

## ***Social Fragmentation in Catalonia: a civil conflict?***

**LSE. Conflict and Civil Society Research Unit, Department of International Development.**

LSE, Room FAW 2.04, Fawcett House, London, UK.

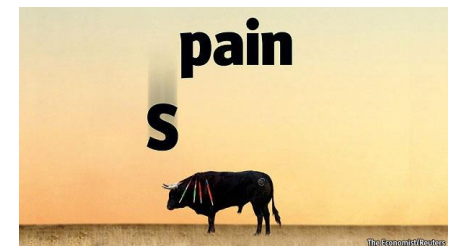
Tuesday 3th Dec. 2019, 6-8 pm

<http://www.lse.ac.uk/international-development/conflict-and-civil-society/events/Social-Fragmentation-in-Catalonia-a-Civil-Conflict/Catalonia-fragmentation>

# ***FROM FEASTS TO CLASHES: the Catalanian pathway to social fracture***

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Autonomous University of Barcelona.***



# CATALONIA

(Wikipedia).

*An Autonomous Community of Spain, located on the northeastern part of Iberian Peninsula. Politically designated as a nationality by its Statute of Autonomy.*

*The capital, Barcelona, is the second largest city of Spain and the centre of one of the largest metropolitan areas in Europe and the Mediterranean basin.*

*Catalonia comprises most of the territory of a former Principality within the ancient Aragon Kingdom, with the remainder now part of the France's Pyrénées Orientales.*

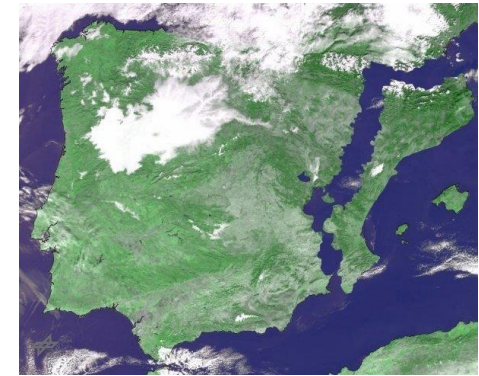
*Official languages are Catalan, Spanish and Aranese dialect of Occitan.*

**Population: 7.500.000.**

- 42-45%: native origins + assimilated.
- 55-58%: rest of Spain + foreigners.

**Habitual Language:** (Idescat 2019)

- 56%: Spanish
  - 36%: Catalan
  - 6%: Both
  - 5%: Other languages: Arab, Amazic, Urdu, Romanian, Italian, English, Chinese, French...
- } **42%**





