

The Future of Catalonia

Exploring the relation between collective identity, political engagement and secessionist claims of Catalan students



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Abstract

Recently, the region of Catalonia became known for its strife for independence, which deteriorated the relation with its host state, Spain. This growing hostility between the territories, economic grievances and national identities are frequently mentioned as explanations of growing secessionist sentiments in the region. Especially the effect of identity on secessionist claims has brought forward contradicting results in academic research. For instance, Serrano (2013a) argues that national identity does not have a significant influence on support for independence in Catalonia, while Burg (2015) states that national identity is a valuable predictor of secessionist claims in the region. This research focuses on collective identity as a broad concept and the influence it might have on secessionist claims of Catalan students. Whether or not Catalonia secedes from Spain, it is important to investigate the political viewpoints of this part of the population, since the highly educated and young people of Catalonia will become the future political and economic leaders of the region and this part of the population tends to be more critical towards everyday politics.

The results of this inquiry show that national identity is not the most salient identity aspect among Catalan students. In fact, collective identities of Catalan students are not dominated by one identity marker in particular. The analysis of self-categorization suggests that family is an important factor for collective identities of Catalan students; it also implies that the sample is highly secular and do not identify themselves as 'being Spanish'. Additionally, a majority of the respondents indicate to support Catalonia as an independent state. This becomes clear when analyzing different types of secessionist claims, including traditional and modern forms of political engagement and constitutional preferences.

Finally, a binary logistic regression shows that national identity can be a predictor of support for independence; however nationality turns out to be a better predictor of secessionist sentiments. Therefore, attention in further academic needs to be paid to the proper operationalization of these concepts. This research concludes that young, highly educated Catalan citizens need to be included in an open and integrated discussion of the future of Catalonia, whether the region is going to become independent or not.

Key words: Non-violent secessionism – collective identity – nationality - Nation-without-a-state – Catalonia – Spain

Preface

Dear reader,

Before you lies my master thesis, I am really proud of this final piece of my studies in Human Geography. During my five month stay in Barcelona, I did not only experience the life of an international student, I also learned a new language and conducted an extensive quantitative research. I think my period abroad helped me to embrace the dynamic and contradicting political process that is the Catalan independence debate. It is interesting to investigate a phenomenon that is present not only in the media and politics, but also in the everyday life of a Catalan citizen. It will remain an interesting topic which I will continue to follow closely in the coming years.

There some people I would like to thank. First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor Haley Swedlund. Although we just missed each other a couple of times, I want to thank her for her guidance, critical feedback and interesting discussions. In addition, I would like to thank Xavier Ferrar Gallardo for having me as an intern at the UAB Geography department and letting me be a part of the EUborderscapes conference. Thanks to Abel Albet i Mas for discussing my subject and letting me conduct a pilot study during his lecture, Mireia Garcia Gonzalez for the lovely time during and while preparing the conference and Martin van der Velde for helping me with the statistical analysis.

In addition, I want to thank all the Catalan students who took the time to fill in my online questionnaire. Thanks to the experts that were willing to discuss the topic in an interview. And finally, thanks to Jara, Sofia, June and Katrin for being incredible roomies and making my time in Barcelona an unforgettable one!

Kim

Nijmegen, June 6, 2016

List of figures

Figure 1: Location of Catalonia within Spain [map]. (2011).	1
Figure 2: Conceptual model.....	19
Figure 3: Gideon's (2012b) seven steps to design a survey questionnaire	28
Figure 4: Changing constitutional preferences of the Catalan population (2010-2015) (Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, 2015).....	388
Figure 5: Catalan students use language differently in comparison to the general population.....	50
Figure 6: The results of the Moreno-question suggests that many Catalan students express an exclusive Catalan nationality.....	52
Figure 7: Complexity of collective identity of Catalan students	53
Figure 8: Most important identity markers of Catalan students are 'my family', 'my education' and 'my culture'	54
Figure 9: Evaluation of self-categorization	56
Figure 10: The majority of Catalan students in this sample voted for pro-independent parties.....	57
Figure 11: Catalan students are involved in various kinds of political demonstrations.....	59
Figure 12: Usage of different types of modern political engagement among Catalan students	60
Figure 13: The majority of the survey sample wants Catalonia to be an independent stage	61
Figure 14: The five stages of the binary logistic regression analysis.....	65
Figure 15: Two additional binary logistic regression analyses demonstrate the difference between nationality and national identity.....	71

List of tables

Table 1: Binary logistic regression analysis	68
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Table of Content

Abstract.....	V
Preface.....	VII
List of figures	IX
List of tables	IX
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Project framework	1
1.2. Purpose and research questions	3
1.3. Relevance.....	4
1.3.1. Societal relevance	4
1.3.2. Scientific relevance	5
1.4. Structure.....	6
2. Theoretical framework	8
2.1. Collective identity	8
2.1.1. Towards an operationalization of collective identity.....	9
2.2. Identity politics	11
2.2.1. Collective identity and social movements.....	12
2.3. (Non-violent) secessionism	13
2.3.1. Justification of self-determination	14
2.3.2. Outcomes of secessionism.....	15
2.3.3. Strategies of secessionism.....	16
2.4. Measuring individual secessionist claims.....	16
2.4.1. Constitutional preferences	16
2.4.2. Voting behavior	17
2.4.3. Political engagement.....	17
2.5. Conceptual model.....	19
2.5.1. Hypotheses.....	20
3. Methodology	22
3.1. Research population.....	22
3.2. Survey.....	24
3.3.1. Webbased questionnaire	25
3.3.2. Survey sampling	26
3.3.3. Design of the questionnaire	27

3.3.4. Overview of the questionnaire items	30
3.3. Statistical analysis	33
3.4. Ethical dilemmas and limitations.....	33
4. The background of the Catalan independence debate	36
4.1. Introduction	36
4.2. Roots of the Catalan-Spanish conflict.....	36
4.3. Catalan nationalism after the democratic transition	37
4.4. Rekindled secessionist sentiments in the 21 st century	38
4.4.1. Growing hostility between Catalonia and Spain.....	39
4.4.2. Economic grievances and the recession	41
4.4.3. The role of language, culture and identity.....	42
4.4.4. Catalan secessionism in an international context	43
4.5. The Catalan question anno 2016.....	44
4.6. Conclusion.....	45
5. Collective identity and secessionist claims of Catalan students	48
5.1. Introduction	48
5.2. Collective identity	48
5.2.1. Place of birth.....	49
5.2.2. Language.....	49
5.2.3. Nationality.....	51
5.2.4. Self-categorization	52
5.2.5. Evaluation of self-categorization	55
5.3. Political engagement	56
5.3.1. Voting behavior	56
5.3.2. Membership of political party and civil society organizations	58
5.3.3. Engagement in demonstrations.....	59
5.3.4. Political consumerism, online expression and symbolism.....	60
5.4. Constitutional preferences.....	61
5.5. Conclusion.....	62
6. Linking collective identity and secessionism.....	64
6.1. Binary logistic regression analysis.....	64
6.1.1. The five stages of the model	65
6.1.2. Results.....	67
6.1.3. Discussion	69
6.2. Nationality versus national identity.....	71

6.3. Conclusion.....	73
7. Conclusion	75
7.2. Recommendations	76
7.2.1. Recommendations for praxis	77
7.3. Reflection	77
Bibliography	79
Appendix A: The political system of Catalonia	87
Appendix B: Survey protocol	89
Appendix C: SPSS output chapter 5	96
Appendix D: SPSS output chapter 6	125

1. Introduction

1.1. Project framework

On September 11, 2015, over one million people took to the streets of Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia. The demands of these demonstrations were clear: Catalonia has to become an independent country. Currently, the region is one of the 17 autonomous communities of Spain and is located in the north of the country, next to the French and Andorran border (see figure 1). Catalonia is populated by around 7.5 million people and it provides for almost one-fifth of the Spanish GDP (IDESCAT, 2015). More autonomy has been an objective of the Catalans since the 14th century and has also played an important role in the democratization processes after the dictatorship of Franco (Colomer, 1998; Keating, 2001).



Figure 1: Location of Catalonia within Spain [map]. (2011).

Since the regional elections of September 2015 the idea of an independent Catalonia has come within reach. These elections can be viewed as a de facto referendum, since the independence debate was the main objective. The pro-independence parties Candidatura d'Unitat Popular (CUP) and Junts Pel Sí (JxSí) gained a majority of the parliamentary seats and therefore formed a pro-independent regional government. The recently installed Catalan government has opened a participatory, open, integrating and active citizen's discussion to lay the basis for a future Catalan Constitution within 18 months (Sanjaume-Calvet, 2016). At the same time, national politics are in a deadlock, due to constantly failing negotiations for a new Spanish government with the Catalan question being used as leverage in at the bargaining table. The elections of 20 December 2015 made an end to the absolute majority of the Partido Popular (PP), therefore this party has to negotiate a government together with other parties. One of these is Podemos, which is in favor of a referendum on the future of Catalonia. The PP and other possible coalition partners on the other hand are strongly against.

The rapid shift from dictatorship to major support for the break-up with Spain can be

explained as a combination of resentment towards the Spanish tax system, unhappiness regarding long-lasting unresponsiveness to demands for greater political autonomy and the lack of recognition of Catalonia as a nation within Spain. In the discussions regarding the future of Catalonia, cultural and identity demands are also feature prominently (Guibernau, 2014b). However, in academic literature, there is no agreement on the influence of identity on expressing secessionist claims. According to Burg (2015), some scholars have lost sight of the strength of identification on political preferences and voting in Catalonia, due to the growing interest for economic grievances as an explanation secessionist claims. For instance, Serrano (2013a) found evidence that the perceptions of the economic costs of maintaining the status quo are linked to pro-independent preferences. In similar vein, Griffiths et al. (2015) argue that a solution for the Catalan conflict lies in addressing these economic grievances. There are, however, also studies that show a rather small or mostly insignificant effect of economic grievances on support for independence (Burg, 2015; Muñoz & Tormos, 2015). According to Burg (2015) 'there are few economic actions Madrid can take in the short run to reduce support for independence in Catalonia' (p. 308).

In many conflicts, younger generations are at the forefront of change. This is also the case in Catalonia. Numbers show that young people are often frequently involved in this strife for independence in Catalonia (Beck, 2016). For instance, a growing number of young people joins civil society organizations that promote and defend the Catalan culture and language, like the ANC Assemblea Nacional Catalunya (ANC) and Òmnium Cultural (Joan Vallvé, personal communication, November 5th 2015). Modern forms of political activism like demonstrations, political consumerism and online expression of political thoughts are easily accessible and appealing to these younger generations. Also, the transition to democracy has inspired many Catalans with a new sense of empowerment, that enables the population to express their political thoughts without fear for oppression (Guibernau, 2014b). Finally, similar cases, like Scotland, raise the questions among youngsters like 'if the Scots have a referendum, why does Spain forbid one in Catalonia?' (Guibernau, 2014b, p. 113).

University students form an interesting research population within the younger part of society. Highly educated adolescents are, according to the theory of cognitive mobilization, critical towards everyday politics and societal developments (Dalton, 2001). In the Catalan context, one would expect that the collective identity of these students is different from their parents, since most university students have been educated bilingually since primary school and did not experience the oppression of Catalan culture and language by Francisco Franco. In addition, it is interesting to inquire insights on how they see the future of the region, since this young and educated generation will for a great extent be responsible for shaping the political and economic future of Catalonia. If secession from Spain becomes inevitable, their support is essential to the foundation of this newly independent country.

Therefore, the direction of Catalonia as an independent country will remain uncertain without proper studying this part of the population.

1.2. Purpose and research questions

In theories and research on secessionism, there is no consensus on the impact of identity on secessionism, and moreover, research on the relationship between these concepts among the younger generations is lacking. This thesis will focus on the perception of collective identity and political attitudes of Catalan students. It will attempt to unravel a relationship between these concepts by using a quantitative research design. In comparable research, often only ethno-territorial collective identity markers are used (see, for example: Serrano, 2013a; Burg, 2015). This research wants to expand the research on collective identity in secessionist regions and thereby broadens the concept of collective identity. It also investigates the ways in which young generations are politically involved. How do political engagement and identity markers, relate to support for or disapproval of independence? To accomplish the goal of this research, the following research question will be central in this thesis:

What is the importance of collective identity for explaining secessionist claims of Catalan students?

This research seeks to untangle the relationship between collective identity, political involvement and secessionist claims. The data collected with an extensive online questionnaire will be used to test for statistical coherence and correlations between these concepts. To support and solve this main question several sub questions are formulated:

Which collective identity markers do Catalan students use to describe themselves?

In order to have a collective identity, people must place themselves in a social category. Social categorizations are countless; however, some distinctions can be made based on academic literature. For instance, you can categorize yourself according to territories, ranging from your neighborhood to an entire continent (Castells, 2010). Yet social groups can also be based on a common language, religion or other cultural aspect (Barker, 2008). Finally, social groups can be derived from demographic features, like gender, age and profession (Barker, 2008). These social groups or forms of self-categorization can be referred to as identity markers. By using a descriptive statistical analysis this research wants to indicate which collective identities are most salient among Catalan students.

Through which forms of political involvement do Catalan students express secessionist claims?

This question assesses how the students express the fact that they are in favor, against or neutral regarding Catalonia becoming an independent state. Indicators that are used to measure secessionist claims on the individual level are, amongst others, voting behavior, expression of political symbols and participation in demonstrations. Notably, it is important to make a distinction between different forms of political participation. Soler-i-Martí (2015) argues that the political attitudes of young people can be increasingly classified as 'emerging forms of participation which are more directly cause oriented without the mediation of representational institutions or organizations' (p. 6). Because the young research population of this inquiry, it will be necessary to pay attention to both traditional and modern forms of political involvement.

To what extent can collective identity and political engagement explain secessionist claims of Catalan students?

This final sub question investigates the relation between the Catalan student's collective identity markers, political participation and their expressions of secessionist claims. Various hypotheses based on the theoretical framework are tested by a binary logistic regression analysis with support for independence as the dependent variable.

1.3. Relevance

The importance of this research can be supported in a societal as well as in an scientific way. The next section will explain why this inquiry is relevant.

1.3.1. Societal relevance

This research was conducted in a period of serious political uncertainty. In the end of September 2015, regional elections were held in Catalonia. The parties in favour of independence gained a majority of parliamentary seats and declared in their 'roadmap towards independence' that the region would become independent within 18 months. However, the feasibility of self-autonomy was already endangered in its first stages, because governing parties JxSí and CUP could not agree on who should become the new Catalan Prime Minister (PM). Artur Mas, PM before the elections, wanted to stay in power, however, CUP disagreed, since Mas had been linked to various corruption scandals (Sanjaume-Calvet, 2016). The news is dominated by these recent political developments. It is therefore, interesting to conduct a poll in this period of time, since the issue is included in many everyday discussions between family, friends, colleagues and fellow students as the issue's salience increased and as independence gains viability in the eyes of the public national identity becomes a stronger correlate of

citizens' constitutional preferences (Rico & Liñeira, 2014). In other words, now that independence has become a more serious option for the future of the region, the role of national identity can become clearer.

On the other hand, the recent focus on secession by many Catalan politicians might overshadow other important political issues (Guibernau, 2014b). If this or further research in the coming months indicates that the mandate for an independent Catalonia among (the younger generations of) the population is not as large as many suspect, a lot of time and effort put into this issue is partially lost. In other words, the money and energy that has been spent on the independence issue could have been invested in other pressing issues, like the high unemployment rate or the obsolete infrastructure in Catalonia.

Finally, doing research among students is interesting in a societal way for various reasons. First of all, this research population, as highly educated young people, is responsible for the future of Catalonia. Therefore, public support of the younger generations is necessary to secure the success of Catalonia as an independent country, since these civilians will become its future leaders. Furthermore, in general, scholars argue that young people tend to vote less and protest more (Soler-i-Martí, 2015). However, to what extent this assumption is applicable on Catalonia and other secessionist regions remains rather unclear, since the elections, both on a regional or national scale, have been dominated by the independence issue voter turnouts in Catalonia have been higher than ever (IDESCAT, 2015). Also, it is interesting to see how the premise of the domination Spanish over Catalan identity is sustainable among young people, especially since this generation has not suffered from the cultural repression of Francisco Franco. This research could point out that the Catalan population is not as homogenous and consenting as some politicians argue. According to the political and educational changes since the dictatorship of Franco, a generation gap is imaginable.

1.3.2. Scientific relevance

This research will contribute to various ongoing academic debates. First of all, as Chenoweth & Stephan (2011) and Cunningham (2013) mention, most attention in conflict studies is paid to explaining the occurrence and aftermath of violent conflicts. This is reflected in the many databases on violent conflict as well as the overwhelming existence of theories, books, journal articles and media coverage on this topic. Similarly, most of the literature on partition also focuses on secession as a consequence of a violent conflict. Non-violent cases of separatism like the Catalan question and, for instance, Flanders in Belgium have been underexposed in the development of secessionist theories (Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013). This gap in the literature has existed because violent and non-violent cases have been predominantly discussed as separate phenomena with the first receiving more attention than the latter (Cunningham, 2013). There is a growing amount of literature on why some countries experience civil war and others do not and, in addition, a lot of civil wars are fought about

self-determination. The bridge between these two assumptions has not often been made. 'The rigorous empirical study of nonviolent civilian-based contentious politics (rather than only violent contention by armed non-state actors) can and must be incorporated into the conflict literature to improve our understanding of the changing global landscape' (Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013, p. 271).

The independence movement increasingly uses political and economic motivations in order to expand the legitimacy for an independent state. As a result these 'new' explanations of Catalan secessionism have gained the attention of various scholars in the recent years (Serrano, 2013b; Boylan, 2015; Olivieri, 2015). Many of these articles and papers focus either economic grievances (Desquens, 2003; Guntermann, 2013; Boylan, 2015) or the political side of the conflict (Keating, 2001; Giordano & Roller, 2002; Colomer, 1998). Nevertheless, it is still useful to examine the relationship between collective identity and secessionism, like Martinovic, Verkuyten & Weesie (2011) have done in the case of Basque country. First of all because, the importance of identity for secessionism changes according to political developments (Rico & Liñeira, 2014). Since the new pro-independence government has been installed, the question of self-government has gained momentum. This could influence the role of identity in the independence debate. In addition, Bond (2000) argues that exclusive nationalist identities and support for independence are almost perfectly overlapped in cases of nations-without-a-state. Guibernau (2013b) characterizes Catalonia as a case in which this congruence principle is evident.

In academic research, there is an overall increase in research about student identities and the influence on, for instance, mobility or bilingualism (Brooks & Waters, 2011). More specific, research about influence of biligualism of students in Catalan education has been published, however this research focuses on high school students (Bernaus, Moore, & Cordeiro Azevedo, 2007). Guntermann (2013), Serrano (2013a), and Burg (2015) focus on the relation between identity and secessionist support, but their studies were aimed at the population in general. An inquiry which combines the concepts of identity and secessionist claims specifically focussed on university students has not been conducted so far and lot of academic journals, books, surveys and research reports that are published in Catalonia are either in Catalan or Spanish. This inquiry will contribute to building an English source of information on the relation of conflict and identity in Catalonia. It can also be used as a starting point for further research on the role of political engagement and collective identities of university students around the globe.

1.4. Structure

After this paragraph the introduction ends and the thesis will continue with the theoretical framework. The concepts of non-violent secessionism, collective identity, political engagement of young generations will be addresses, as well as the question of how to meaire secessionist claims and the

relation between conflict and identity. These concepts are integrated in the conceptual model which is presented at the end of this chapter. In chapter 3 the methodology of this thesis will be discussed. It explains why a quantitative research design is the core of this research and how this design is executed. In the next part, the background of the Catalan independence debate will be discussed integrating primary and secondary sources. The analysis of the survey data is presented in chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 discusses the collective identities, political engagement and secessionist claims of Catalan students on the basis of descriptive statistics. In chapter 6, the relation between these concepts is investigated by doing a binary logistic regression analysis. This thesis will end with an overall conclusion that answers the main question, reflects on the inquiry itself and gives recommendations for further academic research.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Collective identity

Identities are a result of different identification processes. 'In short, identity expressions are the product of inclusionary and exclusionary exercises that parcel the context of human interactions' (Souffrant, 2013, p. 13). We define ourselves in comparison with others and groups, but we also define ourselves by contradicting ourselves against other people or groups. 'Identity is constructed through belonging and exclusion and it invariably entails a strong emotional attachment to the group or community to which it belongs' (Guibernau, 2013b, p. 48). There is a complex model of how people identify themselves, how they identify others and how they think others identify them. Looking at identity this way, shows that people have more control over identity and are subject to influences from various actors and interactions than a top-down, primordialist approach of identification might assume.

Identity is a dynamic concept and therefore academics often refer to it as identification (Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009; Smith, 1991). There are countless inquiries zooming in on identification and likewise, there are many ways to operationalize the concept.¹ Even so, some academics state that it cannot be used as a proper variable in social research, because of its complexity (Abdelal, et al., 2009). Besides this 'definitional anarchy' (Abdelal et al., 2009, p. 18), one important distinction which can be made is between the individual identity and the collective identity (Barker, 2008). The first emphasizes difference – that which is unique to him or her – and the latter highlights similarity – those attributes that are shared by members of a group. 'The transition from 'I' to 'we' emphasizes the political dimension of certain forms of collective identity associated with a sentiment of belonging' (Guibernau, 2013b, p. 35). Polletta & Jasper (2001) describe collective identity as 'an individual's cognitive, moral and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice of institution' (p. 285). It is a perception rather than something which can be experienced directly. It is distinct from personal identities; however it may form a part of a personal identity (Polletta & Jasper, 2001).

Some studies demarcate a difference between regional and national identification (Guibernau, 2013; Moreno, Arriba, & Serrano, 1998). However, when conducting a research about collective identity in a nation without a state², that is according to some definitions also a region, the difference between these two concepts becomes fuzzy. Sometimes the definitions are mixed and/or new concepts are fabricated. Moreno (2006), for instance, refers to 'ethno-territorial' identities when talking about a collective identity in such territories.

¹ There is not an operationalization of identification which is 'better' than others. For a large extent it depends upon the perspective and accents of a particular research which definitions are most useful.

² According to Guibernau (1999) a nation without a state is a nation that although its territory is included within the boundaries of one or more states maintains a separate sense of national identity which is based upon attachment to a particular territory, a common culture and history, and the explicit wish to rule themselves.

In this research, defining the collective identity among Catalans as either regional or national is not the primary objective. This inquiry tries to find out if there are any kinds of bonding among the respondents. In other words, if there is a sense of belonging to the same group, instead of measuring specific indicators of either a national or regional identity. The definition of a collective identity in a way exceeds that of both national and regional identity. Collective identity can also be based on common social-cultural aspects like language or religion, demographic features, for instance, gender, age and profession or any other personal attachment to a group of people, like your friends, family, political orientation or being a vegetarian (Barker, 2008). By integrating other forms of collective identity that go beyond territorial preferences, this research could contribute new insights to the debate about collective identity in nations-without-a-state, or more specifically in Catalonia.

2.1.1. Towards an operationalization of collective identity

Operationalizing (collective) identity has occupied social scientists for decades. Some might say that it has become too abstract or vague, like Brubaker & Cooper (2000): 'the concept is called on to bear far more theoretical, empirical, and political weight than it can support'. Nevertheless, Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) offer well substantiated framework for operationalizing collective identity by presenting an overview of the literature on the subject so far. They point to and explain various elements of collective identification and assess these at the level of the individual. Regarding the goal of this research, some of these indicators are more relevant than others.³

Self-categorization is the element which is the most useful in this research. It has been said that, identifying yourself as a member of or categorizing yourself as a part of a social group is a precondition for all other dimensions of collective identity (Phinney, 1992). For instance, in order to feel proud of being a member of a particular group, an individual must first place him- or herself in this category. There are several levels of self-categorization, since people do not always have the same level of confidence to place themselves in a particular group. Some see themselves as a prototypical member of a group, others refer to themselves as more marginalized members of a group (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). In addition, it is important that a person has many options for categorizing self in any given situation, and these choices may depend on diverse goals and motives that are salient at a particular time.

In fact, Abdelal et al. (2009) argue that collective identities have a cognitive content. 'A cognitive model may be thought of as a worldview, or a framework that allows members of a group to make sense of social, political and economic conditions' (p. 25). This 'cognitive turn' in identities studies, argues that a social category is not just an attribute, but a way of perceiving the world. Some

³ Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) argue it is not necessary to use all the elements from their framework : '[W]e note that not all theories and studies of collective identification will necessarily require the inclusion of every element that we have identified' (p. 81).

authors refer to this as 'shared mental models' (Denzau & North, 1994). In fact, identities can affect understanding of political processes. They influence conceptions of legitimacy, shared interests, preferences for political leaders or parties and policy choices. In addition, identities can shape perceptions of territory and culture. (Abdelal et al., 2009) So while conducting research about collective identity, a researcher has to be careful not to make or point to clear-cutting causal relationships. Collective identity is not something which emerges and develops within a vacuum. It is constantly influenced by group dynamics, political, economical and social changes and even individual actions.

According to Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) it is important to evaluate the choice of a basic self-categorization. This can be done on the basis of looking at different elements of collective identity they have operationalized. In this research, evaluation of private regard, attachment, behavioral involvement and social embeddedness are used.⁴ These elements are chosen, since they each add information which is important to the context of this research. This will be explained in more detail below.

Evaluation of private regard are favorability judgments made by people about their own identities (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). It points to being happy in or feeling proud to be a member of a group. It is a simple way of evaluating self-categorization, since it avoids making it too abstract for the respondent.

Then, attachment is defined as a sense of belonging or attachment to a social group. This interdependence is fostered by the awareness of shared characteristics and beliefs (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). It is about the feeling of acceptance in and being respected as a part of a group. This element points to the emotional part of self-categorization. According to Baumeister & Leary (1995) we have to satisfy the need to belong and therefore become members of groups and conform to the norms of these groups. Attachment is a fundamental part of self-categorization and therefore included in this analysis of collective identity.

The degree in which a person engages in actions that directly implicate the collective identity in question is called behavioral involvement. An important practical expression of collective identity is language, for instance the language they use the most in daily life or the one they prefer to listen to the news. However, also food, special customs and music are a part of this indicator. Other indices of behavioral involvement might include displaying one's group membership by wearing certain apparel (e.g., a university sweatshirt), waving a national flag, or donating time and resources to organizations that promote the collective identity. Some types of behavioral involvement, like language and symbolism, are essential when looking identity in the Catalan context (Alvarez Junco, 2002; Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015). Therefore it is interesting to include it in this research to see whether this is also

⁴ The elements evaluation of public regards, explicit and implicit importance, interconnection of the self and others, content and meaning, self-attributed characteristics, ideology, narrative, collective identity story and group story are left out of this research.

relevant among the younger generations.

Finally, social embeddedness is the way in which a particular collective identity is connected to a person's everyday ongoing social relationships. It refers to the degree to which an individual's collective identity is embedded in social networks and interpersonal relationships. When social embeddedness is high, most of the person's everyday social connections involve people of the social category in question; with low social embeddedness, the person has few or no regular social contacts and relationships with others of the group. It is essential to integrate this element considering the fact that social life is of great importance for the chosen research population, and it is interesting to see the influence of social networks of the respondents on the most salient identity markers of Catalan students.

2.2. Identity politics

Political claims based on identity are countless. 'Examples of purposes collective actions which aim to transform the values and institutions of a society on behalf of separate cultural groups can be found around all over the globe' (Muro, 2015, p. 185). When investigating the link between identity and conflict, many authors work with the concept of nationalism or ethnicity (Oberschall, 2000; Moreno, 2006; Coakly, 2013; Guibernau, 2013b; 2014b; Muro, 2015). Within the theoretical debate, a division can be made between theories of primordialism, constructivism and instrumentalism. (Coakly, 2013; Oberschall, 2000; Muro, 2015) These three schools of thought or paradigms differ fundamentally in their understanding of how stable, or unstable, national and ethnic identities are (Muro, 2015).

The primordialist view understands identities as something fixed, something which is naturally or culturally given (Oberschall, 2000). 'Individuals belong to one and only one ethnic group or nation and that unique group membership remains fixed over a lifetime, perhaps even generations' (Muro, 2015, p. 188). Then again, this paradigm fails to explain why mobilization rises and falls at different moments in time, and also why some groups do experience violence and others live in peace. A second point of criticism is that it leads to a 'quick polarization of identities' (Muro, 2015, p. 189). A conflict can sometimes be (partially) explained by so-called deeply rooted hatred between two different national identities. However, there are almost always other factors that can contribute to or use these identities to manipulate growing hostility.

The instrumentalist view on identity builds on this last critic. Instrumentalists argue that individuals are utility-maximizing actors who will use identities in order to achieve their personal goals, with the condition that using this identity is not too costly (Coakly, 2013). 'Ethnicity or nationhood becomes one of many available instruments (or frames) used by political entrepreneurs interested in seeking political or economic power' (Muro, 2015, p. 189). This approach, however, fails to explain why the mass is willing to following this deployed identities. In addition, 'instrumentalists cannot explain why utility-maximizing individuals would join movements that are likely to be costly, particularly in the

early stages of mobilization when the risks are high and the tipping point has not been reached yet' (Muro, 2015, p. 189). In other words, this approach is too individualistic and lacks integration of a an individual context.

Lastly, like instrumentalism, constructivism pleads that identities are socially constructed. Nationhood is the result of social and political institutions with power (Muro, 2015). Conversely, constructivists go beyond instrumentalism arguing that 'elites and intellectuals deliberately select and rework pre-existing social and cultural traditions to engineer products that resonate with the masses' (Muro, 2015, p. 190). In other words, political leaders use a (part of an) identity which they think would appeal to the citizens in order to mobilize them for a specific collective goal. Analyzing national identity within this school of thought means identifying why certain identities are presented as natural or fixed (thus in a primordial way).

In a case where nation and state are not consistent, a state can successfully use nationalism or national identity to integrate a minority within its territory (like the instrumentalist and constructivist approaches would argue). However, there is also another type of nationalism that defends the right of national minorities to decide upon their own political future. In these cases, the identity of the state does not appeal to the people of a minority group; they do not feel that this state represents who they are. Montserrat Guibernau (2014a; 2013b) has identified several characteristics of this so-called 'emancipatory nationalism'. Throughout history, the nation (which is often a part of a larger state) in question has been neglected and/or forbidden, as a result of the state's strategies to linguistically and culturally homogenize its citizens. Furthermore, this form of nationalism is democratic because it respects human rights and social justice. This 'opposition movement' is looking for more political recognition. 'In so doing, it constructs its own 'alternative elites' and power structures; although these are invariably weaker than those of the state and enjoy far less resources and power' (Guibernau, 2014a, p. 8). Finally, 'it signals a key transition in the life of the nation evolving from adolescence to adulthood: this is illustrated by the nation's willingness to act and be recognized as a 'demos' able to decide upon its own political future'. (Guibernau, 2013b, p. 372)

2.2.1. Collective identity and social movements

Scholars have turned to collective identity to explain emerging social movements and the motivations to join them (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). In addition, collective identity has been studied as an alternative for material incentives and as a way of measuring the cultural effects of social movements. 'Disputes are likely to develop when peripheral social movements do not want to be incorporated into particular frameworks of consciousness and understanding' (Muro, 2015, p. 190) As a result, they develop their own framework, often based on the right of self-determination and incorporating some degree of nationalism and/or national identity. Burg (2015) has found evidence of the centrality of identity in the mobilization for independence in Catalonia. 'It is best understood as an example of the politics of

recognition, rather than simply a struggle for material interests' (p. 290). In addition, groups shares certain social purposes. Social purposes are 'the goals that are shared by members of a group' (Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, & McDermott, 2009, p. 20) and groups attach these goals, and behavior to their identity (Burg, 2015).

However, Polletta & Jasper (2001) also argue that 'too often collective identity is used to fill in the gaps left by structuralist, state-centered, or rational choice models in the producing the very dictonomies that the concept is supposed to challenge' (p 285). In addition, they argue that we must not forget that collective identity is not the same as common ideological commitment. 'One can join a movement because one shares its goals, without identifying much with fellow members' (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p. 298).

2.3. (Non-violent) secessionism

In the academic literature, it remains unclear whether the Catalan independence debate can be categorized as a conflict. Some authors refer to it as the 'Catalan problem' (Keating, 2001) or the 'Catalan question' (Serrano, 2013a; Boylan, 2015; Olivieri, 2015). Conflicts are often directly associated with war, killing and hurting people. However, a conflict does not always equal violence (Gilmartin, 2009b). According to the well-known conflict triangle approach, a conflict appears when there is a friction between structures, behaviors and attitudes (Cramer, 2006). Violence is thus not necessary in order to label a certain situation as a conflict. 'Given the scarcity of resources and irreconcilable preferences, the potential for conflict around the world is great, both in authoritarian and democratic states' (Muro, 2015, p. 192). Academic literature has been largely focused on the violent cases of conflict, like civil wars. Nevertheless, for several years, a small group of scholars have been focused on developing a theoretical framework for analyzing non-violent forms of conflict (Sharp, 2003; Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013; Chenoweth & Lewis, 2013).

Chenoweth & Lewis (2013) have introduced a dataset which contains annual data on Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes (NAVCO). Comparing this data with other well-known databases of (ethnic) war, shows that nonviolent campaigns might have different driving forces compared to violent campaigns, 'and implies the need for improved theory and empirics on non-violent resistance' (Chenoweth & Lewis, 2013, p. 416). The cases of this new database are selected based on two criteria: (1) *participation*, more than 1,000 observed participants in a series of coordinated, contentious collective actions; and (2) *goal*, campaigns that claim 'maximalist' goals at some point during their lifespan like regime change, secession or removal of a foreign occupier are included (Chenoweth & Lewis, 2013). These non-violent campaigns are more than just adding up their events. 'They involve planning, recruiting, training, intelligence, and other operations as well as their most obvious disruptive activities' (Chenoweth & Lewis, 2013, p. 417). Although the conflict in Catalonia meets these criteria, it not included in this data set. This might be due to the fact that the

'maximalist goals' were not completely clear and as realistic as they are now when this database was established. In addition, the coordinated, collective actions have been growing in the recent years. A good example is the annual pro-independence demonstrations on the national holiday of Catalonia. In 2015, more than 1,000,000 people marched the streets to declare their support.

Many cases of non-violent conflict are self-determination disputes (Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013). The demands of secessionist movements vary from identity protection to cultural, economic and political autonomy, to independence or reunion with another state (Cunningham, 2013). According to Hechter (1992) secessionism is an outcome of four separate processes: (1) collective agreement about the existence and boundaries of a territorial sub-unit of the existing host state, (2) regional collective action, (3) social basis of secessionist support and (4) host state's costs of maintaining territorial integrity. The latter points an interesting duality within secessionism, that between self-determination and territorial integrity. According to international law, existing territorial boundaries cannot be redrawn, but on the contrary, secessionist movements point to the right of self-determination in order to change those borders (Brilmayer, 1991). When analyzing secessionsm, it is important to focus on three elements, namely: justification of self-determination, the outcomes of secessionism and strategies of secessionist groups.

2.3.1. Justification of self-determination

Buchanan (1997) has made a classification of moral justifications of self-determination. He argues that some theories are built on the 'remedial right' to secede, which is the case if a certain group has suffered particular injustices. In this instances, secessionism is a remedy for these grievances. Other theorists advocate a 'primary right' to secede, arguing that groups have a general right to secede, even in the absence of any injustice. In the case of the latter, a division can be made between 'ascriptive group theories' and 'associate group theories' (Buchanan, 1997). The first group of theories state that groups whose memberships can be described by any ascriptive characteristics have the right to secede. 'Ascriptive characteristics exist independently of any acutal political association that the members of the group may have forged' (Buchanan, 1997, p. 38). Being a nation or a people is such a, non-political ascriptive characteristic, since 'no actual political organization of the group, nor any actual collective choice to form a political association, is necesarry for the group to form a nation or a people' (Buchanan, 1997, p. 38).

