Anglican, Baptist, and Roman Catholic churches (CIA; Sullivan 1989: 526-527). Since there are only minor differences between Abaco and Grand Bahama and the other islands of the Bahamas, no difference in culture has been established between the islands and the mainland.

Cape Verde: Santo Antão, São Nicolau, São Vicente

The Cape Verde Islands were uninhabited at the time of the arrival of the Europeans in the mid 15th century. Portuguese is the official language in Cape Verde, although more than 90% of the population speaks Kabuverdianu, which is a Portuguese-based Creole language. Local dialects are spoken in the Sotavento island group, Sotavento dialect, and in the Barlavento island group, Barlavento dialect. Since the islands were uninhabited when the Portuguese colonized them, there are no native language on the islands and no indigenous people, and consequently the differences between the islands amount to dialectal differences only (Mackenzie 1994: 250; Gordon 2005: Cape Verde).

Furthermore, there are no differences in ethnicity or religion established between the islands and the mainland: 71% of the inhabitants are Creole; 28% are African; and 1% is European. Christianity is the dominant religion on the island, dominated by Roman Catholics and Protestants (CIA). Consequently, no major difference in culture between the islands Santo Antão, São Nicolau, and São Vicente and the Cape Verde mainland has been established.

Colombia: San Andres y Providencia

In Colombia, the official language is Spanish, and although there are 80 living languages in the country Spanish is spoken by more than 99% of the population. On the islands of San Andrés y Providencia, the native islanders have maintained their English language, Islander Creole English, and there are around 18,000 speakers on the islands today (Gordon 2005: Colombia). The native islanders have also maintained their protestant belief and they regard themselves as a distinct group from mainland residents (Bagley 1990: 80).

However, during the last decades settlers from mainland Colombia have become the majority on the islands, while the native islanders today is a small but distinct minority that enjoys the right of education on their mother tongue (Decker and Keener 2001: 6). The native islanders constitute today only approximately 25% of the population on the islands. Nevertheless, since 25% of the population on the islands is English speaking Protestants, but only around 1% on the mainland, the islands must be regarded as different in culture.

Cuba: Isla de la Juventud

On Cuba, Spanish is the official and most dominant language and there are no major differences between the different parts of the country, including Isla de la Juventud (Gordon 2005: Cuba). As for ethnicity, 51% are considered mulatto; 37% white; 11% black; and 1% Chinese (CIA). Even though the island is considered a non-religious country as a consequence of the official Marxist-Leninist ideology of the regime, the Roman Catholic Church attracts many believers on the island religion (Osterling 1987: 95-98). However, there are no major differences in culture established between Isla de la Juventud and the Cuban mainland.

Denmark: Bornholm, Faeroe Islands, Greenland

Denmark is almost exclusively a monolingual and an ethnically homogeneous country. Danish is the single dominant language in the country and it is spoken by 99% of the population. The dominant ethnic group is Scandinavians and 95% are Evangelical Lutherans and members of the Danish Church, while 2% are Muslims and 3% members of other Christian congregations. There are Inuit minorities speaking Greenlandic, mainly in Copenhagen, and there is also Germans along the German border (Mackenzie 1994: 251).

Bornholm constitutes the eastern part of the Danish kingdom, and during the middle ages the island formed a part of the Eastern province of Denmark. In 1658 the province was conquered by Sweden and in 1660 the province was divided when the island was regained by Denmark. The inhabitants are of Scandinavian origin and the dialect, Scanian, constitutes the remaining part of the eastern dialect, closely related to the Swedish dialects in Scania, Blekinge and Halland (Rehling 1965: 213; Gordon 2005: Denmark). The Evangelical Lutheran Church is the dominant religion and the island is a part of the diocese of Copenhagen (Den danske folkekirke 2006).

Danish also serves as an official language in the Faeroe Islands and Greenland, although it is not the mother tongue of the majority of the population. The Faeroe Islands were colonized during the 9th century, mainly by the Vikings from Scandinavia, but also by the Celts, the Irish and the Scots from the British Isles. Celtic and Gaelic influenced the Nordic language from Scandinavia and the language, due to the isolation of the islands, has stayed fairly intact since then (Poulsen 1968: 9-10). Faeroese is a Western Nordic language and closely related to Icelandic, and is spoken by all natives although Danish is compulsory in school. According to the Act of Autonomy Faeroese is the official language of the islands but all official documents should also be translated into Danish (Poulsen 1997: 178-179). The inhabitants are Evangelical Lutherans.

Greenland was colonized by Eskimos from North America about 4,000 years ago and the island was first discovered by the Vikings during the 10th century and was made a part of the Norwegian Kingdom in 1261. The language, Greenlandic, is an East Inuit language and is spoken by more than 85% of the population (Dahl 1986: 13-45; Lidegaard 2001: 20-34; Gordon 2005: Greenland). The dominant religion on the island is the Evangelical Lutheran.

To sum up, a major difference in culture has been established between the Faeroe Islands and mainland Denmark, as well as between Greenland and the Danish mainland. However, no major difference exists between Bornholm and the mainland.

Estonia: Hiiumaa, Saaremaa

In Estonia, Estonian is the official language, although there are large minorities in the eastern part of the country that have Russian as their mother tongue (Comrie 1994: 223). The languages spoken on Hiiumaa and Saaremaa are dialects of Estonian, often referred to as the insular dialects, and are categorized as a part of the Northern Estonian dialects. The dialects are closely related to the dialects spoken in the Tallinn area, and have to some extent been influenced by Swedish due to the Swedish occupation during the 16th and 17th centuries and the Swedish populations on the islands before 1781. In Hiiumaa there is still a small population of ethnic Swedes but the majority today speaks Estonian (Lagman 1971: 20-26).

The ethnic composition of Estonia shows that 67.9% are considered to be Estonians, 25.6% Russians, and 2.1% Ukrainians. There are also minorities of Belarusians, Finns, and Swedes in the country. As for religion, 13.6% are Evangelical Lutherans, 12.8% are Orthodox, 34.1% are considered as unaffiliated while the rest of the population are categorized as unspecified, other Christians or none (CIA). Even though there are smaller differences established in culture between Saaremaa, Hiiumaa and the Estonian mainland, the difference cannot be determined to be a major one.

Finland: Åland Islands

In Finland, both Finnish and Swedish serve as official languages. The major ethnic group is the Finns and Finnish is the mother tongue of more than 90% of the population, while the Swedes only constitute 6% of the population. More than 84.2% of the population is Lutherans, while 2.2% are members of other Christian congregations, and 13.5% are considered to have no official religion (CIA).

As for language and ethnicity the figures for the Åland Islands are almost the opposite: 93% of the population is Swedes, while 5% are Finns. As for religion, more than 90% are Lutherans while 10% are considered to belong to other Christian congregations or to be without official religion. The island constitutes a part of the Swedish speaking diocese of Borgå (Borgå stift 2006). The islands came under Swedish sovereignty during the 12th century, and since then, the language of the Islands has been Swedish.

In fact one of the main tasks for the governing body of Åland is to preserve and develop the Swedish culture on the islands (Lindh 1984: 19-21). Among linguists there are different opinions about whether Ålandish is derived from Finno-Swedish, or from dialects spoken in Sweden. The eastern islands in Åland seem to have close connections with Finno-Swedish while the western Ålandish seems to be more closely related to dialects in Sweden (Solstrand 1988: 67-69). Rönkä (1988: 87-88) even argues that Ålandish and Finno-Swedish have their origins in different Swedish dialects.

Due to the difference in language between Finno-Swedish and Finnish and the protection of the Swedish language and culture on the islands pointed out in the Act of Autonomy for the islands, language has had a great impact on the development of autonomy for the islands, and thereby a major difference in culture between the islands and mainland Finland must be considered as established.

France: Corsica, French Polynesia, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Mayotte, New Caledonia, Wallis et Futuna

In France, French is the dominant and the only official language, although there are large minorities, especially in the northern and southern parts of the country, Breton in Bretagne and Provençal (Occetan). The latter one is today considered as a dialect of standard French. There are also large minorities of Italian, Arabic and Kabyle speaking people in France (Mackenzie 1994: 259). The ethnic group of France is of Celtic and Latin origin, but there are Teutonic, Slavic, North African, Indochinese, and Basque minorities in the country. The major religion is Christianity and the Roman Catholic Church dominates with 83-88% of the population (CIA).

Corsica has been a part of France since 1768 but the majority of the population is of Italian or Greek origin. The language, Corsican, is closely related to Sardinian, and it has been recognized by the French government as a separate language. According to a survey in 1982, 86% of the inhabitants of Corsican origin regularly spoke the language. However, as in the rest of France, French is the only official language. As for religion, the Roman Catholic Church is the dominant Christian variety on the island (Daftary 2000: 10-12).

In all, the French dependencies French is used as an official language and often serves as lingua franca on the islands, although on all the islands the number of native speakers is low. In French Polynesia, Tahitian

serves as lingua franca and it is also growing in importance outside of the Society Islands to the Austral Islands and the Tuamotuan Archipelago. There are also a Pidginized form of Tahitian, called Parau Tinito, that is used between the Tahitians and the Chinese (Wurm 1994: 94). The major ethnic groups are Polynesian 78%, Chinese 12%, and French 10%. The Roman Catholic Church embraces some 86% of the population (CIA).

In Guadeloupe and Martinique, together with French, Creole French (Guadeloupean Creole French and Martiniquan Creole French) is the most commonly used language on the islands (Gordon 2005: Guadeloupe). In Guadeloupe and Martinique, the major ethnic group is black or mulatto, and embraces 90% of the population, and the major religion is the Roman Catholic Church (CIA).

In Mayotte, Shimaore, also called Mahorian, a dialect of Swahili that is also spoken in the rest of the Comoros Islands, is spoken by more than 70% of the population (Asher 1994: 208). The inhabitants are mainly Comorian, and 97% are Muslims (CIA). In Réunion, French serves as the official language, although the most spoken language among the inhabitants is Réunion Creole French, a language that also serves as lingua franca (Asher 1994: 208). The major ethnic groups are Europeans and Africans, and the major religion is Roman Catholicism (CIA).

In New Caledonia there are many local languages, many with only local significance. Ajië (Wailu), a Melanesian language, has been adopted as church lingua franca, but used also elsewhere, together with French (Wurm 1994: 94). The major ethnic groups are Melanesians 42% and Europeans 37%. As for religion, 54% are Protestants and 30% are Roman Catholics (CIA). In the islands of Wallis et Futuna, Wallisian and Futuna-Aniwa are the most used languages among the population. However, French serves as the lingua franca and the official language of the islands (Wurm 1994: 99-100). The inhabitants are Polynesians and 99% are Roman Catholics (CIA).

To summarize, all eight French islands show major differences in language and ethnicity, while only Mayotte (Muslims) and New Caledonia (Protestants) show a major difference in religion. Consequently, major cultural differences between the islands and the French mainland have been established.

Greece: Crete, Ionian Islands, North Aegean Sea, South Aegean Sea

In Greece, Greek is the most dominant language, spoken by more than 90% of the population, and it is also the only official language. There are

smaller minority groups in the north and east of the country that speak Bulgarian, Macedonian, Albanian and Turkish and some other eight languages (Mackenzie 1994: 248; Gordon 2005: Greece).

The Greek language has been known for more than 3000 years and it may be divided chronologically into Ancient Greek and Modern Greek. Modern Greek dialects can be divided into four categories, central dialects spoken in the mainland, (1) Western Greek spoken in what used to be the Greek colonies on Sicily and in Southern Italy, (2) the dialects in south and southeast spoken mainly on Crete, (3) the Dodecanese islands and Cyprus and finally (4) Eastern Greek spoken mainly in Thrace (Horrocks 1997: 299-315). The language spoken in the Greek island regions included in this study must be classified as dialects of Greek. In the two Aegean Sea regions, Eastern and Southern dialects are dominant. The dialect spoken on Crete is a part of the south and southeast dialects, while the dialect spoken on the Ionian Islands is closely related to the central dialects.

As for ethnicity, 98% are considered to be Greek, while 2% are of other origin. The Orthodox Church embraces 98% of the population, while 2% are Muslims or members of other congregations (CIA). To summarize, there are no major cultural differences established between the Greek islands and the Greek mainland.

Honduras: Islas de la Bahía

In Honduras, Spanish is the single official language and also the dominant language in the country. In addition to Spanish, there are also indigenous groups speaking Mískito, mainly in the north of the country and on the border to Belize and Guatemala, and Sumo Tawahka in the south of the country, on the border to Nicaragua (Gordon 2005: Honduras). The major ethnic group is the mestizo (mixed Amerindian and European), which constitutes 90% of the population. Other groups are Amerindian that constitutes 7% of the population, black 2%, and white 1%. The major religion is Roman Catholicism that embraces 97% of the Hondurans, while 3% are Protestants (CIA).

On the Bay Islands, English, or Bay Islands English, is the dominant language. Among the approximately 31,000 English speakers in Honduras, 22,000 live on the Bay Islands (Gordon 2005: Honduras). The Bay Islanders are considered as black and the dominant religion on the islands is Protestantism (Echeverri-Gent 1995: 100). As concerns the cultural factor, the Bay Islands must be coded as different from mainland.

Indonesia: Maluku, Maluku utara, Nusa Tenggara Barat, and Nusa Tenggara Timur

Indonesia is an ethnically heterogeneous society, with four major ethnic groups and many sub-groups on the islands that have their own languages. The main groups are Javanese 45%, Sundanese 14%, Madurese 7.5%, coastal Malays 7.5%, and other groups 26% (CIA). Linguistically, the country can be divided into two different parts. In eastern Indonesia there are many languages used with only local significance, while in western Indonesia there are only a few languages such as Javanese and Madurese, but these too have only local significance. The official language, Indonesian, is based on standard Malay and was chosen long before the independence as the national lingua franca. It was chosen since it was not the mother tongue of anyone there, which was presumed to lessen the language rivalries and the danger of language-based separation movements. In Indonesia, the Austronesian languages dominate, together with Papuan languages. In the Lesser Sunda Islands, the Austronesian languages dominate and there are more than 30 languages spoken on the islands. There are also some Papuan languages spoken on the islands of Pantar and Alor in Nusa Tenggara Timur. On the Maluku, as in the rest of Indonesia, the Austronesian languages dominate, but there are also some Papuan languages spoken in the Maluku Utara province (Wurm 1994: 94-95; 119-124).

As for religion, 88% of the Indonesians are Muslims, 5% are Protestants, 3% are Roman Catholics, 2% are Hindu, and 1% are Buddhists (CIA). The Christians are mainly found on the islands of Sumatra, Maluku, Tengah, Sulawesi, and on Papua, while the Hindus are almost exclusively found on the island of Bali (Kuipers 1993: 90-92).

To sum up the results on the Indonesian islands, Indonesia must be considered a culturally heterogeneous society, and the cultural differences between the Indonesian islands of Maluku, Maluku Utara, Nusa Tenggara Barat, and Nusa Tenggara Timur, and the Indonesian mainland are considerable, even though they are not unique in the Indonesian society.

Italy: Sardinia and Sicily

In Italy, Italian is the official language and it is spoken by a large majority (95%) of the population, but there are also some 31 other languages and major dialects spoken in the country. The dialectal diversity of Italy is considerable, but since the unification in 1861 the importance of the dialects has declined in favour of standard Italian (Mackenzie 1994: 249). The

dominant ethnic group is the Italians and the Roman Catholic Church is the predominant religion, even though there are smaller Protestant and Jewish communities and a growing Muslim immigrant community in the country.

On Sardinia and Sicily, the main language is Italian, but on Sardinia around 80% of the Sardinians are bilingual and speak both Italian and the local language, Sardinian, also called *Sardu*. Approximately 8% of the population only speaks Sardinian. Sardinian is a Roman language and it is the one most similar to Vulgar Latin of all the Roman languages, but it has no legal or official status on Sardinia (Crystal 1992: 343). However, calls for linguistic autonomy have made the island government recognise the equality of Sardinian along with Italian and the policy of bilingualism on official matters has been adopted. Some linguists argue that the situation is the same on Sicily and that Sicilian derives directly from Latin and is only called a dialect for political reasons. Attempts to suppress and eliminate the dialect or languages of Italy have been made by politicians and even if the attempts were not successful the numbers of dialects have decreased due to improved communications, television and higher education. Sicilian is sometimes considered to be a separate language, but more often considered to be a dialect of Italian (Privitera 1998: i-ii). The Roman Catholic Church is the dominant religion on both of the islands. A major difference in culture has been established between the Italian mainland and Sardinia, while there is no difference between mainland and Sicily.

Japan: Okinawa

Japan is essentially a monolingual country and Japanese is spoken by more than 95% of the population. It is also almost a monoethnic country, since 99% are considered as Japanese. As for religion, 84% are considered as Shinto or Buddhist and 16% as others (CIA).

In terms of ethnicity and religion, there are no major differences between Okinawa and mainland Japan, but when it comes to language, some linguists argue that the three Okinawan dialects should be considered as different languages in relation to Japanese (Gordon 2005: Japan). During the late 19th century some linguists regarded Ryukyuan as a sister language to both Japanese and Korean. However, today the two Ryukyuan dialects of Amami-Okinawan in the north and the Miyako-Yucyama in the south are believed to be far more transparent to Japanese than Korean. Most linguists and Japanese dialectologists therefore regard Ryukyuan, or Okinawa as it is also called, as a dialect of Japanese, since

the two not only show systematic similarities in syntactic and morphological aspects, but they also show systematic sound correspondence (Shibatani 1990: 189-191). Since Okinawan today is considered a dialect of Japanese, no major cultural differences between Okinawa and mainland Japan have been established.

Maldives: Addu, Huvadhu

The Maldives is essentially a monolingual state and Maldivian (Dhivehi), an Indo-Aryan language closely related to Singalese, is the official language of the country. There is also a Hindu-speaking minority living in the Male Atoll (Asher 1994: 208). The dialectal differences between the atolls may in some cases be substantial, and in some cases they may not be mutually intelligible with each other, as is the case with the dialect of the Addu atoll. However, it is still not considered to be a separate language (Gordon 2005: Maldives).

As for ethnicity and religion, the inhabitants on the islands are regarded as South Indians, Sinhalese, and Arabs, and the population is predominantly made up of Sunni Muslims. Consequently, no cultural difference has been established between Addu and Huvadhu and the Maldives mainland.

Mauritius: Rodrigues

Mauritius is often called *the rainbow state*, due to the varied ethnical background of its inhabitants. The island was uninhabited at the arrival of the Europeans in the 16th century and the inhabitants are descendants from European settlers and workers and slaves from the African mainland, from India and from China. The official language of the island is English (spoken by less than 1% of the population), although Mauritius Creole French, also called Morisyen, is the largest language and serves as a lingua franca. It is spoken by approximately 80.5% of the population, while Bhojpuri is spoken by 12.1% and French by 3.4%. The major ethnic groups are Indo-Mauritian 68%, Creole 27%, and Sino-Mauritian 3%. Hindu is the largest religion embracing 48% of the population, while 23.6% are Roman Catholics, 16.6% are Muslims, and 13% are considered as others (Asher 1994: 208).

On the island of Rodrigues, the major ethnic group is the Creole French and consequently the local dialect of Morisyen, Rodrigues Creole, is the most used language even though there are smaller groups speaking Bhojpuri, Hindu and Tamil. The Catholic Church embraces 98% of the popula-

tion on the island. Due to the difference in ethnic composition and religious affinity, the island of Rodrigues must be culturally different in relation to mainland Mauritius.

Netherlands: Aruba, Netherlands Antilles

In the Netherlands, Dutch is the single official language, spoken by 75% of the population. However, there are smaller minorities in the northwest province of Friesland that speak Frisian and some other twelve languages or dialects. There are also large groups of immigrants that speak Turkish and Arabic (Mackenzie 1994: 250; Gordon 2005: Netherlands). As for ethnicity, 83% are ethnically Dutch and 13% considered as others. Roman Catholicism is the largest religion and it embraces 31% of the population, while 20% are members of different protestant congregations and 5.5% are Muslims, while 41% are not members of any religious congregation (CIA).

In Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles, Dutch serves as an official language, although spoken only by smaller minorities on the islands, 7% on Aruba and 1.8% on the Netherlands Antilles. The predominant language on both the Netherlands islands is Papiamentu, a Creole language. On Aruba 80% of the population are mixed white/Caribbean Amerindian, while on the Netherlands Antilles, 85% are mixed black. As concerns religion, the Roman Catholic Church embraces 82% of the Aruba population and 72% of the population on the Netherlands Antilles (CIA). Consequently, both the Netherlands islands show major differences in culture in relation to the mainland.

New Zealand: Cook Islands

On New Zealand, English is the official language, and the overall most used language. Other important languages are New Zealand Maori, a Polynesian language used by the Maori minority on the islands. The major ethnic group on New Zealand is the European, which makes up 69.8% of the population, while only 7.9% are Maori. Christianity is the predominant religion and on New Zealand 14.9% of the population is Anglicans, 12.4% Roman Catholics, and 29% are members of other Christian congregations, while 42% are considered as unspecified or without any official religion (CIA).

On the Cook Islands, English is also the most commonly used language and it serves as an official language on the islands. Rarotongan, or Cook Islands Maori, is used by the indigenous people on the islands and it is spoken by 75% of the population (Wurm 1994: 94; 100; Gordon 2005: Cook

Islands) On the Cook Islands, 87.7% are Cook Island Maori (Polynesians). Christianity dominates on the islands, 55.9% are members of the Cook Islands Christian Church, 16.8% are Roman Catholics, while 16.7% are members of other Christian congregations and only 5% considered as others or none (CIA). As has been shown, major differences in culture between the Cook Islands and the New Zealand mainland have been established.

Papua New Guinea: Bougainville, Manus, New Britain, New Ireland

Papua New Guinea is an ethnically heterogeneous society and there are more than 500-800 indigenous languages spoken, most of which have only local significance. Enga, Wahgi, Kuman, Hagen, have some function as oral lingua franca but Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu (or Police Mutu) are the two most widely spread. Hiri Motu is a pidginized language first used by the police force in Port Moresby. Tok Pisin is the largest and unofficially referred to as the local language, with about two million speakers. English-based pidgin is used in the Parliament debates and news-papers while English is regarded as more of an elite language (Wurm 1994: 94). The inhabitants of Papua New Guinea are of Melanesian, Papuan, Negrito, Micronesian, and Polynesian origin and the Roman Catholic Church embraces 22% of the population, 44% are members of different Protestant congregations, and indigenous beliefs embrace 34% (CIA)

On the island of New Britain, the Austronesian languages dominate, although there are smaller communities in the north-eastern part of the island, where Papuan languages are spoken. In total, there are more than 30 languages spoken on the island. On New Ireland there are around 15 different languages spoken, all Austronesian languages and in the island of Manus, 25 different types of Manus languages are spoken. As for religion, there are no major difference between the islands and mainland Papua. Finally on Bougainville, Bougainville languages, a form of Austronesian language, and Yle-Solomon languages, a Papuan language, dominates (Wurm 1994:101-3). As for religion there are no major difference between the islands and mainland Papua.

Due to the ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous character of the country, a cultural difference has been established. The Papuan islands of Bougainville, Manus, New Britain and New Ireland and the Papuan mainland are in many respects clearly distinguished from the Papuan mainland.

Philippines: Muslim Mindanao, Palawan

The Philippines is another ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous country and the main ethnic groups are the Tagalog with 28.1% of the population, the Cebuano with 13.1%, the Ilocano with 9%, the Bisaya/Binisaya with 7.6%, the Hiligaynon Ilonggo 7.5%, the Bikol 6%, and the Waray with 3.4% of the population. The remaining 25.3% of the population are other ethnical groups (CIA). On the Philippines, there are 171 languages spoken, all Austronesian languages (Gordon 2005: Philippines). Ten languages have not only local significance. Tagalog, used by media, is the base of Filipino and it is spoken and understood by around 50%. Cebuano, mainly spoken on the central Philippines and Mindanao, Ilokano, spoken on the north of Luzon, and Miligaynon, on the central to the southern Philippines (Wurm 1994: 94-95) As for religion, 80.9% are Roman Catholics, other Christian churches embrace 11.6% of the population, while 5% are Muslims (CIA).

On the Palawan Island, the Palawan language, a Meso-Philippine language, dominates. In the region of Tawi-Tawi, the Sama language dominates, while Balangingi, Subanen, Tausug, and Yakan, all Austronesian languages, dominate on the Sulu islands (Wurm 1994: 120-121; Gordon 2005: Philippines). As for religion, the southern parts of the country, (i.e. southern and western Mindanao, the Sulu archipelago, Tawi-Tawi, and southern Palawan), are predominantly Muslim (Hunt 1993: 81-82). Consequently, there are major cultural differences established between Palawan Island and Muslim Mindanao on the one hand, and the Philippine mainland on the other.

Portugal: Azores, Madeira

Portugal is essentially a monolingual country, and Portuguese is spoken by more than 95% of the population (Gordon 2005: Portugal). Standard Portuguese is mainly based on the dialects spoken around Lisbon (Mackenzie 1994: 259). The Roman Catholic Church embraces 94% of the population, but there are also some minor Protestant congregations in the country. The majority of the population consists of what is called a homogeneous Mediterranean stock, while less than 5% are immigrants from the former colonies (CIA).

The inhabitants of the Azores and Madeira are mainly of Portuguese origin and the languages spoken are dialects of Portuguese with influences from Flemish, English, and African languages. There are however nationalists who emphasize the difference between mainland Portuguese

and Azorean and Madeiran and they argue that they must be considered as different languages. However, linguists mainly contend that the two are dialects of Portuguese (Dunn 1930: 81-82; Amaral 1992-b: 16). As for religion, the Roman Catholic Church dominates in the two island regions. No major cultural difference has been established as concerns the islands, the Azores and Madeira vis-à-vis the Portuguese mainland.

Solomon Islands: Temotu

On the Solomon Islands, Solomon Pidgin and English both serve as lingua franca. There are also other lingua franca, which mainly have been used as missionary and church languages: Babatana on Choisful, Roviana and Marovo on New Georgia, Gari on Guadalcanal. Most of the 70 local languages originate from Austronesian languages, but they have only local significance (Wurm 1994: 94). The people of the Solomon Islands are mainly Melanesians, 94.5% of the population. Christianity is the major religion with 97% of the population, divided between Church of Melanesia 32.8%, Roman Catholic 19%, South Seas Evangelical 17%, Seventh Day Adventist 11.2%, United Church 10.3%, and other Christian varieties 8.8% (CIA).

On Temotu, Santa Cruz and Nanggu languages are spoken. They both belong to the Reefs-Santa Cruz language group, whose origins are disputed among linguists. Nonetheless, whether or not it is of Austronesian or Papuan origin, it is strongly influenced by Austronesian languages (Wurm 1994: 102). Due to the linguistic difference between Temotu and mainland Solomon Islands, a cultural difference has been established.

South Korea: Jeju Island

South Korea is a monolingual country and Korean is the mother tongue of 99.9% of the population, spread all over the Korean peninsula. There are six dialects of Korean, and the Jeju Island dialect is one of them. It is often argued that one of the major dialect boundaries in Korea is found between the mainland and the Jeju Island (Bradley 1994: 183-184). Except for 20,000 Japanese immigrants, the Jeju Island inhabitants are all of Korean origin. As for religion, 46% are of no affiliation, 26% are Christians, and 26% are Buddhists, equally spread over the country (CIA). No cultural difference has been established between the Korean mainland and the island of Jeju Island.

Spain: Balearic Islands, Canary Islands

In Spain, Spanish, or Castellano, serves as the official language and it is spoken by 70% of the population. It derives from Vulgar Latin and is the language that was spoken in the central districts of the Castilian in the Reconquest of Spain from Islam. In three autonomous regions: Catalonia, the Balears and Valencia, Catalan serves as the official languages together with Castilian. Catalan is only spoken by a total of 15% of the population (Mackenzie 1994: 249-250; Gordon 2005: Spain). As for ethnicity and religion, the population of Spain is considered as a composite of the Mediterranean stock and Nordic types. 94% of the population is considered as Roman Catholics and 6% as others (CIA).

The Balearic Islands have been influenced by Greeks, Romans, Jews, and Muslims. In the 13th century the islands were invaded from Aragon and made a part of the Aragon Kingdom. In 1469, Aragon merged with Castile to the kingdom of Spain through the marriage between Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castile (Kern 1995: 91-92). The language spoken on the Balearic Islands is Catalan, a separate Roman language that also is spoken in Catalonia and Valencia. The islands could therefore be described as a part of the Catalan speaking region of Spain. The dialect spoken on the island is called Balearic, or Insular Catalan, and varies from island to island. There is a difference between Mallorqui, Menorqui, and Eivissenc. The dialect is considered a sub-dialect of Catalan and close to the dialect that is spoken in Valencia (Penny 1991: 14-15; Kern 1995: 96; Gordon 2005: Spain). As for religion, the majority on the Balearic Islands is considered to be Roman Catholics.

The Canary Islands were colonized early on by Berbers and Guanches from the African mainland and Spanish colonisation did not start until the 15th century (Kern 1995: 124). The old Guanches' language was used until the 18th century but then only among the Guanches themselves. However today some words in the Canary Island dialect originate from the old Berber-related tongue (Mercer 1980: 253-254) The Canary Islands were incorporated under the crown of Castile during the 15th century and contacts with the mainland of Spain were mainly taken from Andalusian ports, and therefore the Canaries' dialect is regarded as a sub-dialect of Andalusia. Due to its position as a staging post on the route to America, American Spanish has also influenced the Canaries' (Penny 1991: 17-18). As for ethnicity and religion, there are only minor differences between the islands and mainland Spain.

To sum up the Spanish islands, due to the Catalan language spoken in the Balearic Islands and the fact that 13% of the Catalan speakers are found on the islands, a major cultural difference must be considered to be established between the Spanish mainland and the Balearic Islands, while no major differences between the Canary Islands and mainland Spain is to be found.

Sweden: Gotland

Sweden is essentially a monolingual country and more than 90% of the population has Swedish as their mother tongue. There are also minority groups in the north of Sweden that speaks different dialects of Finnish and Sami (Mackenzie 1994: 251). The indigenous population embraces Swedes but there are also Finnish and Sami minorities. There are also immigrant groups of Finns, Yugoslavs, Danes, Norwegians, Greeks, and Turks etc. The Lutheran Church embraces 87% of the population, and there are congregations of Roman Catholics, Orthodox, Baptists, Muslims, Jews, and Buddhists (CIA).

Gotland has been a part of Sweden since 1654 when the island was conquered from the Danes. The language spoken on the island is a dialect of Swedish called Gutemålet. The dialect originates from Old Norse, but it was early separated from that influence and today Gutemålet is considered more like a twin dialect to the dialects in the mainland Sweden. This is often explained by the varied history of the island. First Gotland was a financial centre with high status and therefore it was not necessary for the inhabitants to change their language. After the Danish occupation during the 14th century, the island was isolated with a low status, and there were few possibilities for the language to be influenced by mainland dialects. Due to the German and Danish influence on the island during the Middle Ages, the dialect has many words borrowed from Danish and Low German (Pamp 1978: 76-78). As for ethnicity there are no major difference between the island and the mainland and the island constitutes an own diocese within the Swedish Church. Consequently, no major cultural difference has been established between Gotland and mainland Sweden.

Tanzania: Mafia, Zanzibar

In Tanzania, Swahili, a Bantu language, and English serve as official languages, although there are more than 70 languages spoken in the country. Swahili, mainly as the dialect spoken around Dar es Salaam, more and more becomes the national language or lingua franca of Tanzania, even

though it is only the mother tongue of approximately 2% of the population (Wald 1994: 291; Gordon 2005: Tanzania). The linguistic differences between the different parts of the country are substantial. Although a majority is speaking Bantu languages, there are more than 60 different languages and dialects of Bantu spoken in Tanzania. In Zanzibar Unguja, Tumbatu, Mackundushi and Pemba are spoken, all dialects closely related to Swahili and to a few of the Bantu languages spoken on the mainland (Wald 1994: 297). In Tanzania 99% of the population is native-Africans, 35% of them are Muslims, 30% Christians, and 35% of indigenous beliefs (CIA).

On the island of Zanzibar, Swahili, or Kiunguja as the local Zanzibar Swahili is called, is the predominant language, but Arabic is also widely spoken. The inhabitants are mainly of Arab and mixed Arab and native-African origins. The major religion is Islam, which embraces more than 99% of the population (CIA).

The Mafia Island has a fairly heterogeneous population and it appears to never have produced an independent culture. During the medieval time it was ruled by Kilwa and later by the Busaidi Sultans in Zanzibar and in 1890 it was made a part of German East Africa, later known as the British colony of Tanganyika. During the Zanzibar time many Arabs settled on the island while the original settlers, the Mbwere, were forced to move farther north on the island. The major language in Mafia is Swahili and the major religion is Islam. The major ethnic groups on the island are Africans, beside the Mbwera there are slave descendants, Watumwa, and finally there are recent immigrants from the African mainland, both from Mozambique and Tanzania, of which most are Christians that do not have Swahili as their mother tongue (Caplan 1975: 1-4).