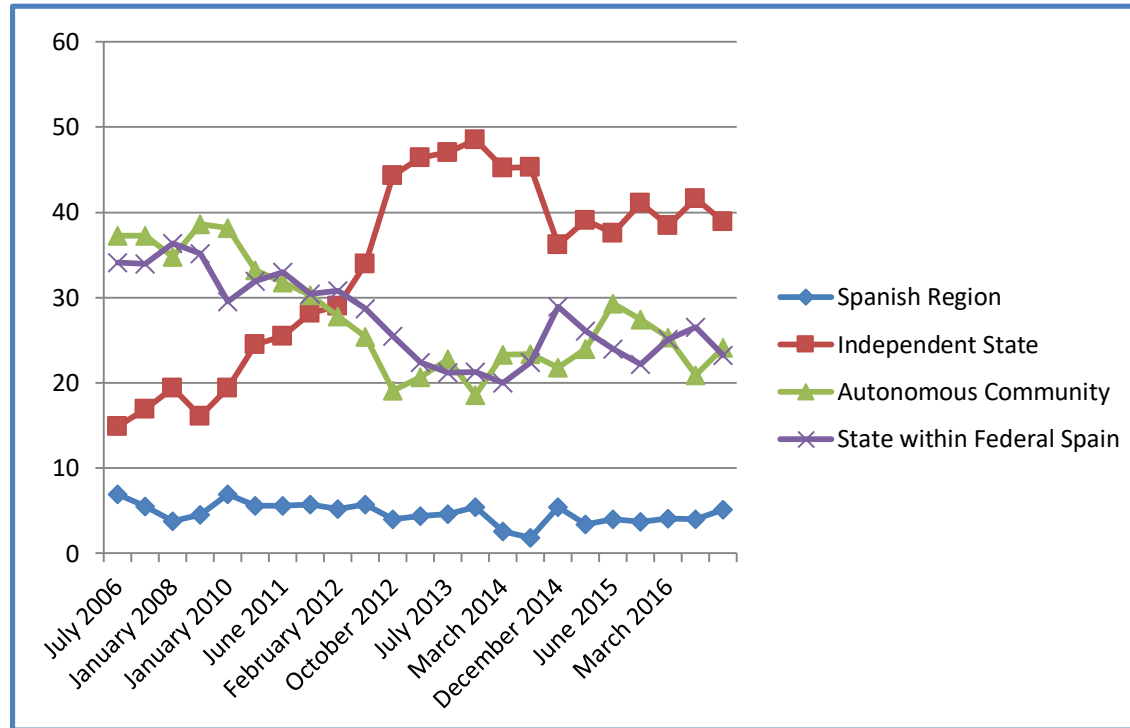


***CATSecessionist Communion:***

***World's records on human processions and demonstrations.***

***Formidable mass movement!!***

# WHY CATALONIAN SECESSIONISM ABRUPTLY ESCALATED FROM MID 2012?... AND CRYSTALIZED AT ABOUT 40% OF CITIZENRY??...



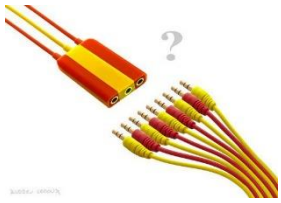
## ***Preferences of Catalan citizens (in percentages) concerning the status of the region along the last decade.***

Derived from C.E.O. Surveys (Barometer of Political Opinion, 39, November 2016), the official polling agency of the Catalan Regional Government. Data gathered from personal interviews to representative samples of 1500-2000 citizens, depending on each survey. The series starts at 2006 with preferences showing a rather stable pattern till 2010, when the secessionist segment started a gradual increase for two years followed by an abrupt eruption from October 2012 that peaked around the start of 2014. From December of that year there was a small decline which has stabilized the secessionist preference at about 40% of surveyed people (the last survey published on 18<sup>th</sup> November 2016). *Autonomous Community*: current Catalanian status within Spain, meaning a highly decentralized region with Home Rule.

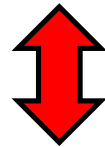
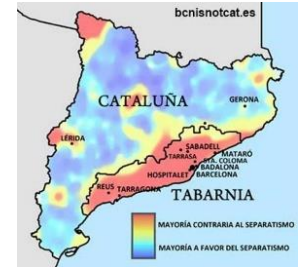
<http://ceo.gencat.cat/ceop/AppJava/pages/estudis/categories/fitxaEstudi.html?colId=3;6008&lastTitle=Bar%F2metre+d%27Opini%F3+Pol%EDtica%3BBar%F2metre+d%27Opini%F3+Pol%EDtica.+3a+onada+2016>



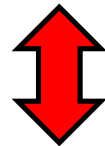
# CATEXIT TROUBLES 2012-2019: a Unique Experiment



- Massive-colourful street demonstrations
- Disobedient Regional Government + Parliament
- Stubborn media propaganda
- Constant social/contextual pressure
- Two Illegal pseudo-referendums
- Failed proclamation of Independence (27-10-2017)



- Devoid of majoritarian support
- Within a democratic country
- Inside the European Union
- Amid an open/tolerant/advanced context
- ***Leading to a divided society***



***Secessionists vs. Unionists***

**AN SPONTANEOUS OR ELITE-INDUCED SECESSION PUSH??**

# CATEXIT, 9th. Nov. 2014: 1st. Illegal Referendum



CONSULTA SOBRE EL FUTURO POLÍTIC DE CATALUNYA 2014  
CONSULTA SOBRE EL FUTURO POLÍTIC DE CATALUNYA 2014

Vot que Catalunya esdevingui un Estat?  
¿Quereu que Catalunya sea un Estado?

☐ SÍ ☐ NO

En cas afirmatiu:  
Vot que sigui Estat totalment independent?  
¿Quereu que este Estado sea independiente?

☐ SÍ ☐ NO

CONSULTA SOBRE EL FUTURO POLÍTIC DE CATALUNYA 2014  
CONSULTA SOBRE EL FUTURO POLÍTIC DE CATALUNYA 2014

Vot que Catalunya esdevingui un Estat?  
¿Quereu que Catalunya sea un Estado?

☐ SÍ ☐ NO



(under the auspices of the Regional Government; <http://www.participa2014.cat/> ).

- 1.897.244 votes in favor of secession,  
(80.9%, of 2.344.828 participants),
- representing 38% of the electorate.

The rest of electorate did not attend the call to vote.....,

**DEVOID OF ANY CONSEQUENCE, as Spanish Constitution explicitly forbids secession...**



# CATELECTIONS SEPT. 2015: **PLEBISCITE FOR SECESSION??**

***Secessionist Parties Total (JxSI+CUP) = 1.957.348 (47,6% of votes)***

***Non-Secessionists Parties Total = 2.110.586 (51,28% of votes) \****

(all the rest, without nulls and whites)


Total whites+nulls= 47.873 (1,16% of votes)

***\* Difference: 150.000 votes !!***

***Electors Full Total (Votes + Abstentions): 5.352.786 citizens***

***Secessionists (JSI+CUP)= 36,6 % of electors***

JxSI = 30,3% of the Full total.