Associate group theories emphasize that any group, no matter how hetereogenous, can qualify for the right to secede. In other words, groups do not have to share any ascriptive characteristics. An example of these theories is that of Wellman (1995). He argues that there is a primary right of political association, or, as he also calls it, of political self-determination. It is the right of 'any group that resides in a territory to form its own state if (1) that group constitutes a majority in that territory; if (2) the state it forms will be able to carry out effectively what was referred to earlier as

the legitimating functions of a state (preeminently the provision of justice and security); and if (3) its severing the territory from the existing state will not impair the latter's ability to carry out effectively those same legitimating functions' (Buchanan, 1997, pp. 39-40).

All these theories of moral justifications of self-determination are, to some extent, applicable on the independence issue in Catalonia. Supporters of independence use the fiscal deficit of the region as an remedial right for secession, but also the repression of the Catalan language and culture during Franco's dictatorship has lead to grievances which could be translated into a right to self-determination. In addition, there seems to be a strong feeling of nationhood among the Catalan population, especially among those people that want an independent state. This points to the ascriptive group theory. Finally, the goal of the pro-independence parties in the last regional elections was to gain a majority among the Catalan population. The establishment of a proper mandate can be perceived as an example of associate group theories on the justification of self-determination.

2.3.2. Outcomes of secessionism

According to Chapman & Roeder (2007) the different outcomes of secessionism are important to the process itself. They address four different institutional frameworks: (1) *partition* which refers to two separate sovereign states, (2) *de facto separations* which leaves the secessionists in direct control of the region and population and pushes the central government out, (3) *autonomy* which means self-rule within a broader institutional framework of the central state and (4) *unitarism*, in this case, both parties recognize one central government. The latter two can also be referred to as power-sharing arrangements and can have different practical outcomes like federalism and consociationalism. Lemarchand (2007) argues that it is hard to distinguish which variables cause the failure or success of power sharing, since it could also be strongly influenced by specific social or economic circumstances. In the conclusion of their article, Chapman & Roeder (2007) argue that partition is the most sustainable solution to violent, nationalist conflicts. Whether this assumption is also applicable on non-violent cases remains unclear.

In the case of Catalonia, self-rule within a broader institutional framework has been applied after the dictatorship of Franco. Together with the Basques and the Galicians, the Catalans pressured the central government to give their regions a special status within the framework of the new Spain. This resulted in the structure of the 17 Autonomous Communities (AC's) (Alvarez Junco, 2002). Rather surprisingly, the Catalans did not opt for full independence back then. Now, several decades later, partition has become the independence movement's main goal. However, as long as the Spanish government does not share this goal, this full partition can simply not be achieved. This leaves the separatists with the dilemma between declaring *de facto* independence and demanding more autonomy within the Spanish state (possibly an official federal state).

2.3.3. Strategies of secessionism

Cunningham (2013) has identified several strategies of (non)violent self-determination disputes. She distinguishes conventional from irregular tactics. The former refers to using political channels which already exist, 'engaging in electoral politics, petitioning the state, or pursuing legal recourse' (Cunningham, 2013, p. 292), the latter includes strategies which operate outside of normal institutional channels and imposes costs on the state in connection with the demands made. 'Violent tactics can include civil war and terrorism [...] nonviolent may include activities such as strikes, protests, sit-ins, and direct action' (Cunningham, 2013, p. 292). These different tactics all have different costs and benefits. In addition, Cunningham's research also shows that a higher GDP is associated with a lower chance of civil war, but it has no effect on nonviolent campaigns. 'This might suggest that stronger states are more effective at repressing violent opposition than nonviolent mobilization' (Cunningham, 2013, p. 299). The research results also suggested that groups which are more internally fragmented are more likely to engage in civil war than rely on conventional or non-violent irregular tactics (Cunningham, 2013).

In the Catalan case both conventional and irregular tactics can be identified. Formal channels were used by, for instance, demanding a changed Statute of Autonomy. Demonstrations and unofficial referendums have also been organized, already since the early 2000s. Interestingly, when the conventional tactics turned out to be less influential as hoped for, the magnitude of irregular tactics increased. In chapter four, the different strategies that are being used by supporters of an independent Catalonia will be analyzed in more detail.

2.4. Measuring individual secessionist claims

A lot of academic research which focuses on motivations for secessionism looks at the macro level, such as the state or meso level, like the independent movements (Cunningham, 2013; Stephan & Chenoweth, 2008; Schneckener, 2002). However, a few authors also focus on the individual, secessionist claims of people living in these societies (Brilmayer, 1991; Hechter, 1992). Hechter (1992), argues that direct evidence of secessionist sentiments of a population is often unavailable. However, it can be derived from newspaper records of secessionist collective actions (like protests and demonstrations), election results and sample surveys (Hechter, 1992).

2.4.1. Constitutional preferences

When doing a survey, secessionist claims can be measured in various ways. First of all, you could ask if a respondent is either in favor of, against or neutral towards Catalonia becoming an independent country. However, this way of measuring individual secessionist claims could be perceived as too direct or forcing. Therefore, researchers and research organizations often use constitutional preferences as a way of indicating these claims (Burg, 2015; Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, 2015; Serrano, 2013a). From the information on how respondents see the future of their nation secessionist claims of a respondent can

be derived. Respondents choosing for the options 'lesser level of autonomy' or 'the status quo' do not express any secessionist claims. On the contrary, when a respondent chooses the option 'federal state' or 'an independent state' he or she expresses a certain degree of a secessionist claim.

2.4.2. Voting behavior

In the Catalan case, voting behavior can also be a predictor of secessionist sentiments. Normally, when an individual votes for a particular political party, his or hers opinion is largely in line with the viewpoints of this political entity. In some societies dealing with secessionist sentiments these views are not represented by legitimate political parties, because of, for instance, the size of the movement or the nature of electoral rules (Hechter, 1992). This not the case in Catalonia. Regional political parties in Catalonia can be characterized along two different axes, namely: political ideology (left-, middle- or right-oriented) and along the lines of their view on autonomy (pro- against or neutral in the independence debate) (Serrano, 2013b). Therefore in this research, voting behavior is a good indicator of support for independence. Still, Collier & Hoeffler (2002) question the rank and file of independent-minded political parties: 'especially when a [secessionist] movement is a political party rather than an army, most of its support will come not from people who are passionately committed, but from those who have only some vague sense that the party is advancing their interests' (p. 4). Sure, it might be the case people more easily support a political party than an army (which generally uses more violent tactics), but, at least in the Catalan case, it is not accurate that most support comes from citizens that are only 'vaguely' interested in the points of attention of political parties. The millions of people demonstrating on the national holiday, the high election turnouts and the widespread use of symbolism indicate otherwise.

2.4.3. Political engagement

According to Vissers & Stolle (2014), political participation includes all forms of involvement that citizens use to express their political opinion and/or convey this opinion to political decision makers. Various authors have tried to make a distinction between different types of political participation. Barnes & Kaase (1979) argue that there is a difference between conventional and non-conventional participation. The former refers to voting and any alliance to a political party, the latter points to participating in demonstrations or protests and boycotting particular products. Still, looking at the recent decades these non-conventional practices are not that non-conventional anymore (Soler-i-Martí, 2015). While the division is still relevant, it has often been renamed. Norris (2004) uses the same concepts as Barnes & Kaase (1979), but defines it as institutional-oriented and cause-oriented participation. She states that voting, party-linked activity and political contact are formal, institutionalized forms of participation, hence defined as traditional. On the other hand, demonstrations, petition signing, political consumption and expressing symbols (wearing or showing off symbols on clothing, electronic devices or other material) are more informal types of participation

and therefore called cause-oriented. Yet this latter term does not suit the types of political engagement she is describing, since traditional forms of political participation can also be cause-oriented. Therefore, in this research the term modern is used when referring to these non-traditional, less institutionalized and, to some, non-conventional practices of political engagement.

In this research, secessionist claims are also derived from these modern ways of political engagement. Soler-i-Martí (2015) and Vissers & Stolle (2014) argue that younger generations play and have played an important role in the emergence of new forms of political participation. More drastically, Franklin, Lyons & Marsh (2004) argue that the traditional forms of political engagement have led to disaffection and apathy towards politics among young people. This could be due to the fact that new emerging forms of political involvement are more appealing and accessible (Norris, 2004).

Another important division has to be made between online and offline participation, since 'the younger generations are internet-savvy and more experienced with online engagement' (Vissers & Stolle, 2014). Online participation can model political acts in the offline context (Best & Krueger, 2005). This means that people who are engaged politically in an online way, often also engage in offline activities. 'They can be treated as different expressions of the same phenomenon of political participation' (Vissers & Stolle, 2014, p. 941). On the contrary, the internet can open up completely new forms of political participation which cannot be practised offline (Delli Carpini, 2000; Vissers & Stolle, 2014). It causes a lowering of costs which leads to more equality of opportunity (Best & Krueger, 2005). This new mobilization is done in two ways. First of all, new people are drawn to participate more easily, since online you come across political information unintendedly. Second of all, the social aspect of online participation creates enormous recruitment possibilities due to a sense of community (Ellison, Steinfield, & Lampe, 2007). For instance, social network sites (SNS) are mentioned as a special form of mobilization of political participation. These websites are easily accessed and can contain a certain degree of anonymity. Although, this can also be a pitfall, 'these online activities are not costly enough and too simple, and addressing concerns with a mouse click induces the idea that individuals who practice these activities contribute to changing the world, when in effect, they do not' (Barney, 2010; Gladwell, 2010 in Vissers & Stoller, 2014, p. 939). Halupka (2014) refers to this as 'clicktivism'.

In short, in this research both traditional and modern ways of political engagement are used as predictors of secessionist claims. In addition, these categorizations resemble Cunningham's strategies for secessionism (2013). She states that both regular (comparable to traditional) and irregular (comparable to modern) ways of political involvement are essential to reach a secessionist goal. In fact, by looking at the interplay of these elements a more comprehensive analysis can be executed which could lead to broader conclusions compared focusing on one or another.

2.5. Conceptual model

To conclude this theoretical chapter, the conceptual model for the research is presented below. Visualizing the main concepts of the theoretical framework in a conceptual model can help the researcher answer the research question (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007). The model envisages the main concepts of this thesis: collective identity and secessionist claims.

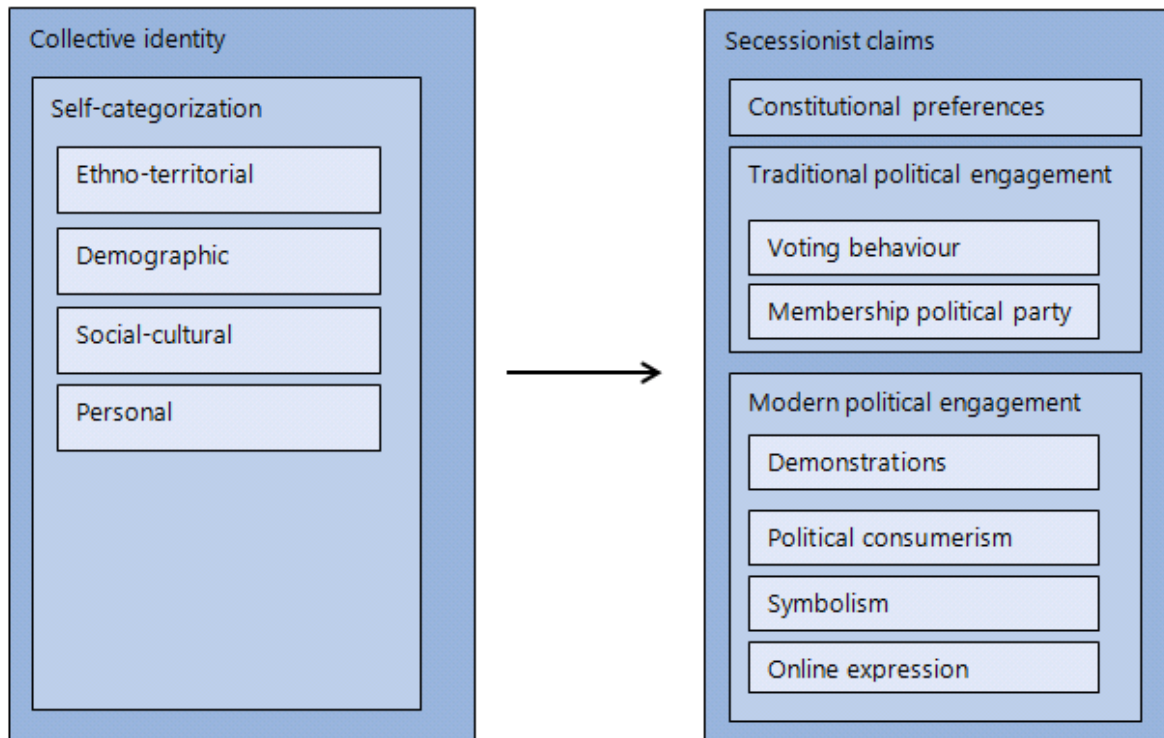


Figure 2: Conceptual model

In this research, collective identity of Catalan students will be measured by self-categorization. The questionnaire design incorporated fifteen different identity markers, based on either territorial aspects (for instance, 'being Spanish or Catalan' or 'my neighborhood'), demographics (like gender, age, religion or being a student), social-cultural aspects of collective identity (amongst other things, language, culture and my family'). In addition, respondents can add personal identity markers, that might or might not be part of any of these categories. Indicators of attachment, personal regards, behavioral involvement and social embeddedness are also included in the questionnaire in order to assess the self-categorizations made by the respondent.

Secessionist claims are understood as the interplay between constitutional preferences, traditional, institutionalized forms of political participation (voting behavior, being aligned to a political party or civil society organization) and informal, so-called, modern forms of political participation (protesting, political consumption, expression of symbols and online involvement). Each of the elements are translated into one or more individual questionnaire items.

Moreover, the model also shows a relationship between collective identity and secessionist claims. The arrow does not represent an direct causal relationship, since 'the best research, avoids a priori assumptions about causal mechanisms and allows for a number of different relationships between cultural and discursive practices on the one hand, and legal, political, economic and social structures on the other' (Polletta & Jasper, 2001, p. 285). Instead it indicates that collective identities could explain growing secessionist claims among a young Catalan research population. This also is visible in the main research question of this inquiry. It tries to unravel the way in which collective identities could be translated into secessionist claims, not stating that they intrinsically are.

2.5.1. Hypotheses

In the analysis of the data four hypothesizes will be central. These hypotheses are based upon the above theories presented above and the research questions presented in the first part of this thesis. Hypothesis 1 will help to answer the first research question on collective identity. Hypothesis 2 zooms in on the role of different forms of political involvement. The final two hypotheses are useful for answering the last research question of this thesis.

Hypothesis 1: National identity markers are most salient among Catalan students

This hypothesis foresees that the results on the questionnaire items about self-categorization are dominated by identity markers that can be traced back to the Catalan nationality. According to Alvarez Junco (2002) and Guibernau (2013b) the Catalan identity is dominant in Catalonia, since Spain failed to use nationalism or national identity to integrate minorities within its territory. The current political debate in Catalonia forces people to think about the importance of 'being Catalan', the Catalan language and nationality for their identities.

Hypothesis 2: Catalan students are more frequently engaged in cause-oriented forms of political participation than in traditional, institutionalized forms of political participation

According to Norris (2004) and Soler-i-Martí (2015) young people are engaged differently in political activism than older generations due to cognitive mobilization, the growing importance of intellectual property and the digital age. Furthermore, to a large extent, these forms of political behavior are more frequently used, since they are easily accessible and appealing towards adolescents.

Hypothesis 3: Catalan students who express a Catalan identity are more likely to be in favor of independence

This 'shared mental model hypothesis', based on Abdelal, et al. (2009) expects that, when a respondent expresses an identity dominated by Catalan identity markers this person will be in favor of independence as well. This is based on the theoretical assumption that states that sharing an identity

implies being more prone to a particular view of the world. The hypothesis is also in line with primordialist views on identity and conflict, stating they are intrinsically connected. Finally, this hypothesis also mirrors the congruence principle of Bond (2000) in Serrano (2013a). He states that exclusive nationalist identity and support for independence are almost completely overlapped in nations-without-a-state. Guibernau (2013b) confirms that this congruence principle is visible in the Catalan society. Since Spain has failed to use nationalism as a binding actor within its territory, Catalan nationality could merge with the claim for self-determination.

Hypothesis 4: Modern forms of political participation are better predictors of supporting independence than traditional forms of political engagement.

Modern forms of political engagement, to some extent, reflect political activism, which is usually a more demanding and a more extreme expression of political opinion than simply going to the polling station. This assumption will be tested by a binary logistic regression analysis, which incorporates various forms of pro-independent political engagement. All variables included in this phase of the analysis are expected to be positively correlated, since, after all, they all measure some degree of a secessionist claim, however, since this research focuses on young people, modern ways of political involvement are expected to have higher correlations with support for independence than traditional forms of political engagement.

3. Methodology

The goal of this research is to make conclusions about the way collective identities of Catalan students affect their secessionist claims. Catalan students are defined as citizens of Catalonia between 18 and 29, studying at a Catalan public university. Since this research works with this large demographic group located in a extensive territory, it necessary to have a large and representative sample in order to make general conclusions. A quantitative research design in the form of a survey is the best option to achieve this objective.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, various researchers and organizations have done quantitative research among the Catalan population regarding their opinion on Catalonia as an independent country. Especially in the recent years the number of these types of polls grew, since this discussion appeared at the forefront of day-to-day politics. Also the link between identity and secessionist claims has been made already, for instance by Serrano (2013a) or Burg (2015) and therefore these inquiries were useful while constructing the questionnaire and finding the right manner of statistically analyze the data. Nevertheless, this research is the first which investigates these two concepts among the younger generations of the region, in more detail, university students.

3.1. Research population

In the academic year 2013/2014 the number of students enrolled in the state university system in Catalonia was 141,914 More than three quarters of them (110.189) study in Barcelona where there are four large public universities: Universitat de Barcelona (UB), Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB), Universitat Pompeu Fabra (UPF) and Universitat Polytecnic de Catalunya (UPC). Other, but relatively smaller, university cities in Catalonia are Girona (12,541 students), Lleida (8,396 students) and Tarragona (9,007 students) (Idescat, 2013). In these universities a large part of the courses are taught in Catalan. This implies that Catalan is spoken and understood by a large part of the student population in the region. Furthermore, Keating (2013) argues that Catalan is understood by all and spoken by most people. It is used in the education system and public administration; however, almost all Catalans also speak Castilian Spanish (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015).

The questionnaire has been online for five weeks, to be exact: between the 13th of December 2015 until the 20th of January 2016. The questionnaire has been filled in 371 times, of which 286 respondents are suitable for statistical analysis. Respondents who did not finish the questionnaire were filtered out of the sample, the same goes for respondents who are not studying at a public university in Catalonia or those born before 1986. 189 respondents answered the questions in Castilian; the other part (97 respondents) used Catalan. It has to be noted, though, that the Qualtrics software automatically choose the language used in the respondent's device's internet browser. So the default language varied among the respondents. Nonetheless, respondents could change the selected

language themselves in the right corner of the browser.

Looking at gender, 42% of the respondents are male, 58% are female. In addition, the respondents study at various universities across Catalonia: UB (26.9%), UAB (23.1%), UPF (23.8%), UPC (4.2%), UdG (11.5%) and UdL (10.5%). Unfortunately, there were no valid responses from the Rovira i Virgili University in Tarragona. Nevertheless, the territorial division of the respondents is quite similar to the absolute number of students in Catalonia. In total, 76% of the students in Catalonia study in Barcelona (Idescat, 2013), in the survey this number is slightly higher (78%).

Also, the survey attracted mostly bachelor students (87.5%) and students from social and legal sciences (39.2%) and art and humanities (21.7%). Nevertheless, most likely this will not bias the results of the advanced statistical analysis, since there is no academic prove that either bachelor or social sciences students are more prone to a specific identity or support independence in Catalonia. Finally, most of the respondents still live at home with their family, more specifically 68.7%. For a detailed description of the demographics of the research population, with SPSS output, see appendix C.

In addition, university campuses in Catalonia, like anywhere else, are vigorous places. There is always something going on, varying from promoting products, to social gatherings or even protests. The motivation for choosing university students in Catalonia as a research population is threefold. First of all, highly educated adolescents are to a great extent responsible for the future of the region. As future (political) leaders their view on the independence issue is of great significance. Secondly, the researcher is also a student, which makes it easier to relate and sympathize with the thoughts and feelings of the chosen research population. It also helps to motivate students to take part in the survey itself. Finally, the fact that this research is embedded in an internship at the university signifies that it is relatively simple to reach the intended research population.

A researcher needs to take into account various implications while doing research among students. First of all, students are often in the fore-front of (new) political movements (Harris, Wyn, & Younes, 2010). Protests and demonstrations are tools which are often used by students in this case (Soler-i-Martí, 2015). Look at, for instance, the recent student riots in Hong Kong, but also during the Second World War in the Netherlands a lot of students were involved in the underground rebellion. Also, the social life of a student differs from that of other parts of the population. Many students are open-minded and have a positive attitude towards new experiences and people. In addition, extra-curricular activities are often central to a student's life. These activities include student and study associations, sport clubs and being a part of cultural communities could have an impact on a collective identity among students. Finally, the theory of cognitive mobilization sets forth that highly educated civilians could be more critical towards everyday politics (Dalton, 2011).

3.2. Survey

A survey is a well-known and wide-used methodological tool for quantitative research. Surveys are often used in research on public opinion and political behavior (Vennix, 2006). In a good survey, the chosen sample represents the target population and the information asked for is represented by the concepts of interest (Stoop & Harrison, 2012). While conducting a survey, a lot needs to be taken into consideration by the researcher. Focus has to be on sampling techniques, data collection methods, but also on proper questionnaires and statistical analysis. Total Survey Error (TSE) is a concept which forces researchers to think about the issues that can reduce the reliability of a survey. Gideon (2012a) states that 5% of the TSE consists of sampling errors, for instance including respondents outside the defined research population into research. The other 95% is caused by non-sampling errors like refusal, missing items (also classified as non-response errors) and social desirability, sensibility and visibility (response errors). 'Non-sampling errors are more complex and can creep into every aspect of the research' (Gideon, 2012a, p. 5). In addition, a survey is influenced by a so-called interviewer effect. This refers to the training of the researcher and the time pressure he or she is under.

The survey technique used in this research will be a web-based questionnaire. 'Questionnaires are an effective tool for obtaining information on a variety of topics such as feelings, behavior, values, beliefs, etcetera' (Gideon, 2012b). The benefits and the pitfalls of this online method will be elaborated in more detail below. Also, attention will be paid to sampling methods used and the ethical considerations of this research. The questionnaire has been drafted on the basis of the detailed operationalisation of collective identity and secessionist claims presented in the theoretical framework. In addition, questionnaire designs from comparable research and insights from expert interviews⁵ and were taken into account. The latter can be categorized as semi-structured interviews. This type of interviews allow the respondents to talk about what they think is important, but it also enables the interviewer to pick up on statements the respondent makes (Phillips & Johns, 2012). The interview protocols were adapted to the field of expertise of the respondents and only contained open questions. It has to be underlined that these interviews are not the core data of this research. They purely served as stepping stones for the rest of the research.

Finally, the survey conducted is cross-sectional. Due to practical reasons, a longitude survey was not possible. Moreover, this is not necessary. It is already interesting enough to conduct this research in the current political climate, which allows it to be compared to other cases with a similar political environment or the Catalan case at a different moment in time.

⁵ In total, four expert interviews were conducted. The respondents were: Joan Vallvé (board member of civil society organization 'Omnium Cultural', and ex-member of the European and Catalan parliament and the Catalan government), Enric Mendizábal Riera (Professor of Catalan geography, UAB), Mireia Trench-Parera (associate professor at the Department of Humanities, UPF, specialized in applied linguistics) and Verònica Benet-Martínez (ICREA Research Professor, UPF, specialized in social and personal psychology).

3.3.1. Webbased questionnaire

A web-based questionnaire has some advantages compared to paper-based, telephone or face-to-face interviews. First of all, it is an efficient and cheap method to reach a large number of respondents in a broad geographical area (Madge, 2007) and data can be encoded fast (Albaum & Smith, 2012). In comparison to a way of data collection whereby the researcher is physically present, questionnaires which are self-administered tend to have less social-desired answers (Phillips & Johns, 2012; Manzo & Burke, 2012; Albaum & Smith, 2012). Respondents are more likely to express their real thoughts and feelings while being alone, since there is no pressure of the presence of the researcher whatsoever.

Furthermore, 'online recruitment is an effective mode of recruitment when dealing with a closed population with high internet penetration rates' (Manzo & Burke, 2012, p. 358). In order to graduate from a university in a Western country, students must have access to internet since a large part of academic information is (only) accessible online (think about the growing amount of e-journals, e-lectures and information available in a digital learning spaces, like Blackboard). The survey was conducted through an online survey software called 'Qualtrics'. This software allows and helps its users to easily design a survey with different types of questions, is easy to distribute, organize and analyze responses and it can generate a (preliminary) report from the survey data. In addition, you can easily download the data and open it in SPSS, the software which is used to statistically analyze the collected data.

However, this method also has some undesirable consequences for the research. Response rates of web-based questionnaires tend to be very low. However, to improve the response rate in web-based questionnaires a researcher can use 'traditional' modes like incentives or personal invitations, but also reach out for new considerations like using paging instead of scrolling.⁶ This reduces missing data since the answers are being saved on several points during the process of filling in the questionnaire. Another tool might be progress indicators, which show the percentage of the questionnaire that has been completed. Yet, this can also increase abandonment (Manzo & Burke, 2012). Secondly, the credibility of generalizations is a problem with web-based surveys. This is largely due to the sampling methods used when conducting this type of research and will be elaborated more extensively in the next paragraph.

⁶ When you use scrolling, 'all the questions in the survey appear in a single frame that the respondent can look at by scrolling down through the frame' (Manzo & Burke, 2012, p. 338). The disadvantage of this method is that the answers are only saved at the end and all the items of the questionnaire are visible from the beginning. When you use paging, 'one or several related questions are grouped so that they appear on a respondent's computer screen at the same time. After answering those questions, a respondent clicks on a button that sends or submits the answers before they can see a new screen that contains the next question or the next series of related questions.' (Manzo & Burke, 2012, p. 339). Advantages of this method are that skipping questions can be automated and partially completed surveys are saved and can be included in the results.

3.3.2. Survey sampling

The size of the sample depends on the purpose of the study and on the research population itself (Stoop & Harrison, 2012). For instance, a heterogeneous population requires a larger sample size than a homogeneous population. In addition, to enlarge the power of your statistical tests, the sample size needs to be bigger as well. Random-sampling is a sampling method which is often used by researchers doing quantitative studies. Respondents are randomly chosen from a sample frame, which is a list of every element in the population. In this way, every element has an equal chance to be included in the survey. (Hibberts, Johnson, & Hudson, 2012) However, in the case of this research random sampling was no option, simply because the researcher did not have access to a full list of students in Catalonia. In addition, the research design chosen also obstructs random sampling, since 'online surveys do not allow for probability sampling of the full population' (Manzo & Burke, 2012, p. 358). As a consequence, respondents were found using a combination of non-probability sampling methods.

Convenient sampling is the main sampling technique used in this research. It includes people who are available or can conveniently be recruited for the study. This process is repeated until an adequate number of respondents have been reached. To reach potential respondents, various types of convenient sampling were applied. *Snowball sampling* is an approach whereby respondents are found with the help of prior respondents (Sahu, 2013). In this case, the researcher asked respondents to promote the questionnaire among friends and fellow students. Furthermore, *accidental sampling* includes those respondents the researcher runs into. This method, however, is biased by the places the researcher goes, the way he or she looks and appeals to potential respondents. (Hibberts, Johnson, & Hudson, 2012) To be as neutral as possible, the survey was promoted by the researcher among various universities and faculties. This was done by distributing posters and flyers, by personal conversations in informal settings, for instance talking to students during (lunch) breaks and through advertisements on social network site Facebook. The advertisements could be specifically targeted on users fitting the criteria of the chosen research population. Finally, when using *network sampling* the researcher selected a probability sample of a large population that is likely to have some connection to the target population (Hibberts, Johnson, & Hudson, 2012; Sahu, 2013). A student's life is often characterized by the membership of various student organizations. These organizations can be related to sports, a specific field of study, a faculty, or a common interest, like politics or theater etcetera. A list of these organizations of every university were found online. As many organizations as possible were approached by the researcher in the same way: sending an email with general information about the survey and the request to share the link to the questionnaire, at least twice, on the organization's website and social media. In exchange, these organizations would receive the final results of the inquiry. Due to the topic of the survey, student organizations with a particular political orientation were excluded from this method of sampling due to the fact that it could bias the data. Therefore, the

organizations which were approached are organizations and clubs based on a common interest which is not politically, like sports, cultural activities, doing volunteerwork or a specific field of study.

As a result of the sampling methods used, the generated data cannot be used for making generalizations. The researcher cannot be certain that every element has had an equal chance to be a part of the study. In addition, Hibberts, Johnson, & Hudson (2012) argue that if convenient sampling is used it is important to include a detailed description of the characteristics of the sample. In this way the reader of the report containing the final results can judge the representativeness of the sample. Therefore, various questions about socio-demographic elements like gender, age and place of residence, were included in the first part of the questionnaire. A general overview of these demographics has been given in the first paragraph of this chapter.

Moreover, sampling errors are present in every quantitative research and can be reduced by various approaches. In this research an incentive in the form of a drawing for a €25 giftcard was used in order to reduce non-response bias. The use of incentives in survey research is based on the social exchange theory: people participate in a survey when they perceive the rewards as greater as the costs (Albaum & Smith, 2012). Respondents invest time (costs) into a survey, so responses increase when there is (a chance of) a reward opposing these costs. Manzo & Burke (2012) argue that post-paid incentives are the best option when conducting an online survey, since respondents who failed to fill in the whole questionnaire can easily be ruled out of the lottery. A sample selection bias can also appear when the researcher has the tendency to avoid certain subjects or groups. This type of bias has been reduced as much as possible by reaching out to all kinds of organizations in the network sampling phase and by going to various universities and faculties in the accidental sampling phase.

It is impossible, with this research strategy, to effectively rule out all possible sampling errors. Nevertheless, the sampling plan was executed as efficient and properly as possible. An efficient execution of sampling plan cannot only reduce the sampling and non-sampling errors but also helps in reducing the cost of the study (Sahu, 2013). The sampling methods were also discussed in the pilot study. The students in the pilot study shared names of relevant student organizations, places at the campus where accidental sampling could be carried out and appropriate Facebook pages to share the link of the questionnaire.

3.3.3. Design of the questionnaire

'A well-constructed survey is a powerful research tool' (Gideon, 2012b). Various matters were taken into consideration when the questionnaire was designed. First of all, the researcher paid attention to some practical considerations. Since there is no direct communication between the researcher and the respondent it is necessary to pay attention to the welcome part of the survey (Vehovar, Manfreda, & Koren, 2008). Furthermore, in order to reduce missing data, it is crucial that certain key questions were answered in order to proceed with the questionnaire. Furthermore, an internet questionnaire needs to

be as short as possible (Phillips & Johns, 2012; Vehovar, Manfreda, & Koren, 2008). The longer, the greater the likelihood respondents get distracted and loose interest. In addition, Gideon's (2012b) seven steps to design a survey questionnaire were used to design the survey (see figure 3 below).

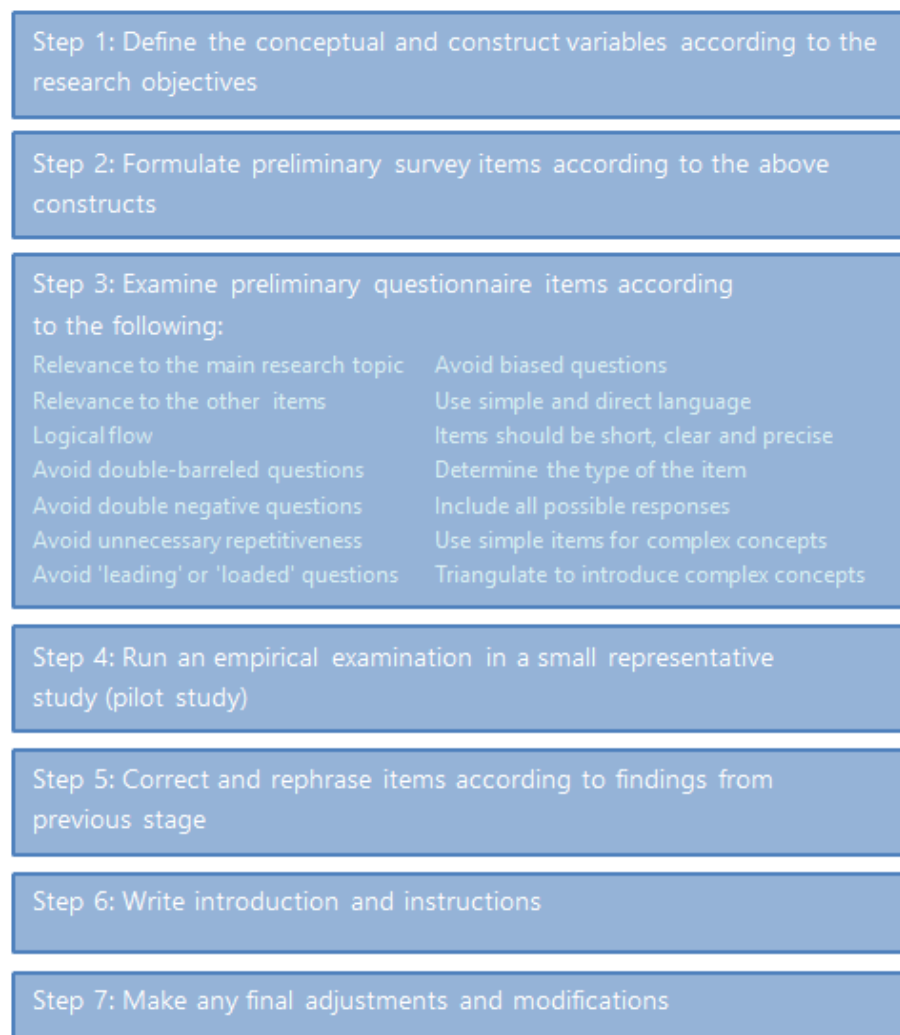


Figure 3: Gideon's (2012b) seven steps to design a survey questionnaire

The first step is to define the conceptual and construct (operational) definitions of what the research aims to observe. The former points to a simple definition, like one you can find in a dictionary. The latter indicates how the concept will be measured. The operationalization in the theoretical framework is used as a operational definition of the main concepts in this research. Clear definitions guarantee the validity of a research (Gideon, 2012b; Vennix, 2006).

The second steps implies creating general titles under which all the items will be listed. In this research three main categories were used: general information, collective identity and political attitudes.

Then, the third step is the most demanding one. Gideon (2012b) has made a checklist with fourteen 'rules' to follow while constructing the individual items of the questionnaire. Each item

consists of a question with corresponding answers. A question needs to be straightforward, unambiguous and meaningful for the respondent (Jansen, Joostens, & Kemper, 2004). The answers, on the other hand, have to be perceived with the same caution. It is important that the list of answers are mutually exclusive and that they are as complete as possible. All these principles and rules were followed while building the individual questionnaire items. In addition, the software allowed randomization of the answers, so whenever this was possible this option was used.