Consequently, there are major differences found between Zanzibar and the mainland while the differences between Mafia Island and the mainland can not be regarded as major differences, since language, religion, and ethnicity follow the same pattern.

Tonga: Vava'u

The Tonga Islands are fairly culturally homogenous. More than 98% of the population is indigenous Polynesians and they speak a common language, Tongan, even though both Tongan and English serve as official languages. Niufo'ou, spoken on the remote island with the same name, has only approximately 690 speakers (Gordon 2005: Tonga). Christianity is the major religion on the islands (CIA). Since the Tonga Islands are cultur-

ally homogeneous, including the Vava'u group, no cultural difference has been established.

Trinidad and Tobago: Tobago

On Trinidad and Tobago, English is the official language, and also the main language, even though there are five other languages spoken on the islands (CIA; Gordon 2005: Trinidad and Tobago). The dominant ethnic groups are East Indian 40%, African or Black, 37%, and Mixed 20% (CIA). The Roman Catholic Church makes up the largest religion, embracing in all 26% of the population, followed by Hindu with 22.5%, Anglicans 7.8% and Muslims 5.8% (CIA). The religious distinction is paralleled by the ethnic groups: the Africans consider themselves to be Roman Catholics, while the East Indian group regard themselves as Hindu or Muslims (Meyerson, Seyler and Hornbeck 1989: 178-179).

On the island of Tobago, Tobagonian Creole English dominates with 66% of the population (Gordon 2005: Trinidad and Tobago). Ethnically, the African group is dominant, more than 90% of the population is of African origin and consequently the Roman Catholic Church is the religion on the island (Meyerson, Seyler and Hornbeck 1989: 178-179; Ryan 1972: 284-285; Tobago House of Assembly's Department of Tourism). Due to the difference in ethnic composition between the two islands and the difference in religion that follows thereby, a major cultural difference must be considered as established between the island of Tobago and the Trinidad mainland.

United Kingdom: Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Island, Cayman Islands, Eilean Siar, Guernsey, Isle of Man, Jersey, Orkney Island, Shetland Island, Turks and Caicos Islands

In the United Kingdom, English is the official and most dominant language, although there are other languages that today only are spoken by a handful of people, e.g. Welsh, and Scottish Gaelic, both Celtic languages that today is the native tongue of small minorities in Wales and Scotland (Mackenzie 1994: 250-251). The ethnic composition shows that the indigenous population, including English (83.6%), Scottish (8.6%), Welsh (4.9%), and Northern Irish (2.9%) constitute 92.1% of the population. The other 8% are mainly immigrants from the former colonies. Christianity embraces 71.6% of the population, while 2.7% are Muslims, 1% are Hindu and 23.1% are unspecified or none (CIA)

In all the dependencies of the UK, English is the official language, sometimes together with a local language, but in none of the British dependencies in the Caribbean did any indigenous language survive the arrival of the white man. On Anguilla, English is the single official language, although 85% of the population speaks Anguillan Creole English (Gordon 2005: Anguilla). The ethnic composition of the island shows that 90.1% are black, 4.6% mixed or mulatto and 3.7% are white and more than 90% are Christians (CIA). The situation is about the same on the British Virgin Islands. English serves as official language, but more than 85% of the population speaks Virgin Island Creole English (Gordon 2005: British Virgin Islands). 83% of the population is black and Christianity embraces 96% (CIA). In the Turks and Caicos Islands, 60% speak Turks and Caicos Creole English, 90% are black, and more than 95% are Christians (CIA).

On Bermuda and the Cayman Islands, English is the only dominant language, together with smaller groups of Portuguese and Haitian Creole French. In Bermuda, the major ethnic groups are black, 54.8%, white 34.1%, mixed 6.4%, other races 4.3%, and unspecified 0.4%. 79% are considered as Christians, and 21% as unspecified, unaffiliated, or none. On the Cayman Islands, the major language is English. There are no indigenous languages found on the islands (Gordon 2005: Cayman Islands). There are three major ethnic groups: mixed constitutes 40% of the population, white 20%, black 20%, and expatriates of various ethnic groups 20%. The dominant religion on the islands is Protestantism and the major congregations are the United Church (Presbyterian and Congregational), the Anglican Church, and the Baptist Church. There are also some Roman Catholics on the islands (CIA).

On Eilean Siar, the inhabitants are of Gaelic origin and the languages are Gaelic and English. The Orkney Islands and Shetland Islands used to be a part of Norway, but were given as dowry to the Scottish king in 1468. Norsemen and Scots originally inhabited the islands. The local dialect is a combination of Scandinavian, Celtic and English. Until the end of the 16th century, Norn, as the Scandinavian language was called, still was the daily idiom of the islands. Today Norn has succumbed to Scots, but still many Norn words are used in the local dialect (Nässén 1983: 2-3). According to Snyder (1982: 38-39), the Shetland Islands constitute a so-called mini-nationalism inside the mini-nationalism of Scotland. The Shetlanders would prefer a preserved unitary state before a decentralized or regionalized state since they fear that if Scotland gained autonomy, they would go on to demand independence, and then the Shetlanders would prefer at-

tachment to England. There is no major difference in religion between the islands and mainland Britain.

The language of the Isle of Man is English but there is also a rising interest in Manx Gaelic. Until recently the language was on the point of extinction, in fact the last native speaker died in 1974 (Mackenzie 1994: 251). However, following the returning prosperity of the island and the rediscovered national identity there has been a revival of interest in the cultural heritage of the island. The development of the language is lead by a Manx Language Office that has also produced a Development Programme for schools and the Community of the Isle of Man or Ellan Vannin as it is called on Manx Gaelic (Solly 1994: 11). The religious composition on the island follows the same pattern as in mainland Britain (CIA).

The Channel Islands have in dialectology been regarded as a French-speaking area. The original language on the islands was a form of Norman French, the same language that is spoken today, but by a decreasing number of people. Instead English has gained more and more influence during the 19th and 20th centuries. Nevertheless, Standard French is still used as an official language, mainly on formal or ceremonial occasions, but there cannot be any doubt that English is the dominant language today (Ramisch 1989: 1-3). During the Middle Ages the geographical position, the trade, the language, and the culture kept the Channel Islands close to the mainland of France and the main contacts were taken with France. During this period, the English influence on the islands was very limited. After the neutrality of the islands was resolved in 1689, large military units were brought to the islands and the English influence increased. During the 19th century the trade with England brought merchants to settle on the islands and the population increased, mainly due to immigrants, and together with improved communications and transportations, the links with Great Britain increased the Anglicisation process on the islands (Ramisch 1989: 23-29).

The three dialect areas of Norman French on the Channel Islands are Jersey and Sark, Guernsey, and Alderney. As far as Auregnais, the dialect of Alderney, is concerned, this dialect died out during the first half of the 20th century. Guernsiais, Jèrriais and Sercquiais, the sub-dialect of Jèrriais, spoken on the island of Sark, are today mainly preserved in rural districts (Liddicoat 1994: 1). All speakers of the Norman dialects are bilingual but people on the Channel Islands are anxious to preserve the dialects and organizations are working hard today to organize various activities in Guernsiais and Jèrriais in order to promote the use of the dialects. There

have also been attempts to give school children a possibility to learn the dialects (Ramisch 1989: 53-57). Even though the Norman French dialects on the islands are decreasing and the influence of English is increasing, language has been important in the development towards autonomy for the islands. There are no major difference in religion between the islands and mainland Britain (CIA).

To sum up the British islands, in nine of the cases, Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Eilean Siar, Guernsey, Isle of Man, Jersey, and Turks and Caicos Islands, major cultural differences have been established. In the cases of the Orkney Islands and Shetland Islands, no major difference was found.

USA: American Samoa, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, US Virgin Islands

In the USA, English is the official and dominant language. However, there are large minorities speaking Spanish, Chinese, and other languages. It is estimated that there are 162 living languages used in the US today. More than 80% of the population is white, while 12.9% are black. As for religion, Christian congregations form the absolute majority, Protestants 52% and Roman Catholics 24% (CIA).

On American Samoa, Samoan and English are the two official languages, of which Samoan is the native tongue of 98% of the population (Gordon 2005: American Samoa). The major ethnic groups are the native Pacific islanders that constitute 92.9% of the population. As for religion, Christian Congregationalist constitutes 50% of the population, Roman Catholic 20%, and Protestant and other 30% (CIA).

In Guam, Chamorro and English are the official languages. The major ethnic groups are Chamorro 37.1%, Filipino 26.3%, and other Pacific islander 11.3%. As for religion, Roman Catholic (85%) is the largest religion on the island. In the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, English is the official language, but Chamorro is most commonly used among the inhabitants. The major ethnic groups are Asians 56.3%, Pacific islanders 36.3%, and Caucasians 1.8%. As for religion, the Roman Catholic Church is the most dominant, although traditional beliefs and taboos may still be found (CIA).

In the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Spanish and English are the national or official languages. Spanish is the native tongue of 90% of the population (Gordon 2005: Puerto Rico). The major ethnic groups are the

whites (mostly Spanish origin) 80.5%, and blacks 8%. As for religion the Roman Catholic Church is the largest one with 85% (CIA).

On the US Virgin Islands, English is the official language, although Virgin Islands Creole English is the most commonly used (Gordon 2005: U.S. Virgin Islands). Among the ethnic groups, blacks 76.2%, whites 13.1%, and Asians 1.1% are the three largest groups. As for religion, Christianity embraces more than 90% (Baptists 42%, Roman Catholics 34%, and Episcopalians 17%) (CIA).

To conclude the US islands, all five show major cultural differences in relation to mainland USA. The differences mainly concerns ethnicity and language but minor differences as for religion are also found in Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, and US Virgin Islands. However, Christianity is the major religion on all the US islands as well as in USA itself.

Vanuatu: Tafea

Vanuatu is a cultural heterogeneous country and there are approximately 109 languages spoken on the islands, of which most have only local significance. Lingua franca and official languages of the country are English, French, and Bislama, an elaborate English-based pidgin-language that is closely related to Solomon pidgin. The major ethnic group is the Melanesians, called Ni-Vanuatu, which embraces 98.5% of the population. More than 82% are Christians, divided on the Presbyterians with 31.4% of the population, Anglican 13.4%, the Roman Catholics with 13.1%, Seventh Day Adventist 10.8%, and other Christian groups 13.8% (CIA).

In Tafea, Tanna languages, Aneityum and Futuna-Aniura, belonging to the Polynesian language family, are spoken among the natives and Bislama, English and French serve as official languages. As in the rest of Vanuatu, the tribes living on the islands are of Melanesian origin (Wurm 1994: 94). Due to the difference in language and the difference in tribe belongingness that follows from this, a major difference between Tafea and mainland Vanuatu must be considered as established.

5.3. Cultural Aspects – Analysis

Culture in terms of language, ethnicity, and religion, has been put forward as one of the main factors when explaining why territories achieve autonomy. The aim of this chapter was to examine in which islands there were major cultural differences found between the island and the mainland.

Among the autonomous islands, there are 34 that show cultural differences in relation to mainland, as is shown in table 15, while only five show no difference, three in Africa, the Canary Islands, Madeira, and Rodrigues, and two in Europe, the Azores and Sicily.

Table 15. Cultural Difference – Presence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code	Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code
Denmark	Faeroe Islands	1	Portugal	Azores	0
	Greenland	1		Madeira	0
Finland	Åland Islands	1	South Korea	Jeju Island	0
France	Corsica	1	Spain	Balearic Islands	1
	French Polynesia	1		Canary Islands	0
	Guadeloupe	1	Tanzania	Zanzibar	1
	Martinique	1	Trinidad and Tobago	Tobago	1
	Mayotte	1	United Kingdom	Anguilla	1
	New Caledonia	1		Bermuda	1
	Réunion	1		Br. Virgin Islands	1
	Wallis et Futuna	1		Cayman Islands	1
Italy	Sardinia	1		Guernsey	1
	Sicily	0		Isle of Man	1
Mauritius	Rodrigues	1	Jersey	1	
Netherlands	Aruba	1	Turks and Caicos Islands	1	
	Netherlands Antilles	1	USA	American Samoa	1
New Zealand	Cook Islands	1		Guam	1
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville	1		Northern Mariana Islands	1
				Puerto Rico	1
Philippines	Muslim Mindanao	1		US Virgin Islands	1

In general, the difference between the mainland and the autonomous islands follow the same pattern as for language. When there is a difference in language established, there is also a difference in ethnicity. In some cases, the difference that once existed between the island and the

mainland today is vanished, as in the case with the Isle of Man. When the Isle of Man achieved its autonomy, the inhabitants, descendants from Celts and from Vikings generally referred to as Manxmen, spoke a Celtic language called Manx. The language died out in 1974 with its last native speaker, but it still serves as an important cultural heritage on the island. The inhabitants still regard themselves as Manxmen, and thereby a different ethnic group from Welshmen and Englishmen.

Only four islands show a difference in religion, three of them are Muslim, Mayotte, Muslim Mindanao, and Zanzibar, while their respective mainland is Christian, but one, New Caledonia, is mainly Protestant, while the mainland is Roman Catholic. In all cases, language and ethnicity follow the same pattern: Where there is a difference in language there is also a difference in ethnicity and vice versa. This is for instance the case with all the islands where a majority of the people speak a Creole language.

All but five of the countries are essentially monolingual. Among the multilingual countries, the Philippines and Tanzania are the most ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous ones. In Finland and Mauritius there is more than one official language, even though only 6% of the Finnish population has Swedish as their mother tongue. In one of the islands, the major official language of the mainland does not enjoy the status of official language on the island. On the Åland Island, Swedish is the only official language and Finnish is not even a compulsory subject in the Ålandish schools. In all the other islands, the official language of the mainland also serves as official language on the islands.

The result of cultural difference and the absence of autonomous in table 16 shows the same pattern as for the autonomous islands: When there are differences in language there is also a difference in ethnicity, although, in some cases, the people of the islands and its mainland may descend from the same ethnic background, i.e. they are both Polynesians or Europeans or Indians etc.

The major differences in ethnicity that occur among the non-autonomous islands are mostly found in multiethnic countries, in Indonesia, Papua-New Guinea, the Philippines, the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. There is only one that is not a part of a multi-ethnic country, the Eilean Siar in the United Kingdom that is of Gaelic origin.

Table 16. Cultural Difference – Absence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code	Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code
Bahamas	Abaco	0	Indonesia	Nusa Tenggara Barat	1
	Grand Bahama	0		Nusa Tenggara Timur	1
Cape Verde	Santo Antão	0	Japan	Okinawa	0
	São Nicolau	0	Maldives	Addu	0
	São Vicente	0		Huvadhu	0
Colombia	San Andrés y Providencia	1	Papua New Guinea	Manus	1
Cuba	Isla de la Juventud	0		New Britain	1
Denmark	Bornholm	0		New Ireland	1
Estonia	Hiiumaa	0	Philippines	Palawan	1
	Saaremaa	0	Solomon Islands	Temotu	1
Greece	Crete	0	Sweden	Gotland	0
	Ionian Islands	0	Tanzania	Mafia	0
	North Aegean Sea	0	Tonga	Vava'u	0
	South Aegean Sea	0	United Kingdom	Eilean Siar	1
Honduras	Islas de la Bahía	1		Orkney Islands	0
Indonesia	Maluku	1		Shetland Islands	0
	Maluku Utara	1	Vanuatu	Tafea	1

If we crosstab cultural difference and autonomy we can see that cultural difference seems to explain some of the difference in autonomy, see table 17. Among the autonomous islands there are four, or 10.8%, that show no difference while 33 islands, or 89.2%, show a cultural difference in relation to the mother country. Among the non-autonomous islands there are 13 that show difference, while 22 do not. If we look at the islands that show no cultural difference in relation to the mother country, 84.6% are non-autonomous while among the islands that show a cultural difference 71.7% are autonomous. Culture is often emphasized as one of the most important factors, if not the most important factor, when explaining the difference in autonomy. As has been shown, the cultural factor must be considered as important in explaining autonomy, even though one third of the non-autonomous islands show a cultural difference in relation to the mainland.

Table 17. Crosstab of Autonomy and Cultural Difference

		Cultural Differences		Total	
		Absence	Presence		
Autonomy	Absence	Count	21	13	34
		Expected Count	12.1	21.9	34
	Presence	Count	5	34	39
		Expected Count	13.9	25.1	39
Total	Count	26	47	73	
	Expected Count	26	47	73	

Pearson Chi-Square: Value: 18.98; Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): 0.0000132

The result of cultural difference shows a low resemblance to the expected result. Therefore it can be concluded that there is a relationship between autonomy and cultural difference. This is also shown in Pearson's chi-square test. The value achieved is high and the variable is shown to be significant at the .01 level.

Cultural difference in matters of ethnicity, language, and religion must be considered as an important variable in explaining the difference in autonomy, although cultural difference does not explain everything and it remains to be seen whether or not it will show to be important as a part of a configuration. Let us now continue with the historical and strategic aspects of autonomy.

6. Previous Self-Rule and Strategic Importance

Historical and strategic aspects will be divided into two independent variables, previous self-rule and strategic importance. Previous self-rule includes matters of political character, whether or not the island has any previous experience of autonomy or independence. This is the case of the Italian regions of Sardinia and Sicily that used to constitute kingdoms of their own, before the unification of Italy.

Historical factors are often emphasized when explaining autonomy (see Nordqvist 1998; Lane and Ersson 1999). There are different historical factors that can be considered as important in explaining the difference in autonomy. For this study, we have argued that previous self-rule and strategic importance are two important variables. Since both these two factors derives from historical times, they will be analysed in the same chapter, starting in 5.1. with a general survey of the political and strategic history of each island. The historical survey of each island will start from the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. This starting-point is chosen since the concept of nation-states often is related to the end of the Thirty-Years'-War in Europe. For the former colonies around the world this implies that the history before the arrival of the Europeans will not be included. In many of the cases this would not be a problem, since written evidence on the pre-colonial history often is rare, if at all existing. In some countries the local leaders continued to rule even though they acknowledge the sovereignty of the colonial power, while in others, the Europeans soon took full control over their new colony. The historic background of the autonomous islands will be analysed until the time they received their autonomy, while the non-autonomous will be analysed until present times.

Strategic importance deals with whether or not the island has been part of, or occupied by, a foreign country, or if it is included in any international agreement, or has played an important role in any military conflict. This has for instance been the case of Valle d'Aosta, Friuli-Venezia Giulia and Trentino-Alto Adige in northern Italy. These three regions used to belong to the Austrian Empire but were made Italian regions after World War I and were granted autonomy in the Italian constitution in 1947. The same situation can be found in the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. These two regions have been the object for wars between England and France and England and Scotland, for centuries. The Azores played an important role in both of the world wars, primarily as a navy base and as

a base for the allied air forces. The operationalization of previous self-rule and strategic importance will be further discussed in chapter 5.

The operationalization of previous self-rule will include two indicators, previous autonomy or previous independence. If one of these two indicators occurs, then the island will be considered as having experienced previous self-rule. This variable will not be graded since the difference between autonomy and independence in historical times may be difficult to separate. For instance, the states within the Holy Roman Empire is by some considered to be independent states, while others argue that they only enjoyed an extended form of autonomy. Therefore previous self-rule will be used as a dichotomized variable.

Strategic importance will be operationalized as previous self-rule. The two indicators that will be used are; whether or not the island has been a part of or occupied by a foreign country and thereby separated from the rest of the country/territory; and whether or not the island has been involved in any major conflict or embraced by any major international treaty. If one of the criteria is fulfilled, strategic importance will be regarded as present. None of these two indicators will be considered as more important than the other since they tend to overlap each other. If the island has been occupied, it has by definition been involved in a conflict. Strategic importance will therefore be used as a dichotomized variable.

Beside island specific literature, the CIA Area handbook series has been used for the historical background. Most of these volumes are ten years old or more. However, since they are combined with more updated literature and since the background mainly focuses on events that have taken place for more than ten years ago this would not be a problem for the result of the present study.

6.1. Historical Background

Bahamas: Abaco, and Grand Bahama

The Bahamas Islands were first visited by the Europeans in 1492, when Columbus arrived on his first voyage in search for India. In 1986 the National Geographic Society announced that the isolated island of Samana Cay, in the eastern Bahamas, was probably the place of the first landfall of Columbus in the Americas. It was not until 1649 that the first settlers, Puritans from the English colony of Bermuda, arrived to the island of Eleuthera. Later English settlers arrived to New Providence, Abaco and

the other Bahamas islands. The islands suffered from pirates during most of the late 17th and early 18th century, but remained British, except for a short period of Spanish rule in 1782-83 (Hubertsson 1985: 36), until its independence in 1973 (Sullivan 1989: 519-520). None of the individual islands have enjoyed any previous independence or autonomy. Therefore none of the historical or strategic factor will be coded as present for the islands.

Cape Verde: Santo Antão, São Nicolau, and São Vicente

The Cape Verde Islands were likely visited by Phoenicians, Moorish Arabs, and Lebou fishermen from Senegal, but it was not until the Portuguese discovery of the islands in 1455 and 1456 that the islands were colonised and the first settlers arrived in 1460, first to the Sotavento islands and later to the Barlavento islands (Lobban 1995: 16-17). The islands were ruled by the Portuguese from that day until the independence in 1975. The islands played an important role in the trade of slaves from Africa to America (Lobban 1995: 22-40). The islands of Cape Verde have politically been unified since the discovery and none of the individual islands have been autonomous or independent in relation to the others.

Colombia: San Andrés y Providencia

The islands of San Andrés and Providencia were acquired from Britain during the end of the colonial period. The islands have several times been the cause of dispute between Colombia and Nicaragua. The 1928 Barceñas-Esquerra Treaty awarded Colombia the sovereignty over the islands. Later Nicaragua declared that the treaty was invalid since it was signed under US political pressure. In 1979, Nicaragua intensified its claim of sovereignty over the islands, something that caused the Colombians to increase its naval presence on the islands. In 1988, the Nicaraguan government accepted what they consider as de facto occupation by Colombia (Hudson 1990: 240-241; Greene Walker 1990: 270-272). During the federal constitution of Colombia the islands were part of mainland states and did not constitute an own federal or autonomous entity, and they have not enjoyed any previous independence. The islands do not fulfil any of the criteria set up for previous self-rule, but due to the dispute over the islands' strategic importance, they will be coded as present.

Cuba: Isla de Juventud

The history of the Isla de Juventud, until 1978 called Isla de Pinos, follows in brief the history of Cuba. During the American occupation in 1906-09, a US navy base was set up on the island and after the regained independence of Cuba, the Americans maintained control over the island. After an agreement between the Cuban and the US governments, the control of the island was transferred back to Cuba in 1925 (de Lima Dantas 1987: 26). The island has never enjoyed independence or autonomy, nor does it fulfil the criteria set up for strategic importance.

Denmark: Bornholm, Faeroe Islands, and Greenland

Both the Faeroe Islands and Greenland were colonized by Norsemen during the 9th century and became part of the Norwegian kingdom during the 11th century. After the formation of the United Kingdom of Denmark-Norway the two islands became parts of the new kingdom and when Norway was ceded over to Sweden in the Treaty of Kiel in 1814 the islands stayed under Danish sovereignty (Harhoff 1993: 44-46).

The Faeroe Islands came under Norwegian protection in 1035 and in 1273 the islands adopted the Norwegian Laws and the power of the local parliament, Lagtinget, was reduced. In the United Kingdom of Denmark-Norway the "Lagting" managed to maintain some self-government for the islands. In 1814, the "Lagting" was abolished, but was restored again in 1852, but then only as a Danish local parliament. When German forces occupied Denmark and Norway during World War II, Britain occupied the Faeroe Islands in an attempt to prevent German hegemony in the Northern Atlantic Ocean. During the occupation the islands controlled all their internal affairs and at the end of the war the idea of an independent Faeroese state was born. After the British occupation the islands strove for full independence and in a referendum in 1946 a majority of the population voted in favour of independence. The Danish government, however, wanted the islands to remain as an integrated part of Denmark, and did not accept an independent state. As a compromise, the islands were given autonomy within the Kingdom of Denmark (Harhoff 1993: 46-76).

Norway gained control over Greenland in the 12th century and managed to maintain its sovereignty over the island despite attempts from Spain and Holland to gain influence over it. Greenland adopted Norwegian laws and was made a Norwegian colony during the 1260's (Liedegaard 2001: 20-33). During the German occupation of Denmark, during World War II, the island had to depend on aid from the allies. During this

period there were military bases set up on the island, bases that are still used by NATO. Demands for a greater autonomy were raised during the times of Danish rule, and these demands culminated during the 1970's, when Greenland had to join Denmark in its membership of the EEC. In the referendum, the Greenlanders votes were not counted separately, and despite the fact that a majority of the Greenlanders had voted against the membership, Greenland was made part of the EEC. During negotiations between the island and the Danish government an agreement on autonomy for Greenland was reached, and in 1979 the island gained the same status as the Faeroe Islands. Immediately thereafter the new government initiated new negotiations with the EEC, and after a new referendum Greenland left the EEC in 1985 (Liedegaard 2001: 101-104).

Bornholm was christened during the 11th century and became an integrated part of Denmark during the Middle Ages. In 1522-72 the island was occupied by Lübeck and as a result of the Treaty of Copenhagen in 1658 the island was granted to Sweden, but was regained by Denmark in the Treaty of Roskilde in 1660 (Jørgensen 1980: 52-57, 80, 116). During World War II the island, as well as mainland Denmark, were occupied by Germany. After the allied liberation of the island in May 1945, Soviet forces occupied it until April 1946 when it was returned to Denmark. It is believed that the reason for the occupation was mainly political, and that the Soviet Union wanted to use the island as a pawn in the political game with the Western Powers. However, the island was of small strategic interest for the Western Powers and therefore the Soviet Union left the island, only demanding that no foreign troops should be placed on it (Jensen 1996: 11). There have been recent demands for a greater autonomy for the island. The Bornholm "Selvstyreparti" strives for autonomy, hjemmestyre, the same kind of autonomy that has been given the Faeroe Islands and Greenland (Bornholms hjemmestyre 2006).

Among the Danish islands only the Faeroe Islands have enjoyed previous autonomy. Previous self-rule must therefore be coded as absent for the other two islands. When it comes to the strategic factor, all three islands fulfil one or more of the criteria set up and therefore strategic importance will be coded as present.

Estonia: Hiiumaa and Saaremaa

The history of Hiiumaa and Saaremaa is closely connected to mainland Estonia, with a few exceptions. When mainland Estonia and Hiiumaa were occupied by Denmark during the early 13th century it took more than

30 years for the Danes to capture Saaremaa. The resistance on the island was not defeated until 1227 (Raun 2001: 15-17). When mainland Estonia and Hiiumaa became a part of Sweden in 1561 Saaremaa continued under Danish sovereignty until the Treaty of Brömsebro in 1645. Sweden lost Estonia and the islands to Russia after the great northern war in 1700-21. When Estonia gained independence in 1918 the two islands became regions in the new republic. During World War II Estonia was occupied by Germany and from 1944 by the Soviet Union, and it did not regain its independence until 1991. The two islands are today regions in the Estonian Republic (Raun 2001: 112; 157; 243). During the 18th century the islands played an important role as the prime meridian (today Greenwich) used by Russian cartographers (Varep 1975: 3-6). None of the Estonian islands fulfil any of the criteria set up for strategic importance or previous self-rule and will therefore be coded as absent for both of the factors.

Finland: Åland Islands

Until the early 19th century, the Åland Islands constituted an integrated part of the Kingdom of Sweden (Lindh 1990: 19-21). In the Treaty of Fredrikshamn 1809, that followed after the Russian victory in the Swedish-Russian war in 1808-09, Sweden lost Åland and Finland to Russia after more than 600 years of sovereignty over the islands. Åland and Finland were made a part of the Russian Empire and Finland was made an autonomous Grand Duchy within Russia. Åland played an important role for the control over the Gulf of Bothnia and the Northern Baltic Sea and also for the defence of the Russian capital, St. Petersburg. As a result of the Crimean War in 1856 and to prevent Russian hegemony over the trade in the region, Åland was demilitarized and neutralised. When Finland gained its independence in 1917, Åland strove to be reunited with Sweden. To prevent an open conflict between Finland and Sweden, the Åland-question¹⁶ was transferred to the League of Nations, and in 1921 the League decided that the islands should remain under Finnish sovereignty, but enjoy autonomy to protect the Swedish language and culture on the islands (Fagerlund 1993: 13-27). Despite the demilitarisation and neutralisation of the islands, troops were placed on the islands during World War

¹⁶ For further reading on the Åland-question, see Barros, James (1968) *The Åland islands question: its settlement by the League of Nations*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

I. Strategic importance must therefore be coded as present for the islands, while previous self-rule must be coded as absent.

France: Corsica, French Polynesia, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Mayotte, New Caledonia, and Wallis et Futuna

The island of Corsica came under protection of Genoa during the 13th century and from the 1730's the island suffered from a period of rebellion. During this period, independence was proclaimed three times, from 1735 to 1753, and in 1768 Genoa gave France de facto authority over the island (Daftary 2000: 24). During World War I, the island mainly played the role of supplying the French army with soldiers. During the war the island lost 10-20%, i.e. around 20-30,000 of its men. Towards the end of the interwar period the fascists of Italy called for an annexation of the island, *terra italianissimo*, but the islanders answered by swearing the Oath of Bastia and thereby stayed loyal to the French government (Ramsay 1983: 618). During World War II, the island was occupied by Italy from 1942. The liberation of the island took place one year later and the battle of Corsica only lasted for less than a month. An uprising among the Corsican resistance had preceded the liberation and the liberation was mainly psychological and of political rather than military importance (Ramsay 1983: 19-23). In the early 1970's the FLNC (Fronte di liberazione Naziundale di a Corsica/ Corsican National Liberation Front) was founded and a period of terrorist violence and state repression started. In 1982 and 1991 the island was given special statutes and the Corsican Assembly was established together with two consultative councils on economical, social and cultural matters. However the assembly was not given any legislative powers but had only to communicate directly with the Government (Daftary 2000: 24-26). An agreement between the Corsican Assembly and the French Government in 1999 for increased autonomy was voted down in 2002 by the French parliament and a compromise was rejected in a referendum on Corsica in 2003 (DN 030408; 030708). Corsica constituted a de facto sovereign state during the mid 18th century but the island has no previous experience as an autonomous entity within Genoa or France.

French Polynesia was discovered by the Europeans during the 16th century. Members from the expedition of Magalhães visited the Tuamotu Islands in 1521, the Spanish navigator Mendaña de Neira visited the Marquesas Islands in 1595 and during 18th century, Captain Cook established friendly relations to the Tahitian rulers. Both the British and the French governments had major influence on the royal family of Tahiti, but in 1842

the French government first annexed the Marquesas Islands and then forced Queen Pomare IV to agree on making her country a French protectorate. Since Britain at that time regarded the islands as a remote and economically unpromising group of islands, it accepted the French annexation. After World War II the demands for independence were raised, but in a referendum held in 1958, 64% of the people of French Oceania, as it still was called, chose to stay in association with France (Seekins 1985-b: 382-389). French Polynesia was an independent kingdom at the time of the French annexation. During French rule it has regained some autonomy and it is today regarded as a French Overseas Country.

Guadeloupe and Martinique were both colonized by the French in the early 17th century and suffered several occupations by the British. The islands were liberated from the first British occupation in 1763, but were reoccupied in 1794. Guadeloupe was liberated after only two months with the help from the Swedish colony St Barthélemy, while Martinique stayed under British rule until 1802. Seven years later the islands were again occupied and stayed under British rule for the remaining Napoleonic war (Waugh 1964: 73-77; Clarke 1990: 127-128). After the German invasion in France in 1940, Banque de France dispatched a large shipment of gold to Martinique, and when the Vichy-government appointed its own governor on the island, the British enforced a rigid blockade of the island. It is believed that the islands were used by German submarines during the war as a refuelling base, but the blockade soon made life difficult for the islanders. At the end of the war, the two islands were more tightly linked to France as they were transformed to *départements d'outre-mer* (Waugh 1964: 277-278; Mitchell 1967: 239-240). In 1878, the Swedish island of St Barthélemy was united with Guadeloupe after a referendum held on the island had shown that all but one wanted to be reunited with France.

Mayotte, or Maore, is one of the four islands of the Comoros Archipelago, which constituted an independent Sultanate from the 16th century. Thereafter the island was made a part of the Sultanate of the Mwali Island in 1833 and two years later of the Ndzuwani Island before it regained its independence in 1836. In 1843 France annexed the island and in 1886 they annexed the rest of the Comoros Islands, mainly to prevent the islands from being annexed by any other colonial power and to ensure French presence in the Indian Ocean. When the rest of the Comoros voted in favour of independence in 1975, Mayotte chose to stay within France. Since France had neglected to stipulate what would happen if one or more islands voted against independence, the French government found it obli-

gated, but reluctant to maintain its control over the island, thus the other islands, now forming the Federal Comoros Republic, supported by the OAU and the UN, claim sovereignty over the island. The island did not gain departmental status but is considered as a *Territorial Collectivity* (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 228-232).