2015			
Candidaturas	Votos		Diputados
JxSI	1.628.714	39,59%	62
C's	736.364	17,90%	25
PSC	523.283	12,72%	16
CatSíquesPot	367.613	8,94%	11
PP	349.193	8,49%	11
CUP	337.794	8,21%	10
unio.cat	103.293	2,51%	
PACMA	30.157	0,73%	
RECORTES CERO-ELS VERDS	14.444	0,35%	
GANEMOS	1.167	0,03%	
PIRATA.CAT/XDT	327	0,01%	

	2015		2012
Total de votantes	4.130.196	74,95%	67,76%
Abstención	1.380.657	25,05%	32,24%
Votos nulos	15.952	0,39%	0,90%
Votos en blanco	21.895	0,53%	1,44%
Votos a candidaturas	4.092.349	99,08%	97,65%





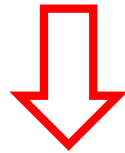
## 1st Oct. 2017: 2nd. Illegal Referendum.

*(Similar results to 9N-first: a secessionist hit!!)*



## 27th Oct. 2017: Independence Proclamation.

*(Failed: a secessionist fiasco!!)*



## 2017 POST-EFFECTS:

- *Suspension of Home Rule (155th Constitution norm).*
- *Several secessionist leaders imprisoned.*
- *> 4.500 Companies and leading Banks moved headquarters out of Catalonia.*
- *> 38.500 million Euros (in accounts), escaped the week before 27Oct.*
- *Central Gov. Call for new Regional Elections....*





# CATELECTIONS DEC. 2017: **2nd PLEBISCITE FOR SECESSION??**

**Secessionist Parties Total (JxCat+ERC+CUP) = 2.079.330 (47,33%)**

**Non-Secessionists Parties Total = 2.227.421 (50,71%) \***

Total whites+nulls= 35.523 (0,80%)