A pilot study is the fourth step of Gideon's guide. However, in the case of this research, before the pilot study was executed, the preliminary questionnaire was discussed with various experts in the field of identity surveys from Catalonia, as well as with the internship supervisors from the UAB and the supervisor from Radboud University. Gideon (2012b) underpins the importance of testing the questionnaire among a small sample of the research population in various ways. First of all, it helps straightening out typing/grammar errors and repetitiveness (Gideon, 2012b). In this study, this is very important since the survey has been translated to Catalan and Spanish, which are both not the researcher's mother tongue. By 'backtranslating'⁷ the survey in the pilot study, these type of errors were eliminated. In addition, the questionnaire in the pilot phase included some extra questions on the difficulty of the items and there was enough space for suggestions. Adding 'other...' to the possible answers helped to find all possible responses to a single question. Finally, was relevant to pay attention to the time respondents in the pilot study need to fill in the questionnaire and any practical limitations (for instance: how does the questionnaire work on different devices?)

A pilot study of this research was conducted on the December 10, 2015. The group of respondents consisted of 14 geography students who were in the 3th year of their bachelor at the UAB university in Barcelona. The group was asked to fill in the questionnaire and answer some additional questions about the questionnaire itself, like: what do you think of the length of the questionnaire and do you think any of these questions will be perceived as sensitive. The results showed that no questions were perceived as sensitive and some grammar mistakes were smoothed out of both the questions and the answers. Also it turned out that the students took around 5 – 10 minutes to fill in the questionnaire (as predicted). In addition, various answer categories were added as a result of the answers which were given to several questions including the answer option 'other'.

Step 5 dictates correcting and rephrasing the questionnaire according to the findings of the pilot study. The researcher now also has a better understanding of the population and how to motivate it (Gideon, 2012b). In an ideal situation, a survey has to be tested again after each modification, however, due to time constraints a second pilot study was not realistic or feasible in this research.

⁷ The survey was translated and corrected by two different people who both master the Catalan and Spanish language.

Step 6, 'writing the introduction' is of great importance, since it helps to generate interest in the topic and promotes the confidence of the researcher (Gideon, 2012b). The introduction of the questionnaire included a global aim of the study, information about the researcher and the institutions she conducted the research for, the time needed to fill in the questionnaire, simple instructions and the email-address of the researcher. In this research, the introduction was already done before the pilotstudy, in order to check it on language and grammar mistakes.

The final step prescribes making final adjustments and modifications. As soon as the questionnaire is online it cannot be changed anymore. Gideon (2012b) advises to give respondents the opportunity to receive the final report of the survey. Therefore, at the end of the questionnaire an open question was added where respondents could fill in their emailaddress if they were interested in the results of the study. It turned out that 202 people wanted to take a look at the final results of the survey. A short version of the results was sent to them on the 6th of June, 2016.

3.3.4. Overview of the questionnaire items

The questionnaire is divided into three main parts. The first part consists of a short introduction and general questions about demographic features of the respondent. The second part focuses on collective identity and the third part contains items about secessionist claims. It is important to note that the latter part of the questionnaire does not explicitly carry the title 'secessionist claims', because this term might be sensitive to respondents and therefore could bias the data. Therefore the final part of the questionnaire carried the title 'political attitudes'. This name is more neutral, but at the same time also appeals to the questions asked in this part of the survey. Within the three main parts there are more subdivisions. All will be elaborated below. The complete version of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix B.

1. Introduction - The introduction of a survey is extremely important, since it helps generate interest in the topic and promotes the confidence of the researcher (Gideon, 2012b). The first part of the introduction contained the global aim of this study. According to Gideon (2012b) giving too much information about the inquiry can create a bias in the data as a result of social desirability. Therefore the aim of the study is explained in just one sentence. Also the participants are pointed towards the rewards of the questionnaire in order to increase the response rate. In addition, information about the researcher helps to strengthen trust and legitimacy of the study, which might also lead to a higher response rate. At the end of the introduction, the respondents were thanked for their participation in advance.

2. General information (1) - General information about the respondents, like demographic items, should be asked either in the beginning or in the end of the questionnaire (Gideon, 2012b). In this case, these items were presented in the beginning so that the respondents could start with answering

relatively simple questions. Besides asking for general demographic features like age and gender, student-related information was asked of the respondent. For instance, at which university they study, and what they study. In addition, this part contained a question on the living situation of the respondent. This is useful to make assumptions based on the statistical analysis, since Soler-i-Martí (2012) argues that the identity and political attitudes of young people living with their parents is more directly influenced by family members.

3. General information (2) - The second part of the general information is specified on language and nationality. First of all, the respondent is asked if he or she is born in Catalonia and if their parents are born in Catalonia. This is included because Serrano (2013a) and Guntermann (2013) argues that place of birth of a person, but also of his or her parents is an important indicator for collective identity in the Catalan context. Moreover, language has been mentioned by several authors as being an important identity marker in general (Anderson, 1991; Bechhofer & McCrone, 2009), and even more in Catalonia (Alvarez Junco, 2002; Bernaus, Moore, & Cordeiro-Azevedo, 2007; Castells, 2010; Serrano, 2013ab). Finally, a question which asked the respondent's nationality was included. The form in which this question is asked is also called the 'Moreno-question'. This question gives participants the opportunity to express a so-called dual or compound nationality (Moreno, 2006).

4. Self-categorization - As argued by Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe (2004) one must categorize him or herself into a certain social group in order to feel a part of it and to let it be a part of this person's identity. Therefore, this part of the questionnaire includes several collective identity claims about which the respondents had to specify its personal importance. The list includes various general markers of collective identity like nationality, language and culture, demographic features, like age ('that I am young'), profession ('that I am a student) and gender, but also collective identity claims linked to territory, for instance the respondent's home town and neighborhood, but also more specified like 'being' Catalan, Spanish or European. The respondents had to specify the importance of each element on a five-point Likert-scale ranging from very important to not important. In addition, respondents could indicate if one or more categories did not apply to them.

Like (Gideon, 2012b) argues in his seven steps, when complex concepts are measured in a survey, triangulation is necessary. Therefore, the question that followed after the Likert-scale items, asked the respondent to choose the three important elements of their collective identity. These three were repeated in the next item, in which they had to indicate which one is the most important. The answer on the latter question was used as the basis for the next cluster of questions.

5. Evaluation of most important collective identity marker - The social category that the respondent had marked as the most important part of his or her identity was further investigated by various indicators of collective identity. These indicators are more extensively explained in the theoretical

framework. The first two items asked about the attachment with the group. The third and the fourth items were about how the identity is embedded in social relations (family and friends). The next item represented the indicator 'evaluation of personal regards' and asked about the extent the respondents feels proud to be part of the chose social category. Finally, a question was asked about expressing symbols of identity in clothing or stickers (on bags, clothing, electronic devices etc.) to measure the respondents behavioral involvement.

6. Voting behavior - With this section, the third and final part of the questionnaire begins. First of all, there were several items which created an image of the general voting behavior of the respondent. Then, the respondents were asked if they voted in the most recent elections, and for which party they did or would have voted in that case. Also an open question was included which asked about the motivation of voting for a particular party. If the respondent indicated that he or she did not vote, the next question asked them to explain why they did not vote.

7. Political involvement - The second indicator of secessionist claims is political involvement. Soler-i-Martí (2015) argues that traditional indicators of political attitudes cannot detect emerging, more cause-oriented forms of political involvement, since 'young people tend to vote less and protest more' (p. 396). However, in Catalonia both the number of people voting and the number of people involved in protests have both increased in the recent years (Idescat, 2013), with a record turnout of 74,9% at the most recent 27S elections (Fotheringham, 2015). Therefore, both the traditional and more recently emerging, cause-oriented forms of involvement are included in this questionnaire. Respondents are, for instance, asked if they are a member in a political party or a civil society organization, whether they ever participated in any kind of political demonstration and if they took part in the 9N referendum. The latter is included in this section, rather than in the previous one about voting behavior, since it is a form of protest or demonstration. The elections weren't officially organized by representatives of the Catalan government and were declared unconstitutional by the Spanish government. Other, more cause-oriented forms of political activism are also included, like: expression of symbols, boycotting of products for a political reason or distributing pamphlets and collecting signatures for a political cause. Finally, attention is paid to online forms of involvement, like discussing and/or expressing political opinions through social media and online forums.

8. Constitutional preferences - Asking for the respondent's constitutional preferences instead of simply asking if they are in favour of independence is an often used item in the case of surveys in nations-without-a-state (Serrano, 2013a). The different categories presented in the first item of this part of the survey include Catalonia simply being a region of Spain (i.e., less autonomy than the status quo), being an autonomous region of Spain (status quo), being an state within a federal Spain or being an independent state outside of Spain. The various answers for this item makes it possible to analyze

certain types of autonomy than rather asking a question to which the answer can be either yes, no or don't know. Then, a follow-up question is asked about the feasibility of the chosen constitutional preference. This question can measure to what extent the respondent believes in the preferred future for Catalonia. The time span of five years is chosen because it is a medium-ranged time span. One or two years would be too close to the recent elections. Within five years, new Catalan and Spanish elections will be held and on both levels a new government and parliament will be installed.

9. Prize draw - Finally, the respondent is asked which type of prize he or she would like to win. The prize consisted of a 25 euro gift card which could be spend in various stores. Only participants who completed the questionnaire and filled in their email address were included in the prize draw. This was made clear in the introduction of the survey. It is important to mention that the email-addresses of respondents were detached from the rest of their response to retain the anonymity of their answers. In addition, the email-addresses were deleted from the SPSS dataset which was used for statistical analysis.

10. End - At the end of the questionnaire the respondents were thanked for their cooperation. Also they could indicate if they would like to be updated on the results of the study and write down any comment or suggestion they might have.

3.3. Statistical analysis

The data collected through the survey is analyzed in various ways. First of all, the socio-demographic data of the respondents will be presented in a descriptive way in order to make assumptions about the representation of the survey sample. Descriptive statistics will also be used in order to answer the research questions about the existence of a collective identity and secessionist claims among students. Thirdly, to answer the final sub question, statistical analysis will be conducted on the data as a whole using the statistical computer program SPSS. A binary logistic regression analysis has been conducted to investigate which variables have a significant influence on support for independence. More detailed explanations of the statistical methods used will be discussed in the analytical chapters.

3.4. Ethical dilemmas and limitations

There are three basic cultural ethical principles which are relevant to research involving humans, including surveys: respect for (1) persons, (2) beneficence and (3) justice. Translating these principles to survey research indicates that researchers have to make clear that responding is voluntary without any negative consequences, respondents can withdraw at all times, are free not to answer any question and are allowed to conduct the survey at a convenient time and place (Oldendick, 2012). The chosen research design safeguarded most of these values, since it did not force people to participate and allowed respondents to complete the questionnaire where and whenever they felt comfortable.

However, various items of the questionnaire were obligatory in order to reduce missing data. This means that the respondent's freedom of refusing questions was limited in order to protect the internal validity of the research. Thereby, the benefits for the respondents were clear from the beginning as well as the purpose, sponsor and length of the questionnaire. In addition, the respondent's confidentiality was guarded at all times by producing the data in a way which doesn't allow individual responses to be identified, protecting electronic files with a password and removing the provided email addresses from the data which is used for the statistical analysis.

Sampling errors are present in every form of quantitative research and can be reduced by various methods. For instance, the use of incentives can undermine the voluntary basis of a survey (Oldendick, 2012; Toepoel, 2012). In this research an incentive has been used in order to reduce non-response bias. Nevertheless, the use of incentives can undermine the voluntary basis of a survey (Oldendick, 2012; Toepoel, 2012). The prospect of monetary rewards can lead to distorted data since it could be that respondents are only participating because they want (a chance for) the money or prize and therefore are not seriously sharing their feelings, thoughts and opinions. However, on the other hand, it has been proven by various academics that the use of incentives improve the response rate (Toepoel, 2012; Albaum & Smith, 2012; Sahu, 2013). A large survey population increases the credibility of statistical analysis as well as improves the reliability of the research. Because of these assumptions, the usage of incentives in this inquiry is justified.

Also the designing process of the questionnaire poses some ethical challenges. Questions had to be designed in the most un-biased way and both Catalan and Spanish were used as the language of the questionnaire. This decision was based on thorough discussion with the UAB supervisors, other Catalan academics, students and statistics. It turns out that a large part of the Catalan population is bilingual, however, while being at home or at university one of both languages is more predominantly used (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015). Including both languages in the questionnaire enables the respondent to choose the language with which he or she is most comfortable. Furthermore, bias and non-response based on language can be ruled out in this way.

Internet-based surveys bring about some additional ethical dilemmas as well. For instance, how can you know that somebody which is filling in the questionnaire really is part of the intended research population? (Vehovar, Manfreda, & Koren, 2008) Also, one person can fill in more than one questionnaire in order to disturb objectivity of the data (Manzo & Burke, 2012). These practices can be limited when respondents can only fill in a survey by logging in with personal credentials. However, due to the design and means available for this research this solution could not be implemented. Besides, logging in implies an extra burden upon the respondent and can influence the response rate in a negative manner (Manzo & Burke, 2012). Qualtrics does register a respondent's IP address, however, a respondent can use different devices (which have different IP addresses). So in the context

of this research, the researcher simply has to rely upon the honesty and trust of the respondents.

Finally, ethical limitations and dilemmas were taken into account while analyzing the collected data. Therefore, all data is available on request and the full version of the questionnaire made available in Appendix B in order to ensure the replicability of the research.

4. The background of the Catalan independence debate

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will provide an overview of the independent debate in Catalonia based on primary and secondary sources, like academic literature, news articles, discussion gatherings (published online) and expert interviews. As many historians and academics argue, the struggle for more autonomy in Catalonia has been going on for decades, some even say centuries (Keating, 2001; Castells, 2010). In the beginning of the 21st century several events have triggered new secessionist sentiments among the Catalan population (Guibernau, 2014; Martí, 2013). This chapter will mainly focus on this recent rekindled strife for more autonomy, however, in order to create a good overview it first quickly touches upon the origin of Catalan nationalism. In addition, an outline of the Catalan political system can be found in Appendix A.

4.2. Roots of the Catalan-Spanish conflict

From the 14th century onwards, Catalonia has been an independent country that mainly earned its money by trading with overseas colonies and other states in the Mediterranean area. At this early stage, Catalonia as a country 'exhibited characteristics associated with modern statehood, such as a common language and well-developed political, legal and economical structures' (McRoberts, 2001 in Connolly, 2013, p. 56). A couple of centuries later, the Spanish King Philip IV was in desperate need for increasing the fiscal revenues of his empire in order to pay for its expansion. He started a war against the Catalans, since it was such a prosperous region. He conquered the region on the 11 September 1714. This meant the end of autonomous self-government of Catalonia (Castells, 2010). Even so, this date is still very present in Catalonia as it has become the date of the annual national holiday and more recently, the date of massive demonstrations in favor of regaining independence. Besides paying loyalty to the Spanish crown, the invasion of Catalonia by Philip IV also meant institutional and cultural repression, in particular the Catalan language (Castells, 2010).

The arrival of the industrial age, like in many European countries, was another turning point in the history of Catalonia. The region became one of the first industrialized regions of Europe, the Mediterranean, and also in Spain. As a consequence, Catalonia became economically independent, while remaining politically dependent on Madrid (Guibernau, 2014). This economic growth, together with pride and belief in a new future led to the establishment of the first Catalan regionalist movements. However, gradually, the term nation came to be preferred, which led to conflict with Spanish nationalists, for whom Spain is the only possible nation (Keating, 2001).

It is, however, important to keep in mind that, Catalan nationalism did not emerge as an unified phenomenon:

'Rather diverse political ideologies and cultural influences gave rise to different types of nationalism, from the conservative nationalism of Jaume Balmes to the federalism of Francisco Pi i Margall, the Catholic nationalism of Josep Torres i Bages, or the Catalan Marxism of Andreu Nin, among many others' (Guibernau, 2014, p. 109).

As these movements strongly defended the economic advantages of the region; nationalism became protectionism in this sense. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the Catalan people did not have a feeling of a unified nation or some sense of national identity before these regionalist movements were established. This already existed in the culture, traditions and language of the region (Castells, 2010). That is why some argue that the bourgeoisie 'stole' the Catalan identity for a 'greater cause', the economy (Mendizábal-Riera, personal communication, October 8th, 2015).

4.3. Catalan nationalism after the democratic transition

The modern nationalist movement in Catalonia emerged while the region was being oppressed by the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco. He gained power of Spain after the bloody Spanish civil war (1936-1939) and subdued the Catalan culture, language and identity since that moment, because he wanted to lay down a centralist policy with Castilian as the only language. As a consequence, 'Catalan nationalism became a rallying cry for the anti-Franco forces' (Castells, 2010, p. 49). This also led to fraternization of politicians from different political backgrounds (Castells, 2010). Furthermore, in this period of oppression various civil society organizations defending the Catalan culture were established, for instance Omnium Cultural (Vallvé, personal communication, November 5th, 2015).

After the death of Franco in 1975, Spain entered a democratization process, which was in the first place initiated by Franco's supporters. Yet, other political parties quickly stepped in as well. The formation of the Spanish democracy was (and still is) a very delicate political issue. There was general agreement among the democratic parties and other involved actors that decentralization of power was essential. However, which territorial model the new Spain should adopt remained unclear (Moreno, 2006). Catalonia, together with Galicia and Basque Country, pressured for more autonomy of the regions (Alvarez Junco, 2002; Olivieri, 2015). The Catalans did not opt for full independence back then (Guibernau, 2013b). In the new constitution, which became official in 1978, the three historical nationalities got what they wanted. It describes Spain as a 'nation of nationalities' consisting of 17 autonomous communities. Some regions already existed, like the three mentioned above, other borders were drawn artificially. This system made Spain one of the most decentralized states in Europe, without officially being a federal state (Alvarez Junco, 2002). Others, like Newman & Trenchs-Parera (2015) refer to it as 'a quasi federal democratic state' (p. 287). This model is often criticized since it makes no distinction between regions with a strong national identity embedded in a common culture, language and past and regions that are not naturally created 'communities', lacking this sense of

common identity (Guibernau, 2013b).

In 1979, the Statute of Autonomy⁸ was ratified, translating into an institutional base for the autonomy of Catalonia within the Spanish state and also including official bilingualism. These self-governing institutions of the Spanish regions have an important role in the production and re-production of local identities, since they are for a large part responsible for cultural, educational, linguistic and mass media policies (Moreno, Arriba, & Serrano, 1998). One year later, the first democratic, regional elections in Catalonia were held. CiU (Convergència i Unió), a liberal, conservative party, won this election and 'focused upon the re-establishment of Catalan institutions, the promotion for the Catalan language [...] and the construction of a new Catalan identity' (Guibernau, 2013b, p. 374).

4.4. Rekindled secessionist sentiments in the 21st century

In recent years, several media, institutions and academic researchers have conducted public opinion polls among the Catalan population regarding their viewpoints on a possible independence of the region (Guibernau, 2013b; Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, 2015). The majority of these studies show an increase in support for independence and a more (official) federal system (see figure 4 below).

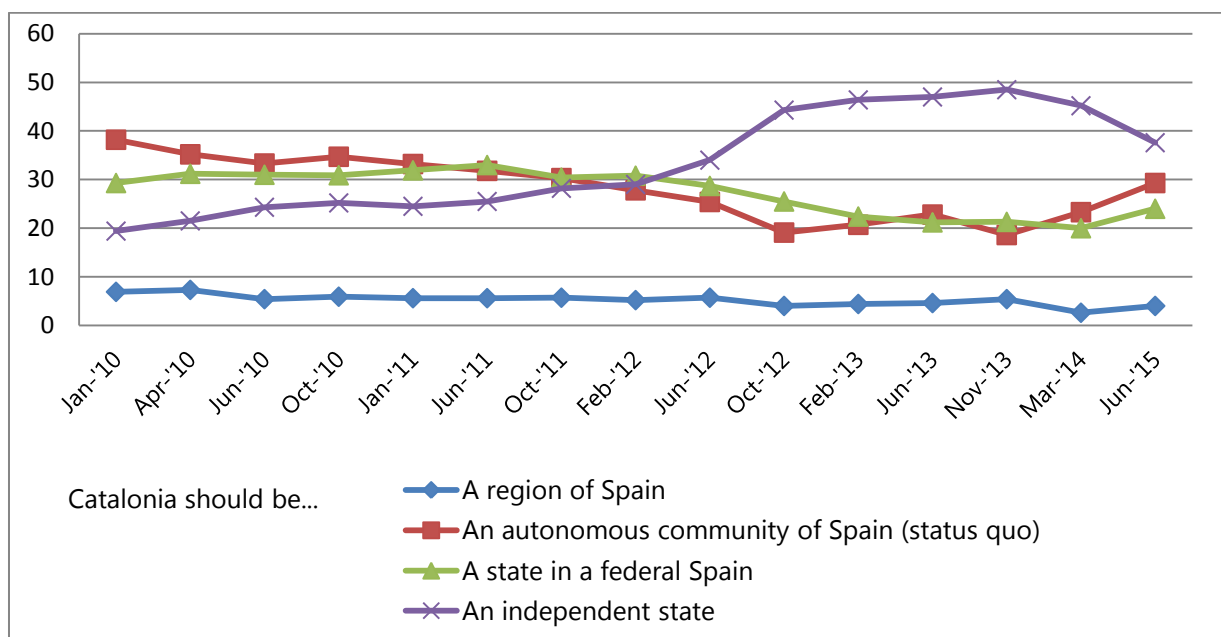


Figure 4: Changing constitutional preferences of the Catalan population (2010-2015) (Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, 2015)

The causes for these growing secessionist sentiments can be addressed to various developments and processes within Catalonia itself, but it can also be explained by changes on a national and an international level. In addition, a distinction can be made between the natures of these reasons. Some

⁸ The Catalan Statute of Autonomy is a constitutional law defining Catalonia as an autonomous community within the Spanish state. All seventeen autonomous regions of Spain have such as statute (Catalonia Votes, 2014).

can be appointed to economic developments, while others derive from a political or social-cultural point of view. These developments will be further explained below.

4.4.1. Growing hostility between Catalonia and Spain

The first cracks in the relationship between the Spanish and the Catalan governments became visible in the beginning of the 21st century. Since the Catalans have regained partial autonomy in 1979, Jordi Pujol and his CiU party have won all regional elections. On the national level, Pujol supported the PP in order to obtain a stronger majority in the Spanish parliament. In return the Catalan government received various privileges on the regional level. However, in 2000, the PP obtained an large majority in the Spanish parliament, which meant that they no longer had to rely on Pujol's assistance. As a result, some of the rights that were obtained during the alliance were reversed, which lead to discontent among the Catalans (Martí, 2013). 'Demands for further autonomy and recognition were replaced by hostility embedded in a neo-centralist, conservative and neo-liberal political discourse' (Guibernau, 2013b, p. 381).

In the years that followed, mainly political and economic developments have contributed to growing hostility between the Spanish and the Catalans. The latter will be addressed in the next paragraph, the political causes are discussed here. In 2003, all Catalan parties in the regional parliament (except for the PP) demanded a renewed Statute of Autonomy. This new Statute of Autonomy included, amongst other things, the recognition of Catalonia as a nation and a new system of financing the region. It has to be noted that at that time an independent state was not broadly supported at all. After being sanctioned by the Catalan parliament, the Spanish Congress and Senate and by the people of Catalonia in a referendum the new Statute of Autonomy was challenged in front of the Spanish Constitutional Court of Justice by the PP and various other autonomous regions, because they deemed it un-constitutional (Guibernau, 2014b). The court, amongst other things, declared that Catalonia was a nation (Burg, 2015), but that this was 'purely a subjective declaration with no force' (Keating, 2013, p. 2) and therefore could not be included in the renewed statute. This caused immense resentment among the Catalan population and, therefore, lead to criticism on Spanish institutions (Keating, 2013).

Parallel to the discontent with the refusal of a renewed statute of autonomy is the emergence of the 'right-to-decide' movement. The transition from dictatorship to democracy in Spain has led to the fact that people express their political aspirations with less fear of oppression (Guibernau, 2013). Especially, new generations which were raised within the 'new' democratic Spain are increasingly convinced of the legitimacy of their claims. One of them is the right to decide upon their political future by means of a referendum, like in other European countries like Scotland. The Catalans tend to engage in grass-root mobilization to express their discontent with the status quo (Guibernau, 2013b). Therefore this right to decide is an important element of demonstrations in Barcelona and beyond and

led to various unofficial referendums in different Catalan villages and cities between 2009 and 2011 (Martí, 2013; Muñoz & Guinjoan, 2013). The struggle over this new statute of autonomy represented the reemergence of a historical conflict between the state and peripheral nationalisms in Spain. For some Spanish nationalists, this is a threat to the territorial integrity of the state (Burg, 2015). The 2010 elections that followed after the refusal of the renewed Statute of Autonomy, were the first that were dominated by the independence debate. CiU lost seats, but stayed in power and in January of 2013 a Declaration of Sovereignty gets adopted by the Catalan parliament. This declaration proclaims Catalonia's right to decide its own political future in a referendum held in 2014 (Martí, 2013). On 9 November 2014, this referendum took place and 80% voted in favour of Catalonia being independent outside of Spain. However, this percentage produces a incorrect image, since only 37% of the electorate voted (Burg, 2015).

This clearly shows that in the Catalan case, the of self-determination collides with the concept of territorial integrity. The international community has solved this paradox by 'effectively eliminating the circumstances in which the right to self-determination equates with a right to secession and independence' (Connolly, 2013, p. 53). In other words, the international community has declared that nations without a state, like Catalonia, do not possess a right to statehood. International law and the Spanish constitutional court also defend this proclamation (Connolly, 2013). In addition, Artur Mas and other government officials were sued in front of the constitutional court, since the 9N referendum endangered Spain's territorial integrity (Prim, 2015). Nevertheless, the right to decide is repeatedly used as a slogan, explanation, reason and synonym for independence by politicians, civil society and citizens. The right to self-determination is legitimized by in a remedial sense, by referring back to the times that the Catalan language and culture were suppressed. In addition, advocates of an independent Catalonia also point to the ascriptive characteristics, since frequently mention that the Catalans as a people or a nation sharing the same norms, values, culture and language.

Finally, the attitude of the Spanish government is frequently mentioned as a reason for growing secessionist sentiments. Madrid is unwilling to talk, not receptive towards any proposal made by the Catalans and refuses to open up a discussion. By contrast, the Catalans declare that they are more than ready to open a dialogue with their host state. According to Boada-Moutagut (2015) Catalonia has strong negotiation ethos. She adds: 'they [the Spanish government] perceive it like it's some kind of illness, something which will disappear soon.' Moreover, Enric Mendizábal-Riera, professor of Catalan geography, argues that willingness to discuss and solve problems is a part of being Catalan. He points to the stubbornness of the Spanish government: 'All they say is no no no! Then it is really difficult to reach an agreement' (personal communication, October 8th, 2015). The silence of the Spanish government creates dissatisfaction and frustration among the Catalan population. Nevertheless, the open, straightforward attitude of the Catalans can be interpreted by

many Spaniards as being presumptuous and pushing (Mendizábal-Riera, personal communication, October 8th, 2015).

4.4.2. Economic grievances and the recession

Economic motives are often used by academics to explain growing secessionist sentiments (Keating, 2001; Desquens, 2003; Connolly, 2013; Martí, 2013; Guibernau, 2014a), also by (international) media (Arnett, 2014; Tremlett, 2012; CNA, 2014). Catalonia is one of Spain's most wealthy regions. This is due to, amongst other causes, its export-oriented economy, the tourist industry and Barcelona as a financial service and conference hub (Castells, 2010). In spite of these economic successes, the region suffers from a taxation deficit; the amount of taxes paid is higher than the amount of national investments that flow back into the region (Desquens, 2003). Nonetheless, from a critical point of view, you can argue that this is the case in any state, since not every region can perform on the exact same level economically. However, in comparison to other cases, the deficit in Catalonia is fairly high:

'Out of a 100 Euros of income created yearly in Catalonia, between 7.5 and 10 never return. In absolute terms, the deficit is between about 6.7 billion and about 9 billion Euros a year or around 1,240 Euros annually per capita (using the median of the estimates, 7.9 billion Euros)' (Desquens, 2003, p. 1)

In addition, like a large part of the Western world, Catalonia has suffered from a harsh recession in 2008. The euro zone crisis has exacerbated the taxation dispute. For years, nationalist parties, many of the socialists, business organizations, trade unions and other civil society bodies have advocated for a 'fiscal pact' which would give Catalonia a system similar to Basque country (Guibernau, 2014a).⁹ Importantly, being in favor of the fiscal pact does not necessarily equal being in favor of independence. Nevertheless, this new funding system was rejected by the Spanish government in 2012, after brief negotiations between Mas (the Catalan PM) and Rajoy (the Spanish PM). Rajoy made a counteroffer, which was rejected by Mas since it reflected only a small part of the initial plan (Martí, 2013). This rejection was another trigger for the Generalitat to adopt the 'Declaration of Sovereignty', which declared that Catalonia has the right to decide its own political future by the means of a referendum on independence (Martí, 2013).

Collier & Hoeffler (2002) argue that 'secessionist political communities invent themselves when a part of the population perceives secession to be economically advantageous' (p.3). Naturally, proponents of independence use this fiscal deficit to enlarge their legitimacy of an independent Catalonia. A fully independent Catalonia does not have to pay taxes to Madrid and that money could be invested to benefit the Catalan population. Then again, various economic specialists have stated

⁹ Basque Country has its own tax system, while providing for some revenue-sharing with the other regions of Spain.

that becoming a fully independent country would have a huge impact on the businesses and the financial industry in the region (CNA, 2015). There are already companies that are moving their (head)offices from Barcelona to Madrid (Beck, 2016). Guibernau (2013a) adds:

‘These economic grievances and opposing view of the Spanish government let to an emotional content that have contributed to widen the gap between Catalonia and the Spanish state by fostering a growing sense of alienation among significant sectors of Catalan people, which has materialized in the rise of a secessionist civil movement in the last five years or so’ (Guibernau, 2013a, p. 2)

4.4.3. The role of language, culture and identity

‘During Franco's dictatorship Catalan language was truly forbidden. The public usage of Catalan was forbidden, there were no newspapers or magazines in Catalan, and also on the radio and on TV it was impossible to speak in Catalan. At school teaching was only in Spanish.’ (Joan Vallvé, personal communication, 5 november 2015) This Francoist understanding of national unity, at the expense of the cultural and ethnic variety of the population, stimulated peripheral regionalism and nationalism in Spain (Serrano, 2013b). Even more since the death of Franco, language and identity are used as one of the reasons for Catalonia to become an independent state. Like mentioned before, the independence debate is rooted within the history of Catalan nationalism, which first and foremost was a movement protecting the region's norms, values and traditions. ‘A cultural community organized around language and a shared history, like Catalonia, is not an imagined entity, but a constantly renewed historical product [...] and relative to their political projects’ (Castells, 2010).

Language plays an important role in this social-cultural explanation of growing secessionism in Catalonia. Since the new Spanish democracy, the region is officially bilingual and language policies became a priority of the new regional government (Guibernau, 2013b). Moreover, there are some major demographic changes in the second half of the 20th century, which had a huge impact the region's politics and the use of Catalan (Mendizábal-Riera, personal communication, oktober 8th, 2015; Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015). Immigration from (mainly) the impoverished southern part of Spain and Northern Africa led to a new language division. Large numbers of native Spanish speakers submerged with Catalan speakers, which downplayed the use of the latter. To ‘avoid cultural ghetto's which could fracture the society along class lines’ (Castells, 2010, p. 51) and accomplish full integration of the non-Catalan population, a linguistic normalization law was implemented in 1983 (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015). Immigrants were ‘welcomed into the Catalan national project and encouraged, but not coerced, into Catalan language loyalty’ (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015, p. 291) In addition, Catalan was introduced as the main language in teaching, administration and the regional media. Castells (2010) argues that using language as a political tool is not remarkable, since, ‘it is the easiest

way to expand and reproduce without resorting to criteria of territorial sovereignty (p. 52).

The history and development of Catalonia's population is also important for the construction of collective identity in the region. The incoming flow of immigrants pressured the Catalan language and culture and led to a diversification of the regional identity. However, due to the fact that Catalonia, like most of the Spanish sub-state communities, has the power over cultural, media, educational and linguistic policies, migrants could integrate quite easily (Boada-Moutagut, 2015). In addition, the regional government has been very active in promoting the production and re-production of their own territorial identities. 'However they have done so deploying a cosmopolitical localism view that combines promotion of local interests with an active participation in the international context' (Moreno, 2006, p. 12). In addition, symbolism, like the Catalan flag, advocates this regional identity as well. For instance, if you walk around in Barcelona, especially the less touristic neighborhoods outside of the city center, you see many independentist flags hanging over the narrow balconies. You can also find a lot of nationalistic graffiti at public places, like universities or city squares.

4.4.4. Catalan secessionism in an international context

The independence debate within Catalonia is also influenced by international actors, like the European Union. The idea of Europe as Europe of regions envisages a three-level federation within the EU, the regions, states and the EU as a supra-national state. Catalonia, as one of the advocates of this model, argues that the old model of the nation state is redundant in the new Europe and that regions should be able to exercise real influence without having to become states (Keating, 2001). The idea of 'Europe of regions' helped to give legitimacy to regionalist political parties all over Europe (Giordano & Roller, 2002). Nevertheless, the Lisbon Treaty of 2007 made it evident that the EU is founded upon its member states, which makes EU Committee of the Regions, initiated by Catalonia 'largely toothless', since it represents everything from municipal governments to stateless nations and is unable to make a proper distinction between them (Keating, 2013, p. 2). This also points to one of the greatest challenges of emancipatory nationalism, as defined by Guibernau (2014a), which is the question of international recognition. 'The official view is that 'national minority issues' are a 'state's internal affair', unless there are concerns regarding the violation of human rights, or geopolitical reasons than compel some powerful nations or political institutions to recognize a 'resistance movement' as the true representative of a people' (Guibernau, 2014a, p. 8). In addition, it is also important to note that the a large part of the secessionist movement in Catalonia does not fancy an independent state outside the framework of the European Union (Joan Vallvé, personal communication, November 5, 2015).

Other international factors that shape the independence debate in Catalonia are similar cases, like Scotland or Flanders. Some months after the referendum for independence in Scotland, Catalonia organized its own. In contrast of what many people think, the Catalan referendum was already planned years in advance and was a follow-up of many small scale local referendums. However, compared to

the Scottish one, the Catalan referendum was declared unofficial by the Spanish state. Also, there is a sharp contrast between the British government's efforts to recognize Scotland as a nation and the Spanish government's unwillingness to open up a discussion (Guibernau, 2013a).

4.5. The Catalan question anno 2016

While this research was conducted, the political situation in Catalonia was extremely dynamic and fragile at the same time. Politics on a national level were highly unpredictable due to the fact that after the elections of 20 December 2015, a new Spanish government still has not been formed. It is very important to catch up on the most recent developments within the Spanish and Catalan politics in the framework of this research.

In September 2015, plebiscite regional elections were held in Catalonia with the independence question as the highest stake. Many parties in favor of independence joined forces in a 'yes'-coalition named Junts pel Sí (JxSí), led by CiU's and current PM Arthur Mas. CUP, a relatively new alternative left party also supported independence. On the opposite, C's and the PP are against independence. In the middle, there is Catalunya Sí Que Es Pot, a coalition of parties who are neither in the 'yes' nor the 'no'-team and want to focus on other (more important) issues, like youth unemployment and the economic competitiveness of the region. The independentist parties won the elections with a majority in the Catalan parliament, however, in absolute number of votes JxSí and CUP did not obtain a majority. As a result, Madrid stated that there is no mandate for independence. The pro-independent parties only got roughly 47% of the votes (IDESCAT, 2015), which means that a large part of the population is against independence, undecided on the matter or wants to give priority to other important issues. However, the Catalan government claims an official mandate and has started a 18 month long process of forming a 'road map towards independence' (Sanjaume-Calvet, 2016).