Réunion Island was uninhabited when the French took over the island from the Portuguese. After the French revolution, the British had a renewed strategic interest in the Indian Ocean and they occupied The Mascarenes Islands, i.e. Mauritius, Rodrigues, and Réunion in 1809-10. After the fall of Napoleon in 1814 the British was awarded Mauritius and Rodrigues, while Réunion was re-gained by the French (Bowman 1991: 16-17; Toth 1995: 100-104). After World War II the island became a *department d'outre-mer*, and in 1983, as the other overseas departments, the island gained autonomy (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 27; 263).

New Caledonia was first discovered by the Europeans in 1774 when captain James Cook first visited the island and named it New Caledonia (Caledonia is the Latin word for Scotland). At the time of the arrival of the Europeans New Caledonia was ruled by local chiefs that almost constantly were in a state of war. In 1785 Louis XVI of France ordered an exploration of the economic potentials of the islands and in 1853 France annexed New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines. The Loyalty islands were claimed in 1866. The British government, which also had warships in the waters of New Caledonia was tied to France in an alliance against Russia and could not protest the annexation. The native people, the Kanaks, were hostile to the French rule and in a revolt in 1878 many Kanaks were killed. The tension between the Kanaks and settlers from Europe and other French colonies has from time to time led to political conflicts between the two groups. The settlers and colonisers fears a greater autonomy, since it might threaten their political and economical influence, while the Kanaks strive for greater autonomy and independence from France (Seekins 1985-c: 108-116).

The history of the two islands of Wallis et Futuna are largely separated from each other until the annexation by France. Among the first Europeans to visit the islands was the British captain Samuel Wallis in 1767. The next visit was made in 1825, and in 1837 French missionaries arrived. The Wallis Island became a French protectorate in 1842. French missionaries also visited the Futuna and Alofi islands but the rulers of the islands did not agree on becoming a French protectorate until in 1984. In 1959 the islands became an overseas territory of France after a referendum (Seekins

1985-d: 438-439). Both islands were independent kingdoms before the arrival of the Europeans.

Previous self-rule must be coded as present in four of the French autonomous islands, Corsica, French Polynesia, Mayotte, and Wallis et Futuna, while strategic importance must be regarded as present in all the eight French autonomous islands.

Greece: Crete, Ionian Islands, North Aegean Sea, and South Aegean Sea

The ancient history of the Greek islands mainly mirrors that of mainland Greece. After the fall of the Roman Empire, the islands were first made part of the Byzantine Empire. Since the Greek regions were not introduced until 1987 the history of the regions is all in the history of each separate island and group of islands.

Crete was conquered by the Venetians during the 14th century and ruled by Venice until the Turks invaded it during the 16th century. During the Greek struggle for independence, Christians on the island fought against the Turks to join the newborn Greek State. At first the Turks managed to suppress the uprisings but during the late 19th century they had to give Crete independence under suzerainty of Turkey. However the process towards a union with Greece continued and in 1913 the island was reunited with mainland Greece (Hopkins 1977: 123-133). The independence or autonomy the island had enjoyed during the late Turkish rule was eventually lost and Crete was made an integrated part of the Greek state (Forster 1960: 55; 64).

The history of the two Aegean regions is indeed complex and unique for each individual island. The North Aegean islands were all integrated with the Greek state in 1913 and had earlier been a part of Turkey. From 1832 the island of Samos constituted an autonomous Greek Kingdom within the Turkish State while the rest of the islands were integrated parts of Turkey (Forster 1960: 12). After the Balkan War in 1912 the islands were annexed by Greece (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002: 345; Forster 1960: 55). Among the South Aegean islands the Turks conquered the Dodecanese Islands during the 16th century and in 1923 they were made a part of Italy. During World War II the islands were occupied by Germany and in 1947 they were integrated with Greece. The Cyclades were conquered by Venice during the 14th century and later by the Turks during the 16th century. When Greece gained its independence in 1832 the islands were made a part of the new kingdom (Forster 1960: 12). In relation to international treaties and the degree of importance in conflict, many of the Greek Ae-

gean Islands have been neutralized or demilitarised; Corfu and Paxos in 1863; Lemnos, Mytilene, Chios, Samos and Nikiria in 1914; and the Dodecanese Islands in 1947. However the demilitarisation of the islands is no longer the current situation since Greece remilitarized them in 1974 (Ahlström 1995: 45).

The sovereignty of the Ionian Islands has changed several times since the 13th century. First the Byzantines controlled the islands, and later they have been controlled by Venice, Genoa, Turkey, Naples, France, and Britain until 1864 when they were made a part of Greece (Zakythinos 1976: 106-109). The islands have never experienced independence or autonomy.

The history of the Greek islands is complicated and the history of the individual islands is identical to that of the region. Among the Greek regions, Crete is the only one that has enjoyed autonomy. Among the islands in the North Aegean Sea region, only Samos has enjoyed autonomy, while the other islands have been integrated parts of first the Ottoman Empire, and then Greece. None of the Greek islands have enjoyed independence from the Ottoman Empire or from Greece. As for the strategic factor, both Crete and the Ionian Islands must be considered as fulfilling the criteria set up for this factor.

Honduras: Islas de la Bahía

The Bay Islands have been the reason for dispute between Honduras and Britain since the independence of Honduras in 1839. The British occupied the islands twice during the 18th century, both in the 1740's and in the 1790's. Even though the Clayton-Bulwer pact in 1850 marked the end of British colonial aspirations in Central America, the British occupied the Bay Islands in 1852 and made them a British colony. After protests against the British occupation from both Honduras and the USA, the British left the islands in 1859 and gave up all their claims on the islands (Haggerty and Millet 1995: 12-16). The islands have not enjoyed any special status within Honduras and neither have they constituted an independent state. Therefore, only strategic importance will be regarded as present for the islands.

Indonesia: Mulukas, Mulukas utara, Nusa Tenggara Barat, and Nusa Tenggara Timur

The early political history of Indonesia is for the most part wrapped in mystery due to the lack of reliable information. Islam is believed to have been introduced on the islands in the early Islamic era during the 7th and

8th centuries. The first evidence of an Islamic kingdom derives from a gravestone dated AD 1211 and concerns the northern part of Sumatra. When the Venetian traveller Marco Polo arrived on the Indonesian islands, he noted that some towns were Muslim, while others close by were non-Muslim. The Portuguese apothecary Tomé Pires arrived on the islands in 1512, one year after the Portuguese conquest and spent three years in Malacca. He reports that the islands of Lombok, Sumbawa, Flores, Solor and Timor in today's Nusa Tenggara had not adopted Islam, while it was spreading through the Spice Islands of Maluku (Ricklefs 2001: 3-10). The early states in the archipelago differed between the Greater Sunda Islands and the outer islands. While the kingdoms of Java were primarily inland states, the kingdoms on the outer islands were mainly coastal ones (Ricklefs 2001: 18-19).

The first Europeans arrived in Indonesia during the early 16th century. In order to control the Asian trade the Portuguese took control over Malacca but was soon attacked by the Muslim sultans in Aceh on Sumatra and Jepara on the island of Java. In 1596 a Dutch fleet entered in Indonesia and six years later the United East India Company (VOC) was formed. In 1610 the first governor general of VOC was established and the port of Jayakarta (Jakarta) was seized and from then on served as the capital of VOC (Seekins 1993-a: 15-17) When the Netherlands was transformed into a French vassal state by Napoleon in 1806, Indonesia was occupied by the British to ensure that France did not gain control over the islands (Ricklefs 2001: 147-148). During World War II, Indonesia was occupied by Japan and divided into three regions for military purposes (Ricklefs 2001: 247-269). After the War, a revolutionary movement started a four year long struggle for independence and in 1949 the Dutch surrendered (Ricklefs 2001: 260-286).

The two main islands of Nusa Tenggara Barat, Lombok, and Sumbawa, have been controlled by both Javanese and Balinese states. During the 15th century, Islam was introduced by the first Sunan Giri. During the 16th and 17th centuries the island was invaded by different Bali lords and kings without any major Dutch interference, but in 1882 the Dutch took control over the two islands imposing direct rule (Ricklefs 2001: 45; 82; 175).

In the region of Nusa Tenggara Timur there are five main islands, Flores, Roti, Savu, Sumba and Timur, of which all but Timur was of little commercial interest and therefore the Dutch did not impose direct rule over the islands until the first decade of the 20th century. The sandalwood of Timor made the island a target for both the Dutch and the Portuguese.

As the supply of sandalwood declined, both the Dutch and the Portuguese withdrew to insignificance from the island although the island remained parted (Ricklefs 2001: 80-81).

Maluku and Maluku Utara constituted until 1999 one single province. The islands were once named after the term that Arab trader used for the region, *Jazirat al-Muluk*, the land of many kings (Ricklefs 2001: 27). The main islands, Ambon, Banda, Hitu, Ternate and Tidore, have all from time to time had their own leaders, constituting their own states. At the time of the arrival of the Europeans, the Portuguese first settled on Ternate and Ambon (Seekins 1993-a: 15). In 1660 Ambon was conquered by the Dutch, while Ternate and Tidore came under Spanish rule in 1606. In 1663 the Spanish pulled out of Malukas, leaving the Dutch as the principal European power in the region (Ricklefs 2001: 73-75). Many of the local leaders remained in charge of their territory in alliance with the Dutch but from the late 17th century there were no local power opposing them in the Malukas (Ricklefs 2001: 79-80). When the Dutch transferred sovereignty over Indonesia, it did so to a federal republic that only lasted for a few weeks. In early 1950 the constitution had been changed and Indonesia became a unitary state. The greatest opposition to this was found in South Malukas and in April 1950 the independent Republic of South Malukas was proclaimed on the Ambon Island. The Republic was crushed by Republican troops in November and South Malukas was integrated as a province (Ricklefs 2001: 284-285).

Among the Indonesian islands, only the Maluku islands maintained their own leaders and therefore they must be regarded as having enjoyed previous autonomy. As concerns the whole province of Maluku, it also enjoyed independence during a few months in 1950. As for the strategic factor, it will not be considered as present for any of the islands.

Italy: Sardinia and Sicily

Following the fall of the Roman Empire the islands of Sardinia and Sicily were ruled by Ostrogoths, Byzantine, Arabic, and Norman Kingdoms until the 14th century when the islands became part of the Aragon and, later, the Spanish Kingdom.

After the years of Spanish occupation, Sardinia was passed over to Austria in 1708 and later to Piedmont in 1720 in exchange for Sicily. Together with Piedmont, the island constituted the Kingdom of Sardinia. In 1848, following the revolutions in Europe, the island was granted autonomy in relation to the mainland-based parts of the kingdom. In the unifi-

cation process of Italy, Sardinian politicians and the military played an important role as initiators and implementers of the unification that took place in 1861. Due to cultural and historical factors the island was granted autonomy in the new constitution of the Kingdom of Italy (Mack Smith 1997: 4-12).

At the time of the Spanish conquest of Sicily, the island already constituted an independent Kingdom together with Naples, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. After the Spanish and Austrian occupations the island was reunited with Naples in 1734 and the Kingdom was restored as a personal union and Sicily was granted autonomy in relation to the mainland-based parts of the kingdom (Mack Smith 1969: 243-245). In 1860, Sicily joined Sardinia in opposition to the government in Naples. In the process of uniting with Italy and in 1861 the Two Sicilies became part of the Kingdom of Italy. Like Sardinia, Sicily was granted autonomy due to cultural and historical factors. During the World War II, Sicily was used by allied troops to gain access to the Italian mainland (Mack Smith 1969: 445). Both the historical and strategic factor must be regarded as present for both of the Italian islands.

Japan: Okinawa

The history of the Ryukyu Islands is wrapped in mystery, since there are only a few written sources to be found. The islands were not unified into a Ryukyu kingdom until 1429. In 1609, the islands came under the supervision of the Shimazu house of Satsuma, the feudal domain of southern Kyūshū, and the islands were made an autonomous kingdom. The islands retained this special status until the arrival of Western peoples that questioned the status of the Ryukyu kingdom. As Japan became aware of the islands ambiguous position as defined by international law, it initiated a process of integrating the islands into Meiji Japan and the kingdom was abolished altogether in 1879. After the Sino-Japan war in 1894-95, the islands, which had supported China in hope of a restoration of the kingdom, were more forcefully integrated with the rest of Japan (Watanabe 1970: 11). After World War II, the islands were occupied by the USA and served as a military base. The islands were not returned to Japan until 1972 (Sutter 1992: 389). The Okinawa Islands have enjoyed both independence and autonomy, but since the independence ended before 1648, only the autonomy that lasted between 1609 and 1879 will be taken into account. As concerns the strategic factor, the islands must be coded as

having strategic importance due to the American occupation of the islands after World War II.

Maldives: Addu and Huvadhu

The Maldives were known by the Europeans more than 4,000 years ago, since the maritime route to India crossed the archipelago. The islands were ruled by a Buddhist king, who converted to Islam in 1153 and changed his title to sultan. The islands were ruled by Portugal 1558-73, but a popular revolt drove the Portuguese off the islands, and the islands became an independent country, even though they were dominated by western powers. The Dutch had replaced the Portuguese, and from 1887 to 1965 the islands became a British colony.

The Addu Atoll and the Huvadhu Atoll have not been separated from the rest of the Maldives archipelago during this period of the Maldivian history, but have been an integrated part of the Maldivian sultanat, and from 1965 of the Maldivian republic (Ryavec 1995: 257-269). In 1956, the Maldives allowed the UK to establish a Royal Air force base on the island of Gan. The base was later shut down in 1976. A request from the Soviet Union to lease the Gan facilities was rejected by the Maldivian government (Ofcansky 1995: 329). Consequently, both the historical and the strategic factor must be coded as absent.

Mauritius: Rodrigues

The Mascarenas Islands, Mauritius, Réunion and Rodrigues, were first discovered in the early 16th century by the Portuguese and was named after Pedro Mascarenhas who first discovered Réunion. The Portuguese did not colonize the islands and it was not until the French arrived at Rodrigues Island and Réunion in 1638 and later in Mauritius that the islands were colonized permanently (Bowman 1991: 8-9; Toth 1995: 98-100). After the French revolution, the British had a renewed strategic interest in the Indian Ocean and they occupied Rodrigues in 1809, and Mauritius and Réunion in 1810. After the fall of Napoleon in 1814 the British were awarded the islands in the Treaty of Paris (Bowman 1991: 16-17; Toth 1995: 100-104). English then became the official language although few British immigrants came to the islands. During the early 20th century the islands gained an increasing control over domestic matters and in 1965 it was decided that the islands were to become an independent state. In 1968, the independent state of Mauritius was proclaimed (Toth 1995: 98-105). At the time of independence the island of Rodrigues at first wanted

to remain a British dependency or to be united with the French island of Réunion (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 164). The island of Rodrigues used to constitute an integrated part of Mauritius until the autonomy was granted in 2001. Both of the two factors must be regarded as absent on the island.

Netherlands: Aruba and Netherlands Antilles

The Netherlands has two dependencies in the Caribbean, Aruba, and the five islands of the Netherlands Antilles, including Bonaire, Curaçao, Saba, Sint Eustatius, and Sint Maarten. The islands were discovered by Spain in the late 15th century. From 1634 the Dutch invaded the so-called ABC-islands, Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, for military purposes, and in 1648 all six islands had been conquered (Paquette and Engerman 1996: 7). During the early 19th century, the Netherlands was a French vassal state with Napoleons younger brother Louis as king. During this period, Britain occupied the Dutch islands in West India (Goslinga 1979: 67-75). During World War II, the Netherlands were occupied by Nazi-Germany, and to prevent the Germans to access the Dutch islands in the Caribbean, American troops were placed on the islands (Mitchell 1973: 38-39; Goslinga 1979: 148-149).

After World War II the colony was renamed Netherlands Antilles and in 1948, they were given internal self-rule and in 1954 the Charter of the Kingdom was adopted implying that the Netherlands, the Netherlands Antilles, and Dutch Guyana (today Suriname), were made equal parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In 1986, Aruba broke loose and formed an own entity. At first it was agreed that the island should gain independence within ten years, this mainly to prevent other islands from breaking loose from the Netherlands Antilles, forming their own equal parts of the kingdom. However, in 1994, the Dutch and Aruba governments agreed to abandon the process towards independence, on the request of the Aruban government (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 41-44). Consequently, the islands do not fulfil the criteria set up for previous self-rule, while they both do fulfil the criteria for strategic importance.

New Zealand: Cook Islands

The Cook Islands were discovered by the Europeans in 1595 when the Spanish navigator Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira reached the islands. Before the arrival of the Europeans, the islands were divided into smaller states often only embracing one or few islands. The British captain James Cook, after whom the islands have been named, discovered the islands in

the 1770s. Missionaries from the London Missionary Society were successful in converting the inhabitants, and eventually the islands became a part of the British sphere of influence. In 1888, a British protectorate was established to prevent any claim from France, which already claimed the Society Islands, including Tahiti. In 1901, the islands were annexed by New Zealand. The islands were not involved in any fighting during World War II, but after the war demands for self-government were raised, and in 1946 a Legislative Council with limited control over internal affairs was established. In 1965, Cook Islands were given full self-government of all domestic affairs, but still in association with New Zealand, who are responsible for the defence and are available for consultation on foreign matters. The Cook Islands are also entitled to declare full independence at any time it chooses to do so (Seekins 1985-a: 365-366). The autonomy of the Cook Islands dates back to 1946, in its present arrangements to 1965, but the islands have not enjoyed any previous independence, nor does it fulfil any of the criteria for strategic importance.

Papua New Guinea: Bougainville, Manus, New Britain, and New Ireland

There is very little historical information about the early history of New Guinea and therefore very little is known about the island before the arrival of the Europeans. The first Europeans that arrived on the island were the Portuguese and the Spanish. Thereafter various European powers explored the coasts and in the early 19th century, the Dutch claimed the western part of the island. In 1884 the British proclaimed a protectorate over the south-western part of the island (Papua) and shortly thereafter the Germans annexed the north-western part of the island and the smaller islands north and west of it (the colony of Kaiser Wilhelmsland), i.e. Bougainville, Manus, New Britain (Neupommern) and New Ireland (Neumecklenburg). After the German defeat in World War I, their part of the island was administered by Australia and in 1946 it was jointly administered with the British Papua territory (West 1968: 3-7).

During World War II, Japan occupied the four islands in January 1942. Attempts were made to continue to mainland Papua, but the Australian and Papuan troops managed to maintain their control over the territory. Allied troops started to regain control over the islands in 1944, but on New Britain and Bougainville the Japanese did not surrender until mid 1945 (Easton 1985: 150-151).

On Bougainville Island demands for autonomy were raised for the first time in 1960, and when the independence of Papua New Guinea was pro-

claimed in 1975, the Republic of North Solomons declared itself independent. After negotiations and promises of establishing a provincial government with significant influence on internal matters such as local taxes, the island agreed on remaining within the Papua state (Alley 2003: 226-230). Other provinces soon established their own provincial governments and soon the new state had more of the features of a semi-federal state (Easton 1985: 169-170).

Among the Papuan islands, only Bougainville fulfils the criteria for previous self-rule, whereas strategic importance must be regarded as present for all the four islands, due to the Japanese occupation during World War II.

Philippines: Muslim Mindanao and Palawan

The Philippines were first discovered by the Europeans in 1521, by Magalhães, who was killed on Cebu Island, one month after his arrival, when he claimed the land for Carlos I of Spain. The first Spanish settlement was established in 1565. During Spanish rule the sultanate on Mindanao and the Sulu suffered from several attacks by the Spaniards, but the sultans managed to maintain their rule over the major parts of the islands. The Spanish rule remained until 1898, surviving rebellion uprisings and attacks by primarily British troops during mid 18th century (Islam 2003: 196-197 Seekins 1993-b: 5-9). After the Spanish-American war in 1898 the islands were ceded to the US, in the Treaty of Paris. The American take over of the islands were not approved by the Philippines, and a nationwide guerrilla fought the American troops for several years to come (Seekins 1993:-b 22-24).

The Moros on Mindanao had at that time signed an agreement implying a policy of non-interference of the US. However, in 1903, a Moro province was established and the Sharia, or Islamic law, was replaced. The Moro resistance grew but was subjugated by the Americans (Seekins 1993-b: 24-27). Until then, the autonomy of the Moros in Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago had not been suppressed (Seekins 1993-b: 76). After the Japanese occupation during World War II, the nationalist movement on the Philippines grew and in 1946 the islands became an independent nation (Islam 2003: 199-200; Seekins 1993-b: 39-42). None of the Philippine islands has enjoyed independence as individual island(s). Muslim Mindanao, however, enjoyed a form of autonomy during the Spanish rule and the Sultans in Mindanao and Sulu ruled their sultanates according to the sharia law, and not according to the catholic Spanish law. The island of

Palawan has been integrated with the rest of the Philippines islands during the Spanish and US rule, as well as under the independent Philippine state.

Portugal: Azores and Madeira

The Portuguese discovered both the Azores and Madeira during the 14th century. Both the Azores and Madeira were uninhabited at the time of the Portuguese arrival and therefore the Portuguese king ordered Prince Henry the Navigator to populate them.

The Azores were first ruled as a colony but were early made an integrated part of Portugal. In 1895 the Portuguese government granted the islands autonomy in relation to the mainland. However the Azorean autonomy was, from the beginning, burdened with responsibilities but the islands was denied resources to execute them. The autonomous regime suffered consistent setbacks and during the 1930's the autonomy was abolished and the islands were again made an integrated province (Amaral 1992: 39-47). During World War II, allied forces were allowed to set up air force bases on the Azores, despite the fact that the Salazar government in Lisbon had declared itself neutral in the war (Monje 1992: 4-11). After the fall of the military junta in 1976, the new constitution restored the autonomy of the islands (Amaral 1992: 39-47).

Like the Azores, Madeira was first ruled as a colony but was early made an integrated part of the Portuguese Kingdom. (Duncan 1972: 2-11) Apart from the autonomy granted the island during the early 20th century, Madeira constituted an integrated part of Portugal until the autonomy was restored in 1976. During the Napoleonic wars in the early 19th century, British forces occupied Madeira, first in 1801 and then from 1807 to 1815 (Oliveira 1992: 72-73). Both of the Portuguese islands must therefore be considered as fulfilling the criteria for both previous self-rule and for strategic importance.

Solomon Islands: Temotu

The Solomon Islands had been inhabited for more than 10,000 years when the Spanish explorer Álvaro de Mendaña first visited the islands in 1568. The Spaniards tried to establish a permanent settlement in the Santa Cruz Islands, today the Temotu province, but failed. It was not until the early 19th century, when Anglican missionaries managed to set up a successful mission in the Reef Islands, that the Europeans got more frequent contacts with the indigenous people on the islands. Violent clashes between the

islanders and the Europeans caused Britain to set up a protectorate for the eastern islands. The western islands remained under German influence, but in 1899 an agreement between Britain and Germany brought these islands into the British protectorate. During World War II the northern islands were occupied by Japan from 1942 to 1943, when the islands were recaptured by the allied forces. In 1978 the islands became an independent state of the Commonwealth of nations (Wickman 1985-a: 209-211). The Temotu province has not been separated from the rest of the islands, except for the Japanese occupation, when the islands were still a British colony. Temotu must therefore be considered as fulfilling the criteria for strategic importance, while not fulfilling those set up for previous self-rule.

South Korea: Jeju Island

The Jeju Island used to constitute an independent state called Tamna, but during the 7th century the island was incorporated into the mainland. The island maintained a special status and enjoyed internal autonomy during the first four hundred years. During the 11th century, the island was fully incorporated with Goryeo and it has since then remained a part of mainland Korea (The Official homepage of Jeju Island Province). Korea came under Japanese rule in 1910 and the Japanese stayed until the end of World War II in 1945 the island served as (Lee 1992: 20-25). The Jeju Island does not fulfil any of the criteria set up for the historical or strategic factor.

Spain: Balearic Islands and Canary Islands

Following the fall of the Roman Empire, the Balearic Islands had been ruled by Vandal Kingdoms and the Byzantine Empire when the Moors invaded the islands during the 10th century. 300 years later the islands were captured by Aragon-Catalonia (Read 1978: 65, 75, 89). The island of Majorca constituted an independent kingdom from 1298 to 1349, but was recaptured by Aragon and reintegrated in the Balearic region (Hillgarth 1976: 148-150). In the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the island of Minorca was made a British protectorate but was regained by Spain in 1802 (Read 1978: 359-360). Following the regionalization process of Spain, after the fall of the fascist government in 1975, the Balearic Islands were made an autonomous region in 1979 (Moreno 2001: 60-62).

The Canary Islands have been known to the Europeans since the Roman Empire but were not colonized by Europeans until the 15th century (Mercer 1980: 17-21; 160-161). Despite foreign attempts to gain influence over the islands, Spain has managed to maintain its control (Mercer 1980:

160-161). The islands were of great importance in the Atlantic trade but have not been as important in military conflicts. Demands for autonomy and independence have been raised since the 19th century and in 1852, the islands were granted the status of a 'free port'. The pro-independence movement MPAIAC (Movimiento por la autodeterminacion y la independencia del Archipelago Canario) was during the 1970's involved in terrorist attacks on the islands as well as in Madrid (Mercer 1980: 257-263). The islands were formally integrated into Spain in 1927 and made a Spanish autonomous region in 1982 (Mercer 1980: 257-263; Moreno 2001: 5). In the Spanish accession treaty with the EU in 1986 the Canary Islands were granted special regulations concerning the Tax Union (Protocol No 2 on the Canary Islands and Ceuta and Melilla).

Both the Balearic Islands and the Canary Islands must be considered as fulfilling the criteria set up for strategic importance, due to the occupation of the island of Minorca and the importance of the Canary Islands. As for previous self-rule, only the Canary Islands can be considered as having previous experience of autonomy, due to its special status in the mid 19th century. As for the Balearic Islands, the independence of Majorca, took place before 1648, and this will therefore not be considered in this study.

Sweden: Gotland

During the early Middle Ages the island of Gotland was governed according to its own laws, *Gutalagen*, but due to its geographical position the island was subjected to war and plunder from all nations around the Baltic Sea and therefore it sought Swedish protection primarily against Danish and Norwegian warriors (Hammarhjelm 1998: 25-26). In 1361 the island came under Danish sovereignty and was made a Danish province, although it remained under the episcopate of Linköping in Sweden until the Reformation during the 16th century (Gannholm 1990: 152-167). After the Treaty of Brömsebro in 1645 the island was regained by Sweden and has been a Swedish province since then (Hammarhjelm 1998: 199-203; 211-213). During Sweden's war against Denmark during the 17th century and against Russia during the 18th century the coastlines of the island were from time to time invaded, but the island has not been occupied by foreign troops (Öhrman 1994: 162-163). During the two World Wars, Sweden managed to maintain a neutral position and thereby avoided being involved. Gotland has therefore, apart from some German and allied incidents during World War II (Öhrman 1994: 250), not been deeply involved in any conflict or war. Although there are legends about an independent

peasant republic on Gotland, this would have taken place during the early middle Ages, long before the origin of the nation-state. Consequently, none of the criteria for the two factors are fulfilled.

Tanzania: Mafia, Zanzibar

The island of Mafia has never produced any independent culture. During the medieval time it was ruled by Kilwa and later by the Busaidi Sultans in Zanzibar and in 1890 it was made a part of German East Africa, later known as the British colony of Tanganyika. When the United State of Tanzania was formed in 1964, the island became an individual province within the Pwani region (Caplan 1975: 1-2).

Early on, Zanzibar became an important trading place in the Indian Ocean, and from A.D. 750 there was a significant immigration from the Persian Gulf. From 1200 Islam grew stronger on the islands. After the arrival of the Europeans during the early 16th century and the Portuguese attempt to conquer the island, the resistance against the intruders grew rapidly. In 1650, Musquat, the capital of Oman, re-took much of what the Portuguese had conquered. In 1652, they drew the Portuguese out of Zanzibar. The island now became an important outpost of the Omani Empire and eventually the sultan moved the capital from Musquat to the island. In 1885, the Germans claimed the mainland opposite of Zanzibar and as a consequence the British forced the sultan to agree that the island should become a British protectorate to keep the Germans out of it. (Coulson 1982: 21-26). After World War I, German East Africa became the British colony of Tanganyika.

In 1963 the island of Zanzibar regained its independence but only one month after the independence the sultan was deposed and replaced by a socialistic government. Under the pressure of both the UK and the USA, the island was forced into a union with a mainland state and could choose between Kenya or Tanganyika, and later in 1964 the island chose Tanganyika, which led to the formation of the united state of Tanzania (Pettersson 2002: 205-208).

Tonga: Vava'u

The history of the Tonga Islands is to a great extent shrouded in myth, but the islands seem to have been governed by a common king. Some historians have argued that the history of the islands can be characterized by political and military rivalry within the political elite, resulting in a civil war lasting for 53 years ending in 1852. During the pre-colonial period, it

seems as if the three island groups enjoyed some kind of local autonomy that ended in the 1830s when the newly baptised king George consolidated his power over the three island groups. Between 1905 and 1970, the islands were governed as a British protectorate. The islands were not involved in any fighting during World War II, but Tongan troops fought in the Solomon Islands (Wickman 1985-b: 415-418). Consequently, the Vava'u Islands can not be considered as fulfilling the criteria set up for previous self-rule or for strategic importance.

Trinidad and Tobago: Tobago

The island of Tobago was first sighted by the Europeans in 1498, during the third voyage of Columbus to the Americas. The island was inhabited by Caribbean Indians, of which many were killed by the Europeans through diseases, war, and enslavement. The possession of the island was fought between the British, French, Dutch and the Courlanders from Latvia, since the strategic position of the island, its safe harbours, and its fertile soil, made it attractive for colonisers. It was not until the treaty of Paris in 1814 that Britain gained final sovereignty over the island. Until then there had been an intensive international rivalry for control of the island and it had been occupied by the French from 1781 to 1793 and from 1802 to 1803. The island obtained a great deal of autonomy during the early British rule with its own legislative assembly. Due to economic decline during the 19th century and to the British wish to reduce the costs for the administration of its colonies, the island was placed in different administrative units together with other Caribbean islands, first together with Grenada, the Grenadines, Dominica and St Vincent in 1763, and then together with Barbados, Grenada and St Vincent in 1833. Although governed from Grenada and later from Barbados the island maintained its own assembly and thereby also its autonomy. In 1889 the island was united with Trinidad and the political identity of the island was radically changed. The assembly was shut down and the island was ruled directly from Trinidad. By the year of 1899 the island had lost all of its semi-autonomous political identity and was from now a part of the united colony of Trinidad and Tobago. When the colony gained full independence in 1962 it was as a unitary state, from 1976 as a republic. The Tobagonians continued to strive for autonomy and in 1980 its assembly, the Tobago House of Assembly, was re-established (Luke 2001: 5-13). The island of Tobago must therefore be considered as fulfilling the criteria for both previous self-rule and for strategic importance.

United Kingdom: Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Island, Cayman Islands, Eilean Siar, Guernsey, Isle of Man, Jersey, Orkney Island, Shetland Island, Turks and Caicos Islands

The two Channel Islands of Guernsey and Jersey were originally parts of the Duchy of Normandy and came under the English Crown after the Battle of Hastings in 1066. Mainland Normandy was recaptured by France in 1204, but the islands remained as dependencies of the English crown (Lemprière 1974: 22-29). France has made several attempts to regain the islands and in 1461 France occupied the island of Jersey for seven years. During the Napoleonic Wars, the islands played an important role in the war between Britain and France, and during World War II, German forces occupied the islands, which were the only British territory under German occupation (Lemprière 1974: 36-38; 219-277). Due to their geographical position and their constitutional status as crown dependencies, the islands early developed into autonomous island regions. The autonomy of the islands has later been recognized and when the United Kingdom joined the EEC in 1973, the islands decided not to join. As a result of this decision a special agreement was set up in the British accession treaty with the EEC (Protocol No 3 on the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man).

The Isle of Man was conquered by the Vikings during the 9th century and constituted the independent Kingdom of Man and the isles, consisting of the Isles of Man, Lewis, Skye, Mull and Islay. In 1286, the kingdom became a suzerainty of Scotland and the kings of Man ruled under the supervision of the Scottish kings. In 1333, the islands were conquered by England and made an English suzerainty, although there were several attempts made by the Scots to reconquer the island, it remained a part of England since then. In 1504, the kings became Lords of Man, a title that today is held by the British Queen. As suzerainty the island had control over its internal affairs while England was responsible for foreign affairs, defence and taxes (Solly 1994: 48-65). The island was of great importance for trade and was famous for its piracy during the 18th and 19th centuries, but has not been of any military importance (Bennich 1988: 497-498). As is the case on Guernsey and Jersey, the Isle of Man also chose not to join the EEC (Protocol No 3 on the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man).