**\* Difference: 150.000 votes !!**

**Electors full total (votes+abstentions): 5.554.455 citizens**

**Secessionists (JxCat+ERC+CUP): 37,43% of electors**



## REGIONAL CATELECTIONS-DECEMBER 2017

### Geografía del voto (I)

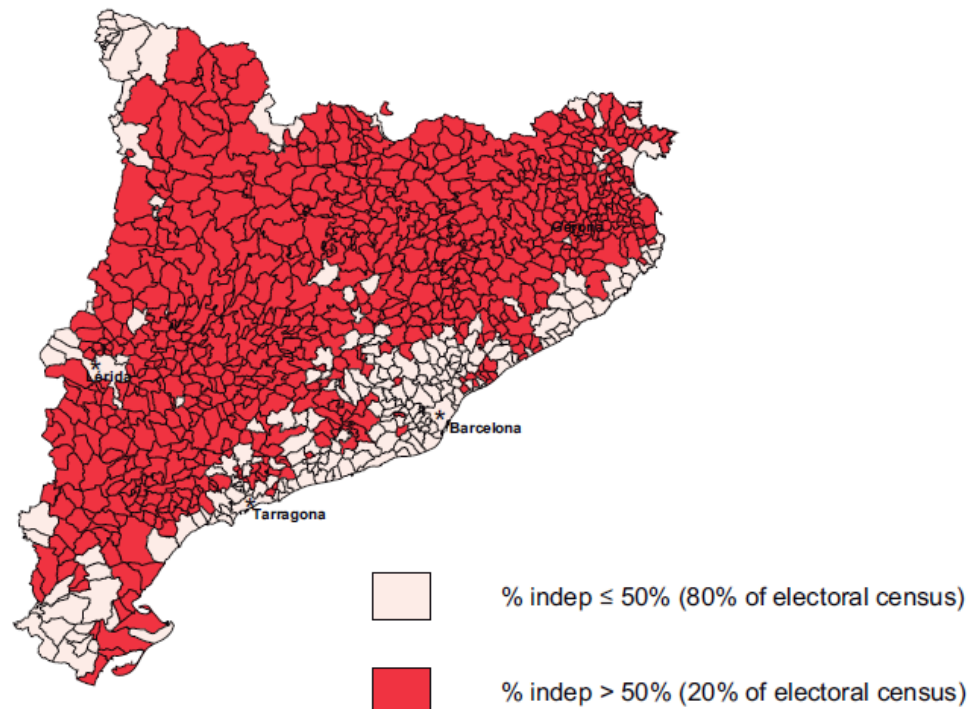


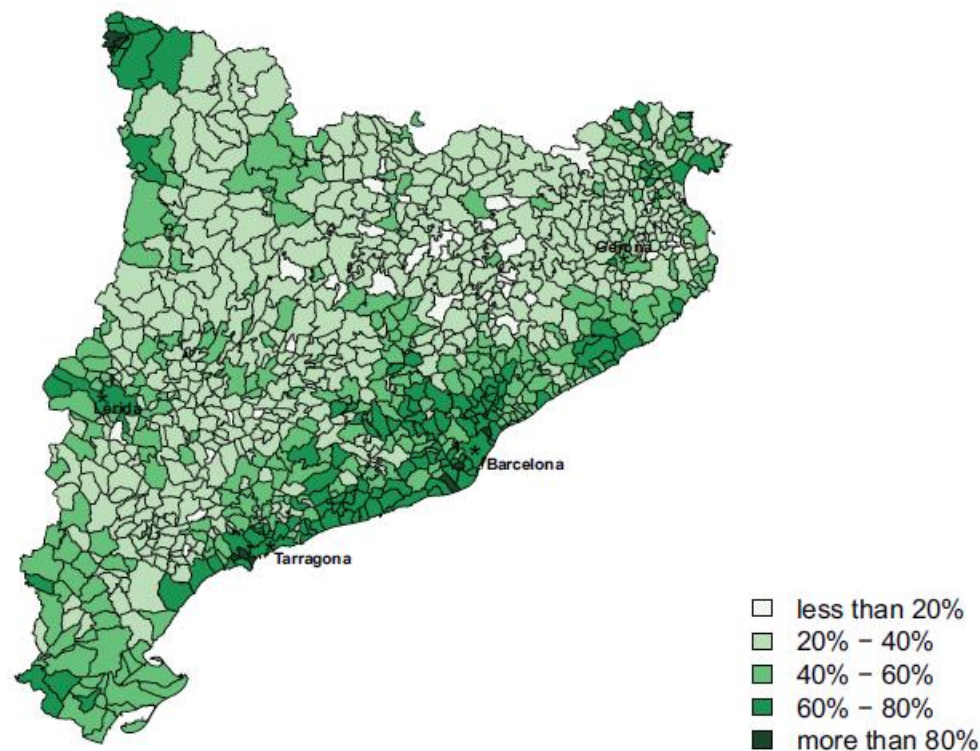
Figura 1. Voto a **JxCat+ERC+CUP** en las últimas elecciones autonómicas 21-12-2017.

En **rojo** las zonas donde **el secesionismo supera al 50 % del censo** electoral municipal:

- **76 % municipios, 78 % superficie**, pero **solo un 20 % del censo** electoral catalán.
- **Gerona** única capital provincial situada en la zona en rojo.

## REGIONAL CATELECTIONS-DECEMBER 2017

### Geografía del voto (II)



**Figura 2.** Porcentajes de voto no secesionista en **diferentes tonos de verde** respecto el censo electoral municipal.



## SUMMARY OF **VOTING/POPULATION** GEOGRAPHY: REGIONAL CATELECTIONS 21th Dec. 2017.

- Secesionismo elevado en pequeñas localidades del interior (**Santa Cecília de Voltregá: censo electoral 163, voto secesionista 89,0 %**). En el litoral, grandes núcleos urbanos y zonas limítrofes con otras regiones el voto secesionista cae (**Badía del Vallés: censo electoral 10.560, voto secesionista 14,5 %**).
- A partir de los datos electorales del 21-12-2019:

	<b>Secesionistas</b>	<b>No secesionistas</b>
zona en <b>Rojo/Verde</b>	<b>1,069M</b>	<b>0,434M</b>
zona en <b>Rosa/Verde pálido</b>	<b>0,996M</b>	<b>2,829M</b>
<b>Totales</b>	<b>2,065M</b>	<b>3,263M</b>

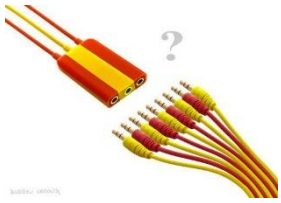
- Las áreas con menor porcentaje de voto secesionista se corresponden con las zonas con un menor uso del Catalán según la reciente Encuesta de usos lingüísticos de la población de Cataluña, 2018.