In addition, the forming of this Catalan government did not go as smoothly as the winners of the elections hoped for. CUP, the independentist party which was negotiating a Catalan government together with JxSí did not support giving Artur Mas another period as PM of Catalonia. Pressure rose in the beginning of 2016, since a new PM had to be chosen before the 11th of January, otherwise new elections had to be written out. In the end, Mas withdrew himself and a new Catalan prime minister was found in the mayor of Girona and president of the Association of Municipalities for Independence (AMI), Carles Puigdemont. Puigdemont is a member of former governing party CDC and ran for JxSí in the district of Gerona, he also repeatedly expressed his commitment to Catalonia's pro-independence road map (CNA, 2016). The new PM and new Catalan government were instated at January 12, 2016. At the same time, a department of foreign affairs was established as well. However, this department is highly contested by many politicians in Madrid. They sued it in front of the high court, hoping it gets abolished.

A couple of months after the regional elections, national elections were held in Spain. Of

course, these were of great importance for the independence process in Catalonia. The elections were won by the anti-independentists, the PP, however, the Socialists (PSOE) and two relatively new parties, C's and Podemos, also gained many seats. The PP did not obtain a majority in the parliament, making it the first time in the history of new democratic Spain that two or more parties need to negotiate a government. This poses a major challenge, since the ideals of parties that can possibly be a part of the coalition are very diverse. Some state that these negotiations will unmistakably fail and protocols for writing out new elections in spring 2016 are already on the table (Beck, 2016). In addition, current PM Rajoy has stated that the new elections are being held in the end of June (González & Casqueiro, 2016).

Negotiations on the national government are still ongoing. Beck (2016) argues the negotiations can end in two different scenarios: deepening of the Spanish democracy or 'Italianization'. The former points to a renewal of the political climate and an improvement of Catalan-Spanish relations, a better division of law-making and executive powers the latter and less political influence on the media. The latter is a scenario in which coalition partners quickly disagree and finding consensus means looking for confrontation. Looking at the ongoing negotiations and the positions of the four largest parties, Italianization is a real threat (Beck, 2016). In short, there are two possible coalitions which are most likely to form a new Spanish government. First of all, traditional opponents PP and PSOE can work together and form a grand left-right coalition. The other option is a 'coalition of the losers', a left-coalition with PSOE and Podemos, supported by the United Left and the Green party (Encarnación, 2016). Since the elections of December 2015, various attempts are made regarding forming a government coalition, but so far all of them failed.

4.6. Conclusion

This overview first and foremost, shows the immense complexity of the Catalan question. The centuries of rivalry between Spain and Catalonia have reached a high point in the present and hostility continues to grow. The current strife for independence can certainly be labelled as a conflict, although, non-violent. According to Chenoweth & Lewis (2013) a non-violent campaign has to have more than 1,000 participants and maximalist goals. These two criteria are met in the case of Catalonia. In September 2015, an estimated crowd of more than 1,000,000 people demonstrated in the streets of Barcelona and protests with similar turnouts were organized in the years before. In addition, the recently presented 'road map towards independence' of the Catalan government clearly expresses the maximalist goals that the authors point to. Also the tactics used by pro-independent politicians and other social actors can be traced back to the literature on non-violent secessionism. Conventional tools, like elections and the demand for a changed Statute of Autonomy in 2003 are used. When these tactics turned out to be of not much of an influence, the usage of irregular tactics increased. The annual and huge protests on the Catalan national holiday, independence symbols across the city of Barcelona (and beyond) and the

unofficial referendum of 9 November 2014 are some examples.

The conflict is rooted in a long nationalistic tradition tracing back to the industrial revolution. Back then, the Catalan identity was 'hijacked' for economic purposes. A similar process is happening since the economic recession of 2008. The increasing tax deficit is frequently used as (one of) the main motivations for secessionism. Although it is questionable whether this is fueled by economic grievances or greed.

What is equally interesting is the velocity with which the independence movement grew since the turn of the 20th century. Middle-ground parties, like CiU, go from negotiating the Autonomous Regions system within Spain in 1978 to supporting for full independence little more than 30 years later. Furthermore, this conflict is, fundamentally, a conflict between the right of self-determination and territorial integrity. The Catalans want to decide their own political future, while the Spanish do not want to negotiate on anything which might endanger their inner borders. Rajoy even stated that he would use any means to protect the integrity of Spain (Encarnación, 2016). The current Spanish state is built upon a system of unequal autonomy, which requires constant bargaining between the regions and between the regions and Madrid (Colomer, 1998). So when it would come to the point that Catalonia is actually seceding from Spain, the Spanish state could start to crumble apart. Therefore, some say that federalism is the only possible solution (Encarnación, 2016).

Then, both Spanish and Catalan politics are currently in a deadlock, which makes this whole situation hard to grasp, but also difficult to predict on the long term. Looking at the short term, as long as there is no new Spanish government, negotiations about more autonomy for Catalonia will be difficult. Thereby, full independence on the short term is also unrealistic. The new Catalan government might have designed a roadmap that will lead the region to independence within 18 months, but in reality this is highly unlikely. The odds are not in favor of independence, because the majority of the Catalan people do not support the secession from Spain¹⁰ and the current pro-independent regional government is highly divided. JxSí and CUP might share a common interest in the independence debate; on other issues the two parties often stand face-to-face. Furthermore, Podemos, the party that backs the right to decide movement with an official referendum (and therefore is Catalonia's only hope on the national political level), is ready to give up this leverage if a place in the Spanish government is coming very close (Encarnación, 2016). Finally, when it would come to the point that Catalonia declares its de facto independence, international recognition would pose an interesting dilemma to EU member states. They have to choose between supporting fellow member state Spain or backing up the Catalan nationalist movement.

All these insecurities show that, in the end, it is hard to predict how and if the Catalan question

¹⁰ In the last regional elections, pro-independence parties did obtain a majority in the parliament, but not in absolute votes. This means that more than half of the person is either against, undecided or uninterested in the matter.

will be solved. What is for sure, is that the issue will probably not fade anytime soon. The first wave of Catalan nationalism was suppressed by the arrival of the Spanish civil war and Franco's dictatorship. A similar event will be highly unlikely to occur, looking at the current international and political situation. Possible scenarios might be a deal from the Spanish government, with, at least, taxation benefits for Catalonia, the adaptation of an (even more) federal system, an independent country for Catalonia or in the most extreme case a military intervention of the Spanish army. Which of these or other scenarios will develop is, like mentioned before, highly unpredictable.

5. Collective identity and secessionist claims of Catalan students

5.1. Introduction

This chapter will provide a descriptive overview of the data collected about collective identity and secessionist claims of Catalan students.¹¹ Descriptive statistics helps to clarify the answer pattern of a specific variable. It also serves to check all the data and see which part of the data is suitable for more advanced statistics (te Grotenhuis & Matthijssen, 2011). Pie charts, bar charts and histograms are used to visualize the data. They will provide a simple overview which can be quickly interpreted by the reader of this thesis.¹² In first chapter of this thesis several research questions were presented. Two of these questions will be addressed in this chapter, namely: 'which collective identity markers do Catalan students use to describe themselves?' and 'to what extent do Catalan students express secessionist claims?' The questionnaire items were translated to variables with help of the statistical program SPSS. Most of the data is of nominal scale, except for the Likert-scale items; these can be classified as ordinal.¹³

This sample indicates, amongst other things, that collective identity is a complex phenomenon. There are differences in the importance of the various identity markers included in this research however, the variances are relatively small. They do not point to the dominance of national identity, or any other part of a Catalan student's collective identity. It also implies that many Catalan university students are in favor of an independent Catalonia. This is reflected not only through their constitutional preferences and voting behavior, but also through modern forms of pro-independent political involvement. Finally, the assumption made by Norris (2004) and Soler-i-Martí (2015), that younger generations tend to vote less and protest more cannot be confirmed. The data suggests that voting is the form of political engagement that is used most frequently among the sample. In fact, Catalan students vote more than the average Catalan citizen.

5.2. Collective identity

The first hypothesis of this research states that national identity markers are most salient among Catalan students. This is based on Alvarez Junco (2002) and Guibernau (2013b). They argue, because Spain failed to use nationalism or national identity to integrate minorities within its territory, Catalan identities are dominant in Catalonia. The current political debate in Catalonia forces people to think about the importance of 'being Catalan', the Catalan language and nationality for their identities. Since

¹¹ The survey protocol (including all questions) can be found in appendix B.

¹² Many of these charts can be found in the SPSS output displayed in appendix C.

¹³ 'Likert scales fall within the ordinal level of measurement. [...] the response categories have a rank order, but the intervals between values cannot be presumed as equal' (Jamieson, 2004, p. 1217).

independence has gained viability in the eyes of the public, the importance of the Catalan identity increased (Rico & Liñeira, 2014).

5.2.1. Place of birth

Place of birth is an important variable in identity surveys, since it could entail a certain degree of territorial bounds with a region or nation (Hernández et al., 2007). In this survey, 251 respondents (88%) are born in Catalonia and only 35 respondents (12%) are born outside the region.¹⁴ In addition, the questionnaire also included a question on the place of birth of the respondent's parents. In 53% of the cases both of the respondent's parents are born in Catalonia. Of the remainder, 26% of the respondents indicated that one of both parents was born in Catalonia, while 21% of the respondents both parents indicated that born outside the region.¹⁵ Later on in this chapter, these variables will be used more extensively.

5.2.2. Language

In the Catalan case, language is a 'valuable element of collective identity' (Riera Gil, 2011 in Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015). It is 'an idea legally and popularly expressed through the labeling of the language as Catalonia's *llengua pròpia*, i.e., Catalonia's own language' (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015, p. 287). The questionnaire contained two language variables, namely: mother tongue and most frequently used language.¹⁶ This division was made since one would expect a different effect of the two types of language on collective identity. A respondent's mother tongue could be more influential, since it entails some sort of fundamental bond to a specific culture and place (Reyers, 2010). Alternatively, as the most frequently used language is more practical, and therefore would have less impact on collective identity.¹⁷ The Statistical Institute of Catalonia (IDESCAT) also executed a survey on the usage of language among the general population of Catalonia (2008-2013).¹⁸ It is interesting to compare their results with the data of this research in order to make statements about the usage of language among younger generations. The results of both surveys are presented in figure 5 on the next page.

¹⁴ See section 1.1. and 1.2. in appendix C for the frequencies and a pie chart on place of birth

¹⁵ See section 1.3. and 1.4 in appendix C for the frequencies and a pie chart on place of birth of parents

¹⁶ The results (frequencies and piecharts) corresponding to all the language variables can be found in section 2 (language) of appendix C.

¹⁷ For instance, having Spanish as a mother tongue is more important for the collective identity of Latino-Americans in the United States than English, although, most of them use English in their daily life (Zentella, 2004).

¹⁸ For more information about the survey and the organization see:

Figure 5: Catalan students use language differently in comparison to the general population

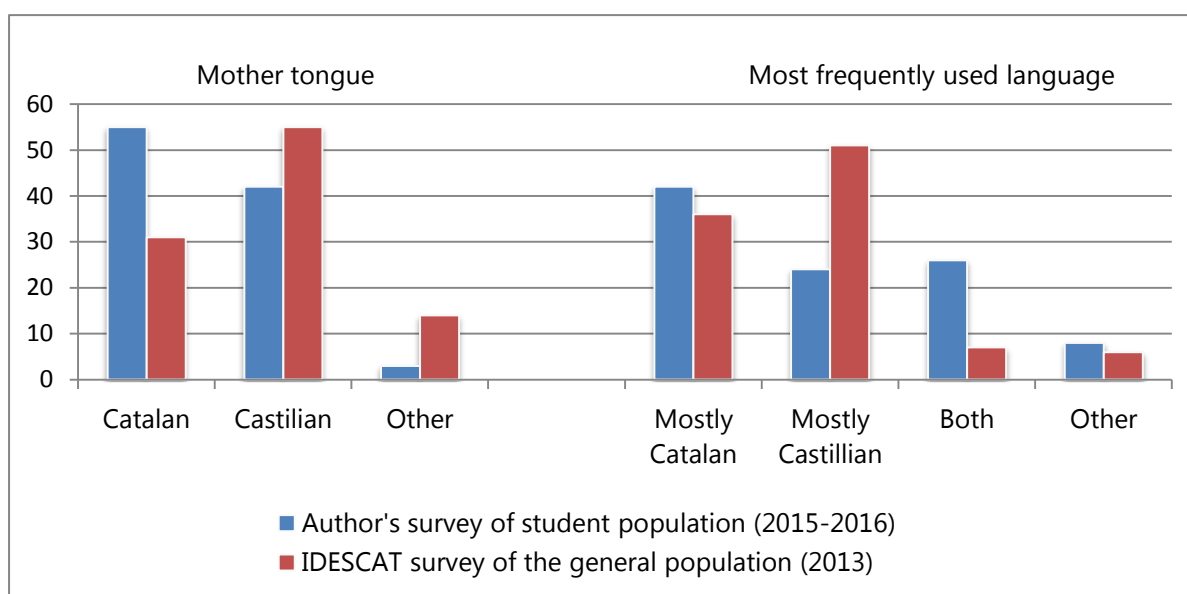


Figure 5: Catalan students use language differently in comparison to the general population

Various differences become visible when comparing the data of IDESCAT to the results of this survey. In this survey, the percentage of respondents indicating Catalan is their native tongue is relatively higher compared to the number of people in the IDESCAT survey (55% compared to 31%) and the number of respondents pointing to Castilian as their mother tongue is fairly lower (42% compared to 55%). When looking at the variable 'most frequently used language' the number of people using mostly Catalan is higher in this survey (42% compared to 36%) and the number of people using mostly Castilian is halved (24% in this survey compared to 51% in the IDESCAT research). Among the younger generations, a larger percentage of the sample reports that they use both languages compared to the general population. The data suggests that the usage of language among younger generations is different from the usage of language among the population as a whole. Especially Catalan is more popular among younger generations, as well as the habit of practicing both languages. The latter can be, amongst other things, explained by the language normalization policies after the death of Franco. When democracy in Catalonia was restored in the 1980s, Catalan became an official language of the region, in addition to Castilian. Bilingual education was an important objective of the language normalization policies that helped the integration of Catalan in a, at that time, largely Castilian-speaking society (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015).

Finally, there is a moderate degree of coherence between mother tongue and most frequently used language.¹⁹ This suggests that the language respondents use on a daily basis, often, but not

¹⁹ The coherence between two variables can be measured by Cramer's V. In this case, the Cramer's V of the crosstab 'mother tongue' x 'most frequently used language(s)' is 0.519. Cramer's V is used, since this measure is best suitable for nominal and ordinal variables with more than two categories (te Grotenhuis & Matthijssen, 2011).

always, coincides with their native tongue. From the respondents that have indicated Catalan as their mother tongue 70.1% uses mostly Catalan on a weekly basis and 22.9% uses both Catalan and Castilian. On the other hand, 51.2% of the respondents with a Castilian native tongue mostly use this language on a weekly basis and 30.6% speaks mostly bilingually.²⁰

5.2.3. Nationality

The Moreno-question is a widely used methodological tool to measure nationality in nations without a state, since it includes the option to express a so-called dual identity (in this case: feeling as much Catalan as Spanish). Moreno (2014) argues that there is an increasing number of people expressing an exclusive Catalan nationality and a decreasing number of people expressing a dual identity in the recent years in Catalonia.²¹ He underpins his assumption with recent data from, amongst other sources, the political barometers of the Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió (CEO, the Catalan center of opinion studies). These surveys have also integrated the Moreno-question.²² However, by contrast, the most recent political barometers by the CEO (2014-2016) show a more fluctuating line in sympathizing with an exclusive Catalan nationality.²³

As figure 6 below clearly shows, in this survey a rather high number of respondents defines his or hers nationality as only Catalan: 42,3%. This is much higher than any CEO political barometer has ever measured. This implies that younger generations are more prone towards expressing an exclusive Catalan nationality. Another remarkable insight is that the number of respondents that refuse to categorize in any of the response categories is quite large in this sample (12.9% compared to 3.3% in CEO's most recent survey). Only a small fraction of the respondents indicates to have an exclusive Spanish (2.1%) or more Spanish than Catalan nationality (3.1%). This result underpins Alvarez Junco's (2002) assumption that the Spanish state has failed to create a Spanish nationality among its minorities, at least among the student generation of Catalonia.

Normally, a Cramer's V lower than 0,3 indicates that two variables are not significantly coherent on each other, a Cramer's V between 0.3-0.6 indicates a moderate coherence and a Cramer's V >0.6 dictates a high coherence between two variables (te Grotenhuis & Matthijssen, 2011).

²⁰ The cross table 'mother tongue' x 'most frequently used language(s)' can be found in Appendix C.

²¹ In 1985, 9% of the Catalans described their nationality as only Catalan (Moreno, 1986), in 2013 this was 31% (Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, 2013). The number of Catalans describing their identity as 'as much Spanish as Catalan' decreased from 47 to 33%.

²² In every political barometer, the question was asked as following: with which of the following phrases do you identify the most? I feel: (1) only Spanish, (2) more Spanish than Catalan, (3) as much Spanish as Catalan, (4) more Catalan than Spanish, (5) only Catalan, (6) I don't know, (7) no answer.

²³: In 2014, 29% of the respondents choose the option 'only Catalan' (n=2000), in 2015 this number was 25,3% (n=2000) and in 2016 it was 26,3% (n=1500) For all political barometers see;

<http://www.ceo.gencat.cat/ceop/AppJava/pages/estudis/categories/lListaCategoria.html?colId=3&lastTitle=Bar%F2metre+d%27Opini%F3+Pol%EDtica>

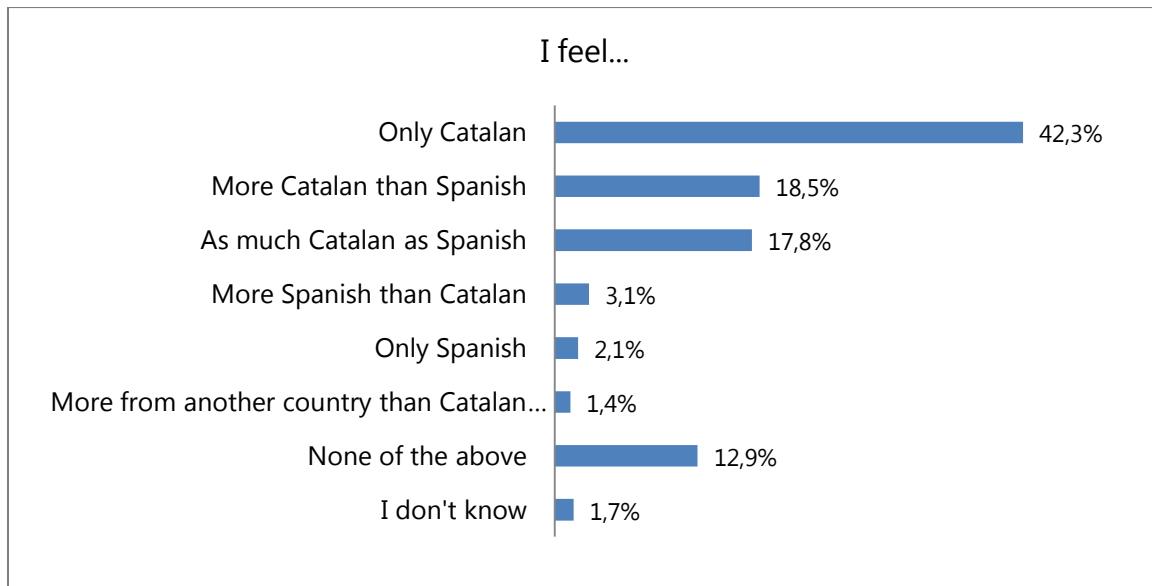


Figure 6: The results of the Moreno-question suggests that many Catalan students express an exclusive Catalan nationality

Nationality is, amongst other things, determined by one's origin, but could also be influenced by language (Newman & Trenchs-Parera, 2015). In this sample, there is a moderate coherence (measured by Cramer's V) between nationality and place of birth, nationality and place of birth of parents and nationality and mother tongue. The coherence between most frequently used language and nationality is low. Correlations (measured by Spearman's rho) between these variables show comparable results, however, in this case the origin of the respondents' parents is higher correlated to nationality than the origin of the respondent.²⁴ The data suggests that origin and nationality are linked, however, whether the origin of the respondent itself or its parents is more determining remains unclear. When looking at language, the results imply that mother tongue and nationality are stronger associated than most frequently used language and nationality, however, the differences between the correlations are too small to conclude that mother tongue has a more fundamental influence on nationality than most frequently used language does.

5.2.4. Self-categorization

The questionnaire included an item that asked the respondents to rank the importance of fifteen different collective identity markers on a Likert-scale from 'very important' to 'doesn't imply to me'. First of all, the results of this item indicate that the collective identities of the respondents are very complex.²⁵ Many identity markers are perceived as important, with little differences between them. When adding up the categories of 'very important' and 'important' the three most salient identity markers are 'my family', 'my language' and 'my culture'. In addition, the median of these elements is 1.0

²⁴ Appendix C, section 3.2. contains a table with the exact outcomes of the Cramer's V and Spearman's Rho tests.

²⁵ Appendix C contains a bar chart that gives an overview of the results of the all Likert-scale items in section 4.1.

(very important) or 2.0 (important).²⁶ The least salient are 'being Spanish' and 'my religion'. These items both have a median of 5.0 (not important) which indicates that a majority of the respondents choose the response category 'not important' or 'doesn't apply to me'. Remarkable is that on these latter items, the percentages of respondents choosing for 'doesn't apply to me' is quite high compared to the other items. In other words, all the other identity markers are to some extent relevant for the respondents, but 'being Spanish' and 'my religion' are items which almost a quarter of the respondents would not consider using to describe themselves.

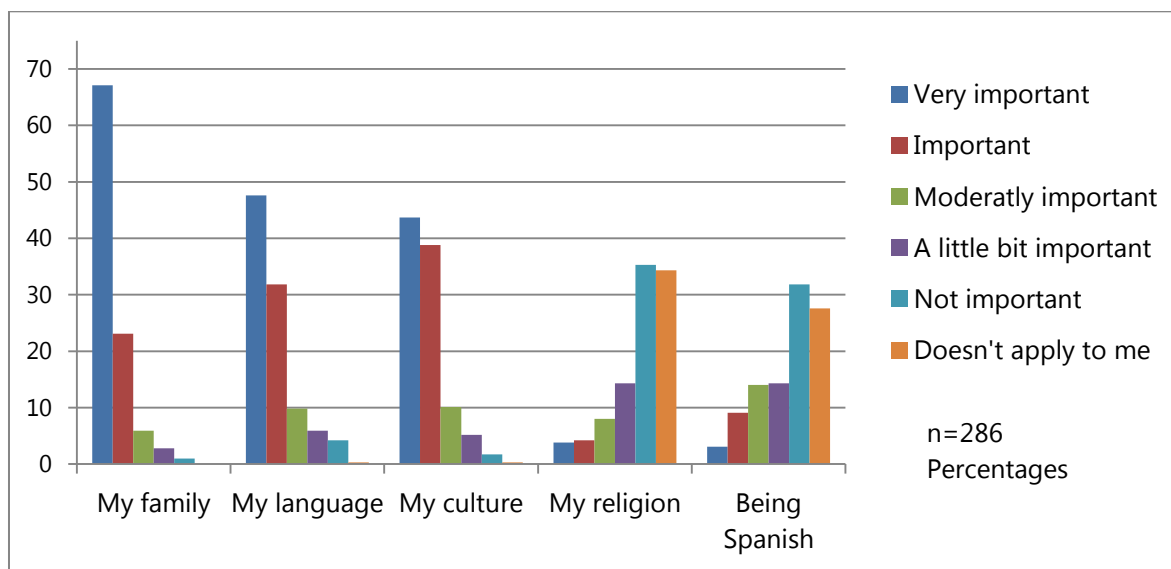


Figure 7: Complexity of collective identities of Catalan students

The questionnaire also included an item that demanded the respondents to choose the three identity markers that are most important to them from the list of fifteen.²⁷ The answers show a similar pattern as the matrix with the Likert-scale items: 'my family', 'my education' and 'my culture' are chosen most frequently, the items that were chosen the least are 'my neighborhood', 'my religion' and 'being Spanish'. Again, the differences between the response categories are small. Lastly, every respondent had to choose one identity marker (out of the earlier selected three) which is most applicable on him or her.²⁸ The results of this question show that one third of the respondents suggests that 'my family' is the most important element of their collective identity.²⁹ The remaining part of the sample elected one of the other response categories.

²⁶ The median has to be interpreted as following: 50% of the answers has a number below or the same as the median, the other half is higher or the same. For instance, a median of 2.0. means that 50% of the respondents answered either 'Very important' or 'important', the other 50% of the respondents answered either 'important', 'neither important nor unimportant', 'unimportant', 'very unimportant' or 'doesn't apply to me'. Appendix C contains a table with the medians of all the Likert-scale items (section 4.2).

²⁷ In addition, they also had the option 'I don't know'.

²⁸ Again there was an response categorie 'I don't know'.

²⁹ The exact results of this question can be found in section 4.3. and 4.4 of appendix C.

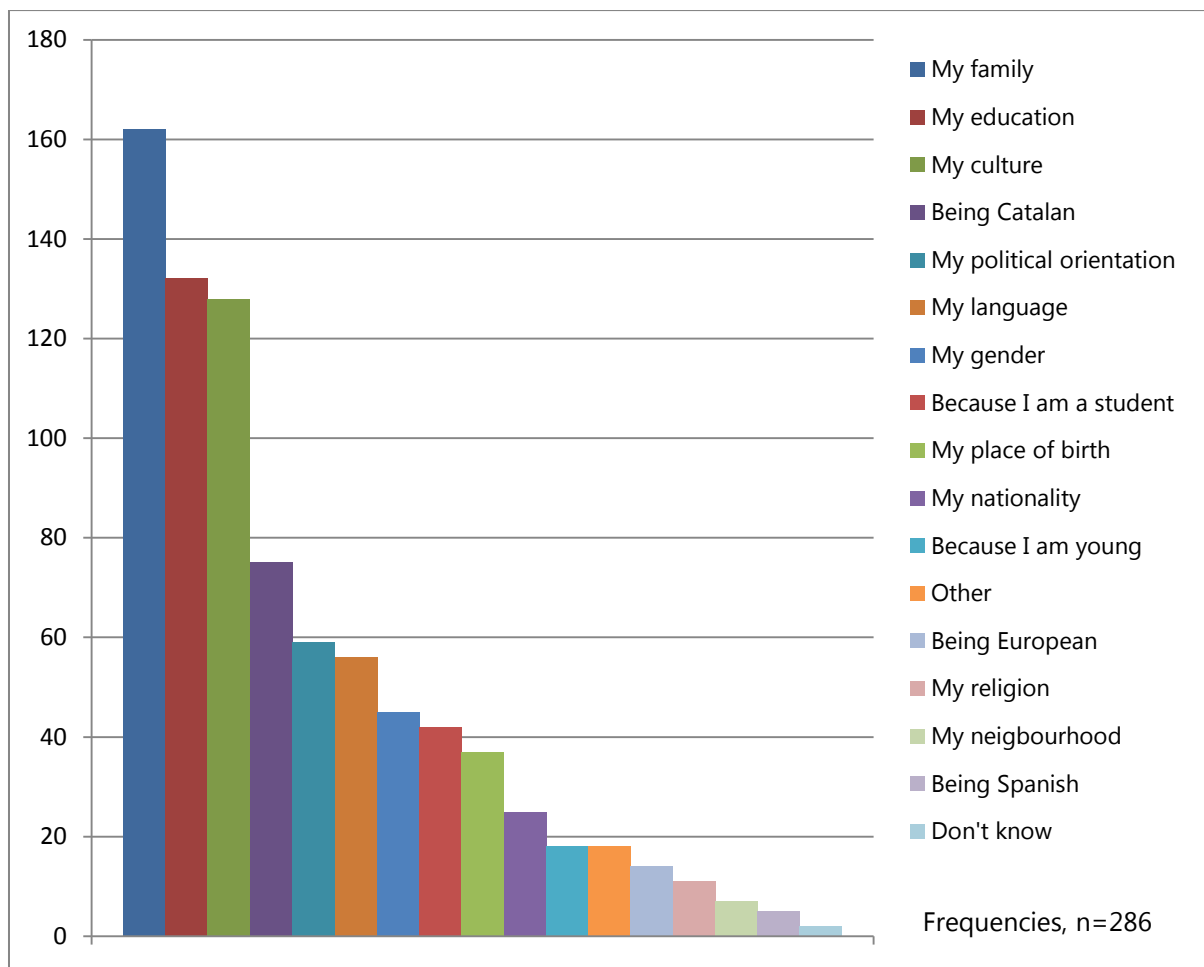


Figure 8: Most important identity markers of Catalan students are 'my family', 'my education' and 'my culture' (Note: respondents could each choose three elements)

That my family is one of most salient collective identity marker could be explained by the fact that the Mediterranean area, which includes Catalonia, is characterized as a region with strong family ties (Reher, 1998; Mair, 2013). For instance, in comparison to Northern and Western Europe, the process of leaving the parental house is quite different. 'In Spain and in many other southern European countries, a stable job, access to adequate housing, leaving the parental household, and marriage tend to be closely intertwined' (Reher, 1998, p. 205). This implies that many students leave their parent's home not when they go to university, but when they finished their education, have a job and can provide for themselves. This sample underpins this assumption, since a vast majority of respondents, that are all students, indicate that he or she is living with family members (68.5%). Some authors writing about place attachment and place identity, argue that the people you live with are to some extent determining factors for you own (place) identity (Hernández et al., 2007). However, the Cramer's V between 'place of living' and 'my family (Likert-scale)' is 0.093, which does not indicate strong coherence between these variables. Therefore, the residents a respondent lives with could be of influence on their collective identity; however, this relation cannot be statistically underpinned in this sample.

Another remarkable finding is that 'my gender' and 'because I am young' have relatively low scores. Zooming in on gender, shows that 28,5% of the female respondents indicated that their gender is 'very important' and 33,9% of the female respondents choose 'important'. Comparing this with the results of the male respondents there is a difference visible. Only 8,3% of the men choose 'very important' and 20,8% 'important'. Exactly, one third of the male respondents indicated that gender is 'moderately important' for their collective identity.³⁰ In other words, the low ranking of 'my gender' could be partially explained by the fact that the male part of the sample does not see this as an important identity marker.

Finally, the low scores of 'my religion' on this self-categorization matrix implies that the survey sample is highly secular. This is in line with the secularization of Spain since the end of Franco's dictatorship (Adsera, 2004). Also, more than half of the respondents indicated that 'being Spanish' is not important or doesn't apply to them. This result is similar to the data of the Moreno-question³¹ and can be viewed as another confirmation that the Spanish state has failed to create a Spanish national identity among its minorities (Alvarez Junco, 2002).

5.2.5. Evaluation of self-categorization

The questionnaire continued with various items that can give an indication about the social embeddedness, evaluation of personal regards, attachment and behavioral involvement of collective identity. Looking at the results, it shows that being proud on the chosen particular identity is the main reason for the selection of this item (65.7% strongly agrees with the statement 'I choose this element because I am proud of having this identity'). Thereby, almost half of the respondents (47.8%) strongly agrees with the statement 'I choose this identity because I feel connected to people sharing this identity'. Followed by 'because I share it with family members' (38.8% strongly agrees). The latter could be explained by the high amount of respondents pointing to family as the most important element of their collective identity, although the coherence between these variables is not spectacularly high.³² Finally, 26.6% of the respondents indicate that they express their chosen identity through symbols on clothes or other objects like bags and electronic devices.

³⁰ See the crosstab and Cramer's V SPSS output of 'my gender (Likert scale)' x 'gender' in appendix C (section 4.4.)

³¹ Only a small part of the respondents expressed an exclusive Spanish or more Spanish than Catalan nationality.

³² Cramer's V=0.260

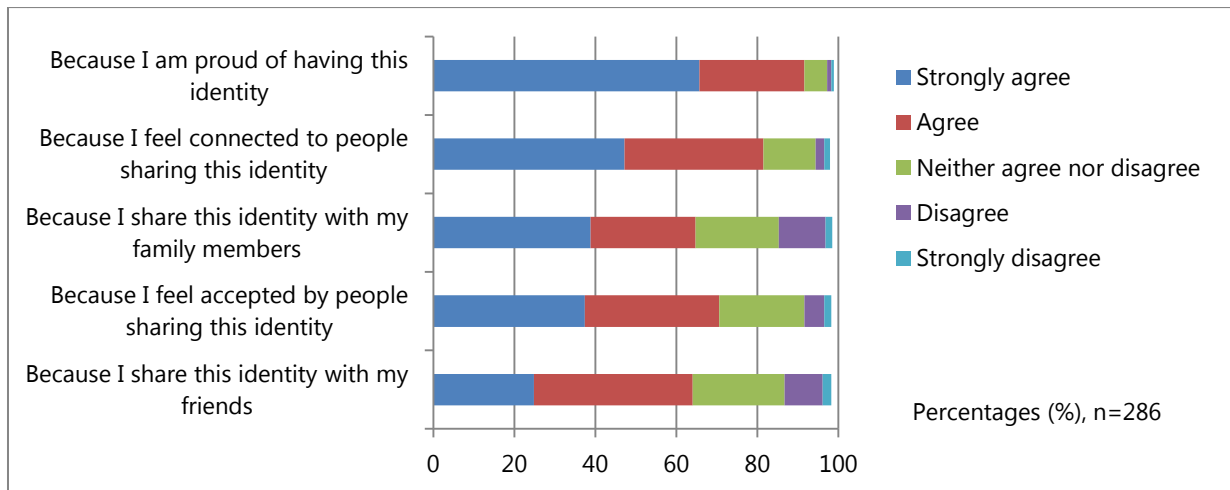


Figure 9: Evaluation of self-categorization

These results suggest that personal regards are the most important reason for expressing a particular collective identity. Followed by social embeddedness and attachment. Only a bit more than a quarter of the respondents state that they express their collective identity through symbols.

However, again the differences between these variables are relatively small. It is hard to make solid conclusions based on the results of these questionnaire items. What can be said is that these results confirm the complexity of collective identities of Catalan students.

5.3. Political engagement

As described in the theoretical framework of this thesis, secessionist claims expressed on an individual level are measured by a respondent's traditional and modern ways of political engagement and constitutional preferences. According to Norris (2004) and Soler-i-Martí (2015) younger generations tend to vote less and protest more. In other words, they are less involved in politics in a traditional way, than in modern and new forms of political engagement. Therefore, this section will test hypothesis 2: 'Catalan students are more frequently engaged in modern forms of political participation than in traditional forms of political participation.'

5.3.1. Voting behavior

Looking at voting behavior, 85% of the respondents say they always vote, 12% sometimes and 3% never do (mostly due to the fact that they do not possess the right to vote because they are not 18 yet or because they do not possess an official Spanish citizenship).³³ Out of the people that vote, most of them vote for the regional elections (92.7%) followed by national elections (85.7%) and elections for local governments (83.9%). Elections for the European parliament and student elections come in last (respectively 69.6 and 47.2% of the respondents indicate to vote when these type of elections are held). It is interesting that regional elections tend to have a higher voter turnout than national

³³ Corresponding pie chart can be found in section 5.2. of appendix C.

elections, however, the same pattern is visible when comparing this data to actual voter turnouts. Another thing that stands out when comparing the voting behavior of this sample to the general population is that students tend to vote more than the average population.³⁴ This could be explained by the belief that highly educated citizens tend to vote more than lesser educated civilians (Burden, 2009). Nonetheless, in the case of Spain, testing this assumption has shown contracting results, due to, amongst other things, low national voter turnouts (Gallego, 2010).