The British West Indies dependencies have for the most part a common history since the discovery of the islands by the Europeans. Anguilla was colonised by Britain in 1650, the British Virgin Islands were annexed in 1672, and the Cayman Islands were ceded to Britain from Spain in 1670. Both Anguilla and the British Virgin Islands suffered from several attacks during the 17th and 18th centuries, including most serious attacks by the

French in 1745 and 1796. The Turks- and Caicos Islands were first settled from the Bahamas, but were invaded by France in 1764, not to be regained by Britain until the early 19th century. The British colonies in the western Leeward Islands of the Caribbean were administratively formed into different units depending on when they were studied, but in 1871 the Leeward Islands Federation was formed out of the islands of St Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla, and British Virgin Islands. This federation was dissolved in 1956 when the British wanted to implement the idea of creating one single federation including of all the British possessions in the area. The West Indies Federation was formed in 1958, but the British Virgin Islands chose not to join and were made a British crown colony, a status they still enjoy. The West Indies Federation was dissolved when Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago left the federation in 1962 and Anguilla was again made into a part of a federation; St Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla. In 1969 the island voted to leave the federation and gained the status of associated state (Cichon 1989-a: 494-497).

The Cayman Islands were formally ruled by Jamaica until 1959 when they were made a part of the West Indies Federation. In 1962 they were made a separate crown colony. The Turks and Caicos Islands were first ruled from the Bahamas but were annexed by Jamaica in 1874. As was the case with the Cayman Islands, the Turks-and Caicos Islands were made a separate colony after the breakdown of the West Indies Federation in 1962 (Cicon 1989-b: 565-566).

Bermuda was first discovered by the Portuguese, but in 1612 the islands were settled by the British and in 1684 they were made a British Crown colony. The islands were given internal self-government in 1968. In a referendum in 1995, independence was rejected in favour of a status quo (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 272-273). During World War II, the islands served as an important naval and air-force base and American bases were built on the islands in 1941.

Both the Orkney Islands and the Shetland Islands have been inhabited for more than 3000 years and were invaded by Norsemen during the 9th century made a part of the Kingdom of Norway, and later a part of the United Kingdom of Denmark-Norway (Linklater 1965: 20; 35-36). In 1471, the archipelago was annexed by Scotland as a result of the Danish king, Christian I, not being able to pay the dowry to king James III after his marriage to the Danish princess Margaret, in 1468, and it has been ruled by Scotland since then (Linklater 1965: 73-75). In order to avoid the English Channel in wartime, the northern route to Scandinavia and the Baltic

played an important role. Scapa Flow, in the strait between Orkney and mainland Scotland, was therefore important for the British navy in the protection of mainland Britain during both World War I and II. The strait was attacked several times by German submarines and air forces (Linklater 1965: 16-17; Turnock 1982: 273-274).

Like the other Scottish islands, Eilean Siar, or the Outer Hebrides, were occupied by Norsemen during the 9th and 10th century and were later made a part of the Kingdom of Man, but they were recaptured by Scotland during the 12th century (Mitchison 2002: 9-32). In the administrative reform of 1975, the municipalities in the Outer Hebrides were unified into a Scottish region (Mack Kim 1992: 119). This concludes that none of the three Scottish archipelagos, the Orkney Islands, the Shetland Islands, or Eilean Siar, have had any previous experience of autonomy or independence.

Among the British islands included in the present study, there are four that fulfil the criteria set up for previous self-rule, Anguilla, Guernsey, Isle of Man, and Jersey. But all eight islands fulfil the criteria set up for strategic importance.

USA: American Samoa, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, US Virgin Islands

Before the arrival of the Europeans, the Samoa Islands were ruled by local chiefs, but the knowledge about early history of the islands suffers from the lack of written documents. American Samoa was first discovered by the Dutch admiral Roggeveen in 1722 and the influence of Europeans and Americans grew rapidly during the 19th century. In 1889, ships from Germany, UK, and USA confronted one another in the harbour of Apia and a joint rule was set up, but it soon broke down again, and in 1899, Britain withdrew its claim leaving Germany and the USA as the remaining colonial powers claiming sovereignty over the Samoa islands. In 1900 an agreement was reached that divided the islands. The archipelago west of 117° west longitude was given to Germany, and the eastern archipelago to USA. Today the western part constitutes the independent state of Samoa. The islands that used to be ruled from the US navy were transferred to the Department of the Interior in 1951 after the closing of the naval station. American Samoa is today considered an unincorporated and unorganised territory of the USA. Unincorporated since it is not one of the 50 states in the US and unorganised, since it has its own constitution and US law does not automatically apply to the territory (Bunge 1985: 355-359).

The Mariana Islands, including Guam, were first explored by Magalhães in 1521, and were claimed by Spain in 1565. After the Spanish defeat in the Spanish-American War in 1898, the island of Guam was ceded to the US, and has remained an important US naval base since, while the rest of the Spanish possession in Oceania was bought by the Germans. At the outbreak of World War I, Japan took advantage of the German involvement in Europe and invaded the islands. In the treaty of Versailles in 1919, the islands were rewarded Japan, but only as a mandate of the League of Nations. When Japan left the League in 1933, the islands became an integrated part of the Japanese Empire. After the end of World War II, the islands became a part of the UN trusteeship, administered by the US that also included Belau, the Marshall Islands and the Micronesian Federation. The Northern Mariana Islands are today an unincorporated territory of the US (Shinn 1985-a: 265-266; Shinn 1985-b: 300-303).

Puerto Rico was discovered by the Europeans in 1493 and was settled by Spain in 1521. Both the British and the Dutch tried several times to invade the island, but it remained Spanish and was made a Spanish province in 1812. In 1897, the island was granted autonomy and a local parliament was elected. The island had the right to legislate on all matters except for foreign policy, defence and general matters of national concern (Monge 1997: 5-14). After the Spanish-American war in 1898, the island was ceded to the US and a military government was established on the island for two years. Puerto Rico became a US colony and the Puerto Ricans were made US citizens in 1917. In 1952, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico was established and the island got its own constitution. The status of the island has been debated ever since and in two referendums the status quo – i.e. the view that it should remain a part of the commonwealth – has won over statehood and independence (Monge 1997: 130-135).

As for most of the islands in the Caribbean the US Virgin Islands were first discovered by the Spaniards, but the first settlers were Danes, who started to colonise the islands during the 1670s. Despite British invasions during the Napoleonic wars, the islands remained Danish, as the Danish West Indies, until 1917, when the USA bought them for \$25 million. The major reason for the American purchase of the islands was to gain access to a military base in the Caribbean during World War I and to prevent the Germans from invading the islands (Dookhan 1975: 13-14; Aldrich and Connell 1998: 284). In 1954 the islands gained internal self-rule and in a referendum in 1993, the islanders voted in favour of a status quo (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 285).

Among the American dependencies, only American Samoa and Puerto Rico fulfil the criteria set up for previous self-rule, while all five dependencies must be considered as fulfilling the criteria for strategic importance.

Vanuatu: Tafea

The early history of Vanuatu is only vaguely known. Archaeologists have found evidence of cultures dating back to 1300 B.C. At the time of the arrival of the Europeans, the islands were ruled by people arriving to the islands during the 13th century. The first Europeans arrived in 1606, but the Europeans had little effect on the society until 1825 when sandalwood was discovered. During the 1830's and 1840's missionaries started working on the islands and during 1860's the trade moved from sandalwood to human labour. Both the British and the French showed a great interest in the islands. The 1887 convention to set up a joint naval commission led to the 1906 agreement to establish the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides. Both the powers set up their own separate administrative structure. In 1980 the Condominium was abolished and the islands gained independence as the state of Vanuatu (Wickman 1985-c: 235-238). Tafea does not fulfil any of the criteria set up for the historical or strategic factor.

6.2. Previous Self-Rule

Previous self-rule only includes historical reasons or historical circumstances of political character. It will only concern previous experience of independence and autonomy, i.e. whether or not the island has constituted an independent state, a kingdom, or a republic, or if it has enjoyed any previous autonomy as an autonomous region or as suzerainty. Nordqvist (1998: 64) argues that historical circumstances in terms of varying kind or grade of autonomy explain the autonomy of the British Crown dependencies of Guernsey, Jersey, and Isle of Man. It is also important in the explanation of the autonomy granted to the five autonomous regions in Italy. All the five regions have at some point in history enjoyed different kinds of autonomy or independence (Lane and Ersson 1999: 183).

The loss of political autonomy can also serve as a potential risk factor for ethnopolitical conflict. Gurr argues that the loss of autonomy is "... an historical fact around which myths and grievances are formed. Appeals to those myths and grievances are a potent source of mobilization for future political action" (Gurr 1998: 18). Previous self-rule played an important role in the Abkhazian demand for autonomy. Abkhazia enjoyed the status

as a union republic in the Soviet Union before the annexation of Georgia in 1921. In 1925 the republic was associated with Georgia and in 1931 it was fully integrated. Demands for a reinstored autonomy for the territory was raised in 1989 and in 1992 Abkhazia reinstated the 1925 constitution. This, however, was seen as an act of secession by the central government in Tbilisi (Cornell 2002: 109-110).

The independence or autonomy must be recognized historically and must not be based on legends or fairytales. In many regions around the world there are legends and fairytales of independent countries. For instance in Jämtland in the middle of Sweden, the legend of the independent pedestrian republic during the early middle ages has inspired the formation of the movement called Republic of Jamtland, some times characterized as a criticism against the centralized Swedish government, others as a marketing ploy (see Ekerwald 2004: 109-121).

The type or grade of independence or autonomy will not be discussed. Instead we will focus on the question whether or not it has existed on the island. It is important that the autonomy or independence occurred before the island gained its current status, i.e. an autonomous island must have experienced another kind of status, before it gained its current status to be considered as having experienced previous self-rule. In some of the former colonies the local leaders continued to rule after the arrival of the Europeans as a vassal of the new colonial leaders. Since this often took place before 1648, the island cannot be regarded as an independent country. Therefore, in these cases the island will be regarded as having experienced previous autonomy. If the island region has experienced any previous independence or any previous autonomy, previous self-rule will be coded as present, otherwise as absent.

The result for the autonomous islands shows that altogether there are 22 that have presence of previous self-rule, see table 18. Among the islands that have not enjoyed previous autonomy or independence, there are nine islands in the Atlantic Ocean and three in the Pacific that are all former colonies that have constituted some form of autonomous or independent entity before the arrival of the Europeans. The two African islands, Réunion and Rodrigues, were both uninhabited at the time of the arrival of the Europeans.

Table 18. Previous Self-Rule and the Autonomous Islands

Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code	Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code
Denmark	Faeroe Islands	1	Portugal	Azores	1
	Greenland	0		Madeira	1
Finland	Åland Islands	0	South Korea	Jeju Island	0
France	Corsica	1	Spain	Balearic Islands	0
	French Polynesia	1		Canary Islands	1
	Guadeloupe	0	Tanzania	Zanzibar	1
	Martinique	0	Trinidad and Tobago	Tobago	1
	Mayotte	1	United Kingdom	Anguilla	1
	New Caledonia	1		Bermuda	0
	Réunion	0		Br. Virgin Islands	0
	Wallis et Futuna	1		Cayman Islands	0
Italy	Sardinia	1		Guernsey	1
Mauritius	Sicily	1		Isle of Man	1
	Rodrigues	0		Jersey	1
Netherlands	Aruba	1	Turks and Caicos Islands	0	
New Zealand	Netherlands Antilles	0	USA	American Samoa	1
	Cook Islands	0		Guam	0
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville	1		Northern Mariana Islands	0
				Puerto Rico	1
Philippines	Muslim Mindanao	1		US Virgin Islands	0

Among the non-autonomous islands there are four islands that fulfil the criteria for previous self-rule, three in Asia and one in Europe, see table 19. All four of them have previous experience of autonomy, while two have constituted independent countries, both in Asia.

Table 19. Previous Self-Rule and the Non-Autonomous Islands

Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code	Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code
Bahamas	Abaco	0	Indonesia	Nusa Tenggara Barat	0
	Grand Bahama	0		Nusa Tenggara Timur	0
Cape Verde	Santo Antão	0	Japan	Okinawa	1
	São Nicolau	0	Maldives	Addu	0
	São Vicente	0		Huvadhu	0
Colombia	San Andrés y Providencia	0	Papua New Guinea	Manus	0
Cuba	Isla de la Juventud	0		New Britain	0
Denmark	Bornholm	0		New Ireland	0
Estonia	Hiiumaa	0	Philippines	Palawan	0
	Saaremaa	0	Solomon Islands	Temotu	0
Greece	Crete	1	Sweden	Gotland	0
	Ionian Islands	0	Tanzania	Mafia	0
	North Aegean Sea	0	Tonga	Vava'u	0
	South Aegean Sea	0	United Kingdom	Eilean Siar	0
Honduras	Islas de la Bahía	0		Orkney Islands	0
Indonesia	Maluku	1		Shetland Islands	0
	Maluku Utara	1	Vanuatu	Tafea	0

Two of the non-autonomous islands, Maluku and Okinawa have enjoyed both autonomy and independence. In the case of Okinawa autonomy and independence go back to the 19th century, while Maluku enjoyed autonomy in the late 17th century and constituted an independent country during seven months in 1950. The result of previous self-rule is analysed in a crosstab in table 20.

The fact that an island has enjoyed autonomy or independence that was taken away from it, might explain why it has been given back to the island again. This could therefore be an important explanation to the difference in autonomy. Among the autonomous islands, there are 21, or 56.8% that have enjoyed previous autonomy or independence, while four, or 11.4% of the non-autonomous islands have so. Among the islands that have enjoyed previous autonomy or independence, 84% are autonomous while among those that have not 66% are non-autonomous.

Table 20. Crosstab of Autonomy and Previous Experience of Self-Rule

		Previous Self Rule		Total	
		Absence	Presence		
Autonomy	Absence	Count	30	4	34
		Expected Count	21.9	12.1	34
	Presence	Count	17	22	39
		Expected Count	25.1	13.9	37
Total	Count	47	26	73	
	Expected Count	47	26	73	

Pearson Chi-Square: Value: 15.79; Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): 0.0000708

The autonomous islands are in large majority among the islands that have enjoyed autonomy or independence in history but among the autonomous islands the majority is only 56, 8%. If we had extended the historic background to include events that took place before the arrival of the Europeans, the difference between the autonomous and the non-autonomous islands would have been even more profound.

The result of Pearson’s chi-square test shows that the expected result and the actual result of previous self-rule differ to some extent. This is also reflected in the test of significance. Previous self-rule is found to be significant at the .01 level.

Previous experience of autonomy or independence seems to be an important variable in explaining the difference in autonomy. Still it remains to be seen if it is important as part of a configuration in the qualitative analysis. Let us now continue with strategic importance.

6.3. Strategic Importance

Strategic factor, focus on whether or not the island has been a part of a foreign country, but not necessarily as a result of a conflict between two states, or if it has been subject to disputes or has played an important role in an international conflict, and if thereby it has been separated from its present mother country.

Ahlström (1995: 49-51) has performed a study on territories in Europe, which according to international treaties have been demilitarized and/or neutralized. He finds that several of these territories, in connection with the international agreement or after the implementation of the agreement, have developed autonomy. In Europe today Ahlström identifies ten demilitarized, or demilitarized and neutralized areas: Hüningen in France (since 1815); the Åland Islands in Finland (since 1856); Corfu and Paxos

(since 1863); Limnos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Nikaria (since 1914) and Dodecanese Islands (since 1947) in Greece; Svalbard in Norway (since 1920); Pelagosa Islands in Croatia (since 1947); the Bulgarian-Greek border (since 1947) and the pink zones in former Yugoslavia (since 1992). In the cases of Limnos and the Dodecanese Islands, Greece does not consider the treaties to still be in use.

The strategic value – often due to military strategic position or the existence of natural resources on the islands – tends to make islands more desirable for intruders. This often forces them to choose between being dominated by a country based on a continent, or to be constantly exposed to threats from other surrounding countries (Anckar 1982: 156-157).

Islands often have a unique geopolitical position, something that makes them more exposed in conflicts, both political and military. Strategic importance is closely connected to political geography, and the geographical position of the island region is therefore crucial for this factor.

Loo (2003: 157-162) argues that the geography-politics relationship is important. Firstly, because geography is an objective of policy, i.e. it constitutes a prize in a conflict between states. Secondly, because geography is the physical context of inter-state relationships. Thirdly, because geography is *the mother of strategy* and provides the theatre of military action where policy-makers are seeking to maximize the interest of their respective states since all claims of territory in the end have some political or military-strategic significance. This might also imply that the invasion of a foreign territory, for instance an island, is executed in order to avoid the territory from falling into the hands of the enemy, and actually not primarily due to its strategic importance.

Strategic importance can be affected by geography in two different ways. Firstly, the relative geographical location is important for the identity of the belligerents. As a result, the conflict between two states can be connected with the control of political space as well as control over natural resources. Secondly, the size and location of states affect the way the policy-makers and the strategic planners think about strategy, e.g. while an island state would concentrate on air or naval theories, a land-locked country would put more effort into theories on land warfare (Loo 2003: 162). However, strategic factor will only concentrate on the strategic position for the island region and not on the strategic decisions of the foreign state. The result for the autonomous islands is shown in table 21.

Table 21. Strategic Importance – Presence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code	Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code
Denmark	Faeroe Islands	1	Portugal	Azores	1
	Greenland	1		Madeira	1
Finland	Åland Islands	1	South Korea	Jeju Island	0
France	Corsica	1	Spain	Balearic Islands	1
	French Polynesia	1		Canary Islands	1
	Guadeloupe	1	Tanzania	Zanzibar	1
	Martinique	1	Trinidad and Tobago	Tobago	1
	Mayotte	1	United Kingdom	Anguilla	1
	New Caledonia	1		Bermuda	1
	Réunion	1		Br. Virgin Islands	1
	Wallis et Futuna	1		Cayman Islands	1
Italy	Sardinia	1		Guernsey	1
Mauritius	Sicily	1		Isle of Man	1
	Rodrigues	0	Jersey	1	
Netherlands	Aruba	1		Turks and Caicos Islands	1
New Zealand	Netherlands Antilles	1	USA	American Samoa	1
	Cook Islands	1		Guam	1
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville	1		Northern Mariana Islands	1
				Puerto Rico	1
Philippines	Muslim Mindanao	1		US Virgin Islands	1

Strategic importance is classified into categories formed out of two conditions. If the island has been a part of a foreign country, has been involved in any major conflict, or has been embraced by any major treaty, strategic importance will be coded as present, otherwise as absent. The results show that there are only two autonomous islands that do not fulfil the criteria for strategic importance: Jeju Island and Rodrigues. All together there are 37 that fulfil the criteria set up for strategic importance. As was shown in the historical background above, several islands had been disputed mainly according to the geography-politics relationship

argued by Loo. The islands were seen as a prize in the colonial race and in order to prevent the island from falling into the hands of the enemy.

Among the non-autonomous islands the result is somewhat different, as is shown in table 22. There are 13 non-autonomous islands that show presence of strategic importance.

Table 22. Strategic Importance – Absence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code	Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code
Bahamas	Abaco	0	Indonesia	Nusa Tenggara Barat	0
	Grand Bahama	0		Nusa Tenggara Timur	0
Cape Verde	Santo Antão	0	Japan	Okinawa	1
	São Nicolau	0	Maldives	Addu	0
	São Vicente	0		Huvadhu	0
Colombia	San Andrés y Providencia	1	Papua New Guinea	Manus	1
Cuba	Isla de la Juventud	1		New Britain	1
Denmark	Bornholm	1		New Ireland	1
Estonia	Hiiumaa	0	Philippines	Palawan	0
	Saaremaa	0	Solomon Islands	Temotu	0
Greece	Crete	1	Sweden	Gotland	0
	Ionian Islands	1	Tanzania	Mafia	0
	North Aegean Sea	1	Tonga	Vava'u	0
	South Aegean Sea	1	United Kingdom	Eilean Siar	0
Honduras	Islas de la Bahía	1		Orkney Islands	1
Indonesia	Maluku	0		Shetland Islands	0
	Maluku Utara	0	Vanuatu	Tafea	0

The crosstab analysis, see table 23, shows that strategic importance, as an independent variable explaining the difference in autonomy, shows a clear pattern between the autonomous and the non-autonomous islands.

Table 23. Crosstab of Autonomy and Strategic Importance

		Strategic		Total	
		Absence	Presence		
Autonomy	Absence	Count	21	13	34
		Expected Count	10.7	23.3	34
	Presence	Count	2	37	39
		Expected Count	12.3	26.7	39
Total	Count	23	50	73	
	Expected Count	23	50	73	

Pearson Chi-Square: Value 27.0; Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): 0.000000203

Among the autonomous, only one does not show strategic importance according to our definitions, while among the non-autonomous ones, 62.9% show no importance. Among the islands showing no strategic importance, 95.7% are non-autonomous while among those showing a strategic importance, 73.5% are autonomous. It was argued that strategic importance is important in explaining autonomy and according to this analysis it seems to be the case for the islands. A large majority among the islands showing strategic importance is autonomous (73.5%), and among the autonomous islands a large majority show strategic importance (97.3%).

As for Pearson's chi-square test, strategic importance shows a high value, indicating that the result and the expected result differs heavily. If there were no relationship between the variable and autonomy we would have found 24 non-autonomous islands that showed presence of strategic importance. Instead we have found only 13, almost half of the expected number. Similarly we would have found eleven autonomous islands that showed absence of strategic importance. Instead we have found only one. This is also reflected in the fact that strategic importance is shown to be significant at the .01 level. However, it remains to be seen if it will continue to be important in explaining autonomy as a part of a configuration or not in the qualitative analysis. Let us now continue with the constitutional factor.

7. Natural Resources

In previous research, economical aspects are not directly emphasized as a major factor that explain autonomy, although it seems likely that economical aspects are important when explaining the difference in autonomy. Lapidoth for instance, discusses economic conditions in terms of difference in economic system as important when explaining autonomy. This, however must be seen as a unique solution for Hong Kong and Macau (Lapidoth 1996: 25-26).

The possessions of natural resources have often been used by the central state to maintain the control over islands. The islands on the other hand have used the possessions in order to obtain some degree of political autonomy or even secession from the mother country (Baldacchino 2006: 856). This was for instance the case on Greenland. The Danish government wanted to maintain control over the natural resources. Greenland on the other hand argued that the mineral resources belonged to the permanent population of Greenland (Foighel 1981: 44-46).

Economical matters are often measured by using GDP (Gross Domestic Product). However, this measures only the production level in the country as a whole. Since the islands in this study do not constitute independent countries, it would be necessary to study the GRP (Gross Regional Product) for the different regions, provinces, counties etc. However, GRP is available only on the European islands and most of the autonomous islands. When it comes to the non-autonomous islands GRP is not available and can therefore not be used in explaining the difference in autonomy. The economical aspects will therefore only focus on whether or not the island have any substantial findings of natural resources that are of great importance for the country as a whole. Many of the economical issues lie between autonomy and independence, and not between non-autonomy and autonomy. In several cases, the island has chosen not to demand independence, but autonomy, since the economical circumstances make the island dependent on aid from the mainland. Therefore independence would make the economical situation on the island very difficult.

As concerns natural resources, we will here consider whether or not there are any substantial findings of natural resources on the island that are of importance for the mainland. Presence of natural resources is mostly used as an explanation to why a certain territory does not obtain independence or autonomy. Considerations of this economical factor in

the context of this study will therefore focus on whether or not the islands have any substantial findings of natural resources, which are of great importance for the country as a whole.

In the study field of minority rights, the control over natural resources is often regarded as one of the key issues. Often the indigenous people have a spiritual relationship with the land or earth, but often they do not control the natural resources, even though these questions are of increasing importance for these groups. The control over natural resources is often a major conflict in distributing the power between the state and the autonomy (Hannum 1996: 91). Presence of natural resources on islands is also used as an explanation to mainland-based states desire to control these islands.

7.1. The Possession of Natural Resources

In the context of the present study, we consider whether or not there are any substantial findings of natural resources on the island that are of importance for the mainland. The definition of natural resources follows the common one; "materials or conditions occurring in the nature and capable of economic exploitation" (*The Oxford Encyclopaedic English*). This definition is fairly wide and therefore it needs some further discussion. Materials and conditions of importance that we find in nature would include coal, minerals, natural gas, and oil, but also large forests that are important for the economy of the country, as well as large rivers and waterfalls that are important for the energy production of the country. Natural resources do not include agricultural products, animal breeding, and tourism.

Since the control over natural resources must be seen as important, the state would be less likely to grant autonomy to the island if it possesses important natural resources. This implies that this factor will serve in an opposite way from the other factors. The absence of important natural resources will be seen as important for the island in order to obtain autonomy and thereby coded as 1, while the presence of natural resources will be coded as 0. This means that if there are important natural resources found on the island or in the water surrounding it, the necessary economical circumstances for autonomy must be coded as absent for the island.

Among the islands, only a few possess significant natural assets that are of great importance for the mainland. Aldrich and Connell (1998) argue that the overseas territories included in their study *The last colonies*

suffer from a small range of export products, small domestic markets, high transport costs, and they are dependent on costly imports. They also have few resources and some of them even suffer from short supply of water (1998: 61-62). The results for the autonomous islands are summarized in table 24.

Table 24. Natural Resources – Presence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code	Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code
Denmark	Faeroe Islands	1	Portugal	Azores	1
	Greenland	0		Madeira	1
Finland	Åland Islands	1	South Korea	Jeju Island	1
France	Corsica	1	Spain	Balearic Islands	1
	French Polynesia	1		Canary Islands	1
	Guadeloupe	1	Tanzania	Zanzibar	1
	Martinique	1	Trinidad and Tobago	Tobago	1
	Mayotte	1	United Kingdom	Anguilla	1
	New Caledonia	0		Bermuda	1
	Réunion	1		Br. Virgin Islands	1
	Wallis et Futuna	1		Cayman Islands	1
Italy	Sardinia	1		Guernsey	1
	Sicily	1		Isle of Man	1
Mauritius	Rodrigues	1	Jersey	1	
Netherlands	Aruba	1	Turks and Caicos Islands	1	
New Zealand	Netherlands Antilles	1	USA	American Samoa	1
	Cook Islands	1		Guam	1
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville	0		Northern Mariana Islands	1
				Puerto Rico	1
Philippines	Muslim Mindanao	1		US Virgin Islands	1

Among the 39 autonomous islands, there are only three that possess economically significant natural resources: Bougainville, Greenland and New Caledonia.

On Greenland there is cryolite, lead, zinc, and silver. In recent years gold and oil have been discovered (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 72-73; 257). On New Caledonia, both nickel and gold attracted miners in the mid 19th century. Today the island has the world's second largest reserve of nickel (Fairbairn, Morrison, Baker and Groves 1991: 43-44; Aldrich and Connell 1998: 72-73; 258-264).

In the waters surrounding the Faeroe Islands there is some oil, but at the time of the implementation of the Faeroese autonomy this was not an issue, and the islands cannot be seen as being in possession of important natural resources at that time.

On the Finnish Åland Islands, there are no major natural resources found and this is also the case on most of the French islands. On Corsica, French Polynesia, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Mayotte, Réunion, and Wallis et Futuna, there are no major natural resources (Statesman's Yearbook 2006; Aldrich and Connell 1998).

On the Netherlands islands of Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles, there are no major natural resources. During the first half of the 20th century, oil refineries played an important role for the islands of Aruba and Curaçao, but after the establishment of Venezuelan refineries, the importance has declined rapidly. Curaçao has managed to specialise their refineries and thereby maintained it as an important economical sector (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 73; 265-266). However, due to the lack of other natural resources the islands must be coded as not possessing any major ones.

On the Cook Islands, there are no major natural resources found, and the US dependencies in the Pacific, American Samoa, Guam, and Northern Mariana Islands, all depend heavily on American subsidy, since there are no major resources on the islands (Fairbairn, Morrison, Baker and Groves 1991: 113; 123; 135). This is also the case with the two U.S. Caribbean territories of Puerto Rico and US Virgin Islands. None of them possess any major natural resources (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 283-285)

On the Philippines, there are major findings of copper, gold, zinc, nickel, iron, and coal. However, none of these are found on Muslim Mindanao (Lindsey 1993: 155-157). In none of the two Portuguese islands of the Azores and Madeira are there any major natural resources to be found (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 268-269). This is also the case on Sardinia and Sicily, and the two Spanish islands of Baleares or Canarias (Aldrich and Connell 1998: 270).

Among the non-autonomous islands the situation is the same as on the autonomous. There is only one island that possesses significant natural resources, the island of Palawan in the Philippines. The results for the non-autonomous islands are summarized in table 25.

Table 25. Natural Resources – Absence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code	Mother Country	Autonomous Islands	Boolean Code
Bahamas	Abaco	1	Indonesia	Nusa Tenggara Barat	1
	Grand Bahama	1		Nusa Tenggara Timur	1
Cape Verde	Santo Antão	1	Japan	Okinawa	1
	São Nicolau	1	Maldives	Addu	1
	São Vicente	1		Huvadhu	1
Colombia	San Andrés y Providencia	1	Papua New Guinea	Manus	1
Cuba	Isla de la Juventud	1		New Britain	1
Denmark	Bornholm	1		New Ireland	1
Estonia	Hiiumaa	1	Philippines	Palawan	0
	Saaremaa	1	Solomon Islands	Temotu	1
Greece	Crete	1	Sweden	Gotland	1
	Ionian Islands	1	Tanzania	Mafia	1
	North Aegean Sea	1	Tonga	Vava'u	1
	South Aegean Sea	1	United Kingdom	Eilean Siar	1
Honduras	Islas de la Bahía	1		Orkney Islands	1
Indonesia	Maluku	1		Shetland Islands	1
	Maluku Utara	1	Vanuatu	Tafea	1

In the Philippines, there are major findings of copper, gold, zinc, nickel, iron, and coal. The major natural resource on Palawan is nickel, but there are also findings of oil and natural gas off the northwest coast of Palawan (Lindsey 1993: 155-157). On the Papuan islands included, there are no major assets found. On Bougainville there is one of the largest minor complexes of copper in the world is found and the earnings from mining plays an important role for the Papuan export (Fairbairn, Morrison, Baker, and Groves 1991: 43-44; Aldrich and Connell 1998: 73; 267).

On the Bahamas, the service sector is the most important sector, and most of it is connected to tourism. The island of Grand Bahama serves as an important tourist resort and it is also important in petroleum transshipment. None of Abaco or Grand Bahama possesses any major natural resources, even though the importance of Grand Bahama as a tourist resort makes it important for the economy of the Bahamas.

On the Cape Verde Islands, none of the islands possess any major natural resources and mining produces only 0.4% of the GDP, while agriculture, forestry, and fishing produce 6.6% and the service sector 74.5%. Therefore all three Cape Verde Islands will be coded as not possessing major natural resources. On the Mafia Island in Tanzania coconuts, together with Copra and Cashew nuts are important for the island economy. Fishing is also an important industry, but there are no major natural resources found on the island (Caplan 1975: 5-6).

In Colombia the main natural resources consist of hard coal, gold, silver, iron ore, salt, and oil, all exploited in mainland Colombia. On the islands of San Andres y Providencia, there are no major natural assets (Hornbeck 1990: 164-167). On Isla de la Bahía there are no major natural resources. The importance of mining has declined since the mid 20th century and Honduras has never been an oil producer (Annis 1995: 132-133). Cuba is one of the world's largest producers of nickel, but both nickel and iron are found in mainland provinces. None of these findings are found on Isla de la Juventud (Roth 1987: 124-125). On the Danish Bornholm, on the Estonian islands of Hiiumaa and Saaremaa, and on the Swedish island of Gotland, there are no major natural resources (Östersjöns öar 1996: 10-21)

In Greece, mining comprises only 0.7% of the GDP. The findings of oil in the Northern part of the Aegean Sea represents about 10% of the total consumption of oil in the country. The main findings of natural resources are not found in any of the four island regions and therefore these must be coded 1 for lack of natural resources.

The Indonesian findings of natural resources consist mainly of liquefied natural gas, oil, tin, copper, and gold. The main oil and natural gas fields are found in Sumatra, along the coast of Borneo, north of Java, in New Guinea and in the South Chinese Sea. None of the included Indonesian islands can therefore be regarded as possessing any major natural resources (Marshall 1993: 188-194). In Japan there is coal, zinc, lead, copper, iron, silver, gold, oil, and natural gas, which except for coal are found only in minor quantities. The main findings of natural resources are found

on the larger islands of Honshū, Hokkaidō and Kyūshū (Metraux and Warner 1992: 225-227; Statesman's yearbook 2006: 973). On the Jeju Island in Korea, on the Maldives and on Mauritius there are no major natural resources (Toth 1995; Ryavec 1995).

On the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu there are deposits of minerals found, silver on Vanuatu and bauxite on the Solomon Islands, while on Tonga there are no major natural resources (Fairbairn, Morrison, Baker, and Groves 1991: 54-55; 141-149). However, none of the islands groups of Tafea, Temotu or Va'ahu possess any major natural resources.

Let us summarize the results of the economical factor. On only four islands there are assets of natural resources that are of significant importance for the mainland, on Bougainville, Greenland, New Caledonia, and Palawan. The crosstab analysis of natural resources, see table 26, shows that natural resources, and the lack of such, seem not to be of great importance in explaining the difference in autonomy. Among the autonomous islands, there are only two that have important possessions of natural resources. Only one of the non-autonomous has significant natural assets. There are 39 autonomous and 34 non-autonomous that show a lack of important natural resources.