## SPAIN LAST GENERAL ELECTION, 10th Nov. 2019 (Catalonian results)

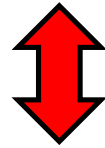
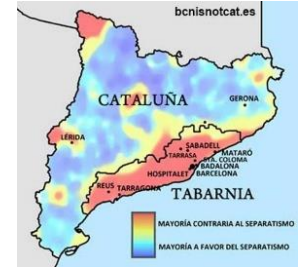
- **Secessionist forces : 1.642.063 votes (43%)**
- **Nonsecessionist forces: 2.222.649 votes (56%)**

(turnout: 72,1%)

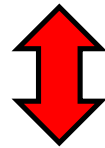
# CATEXIT TROUBLES 2012-2019: a Unique Experiment



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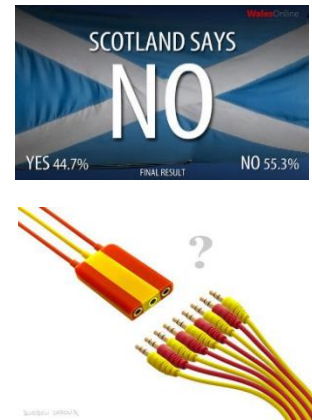


***Secessionists vs. Unionists***

***AN SPONTANEOUS OR ELITE-INDUCED SECESSION PUSH??***

# MAIN CONJECTURES ABOUT ORIGINS OF THE SECESSIONISM WAVE IN CATALONIA

- Emotional: **DISTRUST, CONTEMPT** Cat/Spain
- Economic Grievances: **PARASITARIAN TAXES**
- Local power competition: **LEAD AND MASK CORRUPTION**
- Soccer: **EMULATION OF BARÇA SUCCESS**
- Social Networking: **EUPHORIC XENOPHOBIA**
- Context: **SCOTLAND, EUROPEAN CRISES**
- Indoctrination: **PARTISAN MEDIA**
- Oportunity: **SPANISH DEEP WEAKNESS** .....



*...Unsatisfactory, so..  
....Spanish intelligentsia:*



*...“AN ALIENATED  
SOCIETY”???.....  
.. a collective madness??...*



*PSEUDOEXPLANATION!!*

*BUT:...relative WEIGHT?,... % VARIANCE?....:*

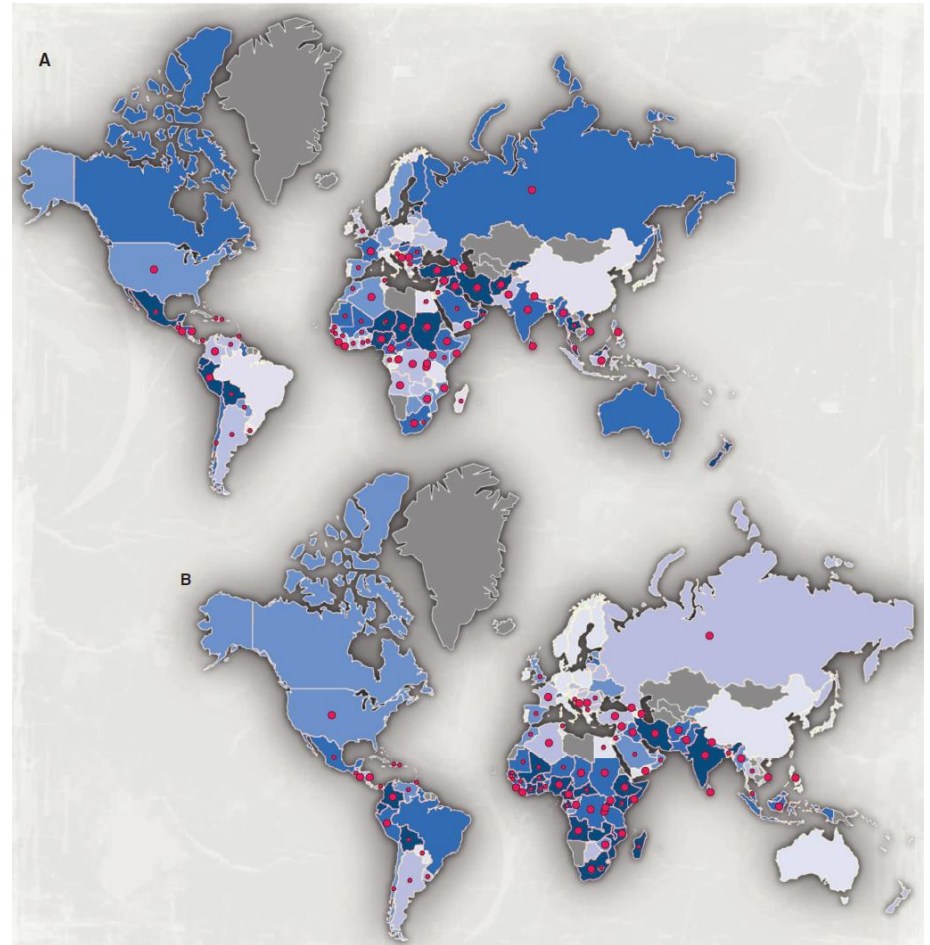
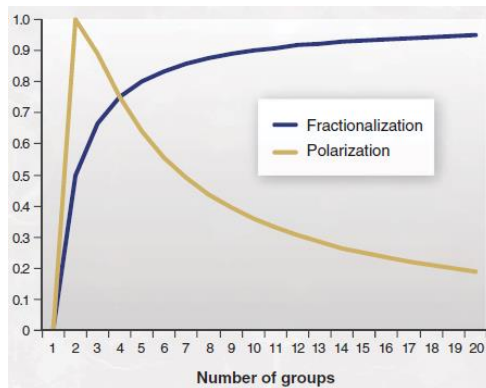


# ETHNICITY AND CONFLICT: THEORY AND FACTS

Esteban J, Mayoral L and Ray D, (2012),  
*Science*, 336, 858-865.