In addition, figure 9 displays more information on the specific voting behavior of the sample. It shows that in the last regional elections in Catalonia (27th of September 2015) 57.7% of the respondents indicated to have voted for pro-independence parties (JxSí and CUP). This is 10% higher than the actual percentage of votes for these parties in the last elections (47.8% of the Catalan electorate voted for JxSí and CUP (IDESCAT, 2015)). Especially CUP has received more votes from this research population (23.4% against 8.2%). Most of the respondents who did not cast their vote weren't in Catalonia on the 27th of September (for instance because they were part of an Erasmus exchange) or did not have the right to vote (because they were not 18 yet, do not have the Spanish nationality or are not officially from Catalonia, which means they had to vote in another region).

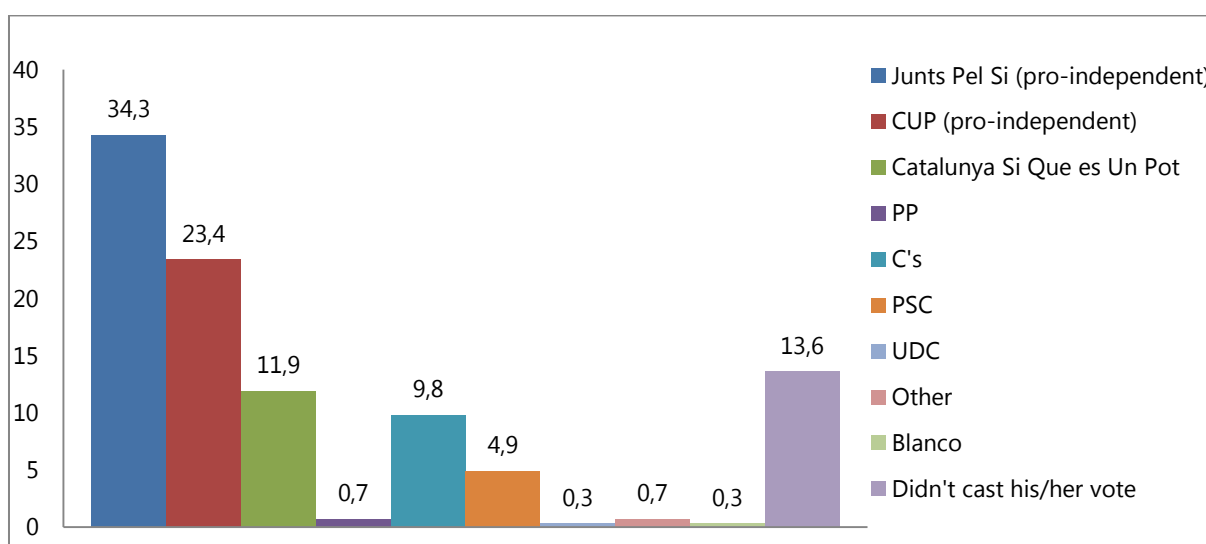


Figure 10: The majority of Catalan students in this sample voted for pro-independent parties

Whether or not it can be labeled as official, the referendum on the independence of Catalonia, held on the 9th of November in 2014 also tells us something about the voting behavior of the research population. 71.7% of the respondents participated in the referendum, of which 57.7% voted a yes-yes.³⁵ As expected, there is a strong coherence between the variables 'option 9N' and 'party 27S'.³⁶ The

³⁴ In 2015, 74.9% of the population that was entitled to vote showed up during regional elections and 70.98% voted in the national elections. The turnout at the local elections in 2011 was 54.9% and European parliament elections attracted 47.6% of the voters to the polling stations (IDESCAT, 2015).

³⁵ In the 9N referendum voters were asked two questions: whether Catalonia should be a state, and if they replied yes, they were asked if it state should be independent from Spain (Sanjaume-Calvet, 2016)

³⁶ Cramer's V= 0.713

coherence between 'participation 9N' and 'party 27S' can be described as moderate.³⁷ This signifies that many of the voters of JxSí and CUP in the 27S elections, participated in the 9N referendum and voted yes-yes.³⁸

In short, looking at the sample's voting behavior we can conclude that the greater part of the respondents are in favor of Catalonia becoming independent. In addition, the data suggests that Catalan university students tend to vote more than the general population.

5.3.2. Membership of political party and civil society organizations

Traditional forms of political involvement include, according to Soler-i-Martí (2015), the above discussed voting behavior, but it also incorporates membership of a political party or a (political) civil society organization. Individual secessionist claims can be expressed by being a member of a party and/or civil society organization which is in favor of independence. The results of the survey show that only 29 respondents (10.1%) are a member of a political party, of which the majority (19 respondents) is member of a pro-independence party (CDC, CUP, ERC, and JxSí). These respondents are mostly involved in meetings (16), member of a committee (7) and 5 of them are on the list during elections. Additionally, 16.8% of the students (48 in total) are a member of a civil society organization. The organization they are a member of varies from Greenpeace to the Red Cross and local youth movements. 18 respondents hold a membership to a civil society organization that predominantly intervenes in the independence debate, like ANC and Omnium Cultural (both actively involved in the organization of the massive demonstrations on the national holiday in the last couple of years).

Overall, the students in this survey are not massively represented in political parties and civil society organizations. However, when comparing these results to a survey on participation and politics in Catalonia (EPP '11)³⁹ it implies that university students are slightly more involved in organizations advocating a political cause than the general population of Catalonia between 15 and 29.⁴⁰ So, this data suggests that Catalan students are not very much politically engaged through political parties and civil society organizations whereas, voter turnouts among this sample appear above average. This implies that within the various types of traditional political engagement there are still huge differences among this research population. A possible explanation could be that casting your vote takes much less time and effort than being an (active) member of political party and/or civil society

³⁷ Cramer's V= 0.516

³⁸ The cross tables show that 96.6% of the JxSí voters and 89.6% of the CUP voters participated in the 9N referendum. Of those who took part in the referendum 97.9% of the JxSí voters and 86.7% of the CUP voters voted yes-yes.

³⁹ 'The EPP'11 is a survey promoted by the Catalan Youth Observatory specifically aimed at analyzing the differences and similarities in the political participation and attitudes of young people and adults. To do so, in the survey young people from 15 to 29 (N = 1.100) are over-represented from the total sample (N = 2.100)' (Soler-i-Martí, 2015, p. 402).

⁴⁰ The results of this survey show that only 3.6% of the respondents between 15 and 29 are a member of a political party (Soler- i-Martí, 2013)

organization. Therefore, it is much more appealing to a student to go and vote than to be a member of a political party or civil society origination. In addition, voting is more anonymous than being a member of a political party or civil society organization.

5.3.3. Engagement in demonstrations

Being a part of a demonstration is a frequently used form of modern political involvement, especially among the younger parts of the population (Norris, 2004). In this sample, 61% of the respondents have been involved in one or more demonstrations in the last twelve months. To be more precise, 30% of the respondents has been involved only once in a demonstration, 11% twice, and 20% more than twice. The involvement in different types of political demonstrations is visualized in figure 11. Surprisingly, 120 respondents (42% of the total survey sample) were involved, at least once, in a pro-independence demonstration.⁴¹ Also a large number points out to have been part of a demonstration for a social cause (for instance an educational purpose or a demonstration for human rights). The participants of political manifestations mostly participate together with friends (144 respondents) and/or family (64 respondents).⁴²

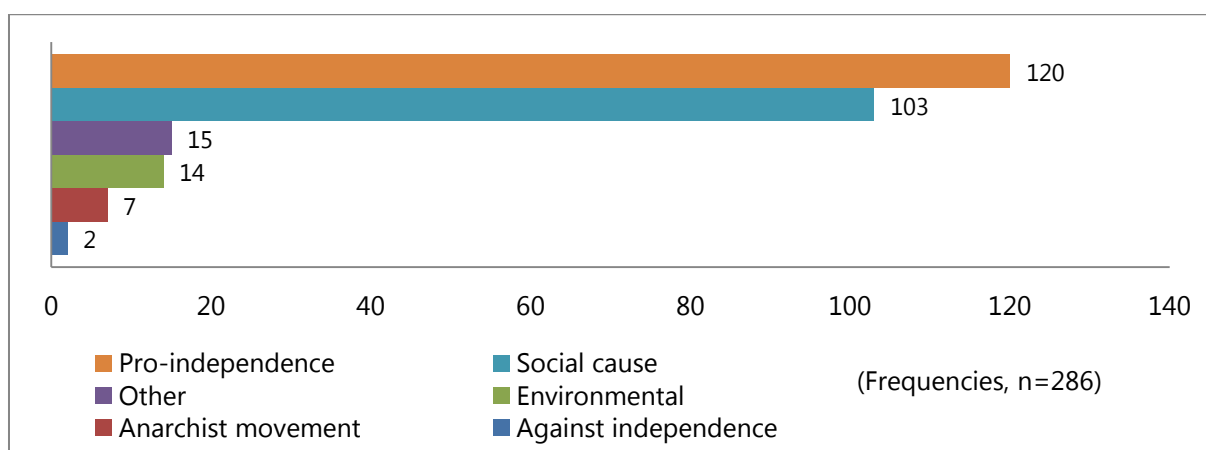


Figure 11: Catalan students are involved in various kinds of political demonstrations (note: respondents could choose more than one option)

In the EPP'11 survey, 43.8% of the respondents between 15 and 29 had been a part of a political or social demonstration in the past twelve months (compared to 61% in this sample). It has to be noted though, that there is a gap of five years between this survey and EPP'11, within this time span the number of demonstrations in Catalonia increased, especially those advocating independence. Therefore, it is rather difficult to suggest whether Catalan students are more involved in demonstrations than others from the same age category.

⁴¹ This questionnaire item included the option to select more than one answer, since respondents could have gone to more than one demonstration in the last year.

⁴² This questionnaire item included the option to select more than one answer, since respondents could have gone to more than one demonstration in the last year.

5.3.4. Political consumerism, online expression and symbolism

Figure 12 shows the percentages of the respondents expressing and/or discussing their political viewpoints online, through symbols or by boycotting products from Spain. Only a small part of the population has boycotted products from Spain in the past twelve months (13.6%). On the contrary, a majority of the respondents have discussed their political opinion online in the past twelve months. The fact that a large majority (64.7%) of the students express their political opinion through online media is in line with the theory on online participation by Vissers & Stolle (2014). From the mediums that can be used for sharing politically-oriented statements Facebook is most popular among the

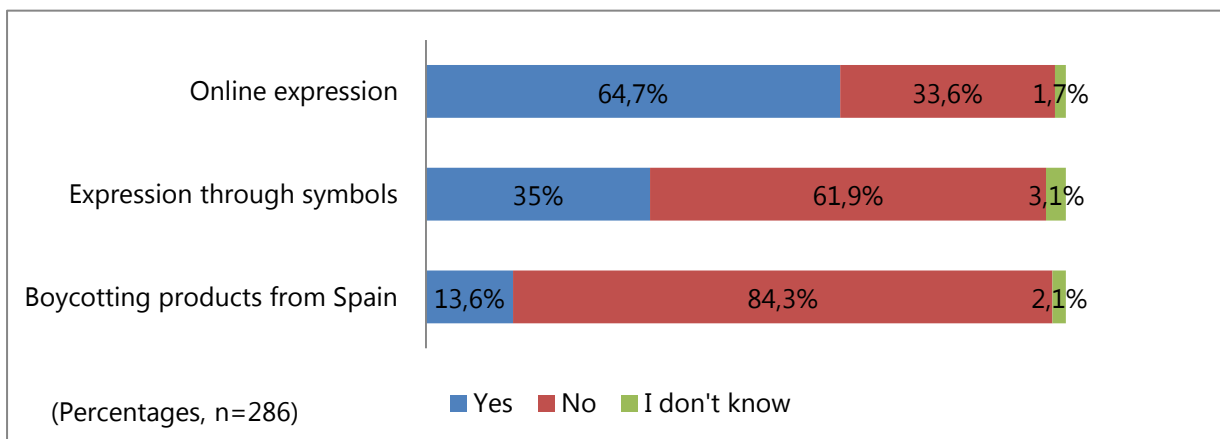


Figure 12: Usage of different types of modern political engagement among Catalan students

survey sample, followed by Twitter. In addition, when looking at the coherence (Cramer's V) between the different forms of political engagement and online expression of political opinion, there is no clear pattern. Coherence and correlations between the different variables is in all cases low.⁴³ Therefore, the data suggests that respondents involved in offline participation, are not necessarily also involved in online participation and vice versa. It implies that the premise stated by Vissers & Stolle (2014), that online and offline political participation are 'different expressions of the same phenomenon', can be rejected. It does, however, suggest that the assumption that the internet opens up new forms of political participation, which cannot be practiced offline can be supported by this survey (Delli Carpini, 2000; Vissers & Stolle, 2014).

Then, expression through symbols (on clothes and other objects like bags or electronic devices) is done by roughly one-third of the students. In addition, 32 respondents (11.2%) said they use the Catalan independentist flag to express political opinion, 11 respondents (3.8%) use the normal Catalan flag and 30 respondents (10.5%) indicate that they use both.

Unfortunately, there is no comparing material in the EPP'11 survey to these items of this survey. Therefore, it is difficult to make assumptions on the engagement in these modern types of political action of the respondents of this survey compared to people from the same age category or

⁴³ See the exact number in Appendix C, section 8.8.

the general population of Catalonia. Nevertheless, these results imply that different forms of modern political engagement are quite frequently used among the Catalan student population, although the usages of the different types varies in numbers. Engagement in demonstrations and online expression of political thoughts and opinion are most popular. Boycotting and expression through symbols are also adopted, but less frequently.

5.4. Constitutional preferences

The last part of the questionnaire contained an item that asked for the respondent's constitutional preference. The results are visible in figure 11 below. 156 respondents (54.5%) indicate that they want Catalonia to be an independent state outside of Spain. This is in line with the voting behavior of the respondents (57.5% of the respondents voted for pro-independence parties in the last regional elections). A cross table of both variables shows a high dependency⁴⁴

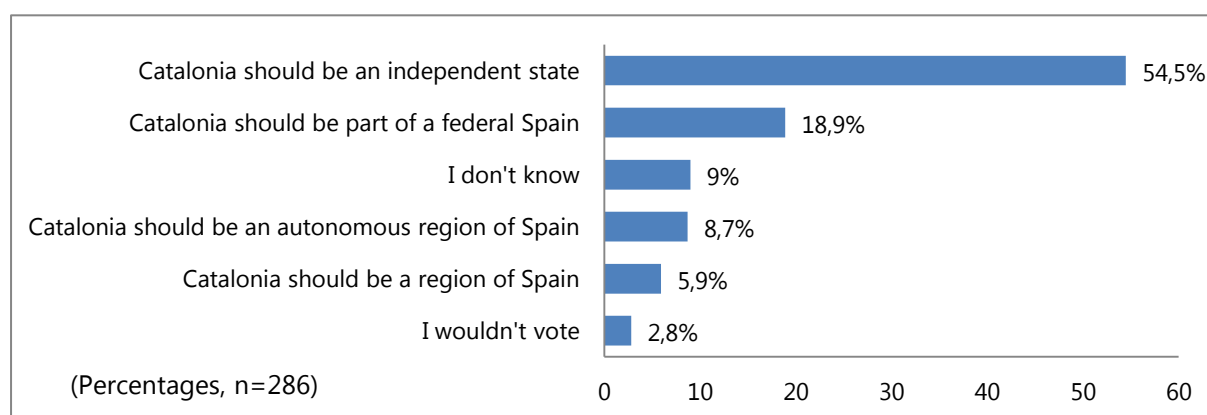


Figure 13: The majority of the survey sample wants Catalonia to be an independent state

The percentages in the cross tab show that the respondents who want Catalonia to be independent most likely vote for CUP or JxSí and respondents that want Catalonia to be an autonomous region (which is the status quo) would likely vote for C's or PP, which are against the independence of Catalonia. Also, when comparing constitutional preferences with the voting behavior of the referendum in 2014, there is an even stronger interdependency visible.⁴⁵ This is rather unsurprisingly, since, respondents voting yes-yes on the referendum are largely in favor of Catalonia being an independent state. The most recent public opinion poll among the general population, less than the majority (38.5%) of the respondents want Catalonia to be an independent state (Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, 2016). So in comparison, this data implies that Catalan students are more prone towards independence than the average Catalan citizen.

⁴⁴ See cross tab in section 9.4. of Appendix C. Cramer's V between 'voting behavior 27S' and 'constitutional preference' =0.455

⁴⁵ Cramer's V=0.585

Furthermore, when looking at the respondents estimating the probability of their chosen constitutional preference actually happening the numbers show certain insecurity. Almost one third (31,1%) answer 'I don't know' on the last item of the questionnaire and 27,6% specifies the 'moderately high' option. Still, 17.8% of the respondents think him or her constitutional preference has a high chance of succeeding. When comparing the variables 'constitutional preference' and 'possibility constitutional preference' there is no much coherence between the two variables.⁴⁶ The results indicate that respondents, apart from which constitutional form they prefer, do not agree on the possibility.

5.5. Conclusion

In general, this survey implies that the collective identity of Catalan students is complex. The differences between the importance of the various identity markers are very small. Hypothesis 1 stated that the collective identities of Catalan students are dominated by national elements. This premise is rejected by this sample in two ways. First of all, the data suggests that there is no dominance of any of the collective identity markers, because of the small differences in the ranking. Secondly, 'my nationality' and 'being Catalan' are not ranked as the most salient part of the sample's collective identity. However, these elements are more salient than 'being Spanish', which a large part of the sample would not use describing themselves. This suggests that indeed the Spanish state failed to integrate a national, Spanish identity among the younger generations of the state's minority groups.

Interestingly, this sample indicates that family one of the most important part of collective identity, as well as, 'my culture' and 'my education'. The data also implies that Catalan students are highly secular and unlikely to use the Spanish nationality to describe themselves. In addition, this sample suggests that, in comparison to the general population of Catalonia, students express a more exclusive Catalan nationality and have a different usage of language in everyday life.

The second hypothesis deals with different ways of political engagement. It states that Catalan students are more frequently engaged in modern forms of political involvement than traditional forms of political involvement. Although, only a small fraction of the sample indicated to be a member of a political party or civil society organization, voting is the most frequently used form of political engagement among the research population. In addition, the survey implies that Catalan students are accurately represented during political demonstrations and to a large extent express their political opinion online. They are also involved in political consumerism and symbolism, although in smaller proportions. Logically, there are differences between the ways the respondents are politically engaged, since some forms of political participation take more time and effort than others. Also, there is a difference in anonymity; voting is more private than sharing political thoughts through a Facebook-

⁴⁶ See crosstab in section 9.4.

status. Nevertheless, hypothesis 2 cannot be confirmed, since in this survey sample does not support the assumption that young people vote less and protest more (Norris, 2004; Soler-i-Martí, 2015).

Finally, the survey implies that students in Catalonia broadly support independence for the region. This can be confirmed by their constitutional preferences, but is also reflected in their voting behavior, involvement in pro-independence demonstrations and participation and vote in the 9N referendum. In fact, in comparison to the general population, Catalan students are more inclined to support independence than the average Catalan citizen.

6. Linking collective identity and secessionism

In the academic literature collective identities are often connected to secessionist sentiments. In the Catalan case, Burg (2015) argues that identity can be a strong predictor of support for policies that promote and protect the language, the wish more autonomy and independence. It can also influence nationalist voting. However, Serrano (2013a) disagrees and suggests that identities are not as strongly related to support for independence.

In this chapter, the relationship between collective identities, political engagement and secessionist claims will be explored with a binary logistic regression analysis. Two hypotheses will be tested: 'Catalan students who express a Catalan identity are more likely to be in favor of independence' and 'Modern forms of political participation are better predictors of supporting independence than traditional forms of political engagement'.

The data suggests that, in the case of Catalan students, the relation between national identity and secessionist claims is not as obvious as it might seem. Interestingly, a Catalan nationality (in the format of the Moreno-question) turns out to be a better and significant predictor of supporting independence. Furthermore, the results also imply that there are no significant differences in the ability of traditional and modern ways of political engagement to predict secessionist claims.

6.1. Binary logistic regression analysis

In order to answer the research questions and the corresponding hypotheses a statistical approach which models the influence of many independent variables on one dependent variable is essential. A binary logistic regression model is an appropriate technique for the multivariate modeling of one categorical (nominal) dependent variable (DeMaris, 1995). In addition, this type of analysis is also used in comparable research from Serrano (2013a) and Burg (2015) to investigate the influence of identity and other relevant variables on the support for independence in Catalonia. This type of regression analysis tries to find a middle-ground model that can explain that dependent variable (Sieben & Linssen, 2009). So the goal is to find an explaining model that is not too simple, but at the same time also not too complex. The dependent variable in a binary logistic regression is always a dichotomous variable: a nominal variable with only two categories. Moreover, the predictors (independent variables) are mainly selected based on their theoretical significance (Sieben & Linssen, 2009). In this case, support for independence is the dependent variable. This variable is constructed from the constitutional preferences item of the questionnaire which is transformed into a dichotomous variable (1= Catalonia should be an independent state and 0 = Catalonia should not be an independent state).⁴⁷ The model is built in five stages that all add up a set of new independent variables. These

⁴⁷ The other response options: 'Catalonia should be a region of Spain', 'Catalonia should be an autonomous community of Spain', 'Catalonia should be a state in a federal Spain', 'I wouldn't vote' and 'I don't know' were all coded 0.

variables are chosen based on their theoretical underpinning and clustered together based on similar characteristics.

It is worth noting that in order to keep the analysis relatively simple many of the independent variables were transformed into dichotomous dummy-variables, which were created from existing variables from the data set⁴⁸. The binary logistic regression menu of SPSS also possesses the option to automatically transform variables into so-called categorical variables; however, if you choose to use this option, the first or last response category of the variable is systematically used as a reference category. When creating the dummy manually⁴⁹, you can transform a given variable into a dichotomous variable, for instance, having Catalan as a mother tongue compared to not having Catalan as a mother tongue (all other response options combined). In this way, when the logistic regression is carried out, the odds-ratio will tell you to what extent having a Catalan as a mother tongue influences support for independence, compared to not having Catalan as a mother tongue.

6.1.1. The five stages of the model

The independent variables of the binary logistic regression analysis are added in five stages. The phases are visible in figure 14 and explained below.

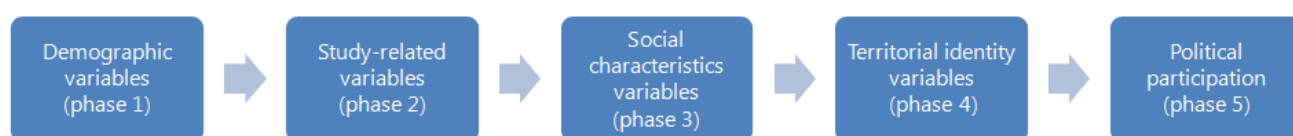


Figure 14: The five stages of the binary logistic regression analysis

Socio-demographic variables, like gender⁵⁰, age, origins of the respondents⁵¹ and origins of one's parents⁵² are included in the first stage of the model. These are characteristics given by birth and can indicate the influence of origin. Serrano (2013a) also includes similar variables in the first part of his logistic regression and points to the so-called thesis of ethno-cultural reproduction, which indicates that political attitudes are predetermined by origins.

The second phase integrates study-related variables, like university⁵³, phase⁵⁴ and field of

⁴⁸ The details of all the variables that were transformed into dichotomous dummies are clarified in corresponding footnotes.

⁴⁹ In this case the option 'recode into different variables' was used from the transform-dropdown menu in SPSS.

⁵⁰ The variable 'gender' was transformed into dummy-variable 'male' in order to compare it to female.

⁵¹ The variable 'origin respondents' was transformed into dummy-variable 'born in Catalonia', in order to compare respondents that were born in Catalonia to those who were not born in the region.

⁵² The variable 'origin parents' was transformed into two dummy-variables: 'Catalan parents', 'immigrant parents' compared to 'mixed parents'.

⁵³ The variable 'university' was transformed into dummy-variable 'university Barcelona' in order to compare universities in Barcelona to universities elsewhere in Catalonia.

⁵⁴ The variable 'phase of study' was transformed into dummy-variable 'Bachelor student', to be able to compare Bachelor to Master students

study⁵⁵ in the model. It is interesting to incorporate these variables since the research population exists of only students and to see whether different forms or phases of university education influence a student's constitutional preferences.

The third level of the model builds in variables of social characteristics, like language (mother tongue⁵⁶ and most frequently used language⁵⁷), living situation⁵⁸ and nationality (based on the Moreno-question).⁵⁹ Especially the latter is expected to be correlated with support for independence, since the same type of dummy variables are used in Burg's research (2015) as well. It is expected that respondents who express an exclusive Catalan nationality will have a high probability of being pro-independence. On the other hand, respondents with an exclusive Spanish nationality are expected to correlate negatively with support for independence, in other words, they are more likely to be against the idea of Catalonia becoming an independent country.

In the fourth part of the model, territorial collective identity markers are included. Not all the data on collective identity is included, first of all, to keep the model relatively simple. Secondly, when investigating the link between identity and conflict, many authors use the concept of nationalism (Oberschall, 2000; Moreno, 2006; Coakly, 2013; Guibernau, 2013b; 2014b; Muro, 2015). In the Catalan case, several types of nationalisms are in play, namely Catalan nationalism (or regionalism according to some) and Spanish (state) nationalism. In addition, a supra-national identity in the form of Europeanism has been evolving in EU member states, since European integration has become a higher priority within the Union (Dinan, 2010). Therefore, national (Spanish), regional (Catalan) and supra-national (European) identity makers are included in this regression. Based on the ways of measurement, a distinction can be made between two types of territorial identity variables. First of all, the Likert-scale results of 'being Catalan', 'being Spanish' and 'being European' are added to the analysis.⁶⁰ In addition, the results on these identity markers in the questionnaire item in which the respondents had to select the three most important elements are incorporated.⁶¹ It is interesting to see

⁵⁵ The variable 'field of study' transformed to dummy-variable 'social science students', comparing them to students from all other fields of study.

⁵⁶ The variable 'mother tongue' was transformed into two dummy-variables: 'Catalan mother tongue' in comparison to Castilian and other languages as a mother tongue and 'Castilian mother tongue' in comparison to Catalan and other languages as a mother tongue

⁵⁷ The variable 'most frequently used language' was transformed to three dummy-variables: 'Catalan', 'Castilian' and 'Both'. All categories are in relation to the other answer categories of this questionnaire item.

⁵⁸ The variable 'living situation' was transformed to dummy-variable 'living with family' in order to compare respondents who are still living with their family to those who do not.

⁵⁹ The variable 'nationality' was transformed into five dummy-variables: 'Only Catalan', 'Catalan > Spanish', 'Catalan = Spanish', 'Spanish > Catalan' and 'Only Spanish'.

⁶⁰ These variables were created by recoding the results of 'being Catalan' (Likert-scale), 'being Spanish' (Likert-scale) and 'being European' (Likert-scale) differently. The answer categories 'very important' and 'important' were coded 1, all other options were coded 0.

⁶¹ These variables were created by recoding the results of 'being Catalan' (3 elements), 'being Spanish' (3 elements) and 'being European' (3 elements). In the original variables, if the respondents indicated one of these identity markers as the most important it was coded 1, if a respondent did not choose one of these identity markers it was coded as a missing value. For the regression analysis, these missing values were recoded into 0.

whether these identity variables have a different or similar effect as the Moreno-item (included in the third part of the model). If not, methodological recommendations for further research could be formulated.

The fifth and final layer of the model incorporates various variables of political involvement. The variables selected all indicate some degree of support for independence, like voting for nationalist parties⁶², involvement in demonstrations which advocate the independence of Catalonia, being a member of a political party⁶³ or civil society organization⁶⁴ that supports independence and political consumerism in the form of boycotting products from the rest of Spain. According to hypothesis 4, it is expected that modern political engagement variables are better predictors of support for independence than traditional ways of political participation. In other words, modern political engagement variables have higher odds-ratios than variables of traditional political participation.

6.1.2. Results

In table 2 on the next page, the results of the binary logistic regression are displayed. This table shows the B-coefficient of each independent variable included in the analysis. In Appendix D the same table is presented with the odd-ratio Exp (B) coefficients.⁶⁵

⁶² This variable was created by transforming 'Vote party 27S' into a new variable called 'Nationalist vote'. Votes for JxSí and CUP were coded 1, all other parties were coded 0.

⁶³ The variable 'member political party was transformed into 'member independentist party' by coding members of a party that is a part of JxSí and CUP-members 1, and all the others (being a member of another political party or not a member of any party) 0.

⁶⁴ The variable 'member civil society organization was transformed into 'member independentist civil society organization'. Those organizations that advocate the Catalan language and culture were coded as 1, all the others (either a member of another organization or not a member of any organization) 0.

⁶⁵ The table with B-coefficients is displayed here because then it is easier to see a positive or negative relation, since Exp (B) – coefficients are presented as odds. In appendix D a table with the Exp (B) coefficients is displayed.

Variable	Stage 1(B)	Stage 2 (B)	Stage 3 (B)	Stage 4 (B)	Stage 5 (B)
Year of birth	0.014	0.000	0.247*	0.280*	0.475*
Gender (male)	0.793**	0.771**	1.051*	0.881	1.359*
Place of birth (Born in Catalonia)	1.050*	1.096*	0.365	0.436	-0.044
Place of birth parents					
<i>Catalan parents</i>	1.314***	1.309***	0.113	-0.187	-0.586
<i>Immigrant parents</i>	-0.288	-0.306	-0.606	-1.142	-0.847
Type of study (social science students)		-0.110	-0.543	-0.500	-0.725
Phase of study (bachelor)		0.288	0.374	0.721	2.357*
University (Barcelona)		-0.348	-0.401	-0.207	-0.671
Mother tongue					
<i>Catalan</i>			1.747	0.488	1.634
<i>Castilian</i>			1.739	0.498	2.037
Language					
<i>Mostly Catalan</i>			-2.415*	-2.072	-3.593
<i>Mostly Castilian</i>			-2.268*	-2.258*	-3.103
<i>Both</i>			-2.638*	-2.576*	-4.031*
Nationality					
<i>Catalan</i>			6.089***	6.504***	6.921***
<i>Cat > Spa</i>			2.487***	2.873***	2.523*
<i>Cat = Spa</i>			-1.553	-1.062	-0.078
<i>Spa > Cat</i>			-19.617	-18.315	-18.743
<i>Spanish</i>			-18.750	-17.770	-14.368
Living situation (with family)			-0.549	-0.602	-1.570*
Being Catalan (3 elements)				1.096	1.413
Being Spanish (3 elements)				-14.225	-11.812
Being European (3 elements)				0.866	1.619
Being Catalan (matrix)				-0.757	-1.331
Being Spanish (matrix)				-1.292	-3.783
Being European (matrix)				-0.466	0.212
Nationalist vote					2.813**
Usage of independence symbols					-1.453
Pro-independence demonstrations					3.086***
Boycotting					1.966*
Member political party					18.814
Civil society member					-1.740
Participation referendum 9N					3.192
<i>n</i>	286	286	286	286	286
R ² (Nagelkerke)	0.260	0.266	0.804	0.817	0.892
R ² (Cox & Snell)	0.194	0.199	0.602	0.611	0.667
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	0.600	0.871	0.514	0.956	0.846
* <i>p</i> <0.1 ** <i>p</i> <0.01 *** <i>p</i> <0.001					

Table 1: Binary logistic regression analysis

6.1.3. Discussion

First of all, the Hosmer and Lemeshow test of each model indicates that there are no significant differences between the Chi-squares of ten evenly divided groups of individuals.⁶⁶ Therefore, we can presume that these models fit to the data of the survey. Among the socio-demographic variables included in the first model place of birth, Catalan parents and gender have a significant and positive effect on support for independence. Respondents with Catalan parents have a 3.721 higher chance of being in favor of independence (compared to respondents with immigrant or mixed parents). On the other hand, year of birth and immigrant parents are not significant in this model. The explanatory capacity of the model is 0.26 (based on the Nagelkerke R^2).⁶⁷ The fact that a Catalan origin positively correlates with being in favor of independence could be explained by the ethno-cultural reproduction thesis mentioned in Serrano (2013a). This theory implies that citizens who are not born in Catalonia⁶⁸ and their offspring would be more attached to Spanish norms and values (i.e. Catalonia staying part of Spain) than the population with Catalan parents.

In the second phase of the model, none of the study-variables seem to have a significant effect on the independence variable. Nevertheless, this model has slightly more explaining power than the previous one (the pseudo R^2 increases from 0.260 to 0.279).

When including variables of social characteristics in model 3, the explanatory capacity of the model improves considerably from a R^2 of 0.279 to 0.821. Based on these results it can be suggested that the variables added in model 3 have a large impact on the odds for supporting independence. Having an exclusive Catalan nationality and a more Catalan than Spanish nationality has a positive and significant effect on the probabilities of supporting independence. The other answer categories of the Moreno question – an exclusively or mostly Spanish nationality and a dual nationality do not have a significant effect, although, they are in line with the expectations: they correlate negatively with support for independence. The corresponding odds ratio for these dummy variables are both 0.000, which stands for a 0.000 percent chance of supporting an independent Catalonia when claiming a rather Spanish nationality (in comparison to the other response categories). When a respondent would have expressed a dual identity there is a slight chance (0.212) of supporting independence. The influence of the language variables is remarkable and contradictory. The dummies of mother tongue are positively (but not significantly) correlated with support for independence and the dummies of most frequently used language are all negatively and significantly correlated with support for

⁶⁶ The values of the Hosmer and Lemeshow tests are in all cases >0.05 , if these values were lower than 0.05 this would indicate that there are significant differences between the Chi-squares and one would conclude that the model is not a good representation of the data presented (Sieben & Linssen, 2009).

⁶⁷ Since logistic regressions are not the same as regular (OLS) regression analysis, pseudo R^2 measurements are used to draw conclusions about the explaining capacity of each model included in the regression. Most researchers prefer the Nagelkerke R^2 , because this pseudo R^2 can reach any value between 0 and 1. In comparison, the Cox and Snell R^2 cannot reach a value of 1

⁶⁸ These also include national immigrants, so people that moved from the rest of Spain to Catalonia.

independence. This could be explained by the fact that almost every Catalan university student has been educated bilingually since kindergarten, and as a result, language may no longer be such a polarizing element in the independence discussion among this generation. In addition, a similar trend is visible, when one takes a look at the representatives of the pro-independence parties. Various JxSí and CUP members have a Castilian mother tongue (Enric Mendizábal-Riera, personal communication October 8th, 2015; Joan Vallvé, personal communication, November 5th, 2015).

Then, in the fourth model, none of the newly added variables have a significant effect on support for independence. Moreover, the significant effect of a Catalan nationality stays in this stage of the model. What is also rather surprising is that the two clusters of identity variables have a different outcome in this analysis. The variables Catalan, Spanish and European identity (three elements), based on the item that asked the respondents to select three elements, are in line with the expectations, Spanish identities are negatively correlated with support for independence, European and Catalan identity are positively correlated with support for independence (Catalan identity to a higher degree than European identity). The variables that are based on the Likert-scale items suggest a different effect. All three variables ('being Spanish', 'being Catalan' and 'being European') are negatively correlated with being in favor of independence.

Finally, the last model shows a slight increase in goodness-of-fit compared to the previous one (R^2 from 0.817 to 0.892). Year of birth, gender and phase of study seem to have a positive and significant effect on the wish for independence; living situation has a negative and significant effect. This is remarkable, since in the other part of the model some of these variables did not have a significant effect. There is no theoretical underpinning that men are more prone towards independence than women. The positive effect of year of birth could be explained by the cognitive mobilization theory, however, among this research population this is disproved by contradicting results. The regression analysis suggest that bachelor students (who are in most cases younger than master students) are more prone to being in favor of independence. In addition, an exclusive Catalan nationality, more Catalan than Spanish nationality are still positively and significantly correlated with support for independence.