Table 26. Crosstab of Autonomy and Natural Resources

		Natural Resources		Total	
		Presence	Absence		
Autonomy	Absence	Count	1	33	34
		Expected Count	1.9	32.1	34
	Presence	Count	3	36	39
		Expected Count	2.1	36.9	39
Total	Count	4	69	73	
	Expected Count	4	69	73	

Pearson Chi-Square: Value: 0.79; Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): 0.374

The value on Pearson's chi-Square test is very low, which means that the result is very close to the expected result if there are no relationship between natural resources and autonomy. As a consequence, this variable is not significant on the .05-level. This variable must therefore be regarded as not being important in explaining the difference in autonomy. Still, it remains to find out if it is important in the qualitative analysis.

8. Constitutional Change

Constitutional change implies that the autonomy derives from a change of the constitution and is sometimes put forward as a factor that explains why some regions have obtained autonomy. In these cases, autonomy is not obtained due to qualities found on the island itself, but more to a constitutional change in the mother country. This is often related to a decentralization or regionalization process. The initiative of this process might derive from the ideology of the new government or regime, but it might also derive from a separate region or municipality. Common is that it will effect all regions or municipalities in the country, both those that strive for an expanded local autonomy and those that do not (Lane and Ersson 1999: 176-177; 183).

In many cases the constitutional change is a part of a regionalization of the country. This is the case in Italy, where the new constitution after the World War II emphasized the importance of the regions. Among these, there were five that were given status as autonomous regions (Hine 1993: 257-258). This was also the case in Spain where all the regions were given the opportunity to gain autonomy after the change of the Spanish constitution in 1978 (Moreno 2001: 2). The same goes for the two Portuguese regions of the Azores and Madeira (Silva 2002: 198-199). It is important to remember that constitutional change is in many ways different from the other independent variables. In some cases the constitutional change is related to a transition process from authoritarian rule. This is the case in Italy, Spain, and Portugal. When the fascist regimes of these three countries were overthrown, the constitution needed to change and in this process the minorities that often had been neglected and repressed, were given autonomy by the new democratic government.

While the other seven independent variables are found on the individual level and related to characteristics of the island itself and thereby must be characterized as structural factors, constitutional change is found on the institutional level and is related to events that take place on the mainland and not necessarily on the island. Nevertheless, constitutional change is used as a factor that explains the difference in autonomy and as such it is important to include. However, we need to be aware of the difference in analytic level when commenting on the concluding results of the analysis.

Constitutions are like living documents, constantly changing. As has been argued above this is one of the major arguments against the study of constitutions. Often the change is mainly manifested as amendments of smaller changes but also as a more major constitutional change, as in Sweden in 1974, when the old constitution had become obsolete and needed to be replaced. The constitutional change can also be due to a transition process from authoritarian rule, as in Italy after World War II, when the old fascist constitution had to be replaced with a democratic one.

It has been argued that the development of autonomy could be a result of a constitutional change. Therefore the constitutional changes in the states included in this study will be analysed to see whether or not the autonomy or lack of autonomy is the result of a constitutional change.

Bahamas: Abaco, Grand Bahama

The constitution of the Bahamas dates from the independence in 1973. Since that time no change of constitution has taken place and the amendments made to the constitution have not included any change concerning the status of the islands of Abaco or Grand Bahama (Sullivan 1989: 545). These islands will therefore be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Cape Verde: Santo Antão, São Nicolau, São Vicente

The Cape Verde constitution states that Cape Verde shall be a sovereign unitary and democratic Republic, which shall guarantee the respect for the dignity of the human person and which shall also recognize the inviolability and inalienability of Human Rights as the foundation of the whole human community, peace and justice (Title I; Article I). In Title IX, Chapter II, Article 281-282, the competence of the Council of Regional Affairs are set up. The council consists of two representatives from each island and shall advise on all matters of relevant interest to regional development. The constitution was adopted in 1992, replacing the old constitution from 1975. None of the constitutions defines any territory with a special status or autonomy.

Colombia: San Andrés y Providencia

The Colombian constitution dates back to 1990 and replaced the old constitution from 1886. In the constitution, Article one states that "Colombia is a lawful state, organized as a single Republic, decentralized, with autonomous territorial entities, democratic, participatory and pluralist

founded on respect for human dignity, on the labour and solidarity of its people and on the prevalence of the general interest" (Europa World Book 2006: 1278). However, Colombia is in practice a unitary state and the local governments are relegated to the status of implementers with limited policymaking authority (Hudson 1990: 211). The old constitution from 1886 also specified that sovereignty resides on the nation and thereby the old federal-unitary debate was settled. Since the independence from Spain in 1810, Colombia has had ten constitutions. Of these, the 1853 and 1863 constitutions declared that Colombia was a federal state with limited presidential control in favour of the states, and in 1863 the country was renamed The United States of Colombia (Hudson 1990: 195-196; Sturges Vera 1990: 24).

The states of Colombia, including San Andrés y Providencia, enjoyed autonomy during the federal period. This was reversed in the 1886 constitution and the country was brought back to a strong centralist control. However, although the autonomy of the states was abolished in a constitutional change, the country was a federal state with no special legislation for the island department of San Andrés y Providencia. In fact, until 1991 the islands did not constitute an own department but an intendancy (Law 2006: Departments of Colombia). The islands of San Andres y Providencia will therefore be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Cuba: Islas de la Juventud

The Cuban constitution of 1976 was the first one since the revolution in 1959. The change of constitution implied that the number of provinces increased from 6 to 14 and that the Islas de la Juventud was made a special municipality, responsible directly to the central government, unlike other municipalities that are responsible to the provinces (Robinson 1987: 170-171; Europa World Book 2006: 1415). However, the change of status of the Islas de la Juventud did not imply that autonomy was granted the island and therefore the island will be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Denmark: Bornholm, Faeroe Islands, and Greenland

The Danish constitution was adopted in 1953 as a result of a constitutional change from the constitution adopted in 1849. At this time the autonomy of the Faeroe Islands was already in practice since 1948 and the autonomy of Greenland was not agreed upon until 1979 (Europa World Book 2006: 1471; 1495; 1501). Therefore, the autonomy of the Danish islands cannot be

regarded as a result of a constitutional change. The Faeroe Islands and Greenland will therefore be coded 0 for this factor.

Estonia: Hiiumaa, and Saaremaa

The Estonian constitution was adopted after the regained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, replacing the old Estonian constitution from 1937 and the Soviet constitution from 1977. In the constitution, the administrative division of the country is stated but nowhere does it say anything about autonomy for the Estonian islands of Hiiumaa and Saaremaa (Europa World Book 2006: 1639). The two islands must therefore be coded as 0 for this factor.

Finland: Åland Islands

The first Finnish constitution after the independence in 1917 was written in 1919 and did not say anything about autonomy for the Åland Islands. After a decision in the League of Nations in 1922 the Åland Islands gained autonomy and this was stated in the special legislation that came into force in 1922 and is also mentioned in the constitution (Europa World Book 2006: 1691; 1694). The autonomy of the Åland Islands is therefore not a result of a constitutional change and the islands will therefore be coded 0 for this factor.

France: Corsica, French Polynesia, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Mayotte, New Caledonia, and Wallis et Futuna

The constitution of the fifth French republic was adopted in 1958. The change of constitution was preceded by a crisis for the fourth French republic constitution due to its inability to deal with the political problems it had to face in the late 1950's, mainly the Algeria crisis, but also since the constitution was opposed by some major political forces (Elgie 2003: 11-13). Concerning regionalism, local government, and autonomy, the fifth French republic constitution was based on the same principles concerning centre-periphery as the fourth republic, i.e. the fear of local autonomy as an anti-national concept that would jeopardize national unity. During the fifth republic the local governments and regional assemblies have been given extended powers within the unitary-state (Elgie 2003: 212-214, 231-233). France and the French islands will therefore be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Greece: the Crete, Ionian Islands, North Aegean Sea, and South Aegean Sea

The Greek constitution was adopted in 1976, replacing the old one from 1952. The new constitution was a result of the military dictatorship that Greece experienced during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. According to the new constitution, Greece is divided into local municipalities. There is nothing said about the regions or any form of autonomy for the Greek Islands. However the autonomy of Athos is defined but this had, at that point, been in practice since the Middle Ages. The autonomy that some of the Greek islands had enjoyed was abolished when they were reunited with mainland Greece. The Greek Islands will therefore be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Honduras: Islas de la Bahía

The constitution of Honduras dates back to 1982 and replaced the old one from 1965. The new constitution was the 16th since the independence in 1825. The country is divided into 18 departments and 290 autonomous municipalities. The local government of Honduras has traditionally been dominated by the central government although there has been a shift since the return of democratic rule since 1982 (Sullivan 1995: 167-169). Although the constitutional change in Honduras has strengthened the municipalities, at least theoretically, the Islas de la Bahía has not gained any autonomy or special status in relation to the state and therefore must be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Indonesia: Mulukas, Mulukas utara, Nusa Tenggara Barat, and Nusa Tenggara Timur

The Indonesian constitution was adopted in 1945 following the proclamation of independence from the Netherlands, but was not fully implemented until 1949. The amendments made to the constitution have guaranteed the special status of the Aceh province but have not implied any change of status of the Indonesian island provinces of Maluku, Maluku Utara, Nusa Tenggara Barat, or Nusa Tenggara Timur (Weatherbee 1993: 225-227; Europa World Book 2006: 2196). These islands will therefore be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Italy: Sardinia, and Sicily

The Italian constitution was adopted in 1948 and replaced the old fascist constitution from 1922. In the constitution, five of the regions were given

status as autonomous regions. Among these are the islands of Sardinia and Sicily. Consequently the autonomy of the islands is a consequence of the constitutional change in 1948 (Europa World Book 2006: 2357; 2365-2366). The islands will therefore be coded 1 for this factor.

Japan: Okinawa

The constitution of Japan was written by the allied powers and its Supreme Commander Mac Arthur in 1946 and came into effect in 1947. The constitution replaced the old Meiji constitution from 1889. The amendments of the constitution have not changed the status of the Okinawa prefecture after it had been returned by the Americans to Japan in 1972 (Seekins 1992: 319; Europa World Book 2006: 2419). The island of Okinawa will therefore be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Maldives: Addu, and Huvadhu

The Maldives constitution came into effect in 1998, replacing the old constitution from the independence in 1968. The constitutional change did not affect the status of the Addu or Huvadhu Atolls in relation to the other atolls or the central government (Ryavec 1995: 279-280; Europa World Book 2006: 2893). The atolls will therefore be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Mauritius: Rodrigues

The constitution of Mauritius was adopted in 1968 when the island gained independence from Britain. The constitution was amended in 1992 providing the adoption of republican status. Although the act of autonomy of the island of Rodrigues was amended to the constitution in 2001, the autonomy was not due to a constitutional change (Toth 1995: 130-131; Law 2006: Districts of Mauritius). The island will therefore be coded 0.

Netherlands: Aruba and Netherlands Antilles

The Netherlands constitution dates back to 1983 and replaced the constitution from 1848. The autonomy of its two dependencies, Aruba and Netherlands Antilles, dates back to 1983 (Aruba) and 1954 (Netherlands Antilles) and was not a result of a constitutional change in the Netherlands (Europa World Book 2006: 3172; 3145; 3183; 3199; 3204-3205). The two islands will therefore be coded 0 for constitutional change.

New Zealand: Cook Islands

New Zealand has no written constitution and the political system is closely modelled from the United Kingdom system but has an element of proportional representation. The constitution of the Cook Islands came into effect in 1965, when the island gained its status as associated state (Europa World Book 2006: 3216; 3247). The autonomy of the island can therefore not be regarded as a result of a constitutional change in New Zealand and the islands will be coded 0.

Papua New Guinea: Bougainville, Manus, New Britain, and New Ireland

The constitution of Papua New Guinea was adopted in 1975 when the independence from Britain was proclaimed. The constitution has been amended and changed several times and in 1995 the status of the local governments were changed. However, this has not affected the islands of Manus, New Britain, or New Ireland in any other way than the other provinces. The autonomy of Bougainville can not be regarded as a result of a constitutional change, although it resulted in an amendment to the constitution. Instead it must be regarded as a result of the peace negotiations between the Bougainville separatists and the Papuan government (Europa World Book 2006: 3458-3459; 3462-3466; 3467). The Papuan Islands will therefore be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Philippines: Muslim Mindanao, and Palawan

The Philippine constitution was adopted in 1987, replacing the old constitution from 1972. The new constitution states that any region can become autonomous if this is supported by a majority of the electorate of that region and a majority in a referendum. This was a result of the demands for autonomy from different ethnical groups in the Philippines (Marlay 1993: 208-211; Europa World Book 2006: 3535; 3544). The autonomy of Muslim Mindanao is consequently a result of the constitutional change in 1987 and will therefore be coded 1.

Portugal: Azores, and Madeira

The Portuguese constitution was adopted in 1976 replacing the constitution initiated by the Salazar regime in 1933. In the new constitution the island regions of Azores and Madeira were given status as autonomous regions. Therefore the autonomy of the island regions will be regarded as a result of the constitutional change (Europa World Book 2006: 3590; 3597-3598). The regions will be coded 1 for this factor.

Solomon Islands: Temoutu

The constitution of the Solomon Islands dates back to the independence in 1978. In 1999 two review committees were established for the purpose of examining ways of accommodating the traditions of the various ethnic groups (Wickman 1985-a: 226; Europa World Book 2005: 3934; 3939; 3942). The status of the Temotu province has not changed since 1978 and the island will therefore be coded 0 for constitutional change.

South Korea: Jeju Island

The constitution of the Sixth Republic of South Korea, or the Republic of Korea, dates back to 1987 and it replaced the constitution of the Fifth Republic from 1980. Autonomy for the local authorities was discussed during the early 1990's and the Act Concerning Local Autonomy was amended in 1990. The Jeju Island does not enjoy any special status in relation to the other provinces (Shaw 1992: 200-203, 214-215; Law 2006: Provinces of South Korea). Therefore the island will be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Spain: Balearic Islands and Canary Islands

The Spanish constitution was adopted in 1978, replacing the old fascist constitution of 1953 from the regime of Franco. In the new constitution, the Spanish regions were given the opportunity to gain autonomy within the Spanish unitary state. All the regions are therefore considered as autonomous regions, including the Balearic Islands and the Canary Islands (Europa World Book 2006: 4017-4018). The Spanish island regions will therefore be coded 1 for this factor.

Sweden: Gotland

The Swedish constitution was adopted in 1974, replacing the constitution of 1809. In both the old constitution as well as in the new one the administrative division of the country was stated. In none of the two constitutions is anything stated concerning autonomy for any of the Swedish regions (Europa World Book 2006: 4138). Therefore the island region of Gotland will be coded as 0 concerning constitutional change.

Tanzania: Zanzibar

The United Republic of Tanzania was established in 1964 and its first interim constitution adopted in 1965. A new, permanent constitution was

adopted in 1977. Both the constitution from 1965 and the one from 1977 give Zanzibar control over all non-union matters (The Constitution of Tanzania). The autonomy of Zanzibar is therefore not a result of a constitutional change but of a unification process between two independent countries. The Mafia Island does not enjoy any special status in relation to other provinces or the central government (Europa World Book 2006:4232; 4239). Therefore the two islands will be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Tonga: Vava'u

The Tongan constitution dates back to 1875 and has been amended little since then. The district of Vava'u does not enjoy any special status in relation to the other districts and the status has not changed due to constitutional change (Wickman 1985-b: 429; Europa World Book 2006: 4319). Therefore the island will be coded 0.

Trinidad and Tobago: Tobago

The constitution of Trinidad and Tobago was adopted in 1962 and was revised when the country became a republic in 1976. The autonomy of the island of Tobago is regulated in an amendment to the constitution in 1980 and 1987 when the island obtained full internal self-government (Meyerson, Seyler, and Hornbeck 1989: 242; Europa World Book 2006: 4328). The autonomy of Tobago is not a result of a constitutional change and therefore the island will be coded 0.

The United Kingdom: Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Eilean Siar, Guernsey, Isle of Man, Jersey, Orkney Islands, Shetland Islands, and Turks and Caicos Islands

The United Kingdom has no written constitution and the constitutional rules of the United Kingdom are often said to be indeterminate indistinct and not unentrenched. Indeterminate since it is finally up to each scholar's individual judgement to decide what is and what is not a constitution and since the finance bill and vote of non-confidence are governed entirely by custom, conventions and standing orders of the House of Parliament. Indistinct since there are no special devices that differentiate the ordinary laws from the laws forming the constitution. Unentrenched since there are no special requirements to enact or amend constitutional rules (Finer, Bogdanor and Rodden 1995: 41-43). The autonomy of the British Isles can therefore not be regarded as a result of a constitutional change and accordingly all the islands will be coded 0 for this factor.

United States: American Samoa, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, and US Virgin Islands

The US constitution was adopted in 1787, it has been effective from 1789 and it has 27 amendments. None of these amendments regulates the relations between the federal state and its Commonwealth or external territories. The autonomy of the two Commonwealth territories of Northern Mariana Islands and Puerto Rico and of the external territories of American Samoa, Guam, and US Virgin Islands are all due to agreements between the federal government and the territory (Europa World Book 2006: 4703-4704; 4715; 4724; 4730; 4735). Therefore the five American territories will be coded 0 for constitutional change.

Vanuatu: Tafea

The Vanuatu constitution dates back to the independence from Britain and France in 1980. The constitution pays special attention to decentralization and custom law. None of the six provinces enjoy any special status (Europa World Book 2005: 4780). Therefore the province of Tafea will be coded 0 for constitutional change.

8.1. Constitutional Change – Analysis

In table 27 the results of the constitutional factor for the autonomous islands are shown, together with the year of the constitutional change and the adoption of the autonomy, i.e. the year when the special legislation granting the autonomy was adopted.

Among the autonomous islands there are seven that have gained autonomy as a result of a constitutional change. Common for all the islands is that they gained autonomy as a result of a constitutional change from a dictatorship to democracy. On the Philippines the 1987 constitution was a result of the democratic revolution against General Marcos in 1986. In Italy, Portugal and Spain the new democratic constitutions replaced the old fascist ones implemented under the dictatorship of Mussolini, Salazar and Franco.

Table 27. Constitutional Change – Presence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Autonomous Island Regions	Constitutional Change	Year of Autonomy / Special Legislation	Boolean Code
Denmark	Faeroe Islands	1849/1953	1948	0
	Greenland	1849/1953	1979	0
Finland	Åland Islands	1919/1999	1921	0
France	Corsica	1946/1958	1982	0
	French Polynesia	1946/1958	1984	0
	Guadeloupe	1946/1958	1983	0
	Martinique	1946/1958	1983	0
	Mayotte	1946/1958	1976	0
	New Caledonia	1946/1958	1976	0
	Réunion	1946/1958	1983	0
Italy	Sardinia	1922/1947	1947	1
	Sicily	1922/1947	1947	1
Mauritius	Rodrigues	1968/-	2001	0
Netherlands	Aruba	1795/1814	1986	0
	Neth. Antilles	1795/1814	1954	0
New Zealand	Cook Islands	*	1965	0
Philippines	Muslim Mindanao	1935/1987	1990	1
Papua New Guinea	Bougainville	1975/-	2005	0
Portugal	Azores	1933/1976	1976	1
	Madeira	1933/1976	1976	1
South Korea	Jeju Island	1948/-	2006	0
Spain	Balearic Islands	1956/1978	1978	1
	Canary Islands	1956/1978	1978	1
Tanzania	Zanzibar	1965/1977	1964	0
Trinidad-Tobago	Tobago	1962/1976	1980	0
United Kingdom	Anguilla	*	1971	0
	Bermuda	*	1968	0
	Br. Virgin Islands	*	1960	0
	Cayman Islands	*	1959	0
	Guernsey	*	-	0
	Isle of Man	*	-	0
	Jersey	*	-	0
US A	Turks and Caicos Islands	*	1962	0
	American Samoa	1787/-	1922	0
	Guam	1787/-	1982	0
	Northern Mariana Islands	1787/-	1978	0
	Puerto Rico	1787/-	1952	0
US Virgin Islands	1787/-	1954	0	

* No written constitution.

Among the non-autonomous islands there is none that fulfil the criteria for the constitutional factor as is shown in table 28.

Table 28. Constitutional Change – Absence of Autonomy

Mother Country	Non-Autonomous Island Regions	Constitutional Change	Year of Autonomy/ Special Legislation	Boolean Code
Bahamas	Abaco	1973/-	-	0
	Grand Bahama	1973/-	-	0
Cape Verde	Santo Antão	1975/1992	-	0
	São Nicolau	1975/1992	-	0
	São Vicente	1975/1992	-	0
Colombia	San Andrés y Providencia	1886/1990	Federal until 1886	0
Cuba	Isla de la Juventud	1959/1973	-	0
Denmark	Bornholm	1849/1953	-	0
Estonia	Hiiumaa	1937(77)/1992	-	0
	Saaremaa	1937(77)/1992	-	0
Greece	Crete	1952/1975	Autonomy until 1913	0
	Ionian Islands	1952/1975	-	0
	North Aegean Sea	1952/1975	-	0
	South Aegean Sea	1952/1975	-	0
Honduras	Islas de la Bahía	1963/1982	-	0
Indonesia	Maluku	1945/-	-	0
	Maluku Utara	1945/-	-	0
	Nusa Tenggara Barat	1945/-	-	0
	Nusa Tenggara Timur	1945/-	-	0
Japan	Okinawa	1947	Autonomy until 1879	0
Maldives	Addu	1968/1998	-	0
	Huvadhu	1968/1998	-	0
Papua New Guinea	Manus	1975/-	-	0
	New Britain	1975/-	-	0
	New Ireland	1975/-	-	0
Philippines	Palawan	1935/1987	-	0
Solomon Islands	Temotu	1978/-	-	0
Sweden	Gotland	1809/1974	-	0
Tanzania	Mafia	1965/1977	-	0
Tonga	Vava'u	1875/-	-	0
United Kingdom	Eilean Siar	*	-	0
	Orkney Islands	*	-	0
	Shetland Islands	*	-	0
Vanuatu	Tafea	1980/	-	0

* No written constitution.

Some of the Greek islands did enjoy autonomy before the reunification with mainland Greece but the abolition of this autonomy, however, had little to do with a constitutional change. It was more a result of the island adopting the current Greek constitution. The recentralization of Colombia that came into force with the new constitution in 1886 did not consider San Andrés y Providencia, since the islands did not constitute a separate state. If we analyse constitutional change and crosstab it with autonomy we will find that this variable does not explain the difference in autonomy, see table 29.

Table 29. Crosstab of Autonomy and Constitutional Change

		Constitutional Change		Total	
		Absence	Presence		
Autonomy	Absence	Count	34	0	34
		Expected Count	30.7	3.3	34
	Presence	Count	32	7	39
		Expected Count	35.3	3.7	39
Total	Count	66	7	73	
	Expected Count	66	7	73	

Pearson Chi-Square: Value: 6.75; Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): 0.00937

The result shows that the constitutional factor is important in only seven cases of which all are autonomous islands. This means that 100% of the islands that owe their current political status to a constitutional change are autonomous. However, only 18.9% of the autonomous islands owe their status to a constitutional change. As for Pearson's Chi-square test the value achieved is quite low although the variable is shown to be significant at the .01-level. This means that the result achieved in the crosstab is quite close to the expected result, but since there are only autonomous islands showing presence of constitutional change the variable does explain some of the difference in autonomy. Therefore we must conclude that the variable to some extent seems to be important in explaining the difference in autonomy, although we must bear in mind that it is a weak relationship. It still remains to be seen if it is important as a part of a configuration in the qualitative analysis.

We have now analysed all the eight independent variables on the autonomous and non-autonomous islands. We shall now continue by analysing the results from the two methods chosen for this study. We will start with QCA, which will be followed by summary of the crosstab analysis that has been performed continually.

9. Analysis

The aim of this study was to find out which conditions or combinations of conditions that is important in explaining why some islands have obtained autonomy, while others are still integrated parts of the state. The independent variables were distance from the mainland, proximity to a foreign country, population size, cultural differences, previous self-rule, strategic importance, constitutional change, and natural resources. Presence or absence of the eight conditions has been identified and we need to analyse the results. The analysis will be performed in two steps. Firstly, by using MVQCA to find which combinations of conditions are important for islands to obtain autonomy. Secondly, we will summarize the quantitative analyses and compare the results of the two analyses.

9.1. Qualitative Comparative Analysis

Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) is often describes as an intermediate way between qualitative and quantitative research. QCA combines the qualities of the case-oriented approach with the qualities of the variable-oriented and creates, as Ragin puts it, a synthetic approach. As has been discussed in chapter 2:3, QCA is based on the logic of Boolean algebra. The presence of a condition is marked with an upper case letter or in the truth table by 1, while the absence is indicated by a lower-case letter or 0. The truth table is important in showing which combinations have been found in the study of the islands. Since there were eight independent variables included, there should be $2^8=256$ possible combinations. However, since one of the variables is graded in three steps, there are 345 possible combinations. This would be the maximum theoretical number of combinations that would be found in this study, but since there are only 73 islands, this would be the maximum number of combinations it would be possible to get. All other combinations are regarded as remainders, or logical cases that are included in the analysis to simplify the minimal formula and to move from a pure description of the cases to the production of theoretical proposals, i.e. generalizations. Let us first have a look at the truth table in table 30. There are 40 combinations of conditions found, of which 20 give a positive outcome, (autonomous islands), 19 give a negative outcome, (non-autonomous islands), and 1 gives a contradictory outcome, (both autonomous and non-autonomous islands). These cases are marked C in the outcome column.

Table 30. Truth Table

Islands	Distance	Proximity	Size	Culture	Self-rule	Strategic	Constitutional	Natural resources	Autonomy
Abaco, Gotland, Hiiumaa, Mafia, Saaremaa, Vava'u	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Addu, Grand Bahama, Huvadhu, Santo Antão, São Nicolau, São Vicente, Shetland Islands	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
American Samoa, Anguilla, Aruba, Mayotte	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
Azores, Canary Islands	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
Balearic Islands	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1
Bermuda, Br. Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cook Islands, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands., US Virgin Islands	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
Bornholm	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
Bougainville	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
Corsica, Guernsey, Jersey	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
Crete	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
Eilean Siar	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
Faeroe Islands, French Polynesia, Wallis et Futuna	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
Greenland	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1
Guadeloupe, Martinique	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
Ionian Islands, Isla de Juventud, Orkney Islands	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
Islas de la Bahía	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
Isle of Man, Tobago	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1
Jeju Island	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Madeira	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Maluku	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
Maluku Utara	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0
Manus, New Ireland, San Andrés y Providencia	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
Muslim Mindanao	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Netherlands Antilles, Turks and Caicos Islands	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1
New Britain	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0
New Caledonia	2	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
North Aegean Sea	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
Nusa Tenggara Timur	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Nusa Tenggara Barat	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Okinawa	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
Palawan	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Puerto Rico	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
Réunion	2	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	1
Rodrigues, Tafea, Temotu	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	C
Sardinia	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sicily	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1
South Aegean Sea	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
Zanzibar	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1
Åland Islands	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1

In order to find the sufficient combinations that explain autonomy, we need to minimize the primitive expressions shown in the table above. This means that we also have to decide how to deal with the contradictions. As has been discussed in 2:3, there are four possible ways of dealing with contradictions; ignore the contradicting cases, to include one outcome of the cases, to re-examine the cases, or to use MVQCA in order to differentiate one or more conditions and set new benchmarks. Since we have already used MVQCA we need to either include them, or exclude them. Since all cases are equally important, this might violate the case-oriented approach of QCA. Therefore we will include all islands, and thereby also the contradiction in this first step of the analysis. We will then get back to this discussion during the analysis since we want to leave the door open for possible action later on, depending on the result of the first analysis. When performing the Boolean analysis, logical *and* is indicated by •, while logical *or* is indicated by +. Let us start by analysing the outcome=1, i.e. the presence of autonomy.

9.1.1. Presence of Autonomy

Let us start our analysis by minimizing the result for outcome=1, i.e. presence of autonomy. In the truth table we found 20 combinations that explained autonomy and one that showed a contradictory outcome. In Tosmana© there are six different ways for reduction. We can 1) exclude both contradictions and logical remainders, 2) exclude remainders and include contradictions for reduction, 3) exclude remainders and explain contradictions, 4) include remainders and exclude contradictions, 5) include remainders and include contradictions for reduction, and 6) include reductions and explain contradictions. The results of the first two rows of reduction are identical and embrace the first 13 configurations shown in figure 3. For the third row, the result is identical except for inclusion of yet one configuration, no 14 in figure 3.

As would be expected there is no single solution that explains the autonomy. Among the 14 configurations, the three shortest ones include six of the eight conditions while the two longest ones comprise all eight conditions. The result so far has the character of pure description of the cases, rather than an analysis of the presence of autonomy.

Figure 3. Configurations – Presence of Autonomy – First Reduction

Size{1}•Culture{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{2}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{2}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{2}•Proximity{0}•Size{1}•Culture{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}+
 Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Size{0}•Culture{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{1}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Size{0}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{1}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{0}•Proximity{1}•Size{1}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{2}•Proximity{0}•Size{0}•Culture{0}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{1}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{1}•Proximity{1}•Size{1}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{1}•Proximity{0}•Size{1}•Culture{0}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{1}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{1}•Proximity{0}•Size{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{1}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Size{0}•Culture{0}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{0}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
 Distance{1}•Proximity{0}•Size{1}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{0}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}

In order to simplify the minimal formula and move beyond pure description QCA, we must include the logical remainders, i.e. the theoretical cases that were discussed above. The logical remainders are the combinations of conditions that do not relate to any of the cases included in the study, but exist on a purely theoretical level. The logical cases are included for reduction in order to produce a more simplified configuration.

When including the logical remainders, the numbers of combinations is reduced to include only eight plus one combinations explaining the presence of autonomy, see figure 4. For row no four and five, i.e. including remainders and excluding contradictions or include remainders and include contradictions for reduction we get eight configurations. When explaining contradictions we get one more configuration. According to the result, autonomy is explained by a long distance from the mainland; or constitutional change; or the presence of cultural difference, strategic importance and self-rule; or the absence of distance, presence of cultural difference and either proximity to a foreign country or previous self-rule; or proximity to a foreign country, cultural difference and either population size, strategic importance or absence of natural resources; or the absence of population size, cultural difference, and strategic importance, or a medium long distance, a small population, cultural difference, no previous self-rule and no strategic importance.

Figure 4. Configurations – Presence of Autonomy – Second Reduction

Distance{2}+
Constitutional{1}+
Culture{1}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}+
Distance{0}•Proximity{1}•Culture{1}+
Distance{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{1}+
Proximity{1}•Size{1}•Culture{1}+
Proximity{1}•Culture{1}•Strategic{1}+
Proximity{1}•Culture{1}•Natural resources{1}+
Size{0}•Culture{0}•Strategic{0}+
Distance{1}•Size{1}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{0}

For the remaining four combinations, they are replaceable by each other, and it is therefore up to the researcher to decide which one to use. This must of course be related to the theory of autonomy. Since the combinations differ in only one condition, it is this final condition that must be related to the theory. In all four combinations the presence of proximity to a foreign country and of cultural difference are found. These two factors are combined with four different ones, no distance, small population, strategic importance, and no natural resources.

The analysis of the presence of autonomy includes one contradictory outcome. If we examine the combinations found in the latest reduction there are four expressions that are replaceable to each other and one that is longer than the others. To find out which combinations that embrace which islands we need to go back to the truth table to compare the results for the individual cases with the prime implicants and set up a prime implicant chart. Then we will know if there are any cases that are embraced by only one prime implicant and if there are any prime implicants that are embraced by only one case.

The prime implicant chart shown in table 31, shows that the three first prime implicants embrace 36 autonomous islands. Only three, the Åland Islands, Jeju Island, and Rodrigues are not embraced by any of these three.

Since Rodrigues shows the same combinations as two non-autonomous islands, we can use the opportunity given above to exclude cases as a way of solving the problem of contradiction. Even though this to some extent violates the idea of QCA, it may also be argued that in a statistical analysis the island of Rodrigues would most probably be regarded as an outlier and therefore excluded from the analysis. This would be the argument that motivates the exclusion of Rodrigues at this point of the analysis.