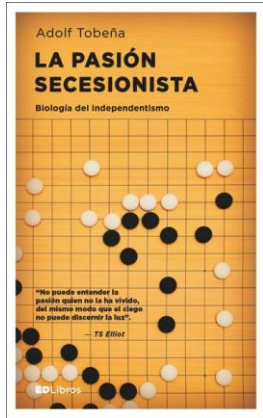
**WHY CATALONIA?...,**

**...AND *NOT* WALES, BAVARIA,  
TIROL, CORSICA , BRITTANY,  
PADANIA, GALIZIA, FLANDERS  
OR THE CANARY ISLANDS?...**



**Fig. 3.** Ethnicity and conflict. Dots represent the maximum yearly conflict intensity that each country has experienced over the period; smaller dots meet the 25-death PRIO criterion, whereas larger dots

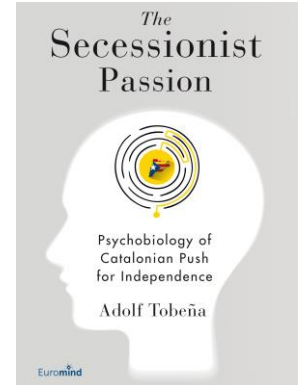
satisfy the 1000-death criterion. Darker colors signify higher degrees of polarization (A) or fractionalization (B). Countries for which no data are available are depicted in gray.



***MY VIEW (stated from 2014):***

**AN EXAMPLE OF DOMESTIC-NATIONALISTIC STRUGGLE:**

**NO COLLECTIVE MADNESS!!!**



***InterGroup power competition along a ethnocultural frontier!!!***

**7.500.000 Catalanian citizens.**

- 42-45%: *native origins + assimilated.*
- 55-58%: *rest of Spain + foreigners.*

**Habitual Language:** (Idescat 2019)

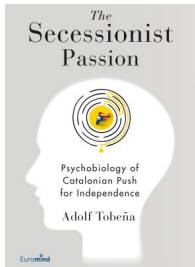
- 56%: **Spanish**

- 36%: **Catalan**

- 6%: **Both**

- 5%: Other languages: Arab, Amazic, Urdu, Romanian, Italian, English, Chinese, French...

# InterGroup competition on a ethnocultural frontier!!!



**SPAIN'S EXTREME FRAGILITY: NEAR BANKTRUPCY, 2008-2012...**

**OPPORTUNITY PERCEIVED BY SOME LOCAL ELITES AND MIDDLE CLASS SEGMENTS TO REACH AND EXERCISE UNDISPUTED POWER...**

**{ - indoctrination  
- social pressure**

**gregariousness**

**Passion pursuing victory!!.**



**Inspired and directed by Regional Government+Secessionist parties and associations.**



# GREGARIOUSNES: COMMUNAL AND POLITICAL PASSIONS

## Herding psychology:

- Congregation
- Obedience
- Conformity
- Ingroup favouritism
- Persuasion
- Imitation....



## Herding in humans

Raafat M, Chater N and Frith Ch (2009) *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 13, 10, 420-428