From the variables that were added in this model 'nationalist vote', 'boycotting products from the rest of Spain', 'involvement in pro-independence demonstrations' and 'participation in the referendum of 9 November' are positively and significantly correlated with support for independence. Not every type of pro-independence modern political action included in this survey is of significant influence and some are even negatively correlated with the dependent variable.⁶⁹ In addition, traditional forms of pro-independence political engagement like nationalist voting and being a part of

⁶⁹ The variable 'usage of independence symbols' has a (B) of -1.453 (not significant), the corresponding odds-ratio is 0.234.

a political party that supports independence, also show high positive odds of support for independence.⁷⁰⁻⁷¹

6.2. Nationality versus national identity

In order to further investigate the differences between nationality and national identity two additional binary logistic regressions were run. In figure 15 below these analyses came about.

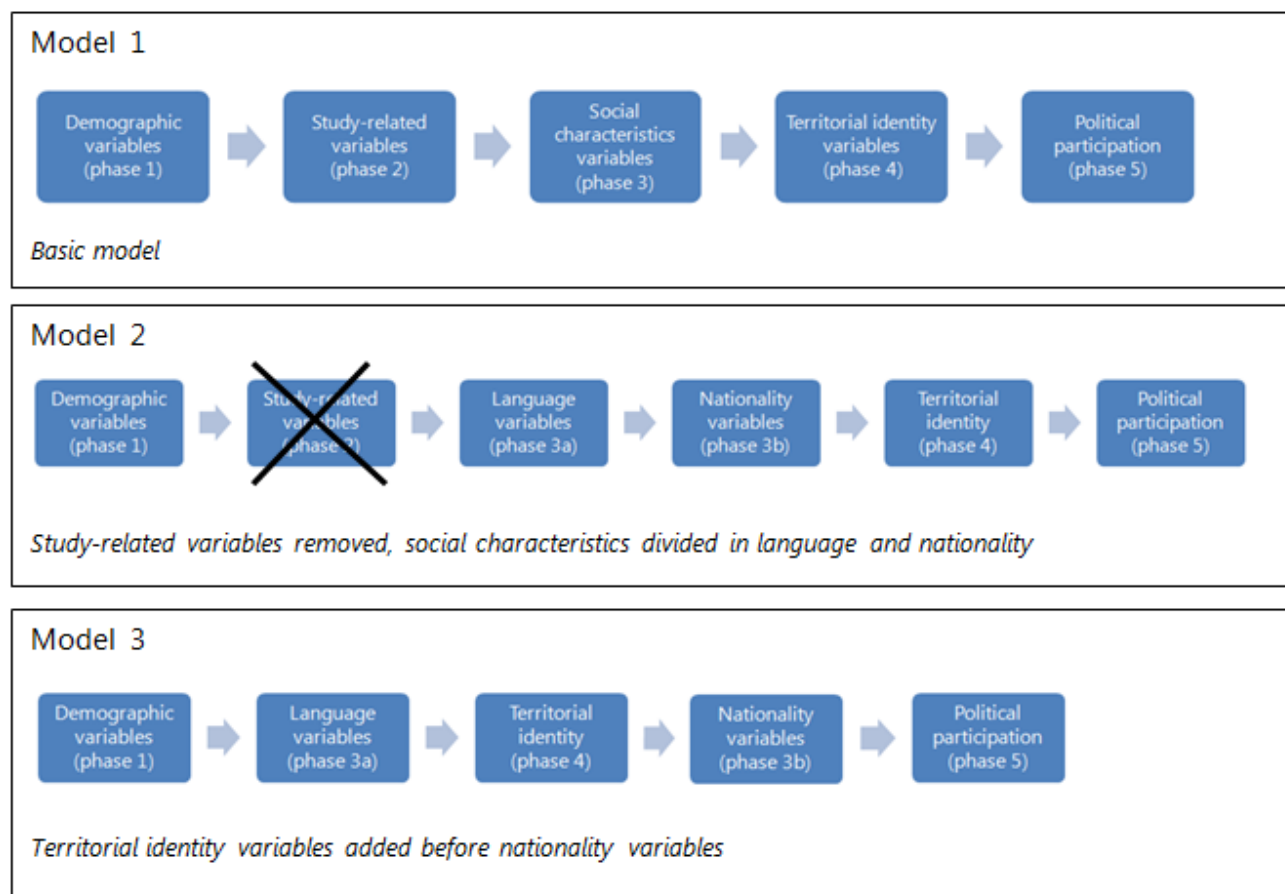


Figure 15: Two additional binary logistic regression analyses demonstrate the difference between nationality and national identity⁷²

First of all, phase two of the first analysis, which added study-related variables, was omitted, because the R^2 did not increase much when these variables were added in the first analysis. The third phase of the first analysis contained social characteristics. In the second analysis, this part is divided into two stages: one measuring the influence of language (phase 3a), the other the importance of nationality (phase 3b). This change was made for the reason that the R^2 grew to a great extent when the socio-

⁷⁰ The odds-ratio of nationalist voting on support for independence is 16.653 (significant on the 0.01 level), which means that a respondent that voted on nationalist parties has a 16.653 higher chance of being in favor of independence compared to a respondent that did not vote for a pro-independent party or coalition.

⁷¹ The odds-ratio of being member of a pro-independent political party is 148227323.9, (although not significant) meaning that a respondent that is a member of a pro-independent party has a 148227323.9 higher chance of being in favor of independence.

⁷² Results of the second and third regression analysis can be found in Appendix D.

demographic variables were added in the first analysis, due to the division in two separate phases, the influence of both language and nationality can become more clear. The rest of the phases and variables stayed like they were in the first analysis.

The R^2 s of the second binary logistic regression analysis suggest that the explanatory power of the language variables and nationality is high, whereas the explanatory power of the political engagement variables is moderate that of the identity variables is low.⁷³ Other things that stand out in the second model are the significance and fluctuating influence of the various language variables. This indicates that, in this case, language could be valuable predictor of secessionist claims, however, it's meaning remains unclear. The relation between secessionism and language has to be investigated in more detail in order to clarify this significance. In addition, the influence of nationality is comparable to the results of the first regression analysis, suggesting that the more a Catalan student expresses a Catalan nationality, the higher chances are that this person is also in favor of secession. The collective identity variables are still not of significant influence in this model. There is a difference between the variables that are measured by the Likert-scale items and the variables that were constructed from the questionnaire item that asked the respondents to choose the three most important identity markers. The Likert-scale items are in the line of expectation, suggesting that a Catalan identity increases the odds of supporting independence and a Spanish identity reduces the odds of being in favor of secession. However, the other identity variables indicate that both a Catalan and a Spanish identity reduces the chances of being in favor of independence.

In the final binary logistic regression analysis collective identity variables were added before the nationality variables. The outcomes are a better fit to the expectations⁷⁴; although, the declaring strength of the model still increases the most when the nationality variables are included in the fourth stage. Furthermore, the significance of the identity-variables disappears as soon as the nationality indicators are added. The suspicion rises that the nationality and identity variables are highly correlated.

When some of the independent predictors in a logistic regression are highly correlated this could lead to incoherent results. Unfortunately, logistic regression analysis in SPSS does not have the option to determine the collinearity. According to Sieben & Linssen (2009) and Lammers et al. (2007), when you suspect that there might be collinearity between two or more independent variables in a logistic regression you can use a normal linear regression and analyze its collinearity diagnostics in order to test this. It is important that you use the same independent variables as you used in the logistic regression analysis and any random variable as a fake dependent variable. In this case a normal

⁷³ See the results of this second binary logistic regression analysis in appendix D.

⁷⁴ The R^2 of the third stage (which added the identity variables to the model) is higher than in the two analyses before. Also the Catalan identity variables suggest a higher chance of supporting independence and the Spanish identity variables indicates a reduced chance of being in favor of secession.

linear regression was run with general voting behavior (do respondents vote or not?) as a fake dependent variable in order to investigate collinearity. The results can be found in Appendix D. The test suggests that there is no collinearity among the nationality and identity variables.⁷⁵ However, this test does indicate that there is collinearity among various language variables. This might explain the contradicting results of the language variables in the logistic regression.

So, when it comes to the relation between nationality and identity the linear regression has indicated that there is no strong correlation among these variables. Of course, there is some interaction between these variables. However, this coherence is not strong enough overshadow or significantly alter the results of the binary logistic regression analysis. Based on the results from the various binary logistic regression analyses, the data suggests a difference between the influence of nationality and the influence of territorial collective identity on secessionist claims. In other words, the survey indicates that they measure different things.

In previous research on the relation between identity and secessionism in Catalonia researchers used the Moreno-question as a way of measuring identity. This research has applied a broader understanding of identity and triangulated the concept in the questionnaire. The Moreno-question served to assess different forms of nationality. As a consequence, this strategy suggests that the two concepts cannot be approached as being completely identical phenomena. Nationality indicates a bound to a territory, and of course it is part of identity, a feeling of being a nation. However, collective identity has more components and is much more complex than only being connected to a certain nationhood. It consist of ethnical, demographic, lifestyle and even more elements. It is important to make clear operationalizations of both concepts in further research, in the case of Catalonia, but also in case-studies that focus on other territories in order to prevent misconceptions and contradicting results.

6.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, two hypotheses were tested. Hypothesis 3 tested the relation between Catalan identity and support for independence. It was expected that respondents who express a Catalan identity are more likely to be in favor of independence. The results of the Moreno-question, which measures nationality are in line with these expectations: the higher the identification with a Catalan nationality, the more in favor of independence a respondent indicates to be. Rather unsurprisingly, the territorial identity variables based on the selection of the most important items mirrors these expectations. However, the variables based on the Likert-scale items do not. They suggest that only an European identity has a positive influence on support for independence. A Catalan and Spanish identity have a

⁷⁵ The collinearity diagnostics can be interpret in two ways. You can look at the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) values, if this value is between 1 and 10, there is no collinearity. It is also possible to analyze the tolerance, which needs to be above 0.2 to exclude collinearity (Lammers, et al., 2007). Both these values of the nationality and identity variables are between or below these standards (for the precise numbers see Appendix D).

negative influence. Therefore, hypothesis 3 cannot be confirmed.

This implies that the way territorial identity is measured strongly influences the statistical analysis of that data. There is different outcome when respondents have to choose the most important identity marker from a list compared to ranking the importance of each and every identity marker. The results are even stronger when identity is presented as nationality (in the form of the Moreno-question). This illustrates that identity surveys are complex, context-dependent and can results can easily be framed in order to confirm a specific assumption.

In addition, there appears to be a difference in the definition of nationality and national identity. Serrano (2013a) and Burg (2015) operationalize these concepts in a different way which can be the explanation for their contradictory results. Since there are different ways of operationalizing these concepts, there are numerous manners in which they can be measured. As a consequence, it becomes difficult to compare surveys. The results of this research calls for a transparent and comparable approach of doing quantitative research on the relationship between nationality, identity and support for secessionism.

The fourth and final hypothesis stated that modern forms of political participation are better predictors of supporting independence than traditional forms of political engagement. The data of the binary logistic regression indeed suggests that students who took part in the 9N referendum, boycotted products from Spain, and were involved in pro-independence demonstrations have high odds of being in favor of independence. However, traditional forms of pro-independent political engagement, like being a member of a nationalist political party and nationalist voting also have high odds of explaining secessionist claims. Lastly, expressing independentist symbols and being a member of a pro-independence civil society organization seems to be negatively related to support for independence. Hypothesis 4 cannot be confirmed, since involvement in some of the forms of pro-independence activism do not point to a positive chance of supporting an independent Catalonia and, in addition because, there is no visible difference in the effect of traditional and modern forms of political participation on support for independence.

7. Conclusion

The main question of this thesis is: *What is the importance of collective identity for explaining secessionist claims of Catalan students?* This question is relevant since, in the past, research on the link between collective identity and secessionist claims has led to contradicting results. Even more, it is interesting to see which role identity plays in explaining support for independence among younger generations, since they will soon determine the region's future. The results from this study suggest that collective identity can be an explaining factor or predictor of secessionist claims, however, the strength and usefulness of the concept strongly depends on how collective identity and in relation, nationality, are operationalized.

Collective identities of Catalan students are complex, which makes it difficult to use them as individual predictors of secessionist claims. Thus, like other many other inquiries, this research suffered from the so-called 'definitional anarchy' of identity (Abdelal et al., 2009, p. 18). In other words, even when operationalized properly, identity stays a difficult concept to use as a predictor of other social phenomena. Nevertheless, this inquiry was useful because it exposed that collective identities of Catalan students are not as clear cut as they might seem.

The presumption that collective identities of Catalan students are dominated by national identity markers, like 'being Catalan' cannot be confirmed by the data. In fact, analysis of an extensive list of collective identity markers suggests that none of these factors are dominant. Additionally, 'being Catalan' is not one of the most important elements of collective identity. Furthermore in comparison to the general population, students in Catalonia tend to be more prone towards independence. This can be traced back to their constitutional preferences; a majority of the respondents wants Catalonia to be an independent state. It is also visible in their voting behavior and various modern forms of political engagement.

Identity is often used as a way of framing the Catalan conflict. Not only the political elite of the region, but also the media and researchers use identity as a motive for secession. This research implies that, especially in academic research on the link between identity and secessionism is not as evident as it might seem. The way the concept of identity, but also nationality, is measured to a great extent influences the outcomes of a statistical analysis. Integrating triangulation in the research design is a useful tool to expose the complexity of the relationship between the concepts. However, reckoning identity as the only or most important explanation for supporting an independent Catalan state is incomplete and unreliable. Identity is not the only factor that inspires a Catalan citizen to vote for a pro-independence party. Economic grievances, hostility towards the Spanish government, historic and cultural values, language, family tradition and personal benefits are all key to understanding individual secessionist claims.

Finally, we cannot deny that the independence debate in Catalonia has rapidly found its way to

the regional and national political agenda at will continue to cause political instability in the future. Whether or not the secessionist claims of highly educated, younger generations are mainly motivated by national identity; the endorsement of the younger generations is necessary for viability of an independent Catalan state. It has to be seen if there the pro-independence majority in this sample would actually vote for independence if there would be an official referendum. Nevertheless, Catalan students are actively and diversely engaged in politics and therefore show that they are willing to develop the ability to solve the Catalan conflict in order to built a sustainable future for themselves and the generations to come.

7.2. Recommendations

This inquiry is limited due to time, resources and other practical reasons. The survey that provided the main data for this research was conducted in a rather unstable political environment in both Catalonia and Spain. In order to confirm the results found while analyzing this data, it is necessary to reproduce a similar survey in a more politically stable setting. It could also be interesting to include citizens from the same age category that are not studying, to test which role education plays in the construction of identity, but also in the expression of secessionist claims.

In addition, any study on collective identity and secessionism will profit from using mixed methods, incorporating both quantitative and qualitative methods. Due to time and decisions made while preparing this research it was not possible to zoom in on each individual respondent, like a qualitative approach would have done. This does not mean that this is not interesting. In fact, it might lead to other remarkable insights on the relationship between secessionism and identity. It could, for instance, lead to a more extensive explanation of why various identity markers are more important than others. Additionally, it could also focus on the motivations of engaging in any form of traditional or modern political participation.

Some might argue that only focusing on collective identity in the explanation of support for independence among a young research population is too simplistic. As the overview on the rise of Catalan nationalism has shown, there are many developments that form the basis of the increasing support for an independent Catalonia. Economic grievances, a right to self-determination and hostility between Catalonia and Spain are also at the core of the debate. It is necessary to include other explanations of growing secessionist claims in any further research among this research population, whether these inquiries are quantitative or qualitative.

In addition, like already extensively discussed, it is necessary to make proper distinctions between nationality, identity and national identity within quantitative research in cases like Catalonia. The Moreno-question is a powerful tool in identity surveys, that needs to be handled with caution. One should not rely to much on the significant effect the Moreno-question might have. As Gideon (2012b) argues, triangulation of complex concepts is a necessary step in the design of a proper questionnaire

This not only helps to compare different research results, it also helps to measure the exact impact of these concepts on support for secession. Furthermore, transparent and comparable operationalizations are not only useful in when investigating the relation between identity and secessionism. It is important for analyzing any relationship between identity and social phenomena.

7.2.1. Recommendations for praxis

The Catalan government describes the roadmap towards independence that is currently developed as 'open and integrating' (Sanjaume-Calvet, 2016), however, since an open, active discussion with Catalan citizens has not started yet, it still is a top-down project. This research has shown a large support for independence among Catalan students. Since these young and highly educated Catalans at some point will become the region's leaders it is essential to involve them in the process towards independence. Whether this is realistic or not, the foundation of a new independent country needs to be sustainable. In addition, a large proportion of the survey respondents express an exclusive Catalan nationality and the role this nationality plays in explaining secessionist claims suggests that in order to find a solution for the Catalan problem the Spanish state has to accept Catalonia as a nation, even within if it stays within its own territory. In fact, this recognition essential in order to diminish Catalan hostility towards the Spanish in the future.

7.3. Reflection

The choices you make in the preparation, execution and analysis of the collected data has a huge impact on the conclusions that are drawn in the end. Some questions stay unresolved, like how important is language in explaining secessionist claims of Catalan students? In addition, some parts of the data stays unanalyzed. For instance, the questionnaire contained various open question that asked the respondents why they voted for a particular party or why they choose a particular constitutional preference. Simply because there was not enough time and the size of this thesis is limited the results of these questions were not taken into account. Nonetheless, the answers to these questions can be used as stepping stones in further (qualitative) research.

A disadvantage of doing quantitative research is that it is not always possible to explain each and every relation the analysis shows in detail. This also makes it quite difficult to highlight the most important findings from the statistical analysis, since at some points it seems like an never ending story. Qualitative research might help to create more evidence for several linkages found in this inquiry. Furthermore, it was exciting to see the response rate of the survey increase. If the survey had been online for a longer period of time and if I had more effective means to reach survey respondents the response rate could have been higher. Nevertheless, I learned a lot from preparing and executing an extensive quantitative research for the first time. I am also very pleased with the number of Catalan students interested in my research.

Finally, the results of this survey cannot be generalized to the Catalan population as a whole. It

could, however, be an example for conducting research among younger generations in other non-violent conflicts.

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Appendix A: The political system of Catalonia

Largely adapted from: (Public Diplomacy Council of Catalonia, 2016)

The Generalitat

The Generalitat is the institutional system around which Catalonia's self-government is politically organized. The powers of the Generalitat come from the people of Catalonia and are executed according to the Spanish Constitution and the Statute of Autonomy - a constitutional law defining Catalonia as an autonomous community within the Spanish state.

The three main pillars of the Generalitat are the Catalan presidency, the Catalan government and the Catalan parliament. In addition, other institutions are part of the Generalitat (as established in the Statute of Autonomy). These institutions are the Council for Statutory Guarantees, the Ombudsman, the Public Audit Office and the Catalan Broadcasting Authority. Finally, local governments and municipal councils are also included in the institutional system of the Generalitat, although each body has its own respective autonomy of action.

Catalonia exercises its self-government in those areas specified in the Statute of Autonomy. In matters in which the Generalitat's power is defined as "exclusive", legislative power, regulatory power and the executive function correspond fully to the Generalitat. In other matters, the Generalitat's power is defined as "shared" and Catalonia legislates within the framework of the basic conditions established by the State. Finally, there are other matters in which it simply executes the legislation deriving from the State.

The Catalan parliament

The Parliament is the institution that represents the people of Catalonia, which places it at the heart of Catalonia's institutional self-governing system. Parliament represents the people of Catalonia. As a directly and democratically elected body, the Parliament has supreme power and is the Generalitat's most important institution, and from which all other institutions spring. The Parliament of Catalonia consists of a single chamber or house, and is independent and inviolable.

The Parliament of Catalonia has a single chamber of 135 deputies. As the institution which represents the people of Catalonia, it is a central part of the Generalitat. The parliamentary tradition in Catalonia dates from the middle ages; and the present Parliament, abolished under the Franco dictatorship, was restored in 1980, since when there have been ten elections.

The configuration of political parties in the Catalan Parliament is very different from that in the Spanish Parliament. There are a larger number of parties with significant representation; and, in addition to the

usual left-right spectrum of opinions, all parties have always had to position themselves on the spectrum of opinions about the relationship between Catalonia and Spain.

Regional political parties

With regard to the 27s elections, various regional parties have forged a coalition, which are mainly shaped in regards to the parties' perspectives on the independent issue. The info graphic below displays the six coalitions or parties that gained deputies in the Catalan parliament.



Figure 1: Important parties in 27s election. Based on: (Catalonia Votes, 2014), (Catalan News Agency, 2015a) (Catalan News Agency, 2015b)

The 135 new members of parliament were chosen by using a district system. The general districts are Catalonia's four provinces which translates into the following division of number of MPs: Barcelona (85), Girona (17), Lleida (15), and Tarragona (18). Looking at the number of inhabitants in relation to the number of MPs, it can be stated that the less densely populated areas are slightly overrepresented in this electoral system. 73% of the population is living in the province of Barcelona, however, they only decide about 63% of the seats. In comparison, Tarragona has 13,5% of the seats and houses only 10% of the population. (Generalitat de Catalunya, n.d.)

Appendix B: Survey protocol

Dear participants,

Thank you for taking interest in this research. My name is Kim Hoeks, I am a human geography student from the Netherlands specialized in 'conflicts, territories and identities'. This survey is part of my master thesis about collective identity and political attitudes of Catalan students. It is very important to pay attention to the viewpoints of young people, since you play an important role in the future of Catalonia.

In addition, one respondent will be drawn from all participants and will receive a prize in the form of a 25 euro gift card. Before you start, I would like to draw your attention to the following:

- Filling in the questionnaire takes about 10 minutes
- All answers will be treated with confidentiality and will only be used for research purposes
- You can only take part in the prize draw if you answer all the questions
- Exchange students are excluded from this research

If you have any questions or concerns please contact the researcher, Kim Hoeks at: kimmaria.hoeks@e-campus.uab.cat.

Thank you for your cooperation!



General information (1)

1. Year of birth

2. Gender

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female
- ☐ Other

3. At which university do you study:

- ☐ UB
- ☐ UAB
- ☐ UPF
- ☐ UPC
- ☐ University of Girona
- ☐ University of Lleida
- ☐ Rovira I Virgili University
- ☐ Other _____

4. What is your field of study?

5. In which phase of your study are you currently?

- ☐ Bachelor
- ☐ Master
- ☐ Other _____

6. What is your current living situation:

- ☐ I live by myself
- ☐ I live with roommates/friends
- ☐ I live with my parents, guardians or other relatives
- ☐ I live together with my partner
- ☐ Other _____

General information (2)

7. Where were you born?

- ☐ Catalonia
- ☐ Elsewhere

8. Were your parents born in Catalonia?

- ☐ Yes, both of my parents were born in Catalonia
- ☐ Yes, but only one of my parents was born in Catalonia
- ☐ Neither of my parents were born in Catalonia

9. What language(s) did you speak at home as a child?

- ☐ Catalan
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ Both Catalan and Spanish
- ☐ Another language
- ☐ Both Catalan, Spanish and another language

10. Which language do you use most on a weekly basis?

- ☐ Catalan
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ Another language
- ☐ Both Catalan and Spanish
- ☐ Both Catalan, Spanish and another language

11. I feel:

- ☐ Catalan
- ☐ More Catalan than Spanish
- ☐ Equally Catalan as Spanish
- ☐ More Spanish than Catalan
- ☐ Spanish
- ☐ More from another country than Catalan or Spanish
- ☐ None of the above/I don't know

Collective identity

12. The table below includes various items which can be a part of a person's identity. Please specify to what extent these items are important to you.

	Very important	Important	Moderately important	Of little importance	Not important	Doesn't apply to me
My nationality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My religion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My political orientation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
That I am a student	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My gender	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being Catalan	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being Spanish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being European	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My home town	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My neighborhood	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My language	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My culture	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My family	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My field of study	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
That I am young	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other, please specify _____	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

13. Please specify *three items* from the list below which you consider the most important part of your identity:

<input type="radio"/> My nationality	<input type="radio"/> My religion
<input type="radio"/> My political orientation	<input type="radio"/> My education
<input type="radio"/> That I am young	<input type="radio"/> My gender
<input type="radio"/> Being Catalan	<input type="radio"/> Being Spanish
<input type="radio"/> Being European	<input type="radio"/> My home town
<input type="radio"/> My neighborhood	<input type="radio"/> My language

<input type="radio"/> My culture	<input type="radio"/> My family
<input type="radio"/> That I am a student	<input type="radio"/> I don't know
<input type="radio"/> Other, please specify _____	

14. From the above selected items, please choose the one which is most important for you

[repetition of three items from previous question]

15. Why did you choose this item? Please specify below:

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Because I feel connected to people who share this identity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because I feel accepted by people with the same identity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because I share this identity with my friends	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because I share this identity with my family members	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because I share this identity with my fellow students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Because I am proud of it	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

16. Do you express this identity through clothing (t-shirts, sweaters etc.) or stickers (on bags, clothing, electronic devices etc.)?

<input type="radio"/> Yes
<input type="radio"/> No
<input type="radio"/> Don't know

Political attitudes

Voting behavior

17. Do you vote?

<input type="radio"/> Always
<input type="radio"/> Sometimes
<input type="radio"/> Never

18. In what kind of elections do/would you vote? (*several answers are possible*)

<input type="radio"/> National (Spanish) elections	<input type="radio"/> Catalan elections
<input type="radio"/> Local government elections	<input type="radio"/> European Union elections
<input type="radio"/> Student elections	<input type="radio"/> None of the above

19. Did you vote in the 27S elections?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

19.1.1. If yes; what party did you vote for?

- ☐ Junts Pel Sí
- ☐ CUP
- ☐ Catalunya, Sí Que Es Pot
- ☐ PP
- ☐ C's
- ☐ PSC
- ☐ UDC
- ☐ Other _____
- ☐ I voted blanco

19.1.2.. Why did you vote on this party?

19.2. If no; why did you not vote?

- ☐ I had no time/ I wanted to do something else
- ☐ As a form of protest against the existing political system
- ☐ Because there was no option/party that satisfied my political viewpoints
- ☐ I knew which party was going to win, so my vote was worth nothing
- ☐ Other reason _____
- ☐ Don't know

Political involvement

20. Are you a member of a political party?

- ☐ Yes
Please specify which one _____
- ☐ No

20.1. If yes; in which ways are you involved in this political party?

Multiple answers are possible

- ☐ I attend meetings
- ☐ I am part of a committee
- ☐ I am on the list during elections
- ☐ Other
Please specify _____

21. Are you a member of a civil society organization?

A civil society organization is an organization which defends particular social, political, economic or environmental goals. Some examples are: Amnesty International, Greenpeace, Omnium Cultural, ANC and Societat Civil Catalunya.

- ☐ Yes
Please specify which one(s) _____
- ☐ No

22. Have you participated in a political demonstration in the last 12 months?

- ☐ Yes, once
- ☐ Yes, twice
- ☐ Yes, more than twice
- ☐ No, never

22.1. If yes, in what kind of demonstration(s) did you take part?

Various answers are possible

- ☐ A pro-independence demonstration
- ☐ An anti-independence demonstration
- ☐ A demonstrations of the anarchist movement
- ☐ A demonstration for an environmental cause
- ☐ A demonstration for a social case (education, human rights, social welfare etc.)
- ☐ Another kind of political demonstration
Please specify what kind _____

22.2.1. If no: would you consider/or did you ever considered taking part in a political demonstration?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ Maybe
- ☐ No

22.1.2. With whom do you normally participate in these demonstrations/protests?

- ☐ Individually
- ☐ With friends
- ☐ With family
- ☐ With a student organization
- ☐ With a political party
- ☐ With another group/organization.

23. In the last 12 months did you distribute pamphlets advocating social or political issues or collect signatures for a social or political cause?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No



24. In the last 12 months, have you boycotted products or stopped buying a product coming from other parts of Spain?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know

25. In the last 12 months, have you expressed your political opinion through clothing (t-shirts, sweaters etc.) or stickers (on bags, clothing, electronical devices etc.)?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ I don't know

25.1. If yes; did it contain one or both of the below pictured images?

<input type="radio"/> 	<input type="radio"/> 
<input type="radio"/> Both	
<input type="radio"/> Neither	
<input type="radio"/> I don't know	

26. In the last 12 months, have you expressed and/or discussed your political opinions online?

<input type="radio"/> Yes
<input type="radio"/> No
<input type="radio"/> I don't know

26.1. If yes; through which online medium?

Several answers are possible

<input type="radio"/> Facebook	<input type="radio"/> Instagram
<input type="radio"/> Twitter	<input type="radio"/> Linked-In
<input type="radio"/> Online forums	<input type="radio"/> Other_____

27. Did you participate in the 9N referendum in 2014?

<input type="radio"/> Yes
<input type="radio"/> No

27.1. If yes; what did you vote?

<input type="radio"/> Yes, yes
<input type="radio"/> Yes, No
<input type="radio"/> No
<input type="radio"/> Neutral
<input type="radio"/> Other_____

27.2. If no; for what reason did you not participate in the 9N referendum?

<input type="radio"/> I wanted to do something else/I had no time
<input type="radio"/> As a form of protest, because the referendum was against the Spanish constitution
<input type="radio"/> There was not an option which satisfied my political viewpoints
<input type="radio"/> I knew what the outcome would be, so my vote was worth nothing
<input type="radio"/> I don't know
<input type="radio"/> Other, please specify_____

Constitutional preferences

28. If tomorrow you had to vote about the future of Catalonia in a referendum, which option would you choose?

<input type="radio"/> Catalonia should be a region of Spain
<input type="radio"/> Catalonia should be an autonomous region of Spain
<input type="radio"/> Catalonia should be a federal state within Spain
<input type="radio"/> Catalonia should be an independent state outside of Spain
<input type="radio"/> I would not cast my vote

28.1. Why did you choose this option?

29. How do you perceive the chances of Catalonia being [chosen constitutional preference] in five years?

- ☐ Very high
- ☐ High
- ☐ Moderately
- ☐ Low
- ☐ Very low
- ☐ Don't know

Prize draw

30. Please select the prize you would like win:

Only one answer is possible

- ☐ a 25 euro gift card for Zara
- ☐ a 25 euro gift card for Decathlon
- ☐ a 25 euro gift card for Ikea
- ☐ a 25 euro gift card for Clarel

31. In order to be selected for the prize, please enter your email address below:

Your email address will be kept separate from your answers and only used to identify the winner

Email address: _____

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your cooperation! All your answers will be treated confidentially. If you want to stay updated about the results of this study please state so below:

- ☐ Yes I would like to be informed about the final results of this survey

Appendix C: SPSS output chapter 5

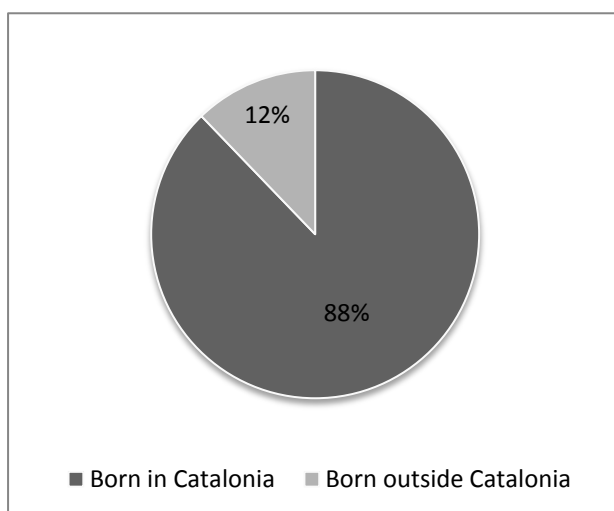
This appendix has 9 different sections. This data is in correspondence with the descriptive analysis which is discussed in chapter 5.