Table 31. Prime implicant Chart – Presence of Autonomy

Prime Prime implicants	Distance{2}	Constitutional{1}	Culture{1}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}	Proximity{1}•Size{1}•Culture{1}	Proximity{1}•Culture{1}•Strategic{1}	Proximity{1}•Culture{1}• Natural resources{1}	Distance{0}•Proximity{1}•Culture{1}	Distance{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{1}	Size{0}•Culture{0}•Strategic{0}	Distance{1}•Size{1}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{0}
Islands										
American Samoa, Anguilla, Aruba, Mayotte	*		*	*	*	*				
Azores, Canary Islands	*	*	*							
Balearic Islands		*	*							
Bermuda, Br. Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Cook Islands, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, US Virgin Islands	*									
Bougainville			*	*	*					
Corsica, Guernsey, Jersey			*	*						
Faeroe Islands, French Polynesia, Wallis et Futuna	*		*							
Greenland	*									
Guadeloupe, Martinique	*				*	*				
Isle of Man, Tobago			*					*		
Jeju Island									*	
Madeira		*								
Muslim Mindanao		*	*					*		
Netherlands Antilles, Turks and Caicos Islands	*			*	*	*				
New Caledonia	*		*							
Puerto Rico			*							
Réunion	*									
Rodrigues (Tafea, Temotu)										*
Sardinia		*	*							
Sicily		*								
Zanzibar			*					*		
Åland Islands				*	*	*	*			

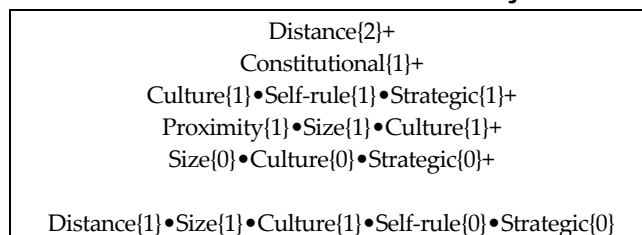
Jeju Island is only covered by one configuration; the absence of size, cultural difference and strategic importance. The result for Jeju Island as it is shown in the truth table, reveals that the island does not resemble any of the other autonomous islands. As Rodrigues, it would be possible to argue

that Jeju Island must be regarded as an outlier and thereby excluded from the research population.

The Åland Islands are the only remaining islands that are not embraced by any of the first three prime implicants, but it can be explained by the four replaceable prime implicants. One of these only applies to the Åland Islands, while the other ones apply to eight, nine or ten other islands. One way to achieve a clearer result would be to exclude the Åland Islands from the analysis, again arguing that the islands must be considered as outliers. Another way is to look in the truth table to see if we can perform any further reduction. The truth table shows that there are twelve islands that show the combination of being proximate to a foreign country and being culturally different. Among these is the island of Palawan that is non-autonomous. By excluding Palawan we would get a clearer result with four prime implicants explaining autonomy. Both these ways violate the idea of QCA, and therefore we will not choose any of them. When examining these four prime implicants we find that presence of strategic importance is the only one of the four diverging conditions that was shown to be important also in the variable oriented analysis. If we were to choose one of these four prime implicants as more important than the others it would be the one that includes strategic importance. Together with the prime implicant including lack of natural resources it also embraces the more cases than the other two prime implicants.

To summarize the results of the analysis we have found that there are three plus one configurations that explain the presence of autonomy, see figure 5. The island must be more than 1,000 km away from the mainland; the autonomy has been granted due to a constitutional change; it must show difference in culture, strategic importance and it must have previous experience of self-rule. Finally the island must be proximate to a foreign country, it must show a cultural difference, and it must show strategic importance. For this reduction, 283 simplifying assumptions, i.e. logical cases, have been used.

Figure 5. Sufficient causes for Presence of Autonomy



Among the conditions, or the independent variables, there are five that originate from the literature on autonomy while three have been added for this study. A possible further analysis of island autonomy would be to exclude the added conditions and only include the well established ones. One incitement for this would be that in the configurations shown above, only two of the added conditions are included in a configuration that embrace only one island each. Another argument would be that in the crosstab analysis for each individual variable, only the five found in the literature are significant at the .05-level. The results of this analysis, shown in figure 6, show that we get five prime implicants, of which three are the same as in the analysis including all eight variables.

Figure 6. Analysis including Established Conditions - Autonomy

$ \begin{aligned} & \text{Distance}\{2\} + \\ & \text{Constitutional}\{1\} + \\ & \text{Culture}\{1\} \bullet \text{Self-rule}\{1\} \bullet \text{Strategic}\{1\} + \\ & \text{Distance}\{0\} \bullet \text{Culture}\{0\} \bullet \text{Strategic}\{0\} + \\ & \text{Distance}\{0\} \bullet \text{Culture}\{1\} \bullet \text{Strategic}\{1\} + \\ & \text{Distance}\{1\} \bullet \text{Culture}\{1\} \bullet \text{Self-rule}\{0\} \bullet \text{Strategic}\{0\} \end{aligned} $
--

The only two prime implicants that differ are the ones that embrace the Åland Islands, Jeju Island, and Rodrigues. All of them are contradictory cases in this analysis, the Åland Islands together with Islas de la Bahía, and New Britain; Jeju Island with Abaco, Gotland, Hiiumaa, Mafia, Saaremaa, and Vava'u, and Rodrigues with Nusa Těnggara Barat, Palawan, Tafea, and Temotu.

Among the independent variables, there are two that suffer from a lack of variation, constitutional change, and natural resources. There were only seven autonomous and no non-autonomous islands that show presence of constitutional change and only three islands altogether that had important natural resources. Let us perform a final analysis excluding the two conditions. The result shows that two of the prime implicants are the same as in the final reduction including all variables, while the other four configurations have been replaced. In this analysis, there are three contradictions, the Balearic Islands, Rodrigues, and Sicily. If we exclude them we get a result that resembles the one given in the previous two analyses of sufficient causes. The result is shown in figure 7.

Figure 7. Analysis excluding conditions Lacking Variation - Autonomy

$$\begin{aligned} & \text{Distance}\{2\} + \\ & \text{Culture}\{1\} \bullet \text{Self-rule}\{1\} \bullet \text{Strategic}\{1\} + \\ & \text{Distance}\{0\} \bullet \text{Proximity}\{1\} \bullet \text{Culture}\{1\} + \\ & \text{Size}\{0\} \bullet \text{Culture}\{0\} \bullet \text{Strategic}\{0\} + \\ & \text{Size}\{1\} \bullet \text{Culture}\{0\} \bullet \text{Self-rule}\{1\} \end{aligned}$$

The two first configurations embrace 85% of all the autonomous islands, while the three final ones only embrace one island each: Åland Islands, Jeju Island, and Madeira. Constitutional change works on a different analytical level than other variables. If we only leave out this variable and include lack of natural resources we find that the result is basically the same as in the third analysis above.

The three analyses of $\text{outcome}=1$, presence of autonomy, show in many respects the same result. The differences that occur are mainly due to contradictory cases or to one case that in all analysis differs from the other ones. The first analysis including all cases, all independent variables, and the logical remainders have to some extent been proved to survive the two analyses including only some of the independent variables. It can therefore be concluded that the sufficient cause analysis resulted in the following expression shown in figure 5. Let us now continue the analysis by searching for necessary conditions.

By analysing the results from the truth table and from the analysis for sufficiency above, we may conclude that there are no configurations that embrace a large number of cases. The closest one is “distance”, “cultural” and “strategic” that embrace 27 of 39 islands. The veristic test of necessity also shows that there are no single variable that is always present for $\text{outcome}=1$. However, it is also possible to perform a necessity test by incorporating probabilistic criteria (see Ragin 2000:132). By arguing that a significance level of .05 would be sufficient as a bench-mark we will be able to identify the *almost always necessary* factors. Since fs/QCA does not deal with multi-value QCA we need to recode the variable *distance from the mainland* as a dichotomous variable, i.e. the value 2 will be recoded as 1. In table 32 the results of this analysis is shown.

The results of the necessary cause analysis shows that there are two factors that passes the test of *almost always necessary* causes, the strategic factors and the economical factors are both significant on the 0.05 level. This implies that for the island to get autonomy it must possess a strategic value and must not possess any major natural resources.

Table 32. Necessary Cause Analysis – Presence of Autonomy

Variable		N Cause >= Outcome	Observed Proportion	z	p
Distance from the mainland	Absence	7	0.18		
	Presence	32	0.82	0.12	0.452
Proximity to a foreign country	Absence	26	0.67		
	Presence	13	0.33		
Population size	Absence	11	0.28		
	Presence	28	0.72		
Cultural difference	Absence	5	0.13		
	Presence	34	0.87	0.92	0.179
Previous self-rule	Absence	17	0.44		
	Presence	22	0.56		
Strategic importance	Absence	2	0.05		
	Presence	37	0.95	2.12	0.017*
Constitutional change	Absence	32	0.82	0.12	0.452
	Presence	7	0.18		
Natural resources	Absence	3	0.08		
	Presence	36	0.92	1.72	0.043*

Number of Cases Tested (Outcome > 0): 39 (53.4% of Total)

Method: Probabilistic. Test Proportion: 0.80. *p < 0.05

2 Necessary Cause(s) Included in the Analysis

To summarize the analysis of the autonomous islands, for the sufficiency test there are three analyses performed that only show minor differences. There are two conditions that are found in all three analyses; a long distance from the mainland; and a combination of cultural differences, strategic importance and previous self-rule. These two prime implicants embrace 33 of the 39 autonomous islands. The test of necessity shows that the island almost always must possess a strategic value and must lack important natural resources in order to obtain autonomy. One variable, strategic importance is thereby included both in the necessary cause analysis and the sufficient cause analysis. Let us now continue by analysing the non-autonomous islands.

9.1.2. Absence of Autonomy

Among the 34 non-autonomous islands there are 19 possible configurations found and one contradictory combination including two non-autonomous islands, Tafea and Temotu and one autonomous, Rodrigues. Let us perform the same six analyses for outcome=0, i.e. absence of autonomy, as for the autonomous islands. Let us start with the first row, i.e. to exclude all logical remainders and contradictions. The result is shown in

figure 8 and reveals that there are eleven possible configurations given in the first reduction. The configurations given include between six and eight variables and have more the character of description of cases than of analysis and reduction.

Figure 8. Configurations – Absence of Autonomy – First Reduction

Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Size{1}•Self-rule{0}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
Distance{1}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{0}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
Distance{1}•Proximity{0}•Size{0}•Culture{1}•Strategic{0}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
Distance{0}•Proximity{1}•Culture{0}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
Distance{1}•Proximity{0}•Size{1}•Culture{0}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{0}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
Distance{1}•Proximity{1}•Size{1}•Culture{0}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Size{0}•Culture{0}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
Distance{1}•Proximity{0}•Size{1}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
Distance{1}•Proximity{0}•Size{0}•Culture{0}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{1}+
Distance{1}•Proximity{1}•Size{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{0}•Constitutional{0}•Natural resources{0}

Let us perform row two and three, i.e. first to exclude logical remainders, and include contradictions for reduction, and then exclude logical remainders and explain contradictions. The results of these two reductions are identical and they resemble the result given in the first reduction. The only difference is that configuration number eleven in figure five is missing. Still we need to perform the other three rows of reduction in order to get more reduced configurations.

Let us proceed with row number four, i.e. to include all logical remainders, and exclude the contradictions. The result is shown in figure 9.

Figure 9. Configurations – Absence of Autonomy – Second Reduction

Self-rule{1}•Strategic{0}+
Distance{1}•Size{0}•Self-rule{0}+
Distance{1}•Size{0}•Strategic{0}+
Size{0}•Culture{1}•Strategic{0}+
Distance{1}•Size{0}•Constitutional{0}+
Distance{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{1}+
Distance{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{1}+
Size{1}•Culture{0}•Self-rule{0}+
Size{1}•Culture{0}•Strategic{0}+
Size{1}•Culture{0}•Constitutional{0}+
Culture{0}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}+
Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Constitutional{0}

As for the first reduction, we get eleven configurations, but this time there is a significant difference from the eleven given in the first reduction. The configurations are shorter and includes only between two and five variables and they have not the same character of description as in the first reduction.

The two final rows of reductions, i.e. include the logical remainders and include contradictions for reduction, and include remainders and explain contradictions, show the same result, see figure 10. Unlike the reductions for outcome=1, presence of autonomy, the result of reduction row four and of row five and six, do not give the same result.

Figure 10. Configurations – Absence of Autonomy – Third Reduction

Distance{1}•Self-rule{0}+
Size{1}•Strategic{0}+
Distance{1}•Strategic{0}+
Culture{1}•Strategic{0}+
Self-rule{1}•Strategic{0}+
Culture{0}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}+
Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Constitutional{0}

The final two reductions shows that the absence of autonomy is explained by a medium distance from the mainland combined with absence of previous self-rule; or the absence of strategic importance combined with either small population size, medium distance from the mainland, cultural difference, or previous self-rule; or absence of cultural difference, strategic importance and absence of constitutional change; or no distance, no proximity, cultural difference, no previous self-rule and no constitutional change.

In order to get the final configuration that explains the absence of autonomy, we need to put the configurations forward in a prime implicant chart. Then we will also find out which configurations that applies to the individual islands. The result is shown in table 33.

The prime implicant chart shows that the three first prime implicants cover all islands but two, *Islas de la Bahía* and *New Britain*. The two contradictory cases are covered by two prime implicants and follow the same pattern as many of the other islands and there are no prime implicants that are replaceable with each other. Compared with the analysis for the presence of autonomy, the contradictory cases are not the ones causing the longest expression. The only way of simplifying the result would be to exclude the two islands that are not covered by any of the three first prime

implicants arguing that they are outliers among the non-autonomous islands, but this would indeed violate the whole idea of QCA and the result would only be slightly simplified.

Table 33. Prime implicant Chart – Absence of Autonomy

Islands	Prime Prime implicants	Distance{1}•Self-rule{0}	Distance{1}•Strategic{0}	Size{1}•Strategic{0}	Culture{1}•Strategic{0}	Self-rule{1}•Strategic{0}	Culture{0}•Strategic{1}• Constitutional{0}	Distance{0}•Proximity{0}• Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}• Constitutional{0}
Abaco, Gotland, Hiiumaa, Mafia, Saaremaa, Vava'u				*				
Addu, Grand Bahama, Huvadhu, Santo Antão, São Nicolau, São Vicente, Shetland Islands	*	*	*					
Bornholm	*						*	
Crete							*	
Eilean Siar			*	*				*
Ionian Islands, Isla de Juventud, Orkney Islands							*	
Islas de la Bahía								*
Maluku		*	*	*				
Maluku Utara		*		*	*			
Manus, New Ireland, San Andrés y Providencia	*							
New Britain								*
North Aegean Sea							*	
Nusa Tenggara Barat	*	*		*				
Nusa Tenggara Timur				*				*
Okinawa							*	
Palawan	*	*		*				
South Aegean Sea							*	
Tafea, Temotu, (Rodrigues)	*	*	*	*				

To summarize the result from the three analyses on the absence of autonomy, we can conclude that there are five prime implicants that explains the absence of autonomy, see figure 11. For this reduction, 210 simplifying assumptions, i.e. logical cases have been used. Among these, 141 were also used in the reduction for presence of autonomy. Only 69 simplifying assumptions were unique for absence of autonomy, compared with 142 unique ones for presence of autonomy.

Figure 11. Sufficient Causes for Absence of Autonomy

Distance{1}•Self-rule{0}+
Size{1}•Strategic{0}+
Culture{1}•Strategic{0}+
Culture{0}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}+
Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Constitutional{0}

Let us now perform the two further analyses that excluded the added variables and the one that excluded the two variables that suffered from lack of variation. In the first one we only use the five independent variables that were found in the literature on autonomy. The analysis shows four configurations shown in figure 12.

Figure 12. Analysis including Established Conditions – Non-Autonomy

Strategic{0} +
Distance{1}•Self-rule{0} +
Culture{0}•Constitutional{0} +
Distance{0}•Self-rule{0}•Constitutional{0}

The result differs to some extent from the one given in the reduction including all variables; only one configuration is the same. However, if we look closer we find that in the remaining three, the combinations are found in the first analysis, although they are combined with one or more variable. All islands are embraced by the three first configurations beside Islas de la Bahía and Nusa Tenggara Barat in combination with the autonomous Åland Islands.

If we exclude the two variables that suffer from lack of variation, we again get almost the same result as for the two previous analyses, as is shown in figure 13.

Figure 13. Analysis excluding Conditions Lacking Variation- Non-Autonomy

Distance{1}•Self-rule{0} +
Size{1}•Strategic{0} +
Culture{1}•Strategic{0} +
Distance{0}•Culture{0}•Strategic{1} +
Distance{1}•Size{0}•Culture{0} +
Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}

The first three configurations are the same as for the first analysis, while the absence of constitutional change in the fourth prime implicant has

been replaced by absence of distance from the mainland. The fifth one differs only in one of the variables that have been excluded, constitutional change. The fourth configuration only applies on Okinawa. If we only leave out constitutional change that works on a different analytical level, the result gets basically the same.

The three analyses of outcome=0, absence of autonomy, show in many respects the same result. The differences that occur are mainly due to contradictory cases or to one case that in all analysis differs from the other ones. The first analysis including all cases, all independent variables, and the logical remainders have to some extent been proved to survive the two analyses including only some of the independent variables. It can therefore be concluded that the sufficient cause analysis for absence of autonomy resulted in the expression shown in figure 5. Let us now continue the analysis by searching for necessary conditions. In order to perform a necessity test on the non-autonomous islands, we need to recode non-autonomy as 1 and autonomy as 0. As for the necessity test for the autonomous islands, we need to recode the variable *distance from the mainland* into a dichotomous variable¹⁷. In table 34 the results of this analysis is shown.

The results of the necessary cause analysis shows that there are two factors that passes the test of *almost always necessary* causes, the constitutional factors and the economical factors are both significant at the 0.05 level. This implies that for the island to not obtain autonomy it must not possess any major natural resources and its status as non-autonomous is not a result of a constitutional change in the mother country.

¹⁷ The Fuzzy Set application of the software programme fs/QCA only deals with cases that is in the set, >0. In order to analyse the necessary conditions for absence of autonomy we need to code absence as 1. This operation has been confirmed in correspondence with Charles Ragin 2007-01-25.

Table 34. Necessary Cause Analysis – Absence of Autonomy

Variable		N Cause >= Outcome	Observed Proportion	z	P
Distance from the mainland	Absence	16	0.47		
	Presence	18	0.53		
Proximity to a foreign country	Absence	30	0.88	0.99	0.162
	Presence	4	0.12		
Population size	Absence	8	0.24		
	Presence	26	0.76		
Cultural difference	Absence	21	0.62		
	Presence	13	0.38		
Previous self-rule	Absence	30	0.88	0.99	0.162
	Presence	4	0.12		
Strategic importance	Absence	21	0.62		
	Presence	13	0.38		
Constitutional change	Absence	34	1.00	2.70	0.003*
	Presence	0	0.00		
Natural resources	Absence	1	0.03		
	Presence	33	0.97	2.27	0.012*

Number of Cases Tested (Outcome > 0): 34 (46.6% of Total)

Method: Probabilistic. Test Proportion: 0.80. *p < 0.05

2 Necessary Cause(s) Included in the Analysis

To summarize the analysis of the absence of autonomy there are three analyses performed that showed only minor differences. The sufficiency test for absence of autonomy shows that there is one configuration that is found in all three analyses: a medium distance from the mainland and absence of previous self-rule. In two of the analyses the result was almost identical, mainly differing in the variables that were excluded. The test of necessity shows that the island must show absence of constitutional change and almost always lack important natural resources.

The analysis of autonomy and non-autonomy has so far been focused on all the 73 included islands, without taking into account on which continent the islands are situated. Let us therefore divide the cases between the continents to see if there are any regional variations between the cases. In this part we will only perform one analysis including all cases, all variables, and the logical remainders.

9.1.3. Continental Level

Among the world's seven continents there are islands included from four different continents. In one of them, Asia, there is only one autonomous island, and in Africa there are ten islands altogether, six autonomous, and four non-autonomous, of which three are islands of the same state, Cape Verde. The results of the test of sufficiency for the continents will be compared with the result of the analysis including all islands. Furthermore, we will perform a veristic test of necessity for the individual continents.

When analyzing the cases according to continent we get a more diversified picture on which conditions that are important for autonomy, even though most of the conditions that are shown to be important as sufficient causes are the same conditions that were important in the analysis of all the islands. The veristic test of necessity also shows regional differences between the continents. However, since the number of islands for some of the continents is low, we need to be careful when analysing the results. Let us start with $\text{outcome}=1$, i.e. presence of autonomy.

Continental Level – Presence of Autonomy

In table 35, the result of the sufficiency test is shown. As we can see, the result on the continental level follows the result for all islands. First we can see that the two prime implicants only including one condition each, a long distance from the mainland, and constitutional change, are also found for the individual continents. As for the other prime implicants, all of them are included as parts of prime implicants found in the analysis of all islands. There are no prime implicants on the continental level that are not found in the analysis including all islands.

For the African islands, there are no contradictions found. The analysis including remainders used 282 simplifying assumptions. The analysis show that there are two prime implicants found, the presence of constitutional change and the presence of cultural difference. Constitutional change is found to be a sufficient cause in both the analysis for all islands and the one for the African islands. In the latter one it embraces the Canary Islands and Madeira. Cultural difference embraces Mayotte, Réunion, Rodrigues, and Zanzibar. Unlike constitutional change, cultural difference is not a separate sufficient cause in the first analysis, but is combined with previous self-rule and strategic importance. However, among the African islands covered by cultural difference, only Rodrigues show no previous self-rule and no strategic importance. Only two of the African

islands are dependencies of African countries, Rodrigues of Mauritius and Zanzibar of Tanzania, while the other ones are dependencies of European countries, i.e. France, Portugal, and Spain.

Table 35. Test of Sufficiency for Presence of Autonomy – Continental Level

All Islands	African	American	Asian	European	Oceania
Distance{2}		Distance{2}			Distance{2}
Constitutional{1}	Constitutional{1}		Constitutional{1}	Constitutional{1}	
Culture{1}• Self-rule{1}• Strategic{1}	Culture{1}	Self-Rule{1}		Cultural{1}• Strategic{1}	Self-rule{1}
Proximity{1}• Size{1}•Culture{1}	<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100px; height: 100px; margin: auto; display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> Culture{0} </div>				
Size{0}•Culture{0}• Strategic{0}					
Distance{1}•Size{1}• Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{0}					

For the eleven American autonomous islands, the sufficiency test shows a distance longer than 1,000 km or previous experience of self-rule. A distance longer than 1,000 km is also found in the analysis of all islands. Only Tobago is not covered by this condition. Previous self-rule is a sufficient cause only together with cultural difference and strategic importance in the first analysis. Anguilla, Aruba, Puerto Rico, and Tobago show presence of all these three conditions. Among the American islands, only three are dependencies of American countries, Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands of the USA, and Tobago of Trinidad and Tobago. All the other islands are dependencies of France or the United Kingdom. The analysis of the American islands included 121 simplifying assumptions.

As concerns the Asian islands, 158 simplifying assumptions was used. There are two sufficient causes found; or the absence of cultural difference. However, there are only two autonomous islands, Muslim Mindanao and Jeju Island. Therefore the result must be carefully interpreted. As is shown in table 35, the absence of cultural difference is also found in one of the prime implicants in the analysis of all islands. In both cases, only Jeju Island is covered by the prime implicant.

For the European islands, all the islands are dependencies of European countries. There are two prime implicants found, the presence of constitutional change; or the presence of cultural difference and strategic importance. The combination of cultural difference and strategic importance is

also found in the first analysis, but then combined with the presence of previous self-rule. This combination embraces all European islands that are covered by cultural difference and strategic importance, except for the Åland islands, since they do not show presence of previous self-rule. In the analysis including all islands, we selected the prime implicant; Proximity{1}•Size{1}•Culture{1}, to cover the Åland Islands since we then would not have a large over-lap between the different prime implicants, i.e. the prime implicant chosen only covered the Åland Islands. However, the result of the analysis of the European Islands shows that it might have been more consistent to choose; Proximity{1}•Culture{1}•Strategic{1}, even though this prime implicant also covered four cases that already was covered by Culture{1}•Previous•Self-Rule{1}•Strategic{1}. For this result, 232 simplifying assumptions were used.

Finally, for the eight autonomous islands in Oceania, 123 simplifying assumptions were used. The sufficiency test shows; a distance longer than 1,000 km; or previous self-rule. Only Bougainville is not covered by a long distance from the mainland. However, Bougainville also shows presence of previous self-rule and strategic importance. Two of the Oceanian islands are dependencies of Oceania countries, Bougainville of Papua New Guinea, and Cook Islands of New Zealand. The other islands are dependencies of American or European countries. This would explain why a longer distance than 1,000 km is found to be important.

The test of necessity showed that strategic importance and lack of natural resources were *almost always necessary* in the analysis including all islands. Strategic importance is also a necessary condition for the American, European, and Oceanian islands. Lack of natural resources is a necessary cause for the African, Asian, and European islands. Absence of constitutional change is a necessary cause for the American and Oceanian islands, while cultural difference is necessary for the American and Oceanian islands. Presence of a small population size is necessary only for the Oceanian islands. The result of the analysis of presence of autonomy shows that there are regional differences found, still the result resembles the one given in the analysis of all islands. Before analysing the results, let us continue with outcome=0, i.e. absence of autonomy.

Continental Level – Absence of Autonomy

As is shown in table 36, we find that the result of the sufficiency test for absence of autonomy for the five continents resembles the one including

all islands. Only two prime implicants are the same, a medium distance and no previous self-rule is found in Oceania, and cultural difference but no strategic importance is found in Asia. For the other continents, we find only parts of the prime implicants found including all islands.

Table 36. Test of Sufficiency for Absence of Autonomy – Continental Level

All Islands	African	American	Asian	European	Oceanian
Distance{1}•Self-rule{0}		Distance{1}	Distance{1}		Distance{1}•Self-Rule{0}
Size{1}•Strategic{0}				Strategic{0}	
Culture{1}•Strategic{0}			Culture{1}•Strategic{0}		
Culture{0}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}	Culture{0}•Constitutional{0}			Cultural{0}•Constitutional{0}	
Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Constitutional{0}		Distance{0}•Self-Rule{0}			Distance{0}

For the four non-autonomous African islands, 94 simplifying assumptions were used. The result shows that absence of cultural difference and constitutional change is sufficient causes for absence of autonomy. This prime implicants is similar to the one that also includes strategic importance in the analysis including all islands. However, none of the African islands are covered by this prime implicant. Instead they are all embraced by Size{1}•Strategic{0}. Since the analysis of the African islands only includes four individual islands and two combinations, it is necessary to be careful when analysing the result.

In America there are five non-autonomous islands. Sufficient causes for absence of autonomy are either a medium distance from the mainland, or the absence of distance from the mainland and previous self-rule. The islands embraced by the first one, are also embraced by the prime implicant a medium distance from the mainland and absence of previous self-rule from the first analysis. Among the islands embraced by the second prime implicant, only Islas de la Bahía is embraced by the most resembling prime implicant from the first analysis, i.e. Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Constitutional{0}. Abaco and Grand Bahama is covered by presence of a small population size and absence of strategic importance, while San Andrés y Providencia is covered by a medium distance from the mainland and no previous self-rule. The analysis included 91 simplifying assumptions.

The sufficiency test for the eight non-autonomous Asian islands includes 153 simplifying assumptions and shows that there are two prime implicants for the absence of autonomy, a medium distance from the mainland or presence of cultural difference and absence of strategic importance. The latter one is also found in the analysis including all islands. Among the islands only covered by a medium distance from the mainland, Okinawa shows presence of previous self-rule. The island is then covered by $Culture\{0\} \bullet Strategic\{1\} \bullet Constitutional\{0\}$.

For the non-autonomous islands in Europe, the result shows that absence of strategic importance or absence of cultural difference and constitutional change are sufficient causes for absence of autonomy. All the islands covered by the first prime implicant show also a small population size. Thereby they are covered by $Distance\{1\} \bullet Self-rule\{0\}$ from the first analysis. As for the islands covered by the second prime implicant, all the islands not covered by the first prime implicant also show a strategic importance. Thereby they are covered by $Culture\{0\} \bullet Strategic\{1\} \bullet Constitutional\{0\}$ from the first analysis. There were 232 simplifying assumptions used for this analysis.

Finally, the sufficiency test for absence of autonomy for the Oceanian islands shows that there are two prime implicants, a medium distance from the mainland and absence of previous self-rule; or the absence of distance from the mainland. 92 simplifying assumptions were used for this solution. Among the islands covered by the second prime implicant, only New Britain is covered by $Distance\{0\} \bullet Proximity\{0\} \bullet Culture\{1\} \bullet Self-rule\{0\} \bullet Constitutional\{0\}$. Vava'u is covered by $Size\{1\} \bullet Strategic\{0\}$.

The test of necessity including all islands showed that absence of constitutional change was a necessary condition while presence of lack of natural resources was *almost always necessary*. Absence of constitutional change is a necessary condition for all continents, while lack of natural resources is necessary in all continents but Asia. Absence of proximity to a foreign country and absence of previous self-rule are necessary for the African, American, and Oceanian islands, while presence of a small population size is necessary for African and American islands. Absence of cultural difference and strategic importance are necessary for the African islands. The result of the analysis of absence of autonomy shows that there are more profound regional differences found compared with the result for presence of autonomy.

To summarize the result of the analysis on continental level, there are some major regional differences between the continents, although the

prime implicants found basically includes the same conditions as the analyses including all the islands. The differences found mainly reflect the regional differences and the fact that the numbers of possible combinations are fewer. The differences found among the autonomous islands show that a distance more than 1,000 km from the mainland is important in America and Oceania. A majority of the autonomous islands on these two continents have their mother countries on another continent. In Oceania, most of the islands are dependencies of France, the United Kingdom, and the USA, while many of the American islands are dependencies of France and the United Kingdom.

Constitutional change is important in Africa, Asia, and Europe. Among the islands, only seven owe their autonomy to a constitutional change in their mother country. The result on the continental level therefore only reflects were these islands are found.

The third prime implicant found in the analysis including all islands is the combination of cultural difference, previous self-rule, and strategic importance. In all continents but Asia we find parts of this prime implicant. In Africa, America, and Oceania, only one of the conditions are found while the European prime implicant includes two conditions. The result reflects which condition or combination of conditions is important in that particular continent. For instance, in America and Oceania, the previous self-rule is more important, while the combination of cultural difference and strategic importance is important in Europe. Common for all of them is that they embrace the same islands, except for the Åland Islands in Europe. The result for all islands and the one for the continents thereby follows the same pattern.

In the analysis of absence of autonomy, the pattern is not as clear as the one for autonomous islands. In only two cases, the same combination is found in both the analysis. For the African islands, the prime implicants found resembles some of the prime implicants found in the analysis of all islands. However, they do not cover the same islands. The African islands are instead covered by prime implicants that do not resemble the ones found in the continental analysis. The prime implicants found for the other continents mainly embrace the same islands as the most similar one found in the first analysis. Still, the pattern is not as clear as for the autonomous islands. One explanation could be the lack of variation within the African non-autonomous islands, while the autonomous islands on the same continent show a greater variation. It could also show that the result for the autonomous islands would be more reliable than the one for

the non-autonomous islands. Before discussing the results found in the qualitative analysis, let us continue with the quantitative analysis including all the islands.

9.2. Quantitative Analysis

The quantitative analysis represented by crosstab analysis shows that there are five independent variables: distance from the mainland, cultural difference, previous self-rule, strategic importance, and constitutional change. These may explain the difference in autonomy, which is something that has been shown in the crosstabs after each independent variable. All these five variables have shown to be significant on the .05-level in the Pearson's Chi-square-test. The analysis for distance from the mainland showed that the further the distance the more likely that the island enjoys autonomy. For cultural difference was shown that among the islands that show cultural difference, a large majority is autonomous and that among the islands which enjoy autonomy, a large majority also showed cultural difference. This was also the result of the crosstab for previous experience of self-rule. Among the islands that have enjoyed previous self-rule, a majority have regained its autonomy, while among the autonomous islands a majority has had previous experience of self-rule. As concerns strategic importance, only one of the autonomous islands showed no importance according to the definitions of the variable, while among those islands that showed importance a majority enjoys autonomy. Finally, for constitutional change, only seven autonomous islands showed a positive outcome for this variable. However, it is important to remember that the value in Pearson's chi-square test, and thereby also the significance level, showed the best result for distance from the mainland (36.23), followed by strategic importance (29.94) and cultural difference (21.12). Previous self-rule and constitutional change did only show as high results as the other ones, previous self rule (16.30) and constitutional change (7.33).

There are three variables that cannot be used to explain the difference in autonomy: proximity to a foreign country, population size, and the lack of natural resources. Of these, only proximity to a foreign country showed a value higher than 1.0 in the chi-square test. As was shown in the crosstabs for these variables, no clear pattern was found. Common for these three is that they are all added for this study and thereby not found in the literature on autonomy.

The result of the analysis shows that there are three variables that explain both autonomy and the absence of autonomy: distance from the mainland, cultural differences, and strategic importance. If we take the independent variables individually and start with distance we will find that all the 14 cases that show no or medium distance combined with no other variables are all non-autonomous. As has been noted before, all islands that show a long distance are autonomous, while only six with no distance are autonomous. Among the autonomous islands that show a medium or long distance, 28 also show cultural difference and strategic importance. From this outcome we may conclude that the longer the distance from the mainland, the more likely that the island is culturally different from its mother country and that it has strategic importance. This also implies that strategic importance and cultural difference is a common combination among the autonomous islands, 32 autonomous islands share this combination while only five non-autonomous do so. Previous experience of self-rule shows a different pattern. Among the 25 islands that are more than 1,000 km away from mainland, 13 have not enjoyed previous self-rule while twelve have.