## Towerist fandom

## Soccer fandom

## Devote and enthusiast communions



## Nationalist fandom

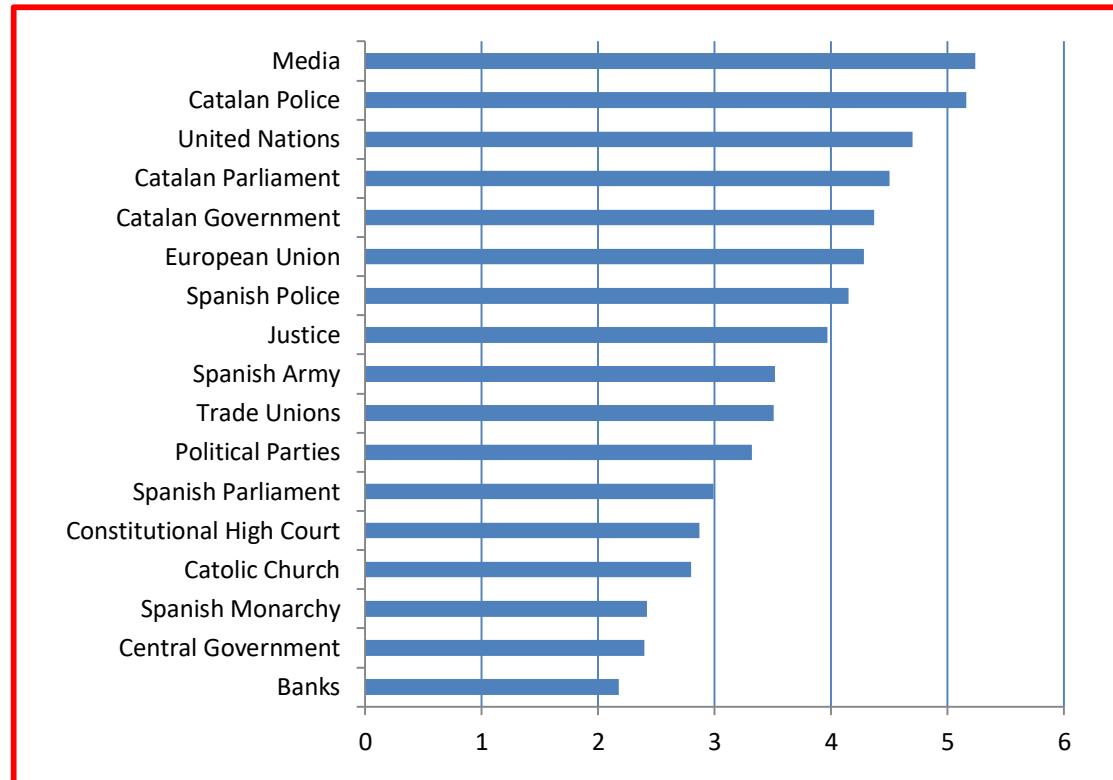


“..people don’t only want comfort, safety, short working-hours, hygiene, birth-control and, in general, common sense; they also, at least intermittently, want struggle and self-sacrifice, not to mention drums, flags and loyalty-parades”

*The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Orwell*  
Volume II: My Country Right or Left 1940-1943.  
London: Penguin, 1970.

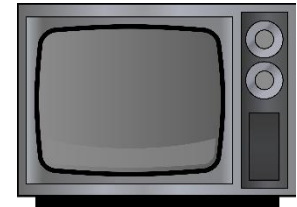


## ***Indoctrinating paths: Trust of Catalan citizenry in their Institutions.***



***Responses to the question: “Please indicate your degree of trust (from 1= None to 10= Maximum), in the following Institutions”; Survey of N=2000 persons, direct interviews (CEO, 33, Barometer of political opinion, October 2014; similar results on October 2015, CEO 36).***

## CATALONIAN MEDIA “BUBBLE”: AN ENCAPSULATING UMBRELLA



*“Preferred TV channel to follow political and general news?”:*

- **TV3** (public TV channel dependent from the Regional Government): 53% of responders bestowed it an unchallenged lead.
- Adding the audience who prefer other local TV channels the **total score** reaches a 60% of citizens who prefer to follow political news from Catalan channels.
- The sum for **the Spanish TV channels barely reach a 33% of followers.**

**Source:** CEO Survey 33, Barometer of political opinion, October 2014 (Fully confirmed at Survey 36, October 2015).

# CATALONIAN MEDIA “BUBBLE”: AN ENCAPSULATING UMBRELLA



*“Preferred Broadcasting station to follow political and general news?”:*

- *Catalunya Ràdio* (official station dependent from Regional Authorities) and *RAC1* (private station: Godó-Vanguardia Group) lead, with a big advantage, the radio audiences with a summed share of 62% of followers; Catalan is the only language used, by both.
- The *Spanish stations*, all summed, reach a meager 25% of radio followers.
- The rest (20%): local stations.

**Source:** CEO Survey 33, Barometer of political opinion, October 2014 (Fully confirmed at Survey 36, October 2015).



# CATALONIAN MEDIA “BUBBLE”: AN ENCAPSULATING UMBRELLA



## ***“Preferred Newspaper to follow political and general news?”:***

- ***“La Vanguardia” and “El Periódico”*** (both Barcelona newspapers with regional scope and with daily editions in Spanish and Catalan languages – this last predominant) alternate the lead and they reach, summed, a quota of **57% of Catalan readers.**
- ***“El Punt-Avui” and “Ara”,*** two pro-secessionist newspapers added to several local ones exceed a score of **20% of readers.**
- The proportion of readers of **Spanish newspapers does not reach 10% of surveyed people.**

## ***“Preferred webs, blogs or social media?”:***

- Despite the absence of comparable data the scores might be even more biased as secessionist web platforms have been particularly successful competing with webs and blogs linked to major newspapers and media networks.