1. Place of birth

1.1. Place of birth – Frequencies and percentages

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Born in Catalonia	251	87,8	87,8	87,8
	Born outside Catalonia	35	12,2	12,2	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

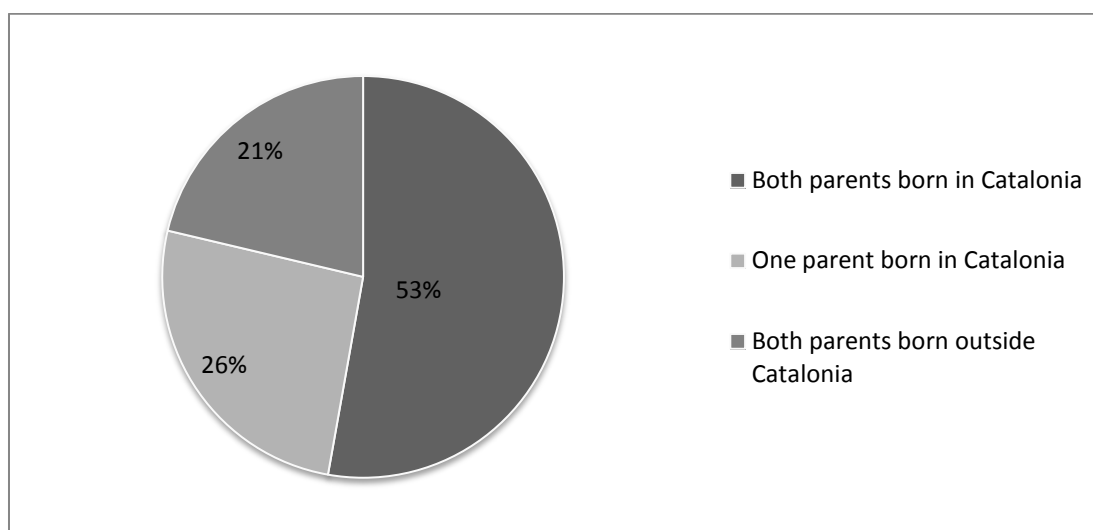
1.2. Place of birth – Pie chart



1.3. Place of birth parents – Frequencies and percentages

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Both parents born in Catalonia	151	52,8	52,8	52,8
	One parent born in Catalonia	74	25,9	25,9	78,7
	Both parents born outside Catalonia	61	21,3	21,3	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

1.4. Place of birth parents – Pie chart

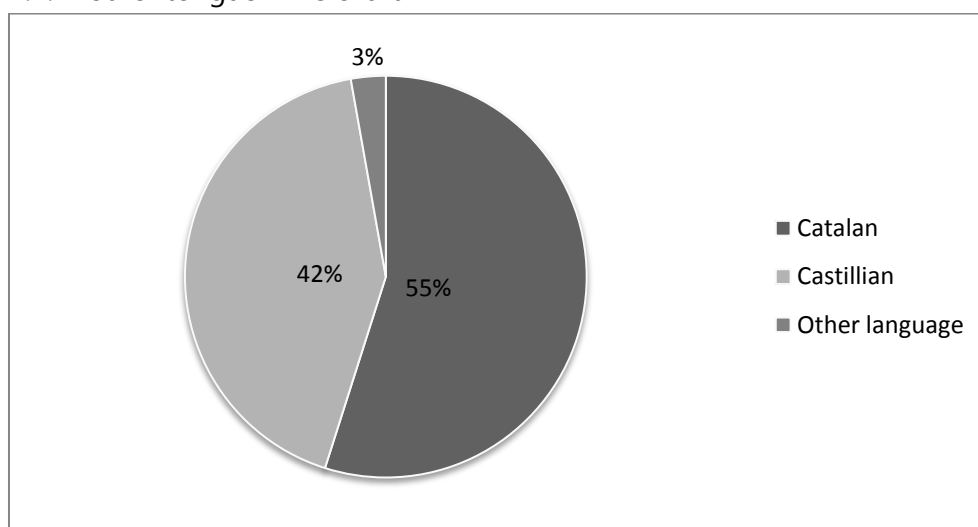


2. Language

2.1. Mother tongue – Frequencies and percentages

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Catalan	157	54,9	54,9	54,9
	Castellano	121	42,3	42,3	97,2
	Other language	8	2,8	2,8	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

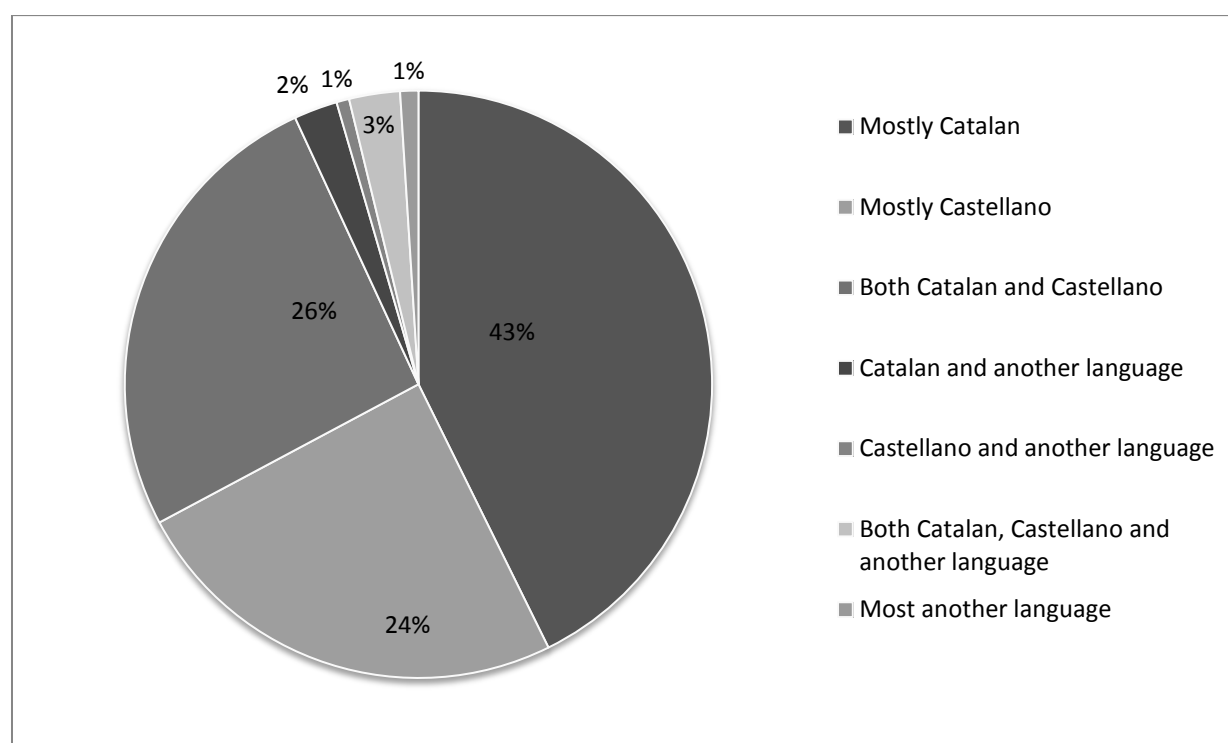
2.2. Mother tongue – Pie chart



2.3. Most frequently used language(s) – Frequencies and percentages

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Mostly Catalan	122	42,7	42,7	42,7
	Mostly Castellano	70	24,5	24,5	67,1
	Mostly another language	3	1,0	1,0	68,2
	Both Catalan and Castellano	74	25,9	25,9	94,1
	Catalan and another language	7	2,4	2,4	96,5
	Castellano and another language	2	,7	,7	97,2
	Both Catalan, Castellano and another language	8	2,8	2,8	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

2.4. Most frequently used language - Pie charts



2.5. Mother tongue x Frequently used language – Cross tabulation

			Most frequently used language(s)							Total
			Mostly Catalan	Mostly Castellano	Mostly another language	Both Catalan and Castellano	Catalan and another language	Castellano and another language	Both Catalan, Castellano and another language	
Mother tongue	Catalan	Count	110	3	0	36	6	0	2	157
		% within mother tongue	70,1%	1,9%	0,0%	22,9%	3,8%	0,0%	1,3%	100,0 %
		% within language	90,2%	4,3%	0,0%	48,6%	85,7%	0,0%	25,0%	54,9%
		% of Total	38,5%	1,0%	0,0%	12,6%	2,1%	0,0%	0,7%	54,9%
	Castellano	Count	11	62	3	37	0	2	6	121
		% within mother tongue	9,1%	51,2%	2,5%	30,6%	0,0%	1,7%	5,0%	100,0 %
		% within language	9,0%	88,6%	100,0%	50,0%	0,0%	100,0%	75,0%	42,3%
		% of Total	3,8%	21,7%	1,0%	12,9%	0,0%	0,7%	2,1%	42,3%
	Other language	Count	1	5	0	1	1	0	0	8
		% within mother tongue	12,5%	62,5%	0,0%	12,5%	12,5%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0 %
		% within language	0,8%	7,1%	0,0%	1,4%	14,3%	0,0%	0,0%	2,8%
		% of Total	0,3%	1,7%	0,0%	0,3%	0,3%	0,0%	0,0%	2,8%
Total		Count	122	70	3	74	7	2	8	286
		% within mother tongue	42,7%	24,5%	1,0%	25,9%	2,4%	0,7%	2,8%	100,0 %
		% within language	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0 %
		% of Total	42,7%	24,5%	1,0%	25,9%	2,4%	0,7%	2,8%	100,0 %

2.6. Mother tongue x frequently used language – Cramer's V

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,734	,000
	Cramer's V	,519	,000
N of Valid Cases		286	

3. Nationality

3.1. Moreno question – frequencies and percentages

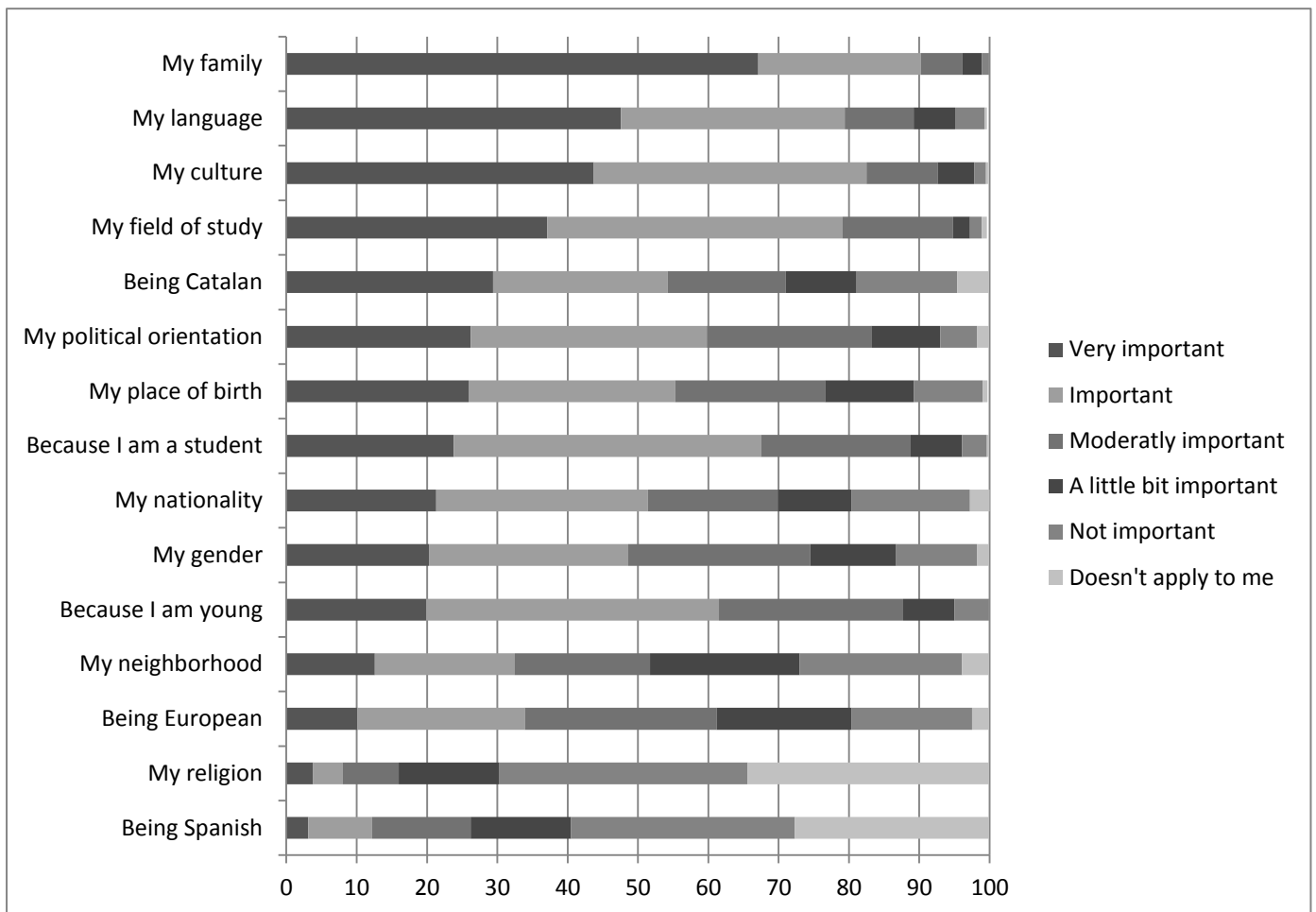
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Catalan	121	42,3	42,3	42,3
	More Catalan than Spanish	53	18,5	18,5	60,8
	As much Catalan as Spanish	51	17,8	17,8	78,7
	More Spanish than Catalan	9	3,1	3,1	81,8
	Spanish	6	2,1	2,1	83,9
	More from another country than Catalan or Spanish	4	1,4	1,4	85,3
	None of the above	37	12,9	12,9	98,3
	I don't know	5	1,7	1,7	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

3.2. Coherence and correlation between nationality (Moreno-question) and variables of origin and language

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Cramer's V (in relation to nationality)</u>	<u>Spearman's Rho (in relation to nationality)</u>
Place of birth (respondent)	0.453	0.364
Place of birth (respondent's parents)	0.371	0.462
Mother tongue	0.420	0.449
Most frequently used language	0.272	0.378

4. Self-categorization

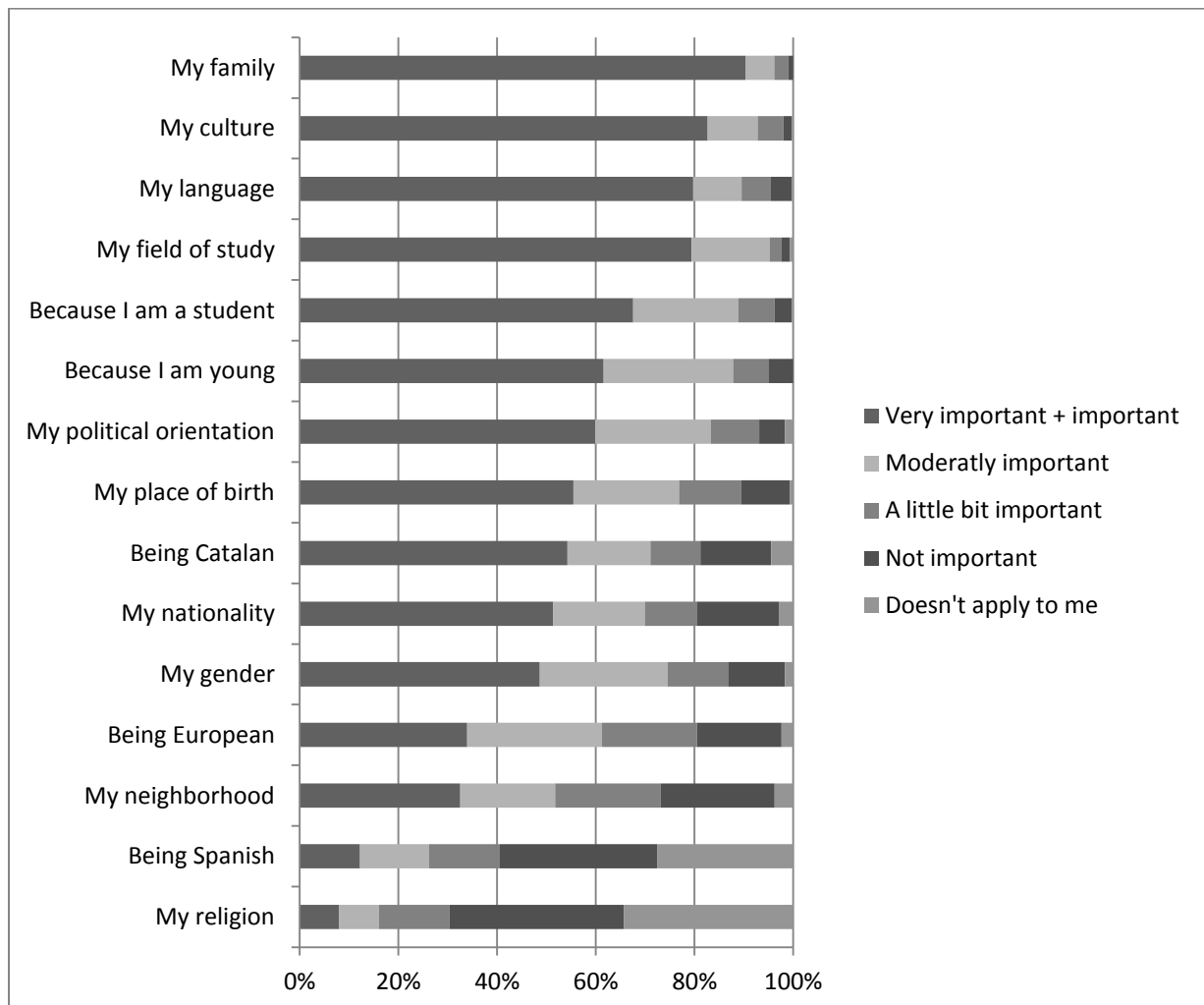
4.1. Summary of results Likert-scale items



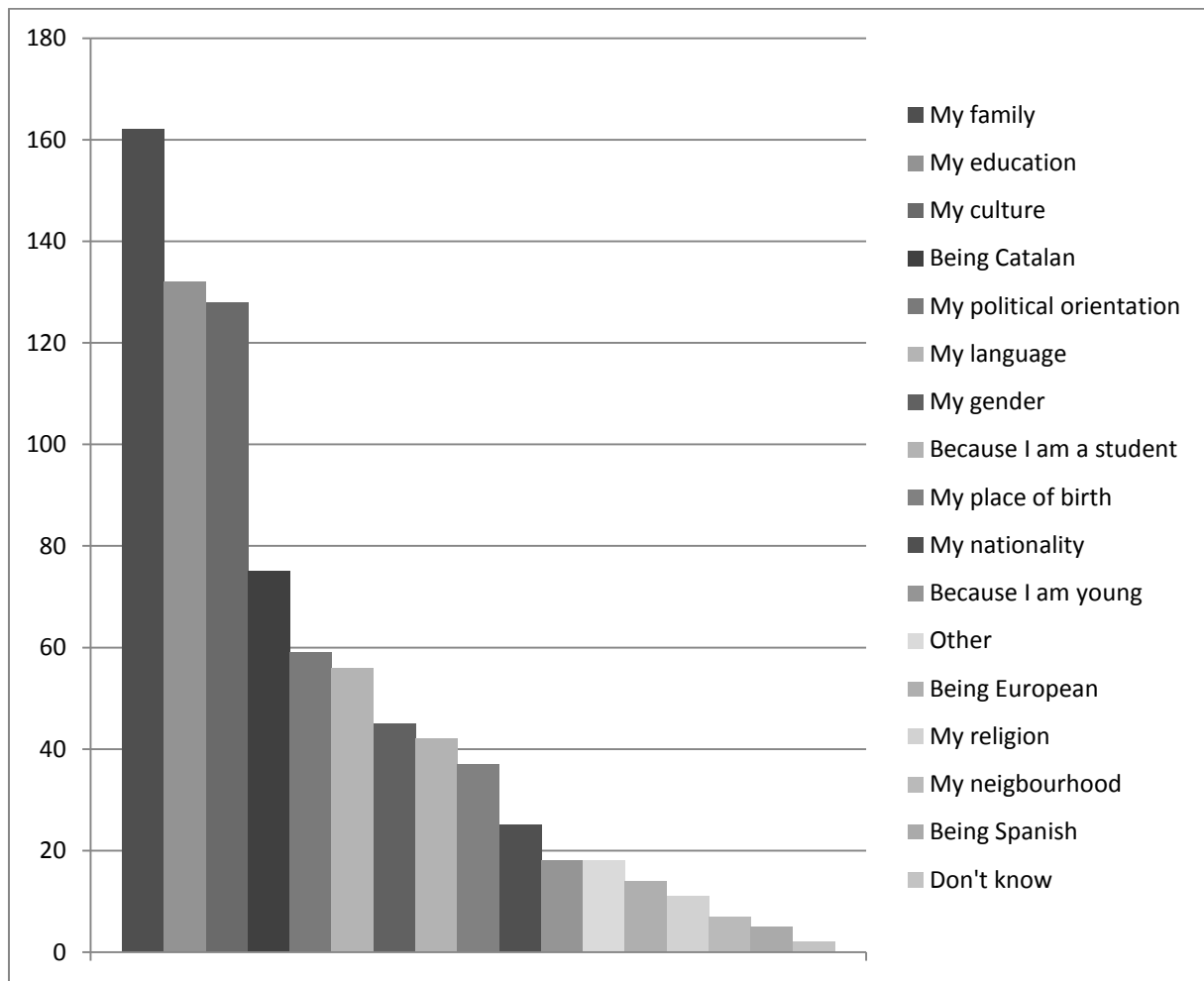
4.2. Medians of variables of self-categorization

Variable	Median	Variable	Median
My family	1.0	My nationality	2.0
My language	2.0	My gender	3.0
My culture	2.0	Because I am young	2.0
My field of study	2.0	My neighborhood	3.0
Being Catalan	2.0	Being European	3.0
My political orientation	2.0	My religion	5.0
My place of birth	2.0	Being Spanish	5.0
Because I am a student	2.0		

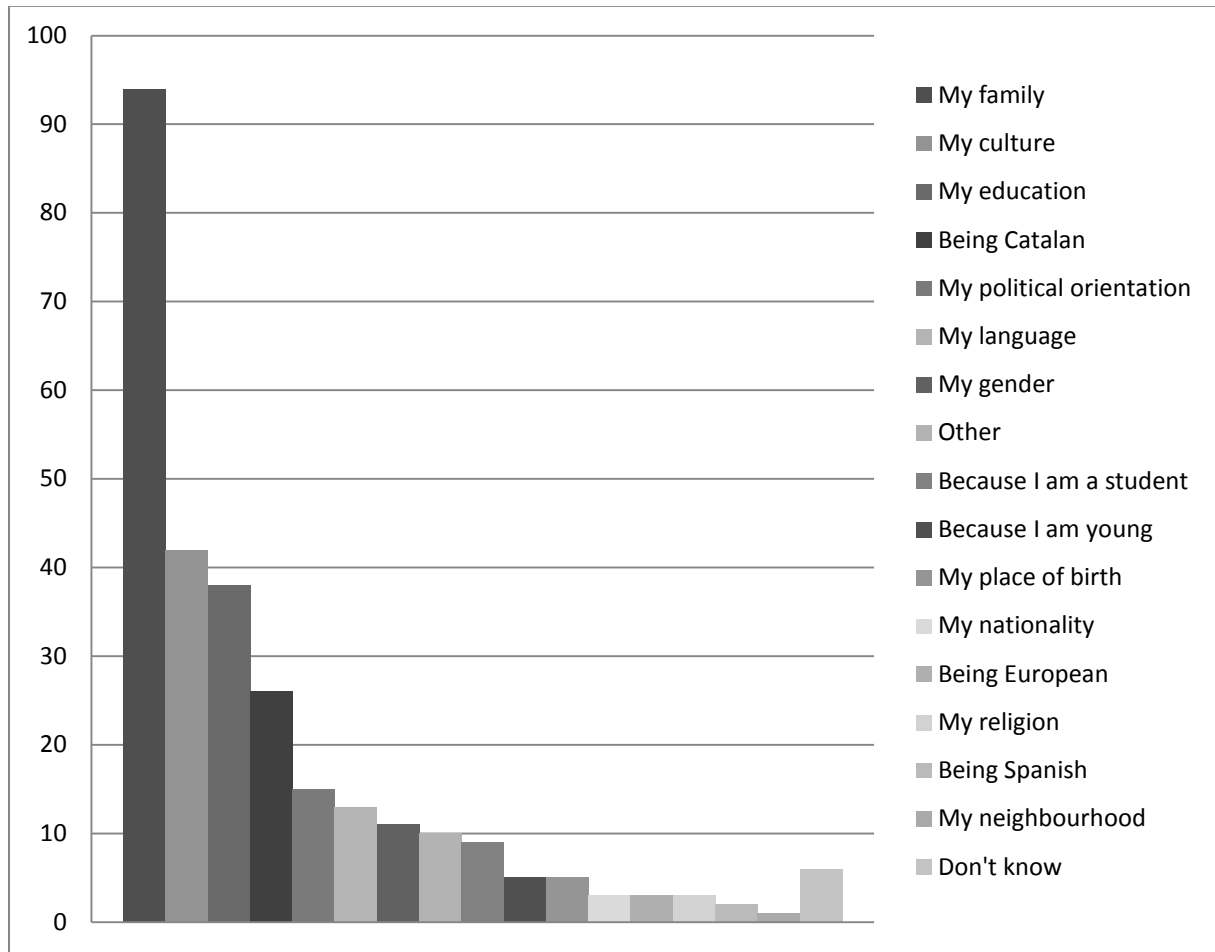
4.3. Self-categorization (likert scale) – Very important and important as one response category



4.4. Self-categorization (3 elements chosen)



4.5. Self- categorization (1 element chosen)



4.6. Gender identity (Likert-scale) x gender cross tabulation

			gender			Total
			Masculine	Feminine	Other	
Gender (Likert-scale)	Very important	Count	10	47	1	58
		% within Gender_table	17,2%	81,0%	1,7%	100,0%
		% within gender	8,3%	28,5%	100,0%	20,3%
		% of Total	3,5%	16,4%	0,3%	20,3%
	Important	Count	25	56	0	81
		% within Gender_table	30,9%	69,1%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within gender	20,8%	33,9%	0,0%	28,3%
		% of Total	8,7%	19,6%	0,0%	28,3%
	Moderatly important	Count	40	34	0	74
		% within Gender_table	54,1%	45,9%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within gender	33,3%	20,6%	0,0%	25,9%
		% of Total	14,0%	11,9%	0,0%	25,9%
	A little bit important	Count	19	16	0	35
		% within Gender_table	54,3%	45,7%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within gender	15,8%	9,7%	0,0%	12,2%
		% of Total	6,6%	5,6%	0,0%	12,2%
	Not important	Count	23	10	0	33
		% within Gender_table	69,7%	30,3%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within gender	19,2%	6,1%	0,0%	11,5%
		% of Total	8,0%	3,5%	0,0%	11,5%
	Doesn't apply to me	Count	3	2	0	5
		% within Gender_table	60,0%	40,0%	0,0%	100,0%
		% within gender	2,5%	1,2%	0,0%	1,7%
		% of Total	1,0%	0,7%	0,0%	1,7%
Total		Count	120	165	1	286
		% within Gender_table	42,0%	57,7%	0,3%	100,0%
		% within gender	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
		% of Total	42,0%	57,7%	0,3%	100,0%

4.7. Gender identity x gender – Cramer's V

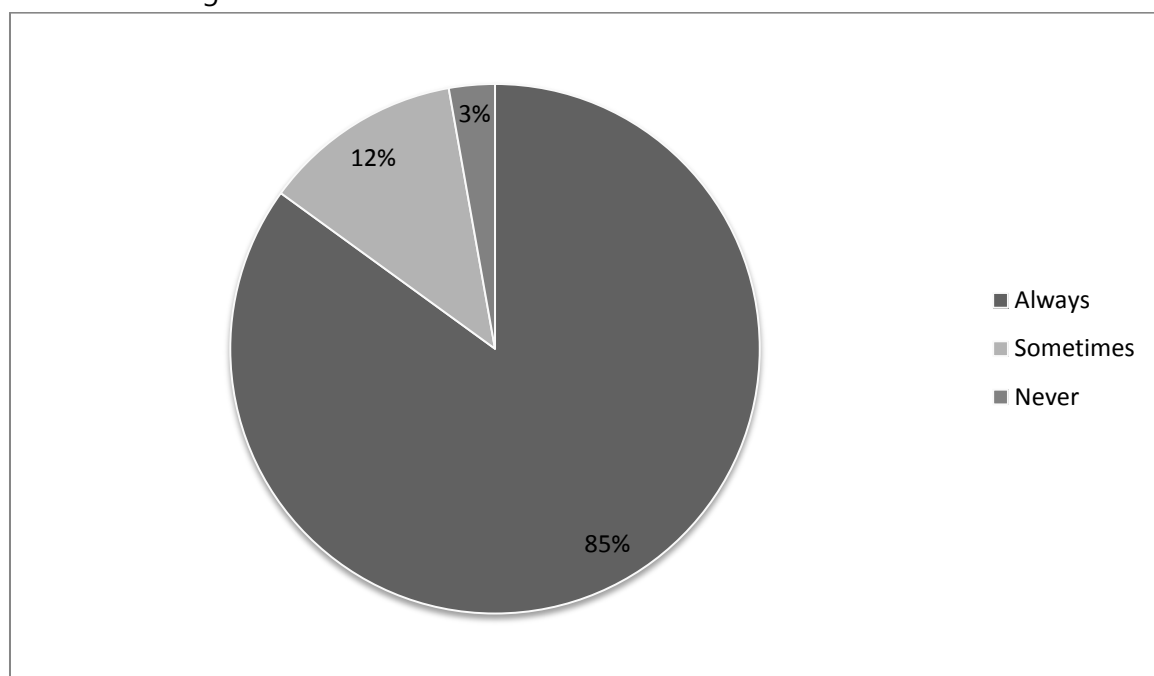
Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,372	,000
	Cramer's V	,263	,000
N of Valid Cases		286	

5. Voting behavior

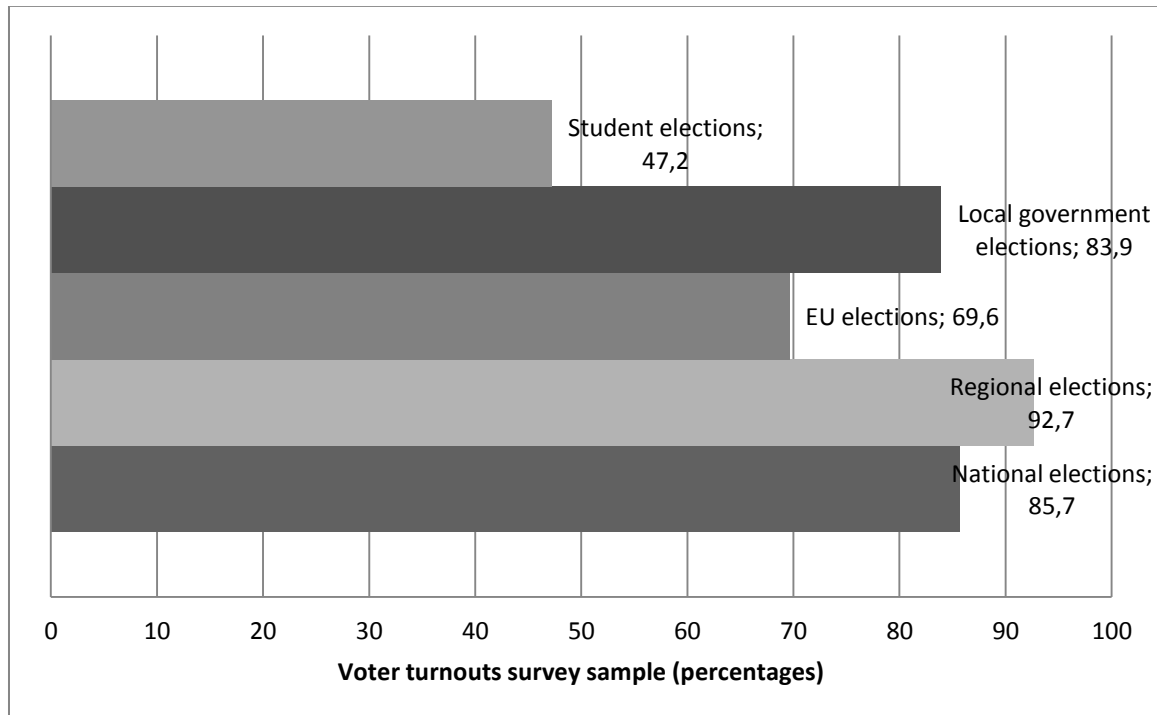
5.1. Voting behavior - Frequencies

Voting Behavior					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Always	243	85,0	85,0	85,0
	Sometimes	35	12,2	12,2	97,2
	Never	8	2,8	2,8	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

5.2. Voting behavior – Pie chart



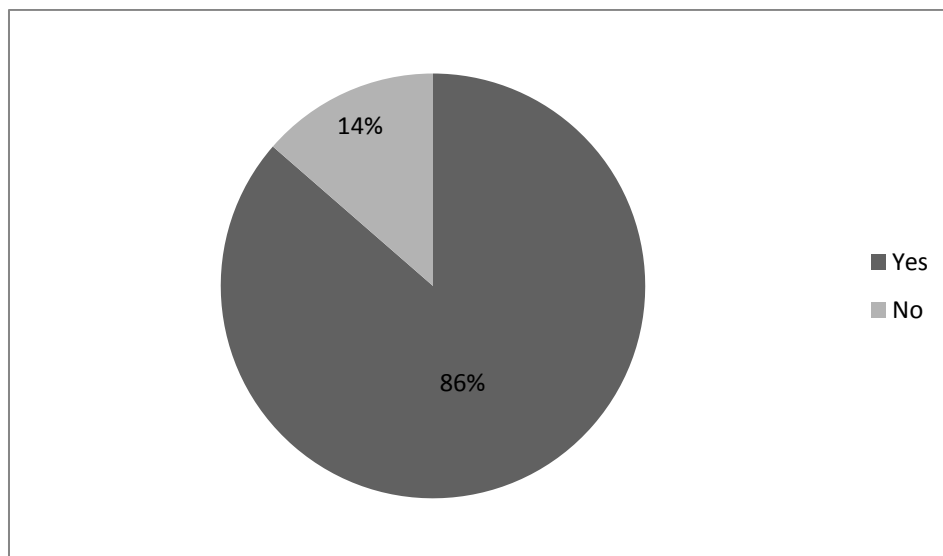
5.3. Type of elections – Bar chart



5.4. Voters 27S – Frequencies

Vote 27S					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	247	86,4	86,4	86,4
	No	39	13,6	13,6	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

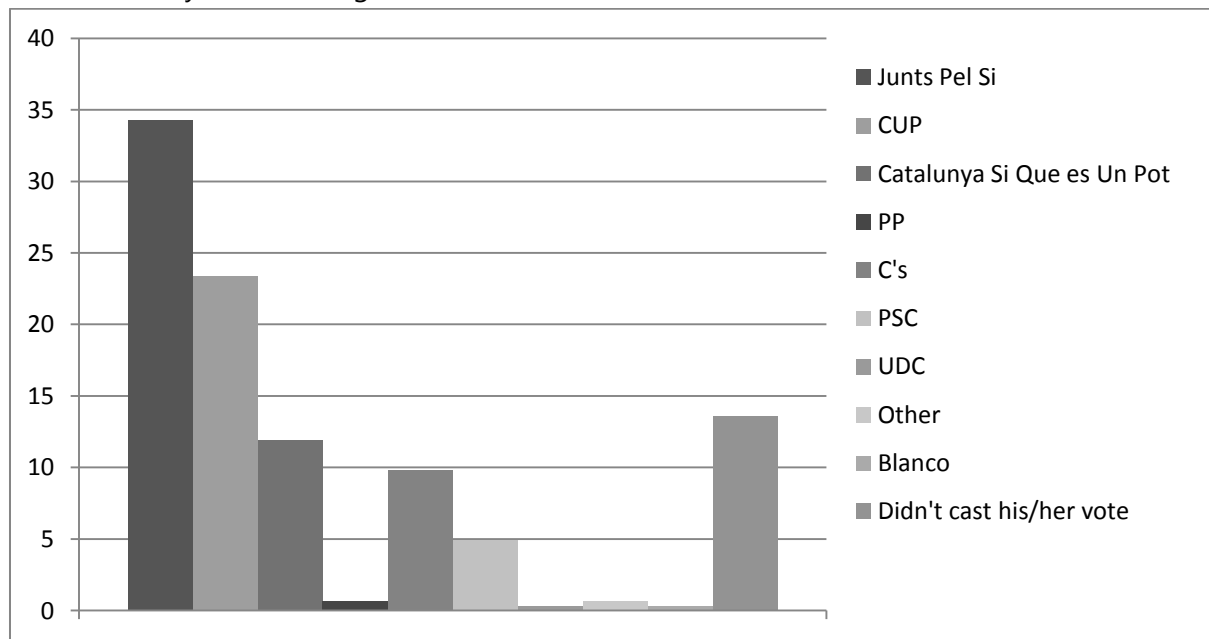
5.5. Voters 27S – Pie chart



5.6. Party 27S – Frequencies

Party 27S					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Junts pel si	98	34,3	39,7	39,7
	CUP	67	23,4	27,1	66,8
	Catalunya Si Que es un pot	34	11,9	13,8	80,6
	PP	2	,7	,8	81,4
	C's	28	9,8	11,3	92,7
	PSC	14	4,9	5,7	98,4
	UDC	1	,3	,4	98,8
	Other	2	,7	,8	99,6
	Blanco	1	,3	,4	100,0
	Total	247	86,4	100,0	
Missing	System	39	13,6		
Total		286	100,0		

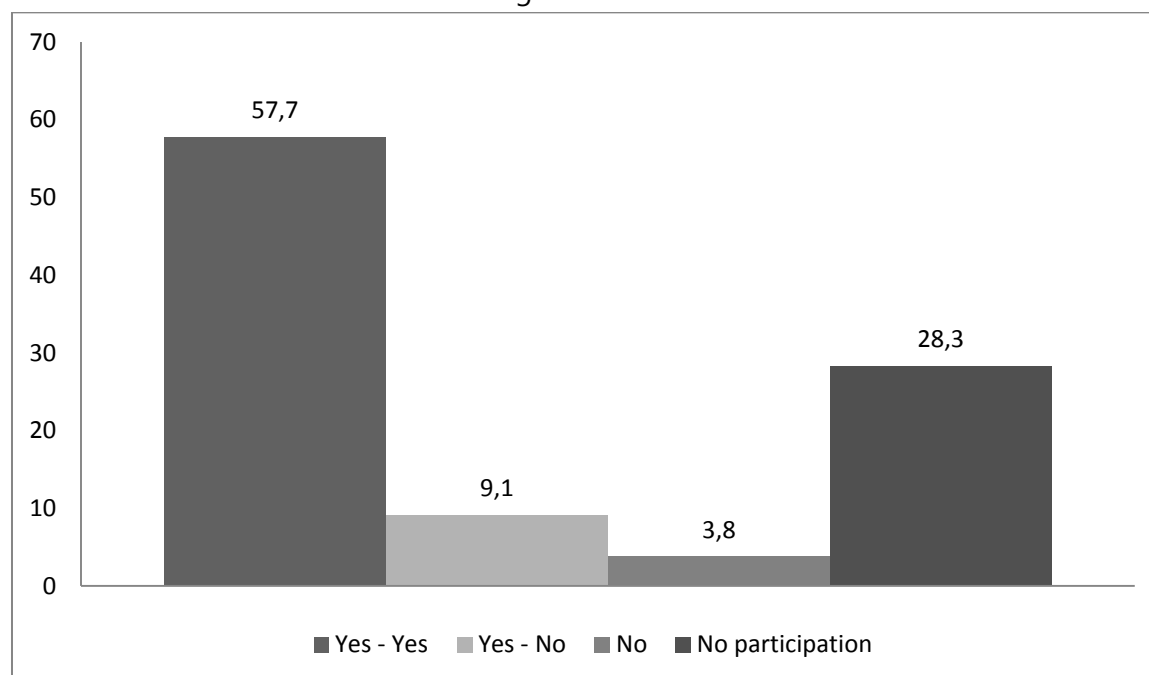
5.7. Party 27S – Histogram



5.8.Referendum 9N votes – Frequencies

Voting behavior 9N					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes yes	165	57,7	80,5	80,5
	Yes no	26	9,1	12,7	93,2
	No	11	3,8	5,4	98,5
	Blanco	3	1,0	1,5	100,0
	Total	205	71,7	100,0	
Missing	System	81	28,3		
Total		286	100,0		