Let us look at previous self-rule. Among the autonomous islands that show cultural difference, 16 show previous self-rule while 17 do not, and among those that show strategic importance 21 show previous self-rule while 15 do not. The pattern for this variable gets clearer if we focus on the non-autonomous islands. Among both those that show no cultural difference and those that show strategic importance, 20 out of 22 have no previous self-rule. The pattern is the same for distance, out of 17 that show no distance only one has previous self-rule. Among those which show a medium distance, 15 out of 18 show no previous self-rule. We can conclude that previous self-rule can be used to explain the absence of autonomy but not the presence, while distance from the mainland, cultural difference, and strategic importance, can be used to explain both absence of autonomy as well as presence. Previous self-rule works in only one direction, while distance from the mainland, cultural difference and strategic importance work in both directions.

There are only seven islands that show a constitutional change. Three of them show no distance while three show a long distance and one a medium distance. Six show previous self-rule and four show cultural differences. All of them show strategic importance. This means that the only clear pattern for these seven islands is that they show strategic importance.

To conclude the quantitative analysis we find that there are three independent variables: distance from the mainland, cultural difference, and strategic importance, which explain both the presence and absence of autonomy. This conclusion is valid in the sense that there are few non-autonomous islands that show presence while most of the autonomous islands do so. Previous self-rule and constitutional change mainly explain only one side of the problem. Among the non-autonomous islands only four show presence and 31 show absence while among the autonomous islands 19 show presence and 16 show absence. Constitutional change is only present in seven autonomous islands while it is absent in 30 autonomous and all the non-autonomous islands.

If we compare the result of the quantitative analyses with the one from the qualitative we find that the same variables are present in both of the analyses, see table 37.

Table 37. Result of the Quantitative and the Qualitative Analyses

Qualitative Analysis		Quantitative Analysis		
<i>Necessary Causes</i>		Variable	Pearson's χ^2 -test	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
<i>Presence of Autonomy</i>	<i>Absence of Autonomy</i>			
Strategic{1}	Constitutional{0}	Distance:	31.31	0.000000159
<i>Sufficient Causes</i>		Proximity:	4.73	0.0296
<i>Presence of Autonomy</i>	<i>Absence of Autonomy</i>	Size	0.48	0.489
Distance{2}	Distance{1}•Self-rule{0}	Culture	18.98	0.0000132
Constitutional{1}	Size{1}•Strategic{0}	Self-rule	15.79	0.0000708
Culture{1}•Self-rule{1}•Strategic{1}	Culture{1}•Strategic{0}	Strategic	27.00	0.000000203
Proximity{1}•Culture{1}•Strategic{1}	Culture{0}•Strategic{1}•Constitutional{0}	Constitutional	6.75	0.00938
Size{0}•Culture{0}•Strategic{0}	Distance{0}•Proximity{0}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Constitutional{0}	Natural resources	0.79	0.374
Distance{1}•Size{1}•Culture{1}•Self-rule{0}•Strategic{0}				

In the quantitative crosstab analysis there were five variables that showed significance at the .01-level in the Chi-square test. The QCA-analysis of sufficiency for presence of autonomy showed five configurations. If we compare the two analyses we find that they differ only in the variables

proximity and size. However, these two configurations only explained two of the islands. The test of necessity showed that only strategic importance was a necessary cause. Lack of natural resources was also a necessary cause, but for both presence and absence of autonomy. Therefore it can not be used in explaining the difference in autonomy.

The sufficiency test for absence of autonomy was explained by six configurations. As for the analysis of presence of autonomy, all the sufficient causes were significant in the quantitative analysis, except for proximity and size.

The result gets basically the same when analysing the islands on the continental level. The combinations of variables differ slightly between the continents but the same variables are involved in most of them. As for the quantitative analysis the number of cases is too small to perform a chi-square test but, the pattern of which variables that seems to be important is the same as for the analysis involving all the islands. Let us continue by returning the results of the two analyses with the theories on autonomy.

10. Discussion

As was shown in the previous chapter, the analyses of presence of autonomy showed that there is one necessary cause, six sufficient configurations and five variables that are significant at the .01-level. The analysis of absence of autonomy showed that there are one necessary cause and four sufficient configurations, all shown in table 37. What does this teach us about autonomy and autonomous islands? Let us start with presence of autonomy.

10.1. Presence of Autonomy

In both the sufficient cause analysis performed in QCA and in the quantitative analysis, constitutional change was shown to be important in explaining the presence of autonomy. Lane and Ersson (1999) argued that the autonomy could derive from a constitutional change in the mother country. They exemplified their statement with the Italian and Portuguese islands and the Spanish regions. Together with Muslim Mindanao in the Philippines, the six islands discussed by Lane and Ersson are the only islands showing presence of constitutional change. No other islands, autonomous or non-autonomous, owe their current status to a constitutional change in their mother country.

This factor can therefore only be used on the Italian, Philippine, Portuguese, and Spanish autonomous islands. Common for all these countries is that they have all experienced a transition from authoritarian rule: in Italy the fall of Mussolini and his fascist regime, in Portugal the fall of the military junta that succeeded Salazar, in Spain the fascist regime of Franco, and in the Philippines the military regime of Marcos. In fact, the constitutional change that made it possible for the islands to obtain autonomy was made during this transition process. At this point it might therefore be reasonable to conclude that territories within a nation-state that experience a transition from authoritarian rule are more likely to obtain autonomy than territories within states that do not experience this process. However, this conclusion only applies on the islands included in this study. It would probably not be possible to argue that it would be a general conclusion applicable on any autonomous territory at anytime in history.

For territories in democratic states there would be other variables or combinations of variables that are important. There are no examples that a

democratic state has granted autonomy to any of its regions when changing the constitution. On the contrary, in all the democratic states included in this study the autonomy arrangements have been solved in special legislations or as amendments to the present constitution. However, it is important to again point out that constitutional change as a variable is found on a different analytic level than the other conditions. Constitutional change does not necessarily say anything about the characteristics of the island itself but more about the general situation in the state. In the end, constitutional change tells us only why the autonomy was implemented at that time, not why the autonomy was obtained in the first place. Consequently, there ought to be other conditions that explain why the island obtained autonomy.

If we return to the islands that show constitutional change we find that five of the seven islands are also embraced by other sufficient causes. Muslim Mindanao and Sardinia show cultural difference, previous self-rule and strategic importance while the Azores, the Canary Islands, and Madeira show a long distance from the mainland. Only the Balearic Islands and Sicily do not fit into any other sufficient causes. However, the Balearic Islands show cultural difference and strategic importance while Sicily shows previous self-rule and strategic importance. To this we might add that Majorca in the Balearic Islands formed an independent kingdom during the Middle Ages and that the Sicilians claim that they speak a different language from the mainland Italians. Nevertheless, constitutional change explains why some islands obtain autonomy while others do not.

Due to the difference in analytic level of the conditions we need to be cautious when drawing conclusions regarding this parameter. There are states that have experienced a transition from authoritarian rule without giving the regions, islands or not, any kind of special status. For instance, none of the Greek islands gained any special status when the military regime fell in 1975. Similarly, none of the South Korean or Honduran regions gained any special status after the fall of their military regimes. This is shown in the analysis of absence of autonomy. The absence of constitutional change is shown to be a necessary cause for the absence of autonomy.

The conclusion drawn from the first sufficient cause, constitutional change, must therefore be that it is not sufficient as explanation of autonomy, but must be regarded as a complementary explanation, i.e. it must be combined with other sufficient causes in order to work in favour of autonomy. None of the islands that show constitutional change displays

only negative values on the other conditions. This is also indicated in the quantitative analysis. Constitutional change as an independent variable was shown to be significant at the .01 level, but the chi-square value was not very high, only 7.33. This indicates that constitutional change to some extent explains the difference in autonomy, but the relationship is not very strong.

Furthermore, we might add that constitutional change must not be regarded as a typical island condition. There is nothing in the condition itself that implies that it is island specific. On the contrary, the condition could also serve as an explanation of autonomy in all kinds of regions, both islands and mainland regions. In fact, Catalonia and the Basque Country in Spain also owe their autonomy to a constitutional change.

While constitutional change need not be regarded as an island specific condition, a distance of more than 1,000 km from the mainland must be so. Among the autonomous non-island territories around the world, only one is more than 1,000 km away from the mainland of its mother country: French Guyana. Although French Guyana in one sense could be regarded as an island since it is surrounded by the Sea and a sea of tropical jungle, it is not a real island according to our definition. The analysis shows that only the autonomous islands show a distance more than 1,000 km away from the mainland. None of the non-autonomous islands show a long distance.

The theory behind distance from the mainland stated that a distant territory is offered autonomy for practical reasons. If the island is distant from the mainland it would be more difficult for the state to maintain control of the political life of the island. Therefore territories are offered autonomy as a mean for the state to maintain some control over the island. Anckar (1982) and Nordqvist (1998) argued that the geographical distance from the mainland made it difficult for the mainland to obtain full sovereignty over the island. Therefore they were granted autonomy for practical reasons. Nordqvist (1998: 62) refers to these autonomies as *Expedient autonomies*. Anckar (1982: 115-116) argues that the remoteness and isolation of islands tends to strengthen the feeling of belongingness between islanders. Distance would therefore strengthen the feeling of fellowship or belongingness that is characteristic for islands. This is also why islands more often obtain autonomy than continental territories. If the island is far away from the mainland the islanders, regardless of difference in language, religion, or ethnic background, would identify themselves as dif-

ferent from the mainland only because they are distant from it and thereby also distant from their fellow-citizens.

The quantitative analysis showed the same result as the qualitative one. Distance from the mainland as an independent variable is the one showing the best relationship with autonomy of all the independent variables. It is significant at the .01 level and the chi-square value was very high (36.23). We can therefore conclude that distance from the mainland is the one variable that shows the strongest relationship with autonomy and thereby would be the strongest explanation of autonomy.

However, in this context we must point out that a distance of more than 100 km away from the mainland is not enough. As was shown in the qualitative analysis of absence of autonomy, a distance less than 100 km, and a distance of more than 100 but less than 1,000 km was shown to be included in the sufficient cause analysis explaining the absence of autonomy.

If we return to the islands, we find that all of the islands that show a long distance from the mainland are former colonies, including Azores, the Canary Islands, and the Faeroe Islands. Except of Azores the Cook Islands, and the Faeroe Islands, they are all situated on a different continent from the mother country. Therefore, distance from the mainland can be seen as the colonial factor and as such it would also apply on all the former colonial territories around the world, including continental territories and the territories that have gained independence.

Furthermore, many of them also show a positive result of the other sufficient causes. Nine show cultural difference, previous self-rule, and strategic importance, while three show constitutional change. All of them but the Azores and the Canary Islands show cultural difference and strategic importance. Both of the latter ones can be seen as a consequence of the long distance. If the island is far away from the mainland it would be more likely that its inhabitants are of different ethnic origin than the inhabitants on the nearby mainland. For instance, the French overseas departments owe their autonomy to a long distance from the mainland and cultural differences. In fact, only the Azores, Madeira, and the Canary Islands show no cultural difference from the mainland. This is also shown in the difference in language between the mainland UK and its dependencies. Most of the British islands have developed their own English based Creole language, due to the long distance from the mainland and the heterogeneous ethnic composition of the island. As for strategic importance, an island that is a long distance away from the mainland would be more

likely to be involved in military conflicts including occupations by foreign troops. There would be nothing strange about that. Previous self-rule would not necessarily be connected to a long distance from the mainland although many of the islands involved in Africa and Oceania also have constituted independent countries. This would altogether be enough for us to state that the theory behind distance from the mainland is verified. Three of the cases including 13 of the islands that are more than 1,000 km away from the mainland are not covered by any of the other sufficient causes. Altogether there are nine cases, i.e. possible combinations found that are covered by this prime implicant.

A longer distance from the mainland than 1,000 km must be considered as an island specific condition not necessarily applying to the non-island autonomies in the world. The analysis showed that it is a sufficient cause for autonomy although it is not a necessary cause. There are islands that only are embraced by this prime implicant and not by any of the others. While constitutional change does not say anything about the characteristics of the island itself, distance from the mainland tells us something about the geographical position of the island in relation to the mainland of its mother country. However, it does not really tell us anything about the characteristics of the island itself, such as the cultural or political life. Therefore distance from the mainland must be seen as important in the explanation of island autonomy.

The third sufficient cause consists of three conditions: presence of cultural difference, presence of previous self-rule and presence of strategic importance. According to this parameter, the island must show a cultural difference in relation to mainland, it must have enjoyed previous self-rule in terms of autonomy or independence, and it must have been of strategic importance. The quantitative analysis also showed that these three conditions were significant at the .01 level and that the chi-square value was high.

Among the three conditions included in this combination, cultural difference must be considered as the most commonly used explanation of the phenomenon of autonomy. Lapidoth (1997: 25) even considers it to be the single most important explanation of autonomy. In the quantitative analysis, cultural difference was shown to be significant at the .01 level and the chi-square value achieved was quite high (21.12). As was argued above, cultural difference is often combined with a long distance from the mainland. This tends to strengthen the feeling of belongingness and affinity that is said to characterize islands. However, if we consider the result

of the analysis for cultural difference we found that there are 13 non-autonomous islands that also show a cultural difference. Furthermore, there are four autonomous islands that show no cultural difference.

The fact that an autonomous island shows cultural difference in relation to mainland tells us that there are difference in language and/or religion and/or ethnicity between the island and the mainland. Bernhardt (1981: 25-27) argued that autonomy is important as a means to protect the minorities' right to their own language, ethnicity, and religion. The importance of cultural difference is also essential in the study of mini-nationalism by Snyder (1982). In fact, most of the studies on autonomy state that cultural difference is one of the most important factors for autonomy. Beside Lapidoth, Bernhardt, and Snyder that have already been discussed, we have showed that Hannum (1996: 91, 474), Heintze (1998: 10-12), Nordqvist (1998: 62-64), Lane and Ersson (1999: 171-189), all advocates the idea that cultural difference is one of the most essential factors that explain why some territories have obtained autonomy. However, as we have shown in this study, cultural difference alone is neither a necessary, nor a sufficient cause for the presence of autonomy. In the quantitative analysis, cultural difference was shown to be significant at the .01-level. However, distance from the mainland and strategic importance both got higher chi-two rates.

Safran (2000) also advocates the importance of cultural difference for autonomy, but this only applies to minorities within ethnically homogeneous countries. Minorities within ethnically heterogeneous countries most often do not achieve autonomy (2000: 21-22). It is therefore important to point out that cultural difference does not say anything about the ethnic composition on the mainland other than that it differs from the one on the island. Most states included in this study are ethnic homogeneous states. A large majority of the inhabitants share the same language, religion, and ethnic origin. But there are also states that are ethnically heterogeneous. States like Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, the Solomon Islands, and Tanzania. Even the USA could be characterized as an ethnic heterogeneous state. In this context we must point out that ethnic heterogeneity is not easily defined. In fact, if the island show ethnic difference in relation to mainland, the state must be defined as ethnically heterogeneous, since there are more than one ethnic group in that state. However, in some states, like for instance in Finland, only 6% of the population is Swedish speaking. Therefore, we would consider Finland as more homogeneous than Indonesia or Papua New Guinea, since more than 90%

shares the same ethnic background, speaks the same language, and shares the same religion.

This means that many of the islands that show cultural difference in relation to their mother countries are also parts of ethnic heterogeneous states. This is the case with most of the non-autonomous islands that show cultural difference in relation to the mainland. There are 13 non-autonomous islands that show cultural difference in relation to the mainland. Among these, ten are parts of ethnically heterogeneous states, while only three are parts of ethnically homogeneous states. If we look at the autonomous islands, only three are parts of ethnically heterogeneous states, while 30 are parts of ethnically homogeneous states. As for the study by Safran, this study shows that the ethnic composition on the mainland seems to be important when explaining why cultural difference is important as an explanation to autonomy. If the island is culturally different and part of a mainly ethnically homogeneous state it seems to be more likely to obtain autonomy than if it is a part of a more heterogeneous state. This would not be difficult to explain. If there is more than one, or a few ethnic groups in a state that could claim autonomy the state would be more reluctant to offer this solution to only one of the regions. This is so since it would set an example for the other regions and in the end threaten the unity of the state itself. On the other hand, if there are only one or a few ethnic groups in the state, it would be more willing to offer autonomy, since this would not have the same impact on the unity of the state. However, cultural difference in itself is not considered as either a sufficient or a necessary cause to explain autonomy. It is a sufficient cause only as part of a combination of conditions.

Cultural difference must be combined with previous experience of self-rule and strategic importance. The previous self-rule involves either previous experience of autonomy, or previous experience of independence or both. A territory that once has experienced previous self-rule would probably be more likely to re-gain its self-rule compared with islands that have never experienced any kind of self-rule. Gurr (1998: 18) argued that the loss of autonomy is a "potent source of future political mobilization". The importance of historical circumstances and previous self-rule was argued by Nordqvist (1998: 64) and Lane and Ersson (1999: 183). Cornell (2002: 109-110) showed that previous self-rule played an important role in the demands for autonomy in Abkhazia.

There would be nothing strange in the fact that if a territory has enjoyed previous self-rule the knowledge, often in the form of stories and

myths, creates a feeling of difference in relation to the other regions in the state. Most likely we would find movements that would strive to re-gain some kind of self-rule. However, in our research population there are four islands that show previous self-rule but do not enjoy autonomy. Among these, two show no cultural difference, and the inhabitants are thereby of the same ethnic background as the majority of the mainland population. There are also 16 autonomous islands that show no previous self-rule. Previous self-rule is not in itself neither sufficient nor necessary cause for autonomy. In fact, at a first glance it might seem as a tautology, since it presumes that the island already has enjoyed autonomy. However, since there are islands that in history used to constitute their own states, such as Sardinia and Sicily, and since there are both non-autonomous islands that have enjoyed previous self-rule and autonomous islands that have not enjoyed previous self-rule, this condition is important in understanding the phenomenon of autonomy. Still, it needs to be combined with cultural difference and strategic importance. The quantitative analysis showed that previous self-rule is significant at the .01-level but the chi-square value achieved is not as high as for the other two variables included in this sufficient cause (16.30).

Strategic importance is the only necessary cause found for autonomy. This means that it is almost always necessary for an island to either have been occupied or part of a foreign country and/or been involved in a major international conflict in order to obtain autonomy. Only two autonomous islands show no strategic importance according to our definition, Jeju Island and Rodrigues. Strategic importance is a necessary cause but still there are 13 non-autonomous islands that also show strategic importance. It is a necessary cause, but it is not a sufficient cause on its own.

The quantitative analysis also showed that strategic importance is significant at the .01-level and that it got the next highest chi-square value together with distance from the mainland (29.94). However, it has to be combined with cultural difference and previous self-rule to be a sufficient cause in the quantitative analysis.

As was argued by Holt and Turner (1969: 233-235), Anckar (1982: 156-157), and McCall (1996: 82-83), islands are often considered as strategically important due to their position in the Ocean. Ahlström (1995: 49-51) also showed that a majority of the demilitarized and neutralized territories in Europe are islands. Islands have often been the object of controversies due to their strategic position. The conquering state does not always regard the island as strategically important in itself, but the island may be occu-

pied only to prevent the enemy from getting control over it. As Loo (2003) argued, geography is the mother of strategy.

However, the fact that the island is or has been disputed is not enough to make it a sufficient cause. It must be combined with cultural difference and previous self-rule. The analysis tells us that if the island is to obtain autonomy, it needs to be strategically important, but it also tells us that this needs to be combined with other conditions to be sufficient as an explanation of the difference in autonomy. This would perhaps be obvious to all. A disputed territory does not automatically obtain autonomy. On the contrary, if the island is disputed it would give the state a reason to bring the island closer to it. Therefore strategic importance needs to be combined with cultural difference and previous self-rule. If the island shows a cultural difference in relation to the mainland and is disputed, this would be a breeding ground for groups striving for self-rule. If combined with previous experience of self-rule this would give the islanders opportunity to argue that they should re-gain their autonomy. It would be important for the self-identification on the island and contribute to the feeling of belongingness and fellowship that many authors have pointed out is typical characteristics for islands.

While distance from the mainland mainly applies to former colonies, culture{1}•self-rule{1}•strategic{1} applies on all categories of islands. Among the ten cases covered, only four also show distance from the mainland. If distance from the mainland can be regarded as the colonial prime implicant, we can regard this one as applicable to all kind of island territories, both islands far away from the mainland such as American Samoa, Aruba, and New Caledonia, but also islands close to the mainland such as Tobago, Isle of Man, and Muslim Mindanao. It would therefore be reasonable to argue that it would also be applicable on non-island territories. This prime implicant also covers the largest number of cases; twelve of the 22 possible combinations found, including 21 of the 39 autonomous islands.

Proximity to a foreign country was shown to be important in one of the sufficient causes, together with presence of cultural difference and strategic importance. However, only the Åland Islands were not covered by any of the other configurations. Proximity was also shown to be significant at the .05-level although the chi-square rate was low (4.59). As for cultural difference and strategic importance, it would be reasonable to believe that if the people in the closest country also are ethnically more similar to the inhabitants of the island then the people of the island would strive to ei-

ther be united with this country or to gain autonomy. This would deepen the feeling of fellowship and belongingness on the island. This was the actual case for the Åland Islands. The people of the islands are ethnically Swedes and they used to be a part of Sweden. The configuration found for the Åland islands therefore well describes the actual case, since it is often argued that the autonomy of the Åland Islands rests upon the demilitarization of 1856 and the Swedish culture and language.

Two of the independent variables did not show to be significant at the .01-level or at the .05-level. Population size and Lack of natural resources can therefore not be used to explain the difference in autonomy. As was argued in chapter 3.3, the use of Population size to explain political phenomenon has increased during the last decades. However, it has not been used to explain autonomy, and this study shows that population size is not an important condition. It would be reasonable to believe that population size is more important when explaining why some islands obtain independence while others obtain different forms of autonomy.

Lack of natural resources was also shown to be of little or none importance when explaining the difference in autonomy. In fact, it was shown to be a necessary condition for both presence and absence of autonomy. As for population size, lack of natural resources as well as other economic factors has not been used as explanations of the difference in autonomy. It would be probable here as well to believe that economic factors are more important when explaining the difference between independence and autonomy.

In this context it is important to remember that the island itself can not strive for autonomy. It is the people living on the island who are able to organize themselves into groups, organizations, or other kinds of movements that strive for autonomy or independence. As many island researchers have argued, islanders tend to regard themselves as different from the mainlanders, but in order to obtain autonomy something else is required. The feeling of fellowship or belongingness itself is not enough. It requires a cultural difference, previous self-rule, and a strategic importance. Why is it so? The most obvious explanation would be that if the island is not culturally different from the mainland, it has not any previous experience of self-rule and is not strategically important, or if it is not a long distance away from the mainland, it would be difficult for the islanders to argue why they should enjoy a special status in relation to the other regions in the state.

There is something else needed to the side of the fact that the island has been the object of military and political strife. If we only combine strategic importance with cultural difference, we find that there are five non-autonomous islands that show this combination. It can therefore not be considered to be a sufficient cause. They need to be combined with previous self-rule in order to be a sufficient cause.

Two of the prime implicants found in the analysis of presence of autonomy covers only one island each. Jeju Island is covered by absence of a small population size, cultural difference, and strategic importance. The autonomy of Jeju Island would rest on the cultural difference in manners and customs rather than cultural difference in terms of language, ethnicity and religion. The islandness of Jeju Island would then be of great importance. This would also be the case for Rodrigues. The island is covered by a medium distance from the mainland, presence of a small population size, cultural difference and absence of previous self-rule and strategic importance. Rodrigues is a dependency of the multi-ethnic Republic of Mauritius. The difference in cultural manners and customs are combined with a difference in ethnicity and religion. Still there are regions on Mauritius that also show cultural differences. Therefore the islandness itself would play an important role for the autonomy of Rodrigues. Common for both the islands is that they gained autonomy during the 21st century: Rodrigues in 2001 and Jeju Island in 2006. This might imply that other conditions will be important in the future when explaining the difference in autonomy. Still, we must remember that this is only two out of 74 autonomous islands. We must therefore not jump into conclusions. Jeju Island and Rodrigues could also be seen as the two exceptions that proves the rule. Let us now continue with the result of the analyses of absence of autonomy.

10.2. Absence of Autonomy

The analysis for absence of autonomy showed that there are three prime implicants that are sufficient causes for absence of autonomy. First, a medium distance from the mainland combined with absence of previous self-rule covers 15 islands. Both these conditions were found to be significant at the .01-level in the quantitative analysis. In order to confirm this result, both the conditions should be absent. However, if the island is more than 100 km away from the mainland, but less than 1,000 km, it is not considered to be close, but it is not a long way from the mainland either. If we

return to the islands we find that only four non-autonomous islands are more than 500 km away from the mainland while 13 are less than 300 km away. Among the autonomous islands, only four are closer than 300 km, while 24 are more than 1,000 km away from the mainland. A medium distance from the mainland combined with the fact that it has never enjoyed any autonomy, would explain why it is not autonomous today.

As was argued above, previous self-rule could be a source of future political mobilization. The absence of previous self-rule would therefore also lead to the absence of such political mobilizations. The feeling of belongingness and fellowship on the island would then not be as strong as in the islands that have had such experiences. It would then seem quite obvious that an island that is situated at a medium distance from the mainland, and has never enjoyed autonomy, would probably be well integrated with the rest of the country. Therefore there would not be any conditions found for special status or autonomy. This prime implicant covers six cases including 14 islands.

The second prime implicant shows that a small population size combined with absence of strategic importance is sufficient for the absence of autonomy. This prime implicant covers five cases including 17 islands. The absence of strategic importance would be the obvious explanation. It was argued that if the island has been the subject of conflict and/or if it has played an important role in international conflicts, the feeling of fellowship and belongingness would be strengthened. Consequently, if the island has not been fought about and has not played any important role in an international conflict, it lacks one of the important features to gain autonomy. If it is not considered as important by the surrounding states or by the mother country it would not be given such an importance that it would be the object of any autonomy aspirations. Furthermore, strategic importance was shown to be a necessary condition for presence of autonomy. When combined with a small population size it is sufficient for absence of autonomy.

It was argued that if the territory has a small population size it would be more likely to gain autonomy than if it has a large population size. The result shows, however that a small population size combined with absence of strategic importance results in absence of autonomy. This would be a logical result. If the island has a small population and shows no strategic importance it would most probably not be demanding autonomy. The necessary conditions for a deepened feeling of belongingness and fellowship are missing and the number of inhabitants is small.

The third prime implicant showed that the presence of cultural difference and absence of strategic importance is sufficient for the absence of autonomy. The absence of strategic importance has already been discussed above. As was discussed above, the presence of cultural difference is argued to be one of the most important factors that explain the presence of autonomy. However, this prime implicant shows that presence of cultural difference is important also for absence of autonomy. To find out why this is we need to go back to the islands. Among the islands covered by presence of cultural difference and absence of strategic importance we find Eilean Siar in the UK, the four Indonesian islands, Palawan in the Philippines, Temotu in the Solomon Islands and Tafea in Vanuatu. We can then conclude that only Eilean Siar is part of a fairly homogeneous country, while the other islands are parts of ethnically heterogeneous countries. Again we can refer to Safran; minorities within ethnically heterogeneous countries are more unlikely to obtain autonomy. When this is combined with absence of strategic importance it seems as if there is no ground for obtaining autonomy. This prime implicant covers seven cases but includes only eight islands.

The fourth prime implicant embrace absence of cultural difference, presence of strategic importance and absence of constitutional change. It covers six cases and eight islands. As has been previously discussed, these three conditions are found on different analytical levels. While cultural difference and strategic importance tells us something about the island, constitutional change tells us something about the situation in the mother country. This combination tells us that If the island shows absence of cultural difference in relation to the mainland but is strategically important and the state has not experienced a transition from authoritarian rule – something that was shown to be common for the states included that showed presence of constitutional change – then the island is not going to be an obstacle for autonomy. There are eight islands covered by this prime implicant. The absence of cultural difference might show that all the islands are parts of culturally homogenous countries, something that is true for all the eight islands. As for all the non-autonomous islands, none of the eight owe their current status to a constitutional change. Still they show presence of strategic importance. This would imply that strategic importance is not enough to bring forward the feeling of belongingness and fellowship on the island. It needs to be combined with other conditions: for presence of autonomy with cultural difference and previous self-rule.

When combined with the absence of cultural difference it does not provide with the sufficient conditions for autonomy.

The final prime implicant, absence of distance from the mainland, proximity to a foreign country, previous self-rule, constitutional change, and presence of cultural difference would confirm what have been discussed above. Cultural difference alone is not sufficient for presence of autonomy. This prime implicant covers four cases and four islands. Furthermore, it covers only two islands that are not covered by any other prime implicant: Islas de la Bahía and New Britain. The latter one is part of an ethnically heterogeneous country (Papua New Guinea) while the first one is part of an ethnically fairly homogeneous country (Honduras). When combined with the absence of any of the other conditions that could work in favour of a deepened feeling of belongingness and fellowship that would provide more fertile grounds for demands for autonomy (distance, proximity, and previous self-rule), cultural difference alone can not provide such a ground. Finally, if the state has not undergone any transition from authoritarian rule that has included a change of the constitution, then the island would not obtain autonomy, since the important ingredients for autonomy are not found.

We can thereby conclude that the analysis of absence of autonomy in many respects confirmed our initial assumption. Most of the independent variables that showed to be significant at the .01-level were absent in most of the prime implicants found in the analysis. Let us then make some concluding remarks for the analysis of the difference in autonomy.

10.3. Concluding Remarks

The research question for this study has been to explain why some islands enjoy autonomy while others do not. It was initially assumed that no single variable could explain the difference in autonomy. Instead we believed that combinations of factors are important in the understanding of autonomy. This assumption has proven to be true even though two of the prime implicants sufficient for presence of autonomy contained only one factor each, there were four other prime implicants that also were sufficient causes and five prime implicants that were sufficient for absence of autonomy. Therefore we can conclude that autonomy is not as straight forward as many authors believe. Depending on which other factors are included in the specific combination, the same factor can be used as parts of sufficient causes for both absence and presence. Most studies on auton-

omy have shown that autonomy can be explained by one or a couple of individual variables. However, since most studies only included autonomies and not cases that show absence of autonomy, the results only reviles what is common for autonomous territories and not what is explaining the difference in autonomy and thereby they do not explicate the concept of autonomy itself.

There were six independent variables that were significant in the chi-square-test; distance from the mainland, cultural difference, previous self-rule, strategic importance, and constitutional change at the .01-level and proximity to a foreign country at the .05-level. Theories on autonomy showed that distance from the mainland, and cultural difference between the autonomy and the mother country were the most frequently used explanations to autonomy.

The result of the present study confirms that the five variables that most often have been used as explanations to autonomy in the literature are also found to be important in the sufficient causes. Two of the variables: distance from the mainland and constitutional change, were found to be sufficient causes themselves. Since constitutional change works on a different analytical level than the other variables, it may be regarded as less important than distance from the mainland as an explanation to autonomy.

More importantly, the result shows that the perhaps most frequently used explanation of autonomy, cultural difference, does not constitute either a sufficient cause or a necessary cause by itself. Neither did it show the highest values in the quantitative analysis. In order to be a sufficient cause, it must be combined with previous experience of self-rule and strategic importance. The fact that a territory shows cultural difference in relation to mainland is not enough for it to obtain autonomy or special status within the state. However, we must remember that this study only includes islands. The result would therefore mainly refer to island territories and not to mainland areas. Nevertheless, only distance from the mainland can be said to mainly apply to islands. The other explanations may apply to all kinds of territories in the world. As was discussed previously, what makes islands unique: the isolation and the feeling of affinity and belongingness, could also apply to regions cut off from the rest of the continent by large forests, jungles, large rivers, or mountains. French Guyana is cut

off by a jungle, Abkhazia by mountains, and the Transnistria Republic¹⁸ struggling for independence in Moldova is cut off by a large river.

However, in order to find out if the result applies also on continental regions, we need to include all autonomous territories in the world. Therefore we cannot state that the result applies on all the autonomous territories in the world, but we can state that the result of this study applies to the majority of all autonomous territories in the world, autonomous islands. It also shows that among the most frequently used explanations of autonomy; only a long distance from the mainland is shown to work on its own. Cultural difference in itself cannot be seen as a sufficient explanation to island autonomy. Since islands constitute a large majority of the autonomous territories in the world, it would be a justified belief to hold that cultural difference would not be a sufficient explanation for any kind of autonomous territory in the world, and thereby it would not hold for the concept of autonomy itself.