5.9.Referendum 9N votes – Histogram



5.10. Party 27S x Referendum 9N vote cross tabulation

		Voting behavior 9N				Total
		Yes yes	Yes no	No	Blanco	
Party 27S	Junts pel si	93	2	0	0	95
	CUP	52	7	0	1	60
	Catalunya Si Que es un pot	8	13	4	1	26
	PP	0	0	1	0	1
	C's	3	0	0	0	3
	PSC	0	2	3	0	5
	UDC	0	0	1	0	1
	Blanco	1	0	0	0	1
Total		157	24	9	2	192

5.11. Party 27S x Referendum 9N vote – Cramer's V

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,875	,000
	Cramer's V	,505	,000
N of Valid Cases		192	

6. Political party and civil society membership

6.1. Member political party – frequencies

Member political party					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	yes	29	10,1	10,1	10,1
	No	257	89,9	89,9	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

6.2.Membership different political parties – frequencies

Member political party (which)					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	258	90,2	90,2	90,2
	C's	1	,3	,3	90,6
	CDC	5	1,7	1,7	92,3
	CUP	4	1,4	1,4	93,7
	ERC	5	1,7	1,7	95,5
	ERC i CUP	1	,3	,3	95,8
	ERC/JERC	1	,3	,3	96,2
	EUiA	1	,3	,3	96,5
	ICV	1	,3	,3	96,9
	IU	1	,3	,3	97,2
	Junts pel Sí	2	,7	,7	97,9
	PCPE (partido comunista de los pueblos de españa)	1	,3	,3	98,3
	Podemos	3	1,0	1,0	99,3
	PSC	1	,3	,3	99,7
	SEPC (sindicat d'estudiants). Col·laboro amb la CUP	1	,3	,3	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

6.3.Different ways of involvement political parties – Frequencies

Being a part of meetings					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	270	94,4	94,4	94,4
	Yes	16	5,6	5,6	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Being a part of a committee					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	279	97,6	97,6	97,6
	Yes	7	2,4	2,4	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Being on the list during elections					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	281	98,3	98,3	98,3
	Yes	5	1,7	1,7	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Other ways of involvement					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		272	95,1	95,1	95,1
	1	14	4,9	4,9	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Other ways of involvement (text)					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		273	95,5	95,5	95,5
	<i>Activism</i>	1	,3	,3	95,8
	<i>I am a militant</i>	4	1,4	1,4	97,2
	<i>I am a militant and part of activism</i>	1	,3	,3	97,6
	<i>I assist sometimes</i>	1	,3	,3	97,9
	<i>It is a family tradition</i>	1	,3	,3	98,3
	<i>Logistical support</i>	1	,3	,3	98,6
	<i>Part of social movement</i>	1	,3	,3	99,0
	<i>Spread propaganda</i>	1	,3	,3	99,3
	<i>Supporter</i>	1	,3	,3	99,7
	<i>Youth participation</i>	1	,3	,3	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

6.4. Member civil society – frequencies

Member civil society organization					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		1	,3	,3	,3
	Yes	48	16,8	16,8	17,1
	No	232	81,1	81,1	98,3
	I don't know	5	1,7	1,7	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

6.5. Membership different civil society organizations - frequencies

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		244	85,3	85,3	85,3
	A lot of organizations in my village	1	,3	,3	85,7
	Amnesty International	3	1,0	1,0	86,7
	Amnesty International, Greepeace and aplegaré Jove LH	1	,3	,3	87,1
	ANC	13	4,5	4,5	91,6
	ANC and Omnium Cultural	1	,3	,3	92,0
	ANC and Red Cross	1	,3	,3	92,3
	Arran	1	,3	,3	92,7
	Asamblea de Jovenes	1	,3	,3	93,0
	casal popular independentista del pla de lestany	1	,3	,3	93,4
	Collas de geganters, òmnium cultural	1	,3	,3	93,7
	Doctors without borders	2	,7	,7	94,4
	Esplai, Casal Popular Independentista, Centre Excursionista, Barraques...	1	,3	,3	94,8
	European students for liberty	1	,3	,3	95,1
	Greenpeace	3	1,0	1,0	96,2
	Greenpeace and Unicef	1	,3	,3	96,5
	Omnium Cultural	1	,3	,3	96,9
	ONG Estudiantil	1	,3	,3	97,2
	Plataforma per al Llengua, Consell de Joves de Sabadell	1	,3	,3	97,6

	<i>Red Cross</i>	3	1,0	1,0	98,6
	<i>Save the Children</i>	1	,3	,3	99,0
	<i>SEPC, agrupament escolta</i>	1	,3	,3	99,3
	<i>Societat Civil Catalana</i>	1	,3	,3	99,7
	<i>United Nations Students Association Barcelona</i>	1	,3	,3	100,0
	<i>Total</i>	286	100,0	100,0	

6.6. Member political party x involvement demonstrations – Cross tabulation

			member political party		Total
			Yes	No	
Demonstration involvement	Yes, once	Count	9	77	86
		% within member political party	31,0%	30,0%	30,1%
	Yes, twice	Count	5	27	32
		% within member political party	17,2%	10,5%	11,2%
	Yes, more than twice	Count	14	45	59
		% within member political party	48,3%	17,5%	20,6%
	No, never	Count	1	108	109
		% within member political party	3,4%	42,0%	38,1%
Total		Count	29	257	286
		% within member political party	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

6.7. Member political party x involvement demonstrations – Cramer's V

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,285	,000
	Cramer's V	,285	,000
N of Valid Cases		286	

6.8. Member civil society x involvement demonstrations – cross tabulation

			Civil society member				Total
				Yes	No	I don't know	
Demonstration involvement	Yes, once	Count	1	9	74	2	86
		% within Civil society member	100,0%	18,8%	31,9%	40,0%	30,1%
	Yes, twice	Count	0	6	25	1	32
		% within Civil society member	0,0%	12,5%	10,8%	20,0%	11,2%
	Yes, more than twice	Count	0	27	32	0	59
		% within Civil society member	0,0%	56,3%	13,8%	0,0%	20,6%
	No, never	Count	0	6	101	2	109
		% within Civil society member	0,0%	12,5%	43,5%	40,0%	38,1%
Total		Count	1	48	232	5	286
		% within Civil society member	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

6.9. Member civil society x involvement demonstrations – Cramer's V

Symmetric Measures			
		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	,423	,000
	Cramer's V	,244	,000
N of Valid Cases		286	

7. Participation in demonstrations

7.1. Participation in demonstrations – Frequencies

		Participation demonstration(s)			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, once	86	30,1	30,1	30,1
	Yes, twice	32	11,2	11,2	41,3
	Yes, more than twice	59	20,6	20,6	61,9
	No, never	109	38,1	38,1	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

7.2.Participation in types of demonstrations – Frequencies

Demonstration for independence					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	120	42,0	42,0	42,0
	No	166	58,0	58,0	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Demonstration against independence					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2	,7	,7	,7
	No	284	99,3	99,3	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Demonstration Anarchist movement					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	7	2,4	2,4	2,4
	No	279	97,6	97,6	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Demonstration environmental cause					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	14	4,9	4,9	4,9
	No	272	95,1	95,1	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Demonstration social cause					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	103	36,0	36,0	36,0
	No	183	64,0	64,0	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Demonstration other					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	15	5,2	5,2	5,2
	No	271	94,8	94,8	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

7.3.Participation demonstrations company – Frequencies

Individual					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	4,2	4,2	4,2
	No	274	95,8	95,8	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Friends					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	144	50,3	50,3	50,3
	No	142	49,7	49,7	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Family					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	64	22,4	22,4	22,4
	No	222	77,6	77,6	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Student organizations					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	19	6,6	6,6	6,6
	No	267	93,4	93,4	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Political parties					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	16	5,6	5,6	5,6
	No	270	94,4	94,4	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Demonstration other (with who)					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<i>Yes</i>	15	5,2	5,2	5,2
	<i>No</i>	271	94,8	94,8	100,0
	<i>Total</i>	286	100,0	100,0	

8. Cause-oriented political involvement

8.1. Political statements expressed online – Frequencies

Online political involvement					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<i>yes</i>	185	64,7	64,7	64,7
	<i>no</i>	96	33,6	33,6	98,3
	<i>I don't know</i>	5	1,7	1,7	100,0
	<i>Total</i>	286	100,0	100,0	

8.2. Expression of political statements through symbols – Frequencies

Political expression through symbols					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<i>yes</i>	100	35,0	35,0	35,0
	<i>no</i>	177	61,9	61,9	96,9
	<i>I don't know</i>	9	3,1	3,1	100,0
	<i>Total</i>	286	100,0	100,0	

8.3. Boycotting products from Spain – Frequencies

Boycotting					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	<i>yes</i>	39	13,6	13,6	13,6
	<i>no</i>	241	84,3	84,3	97,9
	<i>i don't know</i>	6	2,1	2,1	100,0
	<i>Total</i>	286	100,0	100,0	

8.4. Mediums for online political expression – Frequencies

Facebook					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	146	51,0	51,0	51,0
	No	140	49,0	49,0	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Twitter					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	81	28,3	28,3	28,3
	No	205	71,7	71,7	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Instagram					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	22	7,7	7,7	7,7
	No	264	92,3	92,3	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

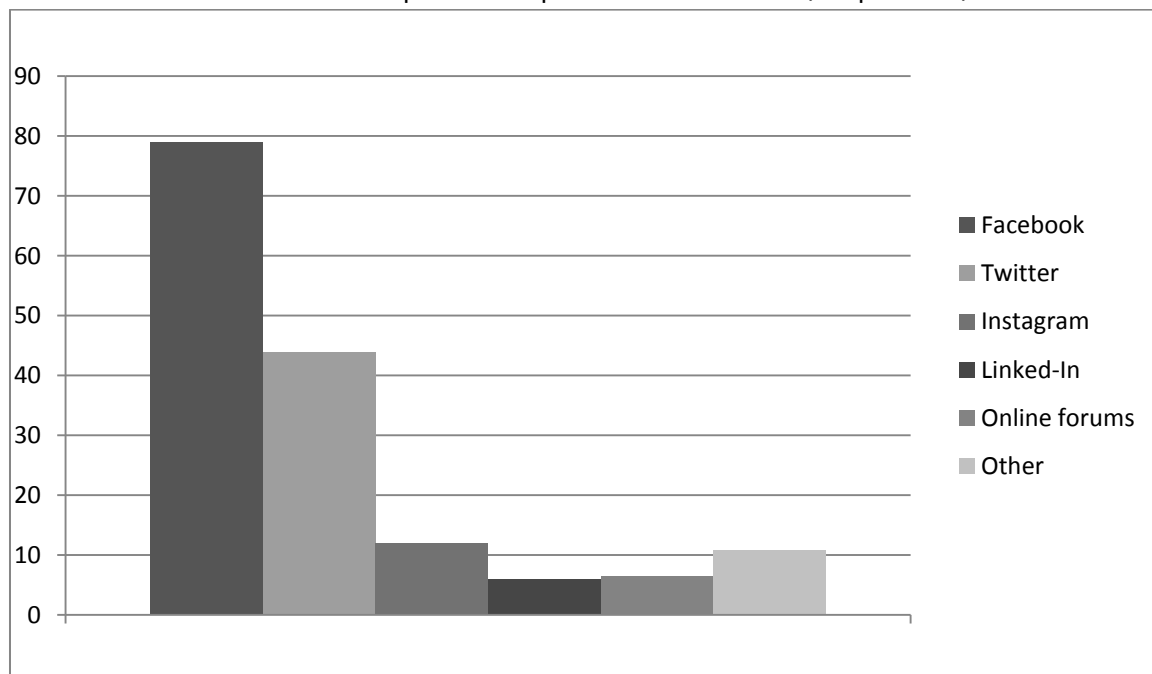
LinkedIn					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	11	3,8	3,8	3,8
	No	275	96,2	96,2	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Online forums					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	12	4,2	4,2	4,2
	No	274	95,8	95,8	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Other online					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	20	7,0	7,0	7,0
	No	266	93,0	93,0	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

Other online text					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	267	93,4	93,4	93,4
	Whatsapp	16	5,6	5,6	99,0
	YouTube	3	1,0	1,0	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

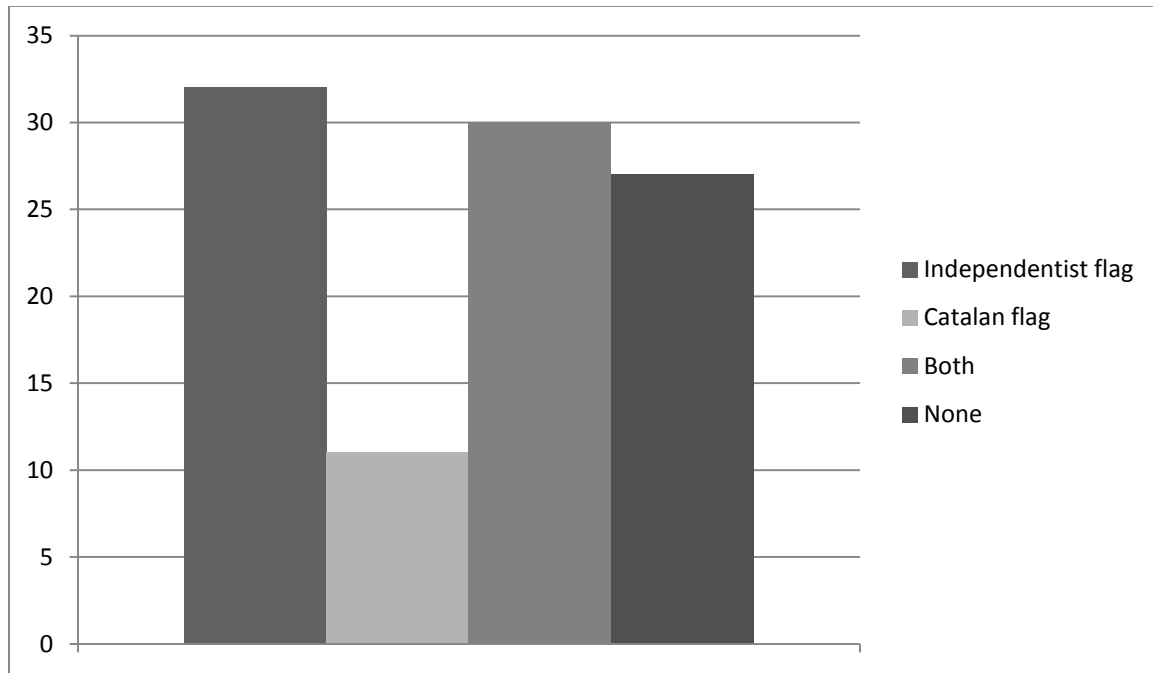
8.5. Mediums for online political expression – Bar chart (frequencies)



8.6. Type of symbols used for political expression - Frequencies

Independence symbols included in expression through symbols					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Missing	186	65,0	65,0	65,0
	Independentist flag	32	11,2	11,2	76,2
	Catalan flag	11	3,8	3,8	80,1
	Both	30	10,5	10,5	90,6
	None	27	9,4	9,4	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

8.7.Type of symbols used for political expression – bar chart



8.8.Coherence and correlation between online and offline political engagement

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Cramer's V (in relation to online expression of political opinion)</u>	<u>Spearman's Rho (in relation to online expression of political opinion)</u>
Participation demonstration	0.193	0.167
Political consumerism (boycotting)	0.146	0.093
Member political party	0.200	0.200
Voting behavior	0.095	0.086
Political symbolism	0.197	0.174
Civil society member	0.158	0.114

9. Constitutional preferences

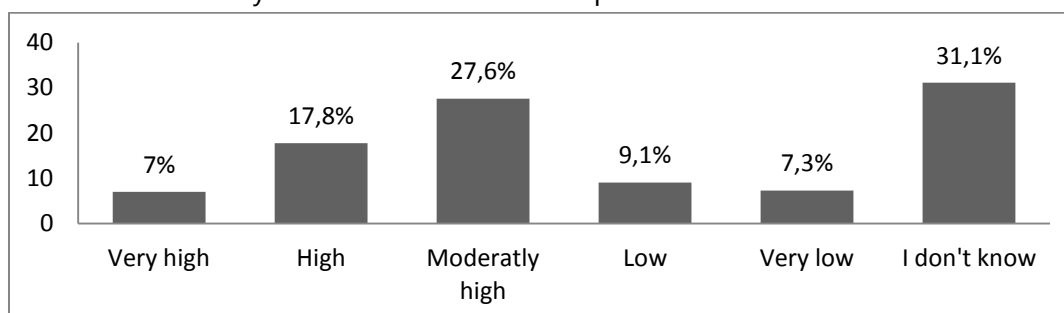
9.1. Constitutional preferences – Frequencies

Constitutional preference					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Catalonia should be a region of Spain	17	5,9	6,0	6,0
	Catalonia should be an autonomous region of Spain	25	8,7	8,8	14,8
	Catalonia should be a state within a federal Spain	54	18,9	19,1	33,9
	Catalonia should be independent from Spain	156	54,5	55,1	89,0
	I wouldn't vote	8	2,8	2,8	91,9
	I don't know	23	8,0	8,1	100,0
	Total	283	99,0	100,0	
Missing	System	3	1,0		
Total		286	100,0		

9.2. Probability of chosen constitutional preference – Frequencies

Constitutional preference (possibility)					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very high	20	7,0	7,0	7,0
	High	51	17,8	17,8	24,8
	Moderate	79	27,6	27,6	52,4
	low	26	9,1	9,1	61,5
	very low	21	7,3	7,3	68,9
	I don't know	89	31,1	31,1	100,0
	Total	286	100,0	100,0	

9.3. Probability of chosen constitutional preference – Bar chart



9.4. Voting behavior 27S x Constitutional preferences – Cross tabulation

			Constitutional preference						Total
			Catalonia should be a region of Spain	Catalonia should be an autonomous region of Spain	Catalonia should be a state within a federal Spain	Catalonia should be independent from Spain	I wouldn't vote	I don't know	
Party 27S	Junts pel si	Count	0	2	2	91	0	2	97
		% within Party 27S	0,0%	2,1%	2,1%	93,8%	0,0%	2,1%	100,0%
	CUP	Count	0	1	12	49	0	5	67
		% within Party 27S	0,0%	1,5%	17,9%	73,1%	0,0%	7,5%	100,0%
	Catalunya Si Que es un pot	Count	1	5	17	6	1	3	33
		% within Party 27S	3,0%	15,2%	51,5%	18,2%	3,0%	9,1%	100,0%
	PP	Count	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
		% within Party 27S	50,0%	50,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
	C's	Count	10	6	4	1	3	4	28
		% within Party 27S	35,7%	21,4%	14,3%	3,6%	10,7%	14,3%	100,0%
	PSC	Count	3	2	8	0	0	1	14
		% within Party 27S	21,4%	14,3%	57,1%	0,0%	0,0%	7,1%	100,0%
	UDC	Count	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
		% within Party 27S	0,0%	100,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	0,0%	100,0%
	Other	Count	0	0	1	0	1	0	2
		% within Party 27S	0,0%	0,0%	50,0%	0,0%	50,0%	0,0%	100,0%
Total		Count	15	18	44	147	5	15	244
		% within Party 27S	6,1%	7,4%	18,0%	60,2%	2,0%	6,1%	100,0%

9.5. Possibility of chosen constitutional preference x constitutional preference – Cross tabulation

			Constitutional preference (possibility)						Total
			Very high	High	Moderate	Low	Very low	I don't know	
Constitutional preference	Catalonia should be a region of Spain	Count	0	2	5	1	1	8	17
		% within CP	0,0%	11,8%	29,4%	5,9%	5,9%	47,1%	100,0%
	Catalonia should be an autonomous region of Spain	Count	2	1	5	4	4	9	25
		% within CP	8,0%	4,0%	20,0%	16,0%	16,0%	36,0%	100,0%
	Catalonia should be a state within a federal Spain	Count	1	3	19	5	5	21	54
		% within CP	1,9%	5,6%	35,2%	9,3%	9,3%	38,9%	100,0%
	Catalonia should be independent from Spain	Count	16	40	44	12	8	36	156
		% within CP	10,3%	25,6%	28,2%	7,7%	5,1%	23,1%	100,0%
	I wouldn't vote	Count	0	1	0	3	2	2	8
		% within CP	0,0%	12,5%	0,0%	37,5%	25,0%	25,0%	100,0%
	I don't know	Count	1	4	6	1	1	10	23
		% within CP	4,3%	17,4%	26,1%	4,3%	4,3%	43,5%	100,0%
Total		Count	20	51	79	26	21	86	283
		% within CP	7,1%	18,0%	27,9%	9,2%	7,4%	30,4%	100,0%

Appendix D: SPSS output chapter 6

Variable	Stage 1 – Exp (B)	Stage 2– Exp (B)	Stage 3 – Exp (B)	Stage 4 – Exp (B)	Stage 5 - Exp (B)
Year of birth	1.014	0.996	1.281*	1.324*	1.609*
Gender (male)	2.211**	2.162**	2.860*	2.413	3.891*
Place of birth (Born in Catalonia)	2.857*	2.913*	1.441	1.547	0.957
Place of birth parents					
<i>Catalan parents</i>	3.721***	3.701***	1.119	0.830	0.557
<i>Immigrant parents</i>	0.750	0.736	0.546	0.319	0.429
Type of study (social science students)		0.896	0.581	0.607	0.484
Phase of study (bachelor)		1.334	1.454	2.057	10.562*
University (Barcelona)		0.706	0.670	0.813	0.511
Mother tongue					
<i>Catalan</i>			5.735	1.629	5.126
<i>Castilian</i>			5.693	1.646	7.670
Language					
<i>Mostly Catalan</i>			0.089*	0.126	0.028
<i>Mostly Castilian</i>			0.103*	0.105*	0.045
<i>Both</i>			0.072*	0.076*	0.018*
Nationality					
<i>Catalan</i>			441.004***	667.630***	1013.515**
<i>Cat > Spa</i>			12.030***	17.697***	12.467*
<i>Cat = Spa</i>			0.212	0.346	0.925*
<i>Spa > Cat</i>			0.000	0.000	0.000
<i>Spanish</i>			0.000	0.000	0.000
Living situation (with family)			0.577	0.548	0.208*
Being Catalan (3 elements)				2.993	4.108
Being Spanish (3 elements)				0.000	0.000
Being European (3 elements)				2.377	5.046
Being Catalan (matrix)				0.469	0.264
Being Spanish (matrix)				0.275	0.023
Being European (matrix)				0.627	1.236
Nationalist vote					16.653**
Usage of independence symbols					0.234
Pro-independence demonstrations					21.897***
Boycotting					7.141*
Member political party					148227323.9
Civil society member					0.176
Participation referendum 9N					24.345
Yes-yes vote referendum 9N					0.297
<i>n</i>	286	286	286	286	286
R ² (Nagelkerke)	0.260	0.266	0.804	0.817	0.892
R ² (Cox & Snell)	0.194	0.199	0.602	0.611	0.667
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	0.600	0.871	0.514	0.956	0.846

* $p < 0.1$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$

Table 1: Results first binary logistic regression analysis (Odds-ratio)

Variable	Stage 1(B)	Stage 2 (B)	Stage 3 (B)	Stage 4 (B)	Stage 5 (B)
Year of birth	0.014	0.009	0.260*	0.310**	0.592***
Gender (male)	0.793**	0.401	0.950*	0.782	1.072
Place of birth (Born in Catalonia)	1.050*	2.120***	0.286	0.283	0.248
Place of birth parents					
<i>Catalan parents</i>	1.314***	0.819*	0.026	-0.222	-0.481
<i>Immigrant parents</i>	-0.288	0.257	-0.411	-0.923	-0.044
Mother tongue					
<i>Catalan</i>		-0.341	2.196	1.016	4.351*
<i>Castilian</i>		-0.829	2.059	0.977	4.921*
Language					
<i>Mostly Catalan</i>		-0.129	-2.113*	-1.720	-2.759
<i>Mostly Castilian</i>		-2.321**	-2.256*	-2.162*	-2.826*
<i>Both</i>		-1.585*	-2.533*	-2.408*	-3.479*
Nationality					
<i>Catalan</i>			5.952*	6.293***	6.515***
<i>Cat > Spa</i>			2.401*	2.667***	2.039*
<i>Cat = Spa</i>			-1.405	-1.002	-0.112
<i>Spa > Cat</i>			-19.417	-18.300	-18.746
<i>Spanish</i>			-18.776	-18.069	-15.511
Being Catalan (3 elements)				0.975	0.738
Being Spanish (3 elements)				-14.936	-14.238
Being European (3 elements)				0.896	1.718
Being Catalan (Likert-scale)				-0.637	-0.688
Being Spanish (Likert-scale)				-1.331	-2.136
Being European (Likert-scale)				-0.497	0.296
Nationalist vote					2.476**
Usage of independence symbols					-0.870
Pro-independence demonstrations					3.079***
Boycotting					1.463
Member political party					17.685
Civil society member					-0.409
Participation referendum 9N					2.017
<i>n</i>	286	286	286	286	286
R ² (Nagelkerke)	0.260	0.434	0.799	0.812	0.879
R ² (Cox & Snell)	0.194	0.325	0.598	0.608	0.658
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	0.600	0.758	0.432	0.721	0.269
* <i>p</i> <0.1 ** <i>p</i> <0.01 *** <i>p</i> <0.001					

Table 2: Results second binary logistic regression analysis (B)

Variable	Stage 1(B)	Stage 2 (B)	Stage 3 (B)	Stage 4 (B)	Stage 5 (B)
Year of birth	0.014	0.009	0.071	0.310**	0.592
Gender (male)	0.793**	0.401	0.245	0.782	1.072
Place of birth (Born in Catalonia)	1.050*	2.120***	1.334*	0.283	-0.248
Place of birth parents					
<i>Catalan parents</i>	1.314***	0.819*	0.407	-0.222	-0.481
<i>Immigrant parents</i>	-0.288	0.257	-0.230	-0.923	-0.044
Mother tongue					
<i>Catalan</i>		-0.341	-0.199	1.016	4.351
<i>Castilian</i>		-0.829	0.213	0.977	4.921
Language					
<i>Mostly Catalan</i>		-0.129	-0.155	-1.720	-2.759
<i>Mostly Castilian</i>		-2.321**	-1.833*	-2.162*	-2.826
<i>Both</i>		-1.585*	-1.308	-2.408*	-3.479
Being Catalan (3 elements)			1.112*	-0.637	0.738
Being Spanish (3 elements)			-2.098**	-1.331	-14.238
Being European (3 elements)			-0.493	-0.497	1.718
Being Catalan (Likert-scale)			1.976***	0.975	-0.688
Being Spanish (Likert-scale)			-18.986	-14.936	-2.136
Being European (Likert-scale)			0.215	0.896	0.296
Nationality					
<i>Catalan</i>				6.293***	6.515
<i>Cat > Spa</i>				2.667***	2.039
<i>Cat = Spa</i>				-1.002	-0.112
<i>Spa > Cat</i>				-18.300	-18.746
<i>Spanish</i>				-18.069	-15.511
Nationalist vote					2.476
Usage of independence symbols					-0.870
Pro-independence demonstrations					3.079
Boycotting					1.463
Member political party					17.685
Civil society member					-0.409
Participation referendum 9N					2.017
<i>n</i>	286	286	286	286	286
R ² (Nagelkerke)	0.260	0.434	0.591	0.812	0.879
R ² (Cox & Snell)	0.194	0.325	0.442	0.608	0.658
Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	0.600	0.758	0.489	0.721	0.269
* <i>p</i> <0.1 ** <i>p</i> <0.01 *** <i>p</i> <0.001					

Table 3: Results third binary logistic regression analysis (B)

Coefficients ^a								
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	24,412	20,680		1,180	,239		
	year of birth	-,012	,010	-,064	-1,115	,266	,991	1,009
	Gender_male	-,080	,053	-,088	-1,521	,129	,984	1,017
	Born_in_Catalonia	-,192	,100	-,140	-1,920	,056	,623	1,605
	immigrant_parents	,147	,083	,134	1,772	,077	,578	1,730
	mixed_parents	,003	,062	,003	,055	,957	,896	1,116
2	(Constant)	22,431	20,774		1,080	,281		
	year of birth	-,010	,010	-,058	-,995	,320	,974	1,027
	Gender_male	-,082	,055	-,090	-1,508	,133	,913	1,095
	Born_in_Catalonia	-,133	,104	-,097	-1,285	,200	,571	1,750
	immigrant_parents	,120	,093	,109	1,286	,199	,455	2,196
	mixed_parents	-,003	,068	-,003	-,043	,966	,751	1,332
	Mothertongue_Catalan	-,470	,180	-,520	-2,612	,009	,082	12,126
	mother_tongue_spa	-,404	,168	-,444	-2,406	,017	,096	10,404
	Language_Catalan	,028	,139	,031	,205	,838	,141	7,090
	Language_Castilian	-,056	,142	-,053	-,392	,696	,177	5,657
	Language_both	-,002	,136	-,002	-,017	,987	,174	5,740
3	(Constant)	23,497	20,945		1,122	,263		
	year of birth	-,011	,011	-,061	-1,044	,297	,964	1,038
	Gender_male	-,080	,056	-,087	-1,432	,153	,883	1,132
	Born_in_Catalonia	-,080	,110	-,058	-,726	,468	,515	1,943
	immigrant_parents	,096	,095	,087	1,011	,313	,443	2,258
	mixed_parents	-,014	,070	-,014	-,201	,841	,712	1,405
	Mothertongue_Catalan	-,485	,182	-,536	-2,659	,008	,081	12,351
	mother_tongue_spa	-,436	,171	-,478	-2,555	,011	,094	10,652

4	Language_Cat alan	,053	,141	,058	,375	,708	,138	7,270
	Language_Cas tilian	-,054	,145	-,052	-,376	,707	,173	5,792
	Language_bot h	,009	,138	,009	,068	,946	,172	5,814
	Being_Catalan _table	,040	,023	,137	1,719	,087	,520	1,923
	Being_Spanish _table	-,012	,023	-,038	-,529	,597	,628	1,592
	Being_Europe an_table	,009	,023	,027	,400	,689	,719	1,391
	Being catalan 3E	,038	,075	,037	,503	,615	,615	1,625
	Being Europen 3E	-,044	,130	-,021	-,336	,737	,850	1,177
	Being spanish 3E	-,160	,212	-,046	-,751	,453	,860	1,163
	(Constant)	28,433	20,652		1,377	,170		
	year of birth	-,013	,010	-,074	-1,284	,200	,953	1,050
	Gender_male	-,088	,055	-,097	-1,593	,112	,855	1,170
	Born_in_Catal onia	-,033	,110	-,024	-,295	,768	,490	2,042
	immigrant_par ents	,072	,093	,066	,773	,440	,437	2,288
	mixed_parents	-,052	,069	-,050	-,745	,457	,692	1,445
	Mothertongue _Catalan	-,412	,181	-,456	-2,283	,023	,079	12,611
	mother_tongu e_spa	-,362	,169	-,397	-2,135	,034	,091	10,940
	Language_Cat alan	,092	,138	,101	,664	,507	,137	7,321
	Language_Cas tilian	-,029	,144	-,027	-,198	,843	,166	6,022
	Language_bot h	,033	,136	,033	,240	,810	,169	5,924
	Being_Catalan _table	,014	,027	,050	,544	,587	,378	2,648
	Being_Spanish _table	-,031	,027	-,097	-1,130	,259	,428	2,335
	Being_Europe an_table	,006	,023	,019	,285	,776	,717	1,395

5	Being catalan 3E	,047	,075	,046	,625	,532	,595	1,681
	Being European 3E	-,011	,129	-,005	-,089	,929	,828	1,208
	Being spanish 3E	-,067	,213	-,019	-,314	,754	,818	1,222
	Only_cat	-,305	,111	-,334	-2,743	,007	,213	4,701
	more_cat_than_spa	-,291	,104	-,251	-2,793	,006	,391	2,556
	cat_and_spa	-,295	,106	-,251	-2,789	,006	,390	2,567
	more_spa_than_cat	-,429	,179	-,166	-2,399	,017	,657	1,521
	only_spa	-,555	,199	-,177	-2,782	,006	,784	1,276
	(Constant)	24,686	20,959		1,178	,240		
	year of birth	-,011	,011	-,063	-1,081	,281	,917	1,091
	Gender_male	-,058	,057	-,064	-1,025	,306	,807	1,239
	Born_in_Catalonia	,008	,113	,006	,075	,941	,460	2,173
	immigrant_parents	,070	,094	,064	,750	,454	,431	2,321
	mixed_parents	-,085	,071	-,083	-1,205	,229	,663	1,508
	Mothertongue_Catalan	-,398	,181	-,440	-2,202	,029	,078	12,742
	mother_tongue_spa	-,355	,170	-,389	-2,092	,037	,090	11,057
	Language_Catalan	,053	,139	,058	,380	,704	,134	7,479
	Language_Castilian	-,077	,145	-,073	-,529	,597	,163	6,131
	Language_both	,016	,136	,016	,117	,907	,167	5,972
	Being_Catalan_table	-,001	,027	-,004	-,046	,964	,355	2,814
	Being_Spanish_table	-,033	,027	-,105	-1,222	,223	,423	2,364
	Being_European_table	,016	,023	,047	,700	,485	,698	1,432
	Being catalan 3E	,071	,076	,069	,931	,353	,566	1,768
	Being European 3E	-,014	,129	-,007	-,106	,916	,815	1,227

Being spanish 3E	-,047	,214	-,014	-,219	,827	,805	1,242
Only_cat	-,207	,117	-,228	-1,766	,079	,219	5,300
more_cat_than_spaa	-,234	,107	-,202	-2,178	,030	,364	2,747
cat_and_spaa	-,335	,108	-,285	-3,095	,002	,370	2,702
more_spaa_than_cat	-,477	,180	-,185	-2,649	,009	,641	1,560
only_spaa	-,597	,200	-,190	-2,981	,003	,770	1,298
Nationalistic vote	-,151	,083	-,166	-1,825	,069	,381	2,624
Independence _symbols2	-,078	,077	-,075	-1,010	,314	,564	1,773
Boycotting	,053	,078	,041	,681	,497	,880	1,136
member political party	-,115	,109	-,065	-1,055	,292	,823	1,216
Civil society member	,135	,104	,082	1,304	,193	,799	1,252
Participation referendum 9N	-,072	,077	-,072	-,930	,353	,525	1,905
a. Dependent Variable: Voting Behaviour							

Table 4: Output linear regression analysis