Most studies that deal with autonomy include only one outcome on the dependent variable, presence of autonomy. Furthermore, they either include a random sample of autonomies around the world or they include so-called representative cases without defining the meaning of being representative. This study has included both cases that show presence of autonomy and cases that show absence. By using defined criterion for the selection of cases, all cases that fulfil these criteria are included in the study. This gives us a unique opportunity to generalize on the result of the study. However, since only islands are included we can only generalize on island autonomy, even though it seems reasonable that some of the results also apply on continental autonomies. Since islands constitute a large majority of the autonomies around the world the result indicates that autonomy is not as straight forward as argued in many of the studies performed. One of the most important contributions of this study is that it contributed to the understanding of islands and island autonomy within

¹⁸ The Transnistria Republic declared its independence on 2nd of September 1990 as *Pridnestrovskaja Moldovskaia Respublica*. After a short war between the Moldovan government and the rebels, the government accepted a greater Transnistrian self-government. The Republic is de facto independent but not internationally recognized. For further reading on Transnistria or Pridnestrovia, see Dima, N. (2001). *Moldova and the Transdnestr Republic*. New York: Columbia University Press; and Roper, S.D. (2004). *From frozen Conflict to Frozen Agreement: the Unrecognized state of Transnistria* in *De Facto States: the Quest for Sovereignty*, T. Bacheli, B. Bartmann, and H. Srebrnik (eds.). London and New York: Routledge.

the sub-field of nissology. However, the most important result is that it gives a unique opportunity to explain the concept of autonomy and why some territories enjoy autonomy while others do not. The fact that strategic importance is the only necessary cause found and that cultural difference by its own is not found to be either sufficient or necessary cause for autonomy, show that autonomy as a political phenomenon can not be explained by cultural difference, in terms of difference in language, ethnicity, or religion. This must be seen as an important contribution to the understanding of the concept of autonomy as a political phenomenon.

11. Summary

Autonomy and islands are often combined in the world today. As has been shown in the introduction to this study, a majority of the autonomies of the world are islands, island groups, or archipelagos. This study falls into the sub-discipline of political geography and the interdisciplinary sub-field of nissology or Island Studies. In nissology, islands are considered as different from the mainland and as having the ability to obtain autonomy in relation to mainland. However, among the islands, island groups, and archipelagos, there are only a handful that enjoys autonomy. Most islands are still fully integrated with their mother country. The aim of this study was to explain why some islands have obtained autonomy, while others are still an integrated part of the mother country. The aim was not to explain the difference in autonomy arrangements between the autonomies, since this to some extent would require different independent variables of which some would necessarily be related to the political culture or political tradition of the mother country, rather than characteristics of the island itself.

The dependent variable, autonomous islands, was defined as an island territory which is surrounded by water and, in relation to the majority of other sub-national territories in the same country, enjoys a special and unique status including legislative power, within the state, but does not constitute a federal unit, or an independent state. From the definition we identified 73 islands, of which 39 enjoys autonomy, while 34 does not.

The independent variables were partly found in the literature on autonomy. We ended up with a total of eight independent variables: distance from the mainland, proximity to a foreign country, population size, cultural differences, previous self-rule, strategic importance, constitutional change, and the lack of important natural resources.

We have performed both a qualitative analysis and a quantitative one on the 73 islands and found that both of them gave to some extent a similar result. The quantitative analysis used crosstabs and chi-square test to show which variables were significant at the .05-level. The qualitative analysis performed by using QCA (Qualitative Comparative Analysis) showed that only one of the independent variables; strategic importance was shown to be a necessary condition for autonomy. A necessary condition being one that is present in all the cases that show the same outcome, i.e. one that is found to be present among either the autonomous islands

or among the non-autonomous islands. Lack of natural resources did also show to be a necessary cause, but for both the presence and absence of autonomy and therefore this variable can not explain the difference in autonomy. None of the other variables showed a pattern that can be said to explain the difference in autonomy. However, this follows the hypothesis that was outlined already in chapter one, that autonomy can not be explained using only one factor, but it is more likely that it is obtained as a result of two or more interacting factors. The sufficient cause analysis shows which factors, or combinations of factors, that only explain one certain outcome, i.e. which combinations that only are found among the autonomous islands and not among the non-autonomous ones and vice versa. This analysis showed that five plus one configurations were sufficient combinations for explaining autonomy:

- A long distance from the mainland (>1,000 km) or
- Constitutional change or
- A combination of cultural difference, previous self-rule and strategic importance or
- A combination of proximity to a foreign country, cultural difference, and strategic importance or
- A combination of absence of a small population size, cultural difference, and strategic importance or
- A combination of a medium distance (>100; <1,000) from the mainland, presence of a small population size, cultural difference, and absence of previous self-rule, and strategic importance.

The first three configurations covered 36 of the 39 autonomous islands. The fourth and fifth covered only one island each, while the sixth covered a contradictory case including one autonomous island and two non-autonomous islands. If QCA would have given us the opportunity to define these three ones as outliers the result of the qualitative analysis would have resulted in three sufficient combinations.

The sufficient cause analysis for the non-autonomous islands showed that five combinations of factors explain the absence of autonomy:

- A combination of a medium distance (>100; <1,000) from the mainland, and absence of previous self-rule, or
- A combination of a small population size and absence of strategic importance, or

- A combination of culture difference and absence of strategic importance, or
- A combination of absence of cultural difference, presence of strategic importance, and absence of constitutional change, or
- A combination of presence of cultural difference, and absence of previous self-rule, and constitutional change.

In this analysis, the contradictory cases did not produce a separate configuration but are covered by two of the four configurations. This means that if we had excluded the contradictory cases we would have received the same configurations.

Five independent variables show to be important in all the analyses, both in the qualitative and in the quantitative, both on continental level and on the ocean level. The five have also been found important in previous research: distance from the mainland, cultural differences, previous self-rule, strategic importance, and constitutional change.

Cultural difference is often referred to as being one of the most important factors in explaining the presence of autonomy. Lapidoth even states that ethnic tensions explain a majority of the cases that enjoy autonomy. However, this study has shown that cultural difference, here defined as difference in language, ethnicity, or religion, itself cannot explain the difference in autonomy. As a matter of fact, in many of the islands that do not enjoy autonomy, there is a cultural difference to be found while as concerns some of the autonomous islands there is no cultural difference to be found. In both the quantitative, as well as the qualitative analysis, cultural difference is shown to be significant and a sufficient cause, but it is not a necessary cause for autonomy. Lapidoth argued that ethnicity was the main explanation to autonomy and if we would have included only autonomies in our study we would most certainly have produced the same result. However, unlike most of the studies on autonomy, this study also includes non-autonomies, territories that do not enjoy a special status within the state, and we have found that many of these territories also show a cultural difference in relation to mainland. Therefore, cultural difference must be seen as only a partial explanation to autonomy.

The quantitative analysis showed that it is significant at the .05-level, but the qualitative analysis showed that it alone is neither a necessary condition nor a sufficient one, unless it is combined with two other conditions. Difference in language, ethnicity, and religion must therefore be combined with other conditions in order to give autonomy to an island

region. This was confirmed in the analysis of the non-autonomies. The absence of cultural difference was only sufficient in explaining the absence of autonomy when combined with other conditions. When analysing the islands on a continent and ocean level, the result showed that cultural difference alone was found to be a sufficient cause only in Africa, while the lack of cultural difference was a sufficient cause in America.

Ethnic diversity or cultural difference might in certain cases be causing autonomy, but autonomy is not universally caused by ethnic diversity or cultural difference alone. Autonomy is probably both a necessary and sufficient condition in the solution of ethnic conflicts, but cultural difference is not itself a necessary or sufficient condition for autonomy, but must be combined with other conditions to produce island autonomy. The fact that cultural difference in so many studies by so many authors has shown to be the most important factor in explaining autonomy only shows the difficulties connected with the method of selecting cases on the dependent variables and emphasizes the importance of including cases that show both outcomes on the dependent variable.

Distance from the mainland is shown to be one of the most important variables in both the qualitative and the quantitative analysis. In the literature on autonomy, distance was argued to be important since a long distance made it difficult for the mother country to maintain an effective rule over the island and therefore autonomy would be a solution for maintaining its control over the island without putting too much effort in keeping the island as an integrated part. In the regional analysis of the continents and Oceans this picture is verified. A long distance is shown to be important in America, and Oceania. Both are regions with many former colonies and all are dependencies of countries found on a different continent, mainly Europe and America. If we look closer at the islands that show a long distance from the mainland, they have all, in some part of their history, been ruled as a colony, which is something that was emphasized as a main explanation for the distance factor in the previous autonomy research and this proposition is confirmed in this study.

The historical and strategic aspects of autonomy were covered by the two variables previous self-rule and strategic importance. Both of these were shown to be significant in the quantitative analysis. Strategic importance is also the only necessary cause in explaining presence of autonomy in the qualitative analysis. As a sufficient cause, it had to be combined with other conditions, while the absence of strategic importance alone was shown to be a sufficient cause for the absence of autonomy. As Ahlström

pointed out, demilitarization and neutralization of territories are often combined with an autonomy status. All islands but one showed a strategic importance, something that could also be explained by the fact that they are all islands. As Anckar argued, islands tend to be regarded as strategically important by continentally based countries. Many of the autonomous islands have been used as bases for both the marine and the air force during international conflicts and as a consequence thereof they have often been occupied during an international conflict. It can therefore be assumed that the strategic position is closely related to the characteristics as islands, and that this in its turn helps in achieving a status of autonomy.

Previous self-rule itself was not shown to be a necessary cause, nor a sufficient one unless combined with other factors. In the analysis of the American islands, previous self-rule was a sufficient cause. In no other analysis was previous self-rule shown to be a sufficient cause in itself.

Constitutional change was only found on seven islands, all autonomous, which explains why it was shown to be significant in the Chi-square test. In all the seven cases the constitutional change was a result of a transition process from authoritarian rule, in Italy and Spain from the fascist governments of Mussolini and Franco, in the Philippines from the dictatorship of Marcos, and in Portugal the successors of the military government of Salazar. Constitutional change was pointed out only by Lane and Ersson and it has been proved in this study that it is a sufficient cause in the explanation of presence of autonomy. The absence of constitutional change was shown to be a sufficient cause only when combined with other conditions.

Proximity to a foreign country was one of the added variables for this study. It was argued that if the island was closer than 100 km from a foreign country and closer to this country than to the mainland of its mother country, the island would more easily obtain autonomy as a way for the mother country to preserve its control over the island, while not running the risk of facing demands from the island of wanting to be unified with the mainland situated closest to it. The quantitative analysis showed that proximity to a foreign country was not significant. The qualitative analysis showed that combined with other conditions it was a sufficient condition, although it covered only one island that was not already covered by other configurations, the Åland Islands.

Size has often been used as an important variable in explaining different phenomena in political science. Studies have shown that size can explain the difference in political system as well as party systems and elec-

toral systems in the world. The micro-states of the world have often been regarded as different from larger states due to their size, not so much the territorial size, but more the size of the population. As an explanation of the difference in autonomy, size can not be regarded as one of the most important ones, even though it, combined with other conditions, could be used as a sufficient explanation, covering five autonomous islands. However, since one of these islands was a contradictory case while one of the configurations was replaceable by others not including size it must be regarded as a non-important condition. The quantitative analysis confirms this, and size was not a significant variable.

Possession of important natural resources was added as a condition explaining autonomy. If an island possesses important natural resources it would be more likely that the state wishes to maintain a strong control over the territory, not offering the island any kind of special status, since the state would not want the island to get control over the natural resources. The lack of important natural resources would therefore be important in explaining the difference in autonomy. However, beside of being a necessary condition for presence and absence of autonomy, lack of important natural resources was not found to be a sufficient cause in any of the analyses performed. Lack of natural resources must therefore be considered as not important in the explanation of the difference in autonomy.

A large majority of the autonomies in the world today are islands. Insularity must therefore be considered as a main explanation of autonomy. Since most of the studies of autonomy focus only on the autonomies themselves the variables that are seen as important in explaining autonomy cannot be said to explain autonomy, since that would require a comparison with non-autonomous entities. In order to control for the major explanation of autonomy, insularity, it is necessary to choose to study only islands, partly since this variable otherwise would be over determined, and partly because the definition of non-autonomous continentally based territories would include all sub-national entities in the world. The selection of cases would then be a difficult task. This study also falls under the interdisciplinary subfield of nissology or Island Studies that in political science often is regarded as a part of political geography. One of the major implications of this is that the results of this study only refer to island autonomies, not to all the autonomies in the world. Although it can be assumed that many of the results also are applicable to all autonomies in the world, this can not be proved within the scope of this study.

Sammanfattning

Autonomi förklaras ofta med kulturella skillnader mellan det autonoma territoriet och moderlandet. Skillnader i form av etniskt ursprung, språk och religion brukar lyftas fram som förklaring till varför ett geografiskt område har någon form av särställning inom den egna staten. Denna studie visar dock att kulturella skillnader endast är en delförklaring som måste kombineras med andra faktorer för att förklara varför öar har autonomi men inte andra. Tidigare studier kring autonomi har främst fokuserat på autonomierna utan att inkludera icke-autonoma territorier. Eftersom variation på den beroende variabeln är viktig för att förklara politiska fenomen inkluderar denna studie både autonoma och icke-autonoma öar.

Studie syftar till att förklara varför vissa öar åtnjuter autonomi medan andra, trots likartade förutsättningar, förblivit en integrerad del av nationalstaten. Autonomi används ofta som synonym till självstyre, både i form av ett territoriums självstyre i förhållande till andra stater eller territorier och i form av myndigheters självstyre i förhållande till statsmakten. Den yttersta formen av autonomi anses inte sällan vara självständighet. För denna studie har autonomi definierats som *ett territorium inom en stat som, i förhållande till andra territorier i samma stat, åtnjuter en unik status omfattande lagstiftande kompetens, men som inte utgör en federal enhet eller en självständig stat.*

En snabb överblick över de autonoma territorierna visar att en klar majoritet är öar. Om vi bortser från federala enheter utgör öar närmare 50 % av de europeiska autonoma territorierna, medan 80 % av autonomierna i Nord- och Sydamerika är öar. I Oceanien är 100 % öar. Öars autonomi brukar ofta förklaras av det faktum att de är just öar. Många forskare menar att öar, pga sitt ofta isolerade läge, lättare utvecklar en vi-känsla, en känsla av vi och de i förhållande till fastlandet. Nissologi, eller studiet av öar, har under de senaste åren vuxit till att bli ett tvärvetenskapligt akademiskt forskningsfält och institut för studiet av öar har vuxit fram på flera ställen i världen.

I litteraturen kring autonomi framträder fem faktorer som förklaringar till autonomi; avstånd från moderlandet, kulturella skillnader, tidigare självstyre eller självständighet, strategisk betydelse samt konstitutionell förändring. Utöver dessa fem kan ytterligare tre spela en viktig roll; närhet till främmande land, befolkningsstorlek samt frånvaro av viktiga naturresurser. Samtliga faktorer har mätts vid tidpunkten för autonomi för

de autonoma öarna. För de icke-autonoma återspeglar de situationen idag. De historiska faktorerna, tidigare självstyre och strategisk betydelse har mätts från den Westfaliska freden och framåt till tidpunkten för autonomi respektive till idag.

Avstånd från moderlandet anförs ofta som förklaring till autonomi. Om en ö ligger på ett långt avstånd från moderlandet kan det bli svårt att upprätthålla full kontroll över den. Genom att införa ett begränsat självstyre på ön kan moderlandet bibehålla det politiska inflytandet samtidigt som vissa interna angelägenheter överförs på de lokala myndigheterna. Detta gäller inte minst de forna europeiska kolonierna i Karibien och Oceanien. Vad menar vi då med långt avstånd? Det mest logiska svaret på den frågan torde vara att det beror på. Eftersom avstånd, liksom tid och rum, är sociala konstruktioner finns inget entydigt svar på vad ett långt avstånd är. För den här studien har avstånd definierats som 100 km från fastlandet och långt avstånd som 1 000 km. Av de 39 autonoma öarna i studien uppvisar 31 öar ett avstånd på mer än 100 km, varav 24 är mer än 1 000 km från det egna moderlandet. Bland de 34 icke-autonoma öarna uppvisar 19 ett avstånd på 100 km eller mer från moderlandet. Ingen ö uppvisar ett avstånd på 1 000 km eller mer.

Närhet till främmande land kan underlätta för ett territorium att uppnå autonomi. Närheten kan dels göra att folken i de två områdena är besläktade. Exempelvis anförde Åland närheten till Sverige som betydelsefull när öarnas status diskuterades i NF (Nationernas förbund). För att en ö ska klassas som när ett främmande land krävs att avståndet är 100 km eller mindre samt att avståndet är kortare än till det egna moderlandet. Bland de autonoma öarna uppvisar 12 närhet till främmande land, vilket är samma antal som bland de icke-autonoma.

Befolkningsstorlek utgår från antagandet att en liten befolkningsstorlek gör att ön inte kan överleva som självständig stat. Ön väljer därför att sträva efter att förbli en del av det egna moderlandet, samtidigt som den vill ha utökat politiskt självbestämmande. Befolkningsstorlek i det här sammanhanget följer Duursmaas definition på 300 000 invånare. Bland de autonoma öarna har 28 en befolkning som understeg 300 000 invånare vid den tidpunkt då autonomi infördes. Bland de icke-autonoma har 26 en befolkningsstorlek som understiger 300 000 invånare.

Kulturella skillnader torde vara den vanligaste förklaringen till varför några territorier uppnår autonomi. I begreppet kulturella skillnader åsyftas här skillnader i form av etniskt ursprung, religiös tillhörighet och språk. För att ön ska klassas som olik moderlandet i kulturellt hänseende

måste den uppvisa skillnader i en eller flera av dessa. Bland de autonoma öarna fann vi 34 som uppvisade kulturella skillnader medan 13 av de icke-autonoma gjorde det samma.

Tidigare erfarenhet av självstyre kan förklara förekomsten av autonomi. Om en ö har utgjort ett autonomt territorium eller en självständig stat i historisk tid torde det lättare kunna återfå visst självstyre. Berättelser och myter kring den forna självständigheten bidrar ofta till att skapa förutsättningar för grupper, föreningar och rörelser som strävar efter att återupprätta autonomi. Bland de autonoma öarna visade 22 någon form av tidigare självstyre medan endast fyra av de icke-autonoma uppvisar detta.

Strategisk betydelse, dvs att territoriet antingen har varit ockuperat alternativt varit en del av ett främmande land eller om ön har haft en avgörande betydelse i en internationell väpnad konflikt, kan underlätta utvecklandet av autonomi. Bland de autonoma öarna är det endast två, Jeju och Rodrigues, som inte uppfyller kriterierna för strategisk betydelse, medan bland de icke-autonoma uppvisade 13 en strategisk betydelse.

Tillgång till viktiga naturresurser kan försvåra för ett territorium att uppnå autonomi. Om territoriet besitter naturresurser som anses viktiga för moderlandet finns uppenbara risker att erbjuda territoriet autonomi, då detta kan innebära att moderlandet förlorar kontrollen över naturresurserna. Frånvaro av viktiga naturresurser skulle därmed vara en förutsättning för att ett område ska uppnå autonomi. Bland öarna uppvisar endast tre autonoma och en icke-autonom förekomst av viktiga naturresurser.

Autonomi kan även vara ett resultat av en konstitutionell förändring. När konstitutionen i ett land skrivs om kan autonomi läggas in oavsett om det är efterfrågat av territoriet eller inte. Konstitutionell förändring kan teoretiskt slå åt båda hållen, dvs autonomi kan både införas eller avskaffas i samband med att en ny konstitution utformas. Resultatet visar emellertid att faktorn endast appellerar till de autonoma öarna där sju tillerkänts autonomi i samband med en konstitutionell förändring. I alla de sju fallen genomfördes förändringen i samband med en övergång från auktoritärt styre, dvs militärdiktatur eller fascistdiktatur. Ingen av de icke-autonoma öarna har fått sin nuvarande status i samband med en förändring av konstitutionen.

Analysen har genomförts i två etapper. Först har en kvalitativ analys genomförts med hjälp av kvalitativ komparativ analys, QCA (Qualitative Comparative Analysis). Metoden är utformad av Charles Ragin och följer logiken i Boolesk algebra. Metoden har främst kritiserats för att den förut-

sätter dikotomisering av variablerna, varför MVQCA (Multi-value QCA) har utvecklats. I MVQCA tillåts en eller flera av de oberoende variablerna tillåts anta fler värden än 1 och 0. Den beroende variabeln är dock alltså dikotom. Utöver kritiken kring dikotomisering har QCA även kritiserats för att vara alltför teoriberoende, att den riskerar brist på variation mellan de valda fallen, att samma kombination av variabler kan förklara både förekomst av och frånvaro av den beroende variabeln, s.k. kontradiktion, att metoden tillåter rent teoretiska fall för att kunna reducera konfigurationerna samt slutligen att den inte tar hänsyn till processer och därmed inte heller till tidsfaktorn.

Inom QCA talar man om nödvändiga och tillräckliga faktorer. Nödvändiga faktorer är sådana som finns med i alla fall med samma utfall på den beroende variabeln. Teoretiskt innebär detta att samma variabel kan vara tillräcklig för båda utfallen på den beroende variabeln. Tillräckliga faktorer är sådana faktorer som endast producerar ett utfall på den beroende variabeln. Samma faktor behöver därmed inte nödvändigtvis uppfylla kraven för både tillräckliga och nödvändiga faktorer.

Resultatet av den kvalitativa analysen visar att strategisk betydelse och frånvaro av naturresurser utgör nödvändiga faktorer för autonomi då båda är signifikanta på .05-nivån. Detta betyder att för att en ö ska utveckla autonomi är det nästan alltid nödvändigt att den har varit ockuperad av alternativt tillhört ett annat land eller spelat en viktig roll i en internationell konflikt samt att den inte besitter viktiga naturresurser. Bland de autonoma öarna i studien är det endast Jeju och Rodrigues som inte uppvisar strategisk betydelse utifrån den definition som används i detta arbete. Bland de icke-autonoma öarna visar 13 av de 34 öarna strategisk betydelse. Vad gäller frånvaro av autonomi är endast frånvaro av naturresurser signifikant på .05-nivån. Då frånvaro av naturresurser utgör en nödvändig faktor för både autonomi och icke-autonomi torde denna faktor inte vara den avgörande som förklaring till varför vissa öar får autonomi men inte andra.

Analysen av tillräckliga faktorer visar att det finns fem konfigurationer, kombinationer av faktorer, som är tillräckliga för att förklara närvaro av autonomi:

- Ett längre avstånd än 1 000 km från moderlandet
- Konstitutionell förändring
- Kulturell skillnad, tidigare självstyre och strategisk betydelse

- Närhet till främmande land, kulturell skillnad och strategisk betydelse
- Stor befolkningsstorlek, ingen kulturell skillnad och ingen strategisk betydelse
- Ett avstånd längre än 100 km men kortare än 1 000 km från moderlandet, liten befolkningsstorlek, kulturell skillnad, inget tidigare självstyre och ingen strategisk betydelse.

Av de sex konfigurationerna ovan omfattas 76 öar av de tre första. De tre senare omfattar en ö var, varav den sista även omfattar två icke-autonoma öar och är därmed en sk. kontradiktion. Inom kvantitativ analys talas det ofta om outliers, uteliggare, dvs fall som skiljer sig från huvudparten av fallen i en undersökning i sådan utsträckning att det påverkar utfallet av analysen. Ofta brukar dessa fall tas bort från analysen. Med samma resonemang i detta sammanhang skulle vi kunna argumentera för att två av de tre sista konfigurationerna skulle strykas då de skiljer sig i de flesta avseenden från övriga autonoma öar och har fler likheter med icke-autonoma öar.

Analysen av tillräckliga faktorer för de icke-autonoma öarna visar att det finns fem konfigurationer som förklarar frånvaro av autonomi:

- Ett avstånd på mer än 100 km men mindre än 1 000 km från moderlandet och inget tidigare självstyre
- Stor befolkningsstorlek och ingen strategisk betydelse
- Kulturella skillnader och ingen strategisk betydelse
- Ingen kulturell skillnad, strategisk betydelse och ingen konstitutionell förändring
- Litet avstånd från moderlandet, ingen närhet till främmande land, kulturell skillnad, inget tidigare självstyre och ingen konstitutionell förändring

Den sista konfigurationen omfattar fyra öar av vilka två även omfattas av andra konfigurationer.

Bryter vi ner analysen på kontinentnivå finner vi att det finns regionala skillnader till vad som förklarar skillnad i autonomi. Kulturella skillnader är viktiga bland de Afrikanska och Europeiska öarna medan ett längre avstånd än 1 000 km är viktig bland de Amerikanska och oceanska öarna liksom även tidigare självstyre. Detta ter sig tämligen självklart då många av de Amerikanska och Oceanska öarna är forna kolonier där moderlan-

det ofta ligger på en annan kontinent. Konstitutionell förändring är viktig bland de Afrikanska, Asiatiska och Europeiska öarna av den anledningen att det endast är där denna faktor återfinns. Totalt visar resultatet av analysen att två konfigurationer är viktiga på varje kontinent. Av des totalt sex konfigurationerna är tre lika identiska: ett avstånd mer än 1 000 km från moderlandet, konstitutionell förändring och tidigare självstyre. Övriga tre återfinns endast på en kontinent var.

Tittar vi på de icke-autonoma öarna ur ett kontinent perspektiv finner vi att skillnaderna är större mellan kontinenterna jämfört med de autonoma öarna. Ett avstånd på mer än 100 km men mindre än 1 000 km från moderlandet är viktigt bland de Amerikanska, Asiatiska och Oceanska öarna medan frånvaro av kulturella skillnader och konstitutionell förändring är viktig bland de Afrikanska och Europeiska. Totalt visar resultatet av analysen att det finns åtta konfigurationer varav två återfinns på mer än en kontinent; ett avstånd längre än 100 km men kortare än 1 000 km samt ingen kulturell skillnad och ingen konstitutionell förändring. Övriga sex konfigurationer återfinns endast på en kontinent var.

Den kvantitativa analysen genomfördes med hjälp av crosstab analys utförda i SPSS©. Pearsons R. Metoden har valts som ett alternativ till logistisk regression som pga för många variabler och för få fall inte kan användas i föreliggande arbete. Resultatet av den kvantitativa analysen visar att endast sex av de åtta variablerna är signifikanta på .05-nivån: avstånd från moderlandet, närhet till främmande land, kulturell skillnad, tidigare självstyre, strategisk betydelse och konstitutionell förändring. Av dessa uppvisar fyra höga värden i Pearsons Chi-2 test; avstånd från moderlandet, kulturell skillnad, tidigare självstyre och strategisk betydelse.

Jämför vi utfallen av den kvantitativa analysen med de från den kvantitativa finner vi att de huvudsakliga faktorerna som i den kvalitativa analysen visat sig vara nödvändiga respektive tillräckliga faktorer för autonomi visar sig vara signifikanta i den kvantitativa analysen. Tre av konfigurationerna i analysen av tillräckliga faktorer omfattar endast de fyra signifikanta faktorerna. En fjärde konfigurationen omfattar även närhet till främmande makt, en faktor som i och för sig visat sig vara signifikant men som uppvisade ett lågt värde i Pearsons Chi-2 test. De övriga två konfigurationerna kunde som vi redan tidigare anmärkt, klassas som uteliggare då de endast omfattar en ö var.

Resultatet av studien visar att strategisk betydelse tycks vara den viktigaste förklaringen till att vissa öar ges autonomi medan andra förblir en integrerad del av staten. Detta torde kunna förklaras av det faktum att om

ön varit ockuperad eller en del av ett främmande land har den under en kortare eller längre period varit isolerad från det egna moderlandet, vilket kan stärka de vi-känsla som karakteriserar öar och dess befolkning. Strategisk betydelse var den enda faktorn som visade sig vara nödvändig för autonomi då den identifierats hos 37 av de 39 autonoma öarna. Den ingick även som en del i en av konfigurationerna i analysen av de tillräckliga faktorerna. Här kombinerades den med kulturell skillnad och tidigare självstyre. Om ön är kulturellt annorlunda jämfört med moderlandet, har haft tidigare erfarenheter av självstyre samt har strategisk betydelse är detta tillräckliga förutsättningar för att ön ska uppnå autonomi.

Det viktigaste resultatet av studien torde vara att kulturell skillnad i form av språk, religion och etnicitet inte spelar den avgörande roll som tidigare forskning gjort gällande. Istället är det, vilket antogs inledningsvis, en kombination av faktorer som kan förklara skillnaden i autonomi. Endast en faktor har visat sig nödvändig, strategisk betydelse. Detta torde visa att autonomi kan inte förklaras av enskilda faktorer utan främst är ett resultat av flera samverkande faktorer. Vidare studier får visa i vilken grad resultaten från denna studie går att applicera även på icke-öar.

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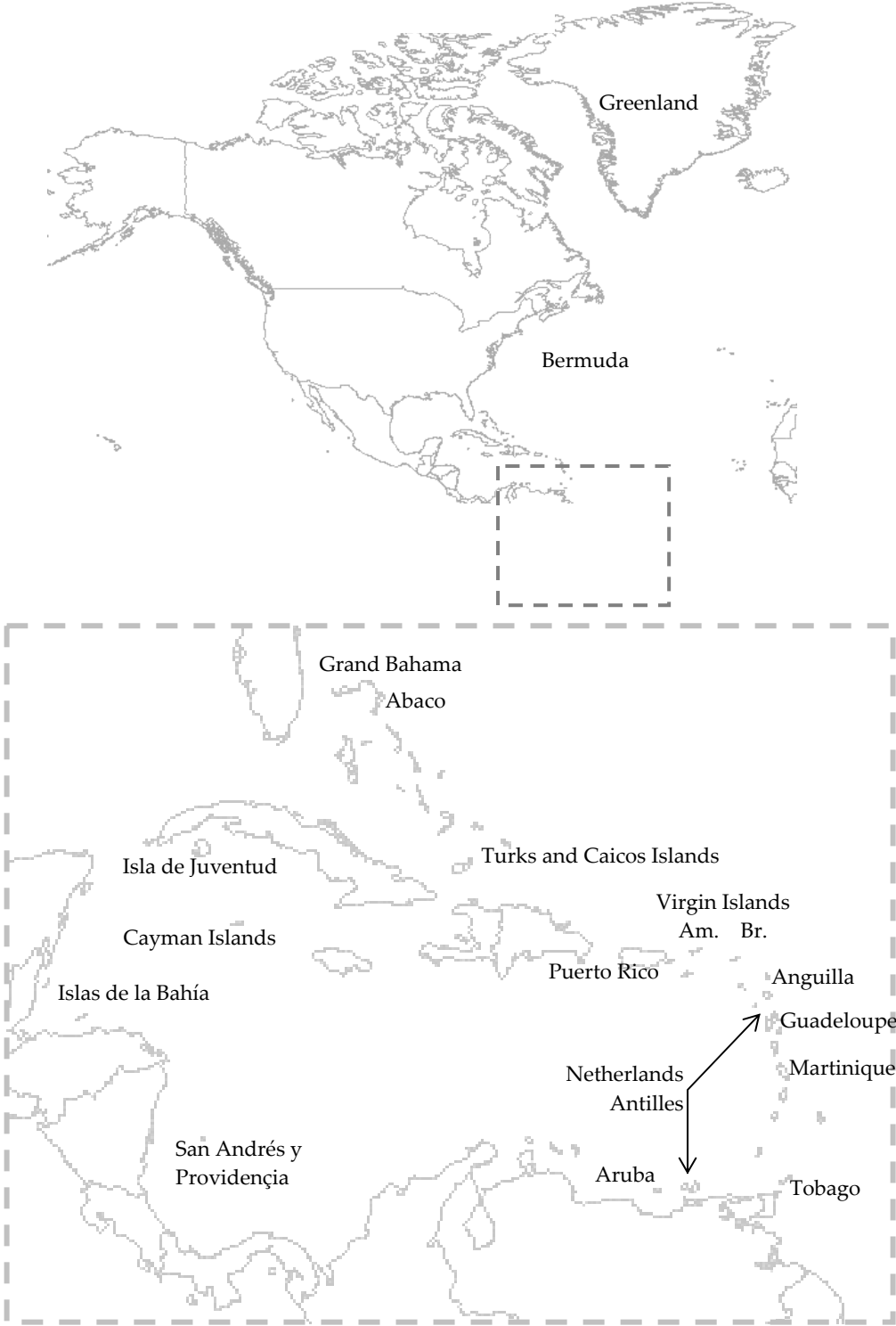
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Appendix 1. Maps of the Islands

Map 1. The African Islands



Map 2. The American Islands



Map 3. The Asian Islands



Map 4. The European Islands



Map 5. The Oceanian Islands



Autonomy is often explained by reference to differences in ethnicity, language and religion. A territory which differs from the rest of the country in any of these cultural aspects is more likely to gain autonomy. Pär M. Olausson shows in this thesis that cultural difference is not the only important factor when explaining why some islands obtain autonomy while others remain integrated parts of the state. In fact, differences in any of the cultural aspects combine with other factors.

Of the autonomies around the world today, a majority are islands. Islands are believed to differ from mainland territories and islanders are said often to develop a feeling of affinity due to isolation. Still many islands do not enjoy autonomy. In his efforts to explain island autonomy, Olausson includes both autonomous and non-autonomous islands.

By using MVQCA Olausson shows that autonomy is best explained by a combination of factors. Sufficient causes are that the island is more than 1,000 km away from the mainland, differs from the mainland in some of the cultural aspects, and has been separated from the state either by being a part of a foreign state or constituting a state by its own. Of these factors the strategic importance appears to be most decisive.

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