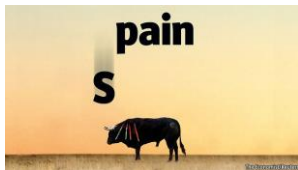
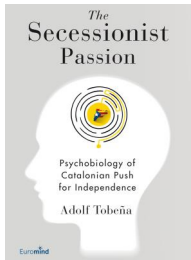
**Source:** CEO Survey 33, Barometer of political opinion, October 2014 (Fully confirmed at Survey 36, October 2015).



**Emotional/Feeling automatisms, conformity manipulations and context pressure: the “perennial estelades” campaign!**



# InterGroup competition on a **ethnocultural frontier!!!**



**SPAIN'S EXTREME FRAGILITY: NEAR BANKTRUPCY, 2008-2012...**

**OPPORTUNITY PERCEIVED BY SOME LOCAL ELITES AND MIDDLE CLASS SEGMENTS TO REACH AND EXERCISE UNDISPUTED POWER...**

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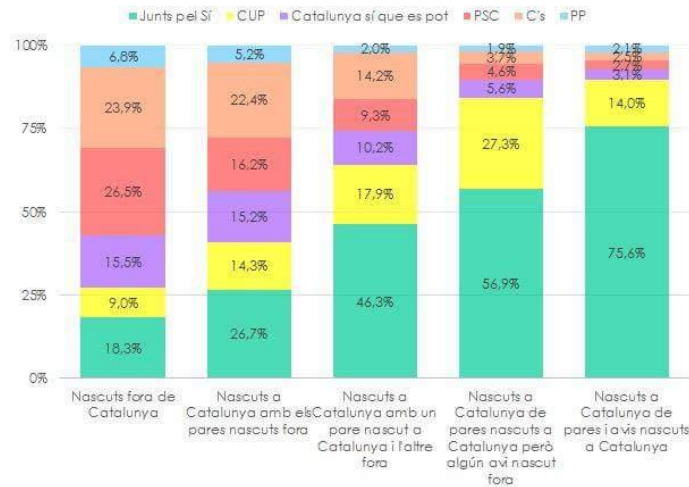


*"Selfishness beats altruism within groups. Altruistic groups bet selfish groups. Everything else is commentary"*  
 DS Wilson and EO Wilson (2007) Rethinking the theoretical foundations of sociobiology, *The Quarterly Review of Biology*, 82, 4, 327-348.



## ***A stongly polarized ethnocultural frontier: 2015 Catalan electoral results***

RECORD DE VOT EN FUNCIO DE  
L'ORIGEN



***Two countries, within a country!!***



**The Coevolution of Cultural Groups and Ingroup Favoritism**

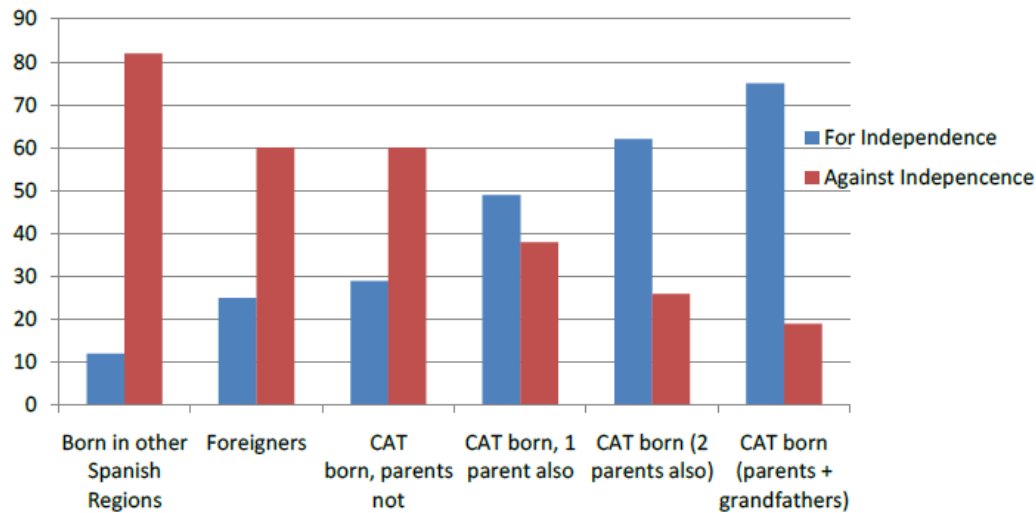


# *A strongly polarized ethnocultural frontier*



Psychology, 2018, 9, 460-471  
<http://www.scirp.org/journal/psych>  
ISSN Online: 2152-7199  
ISSN Print: 2152-7180

## Entrenched Catalonia: A Secessionist Venture Trapped on an Ethno-Political Draw

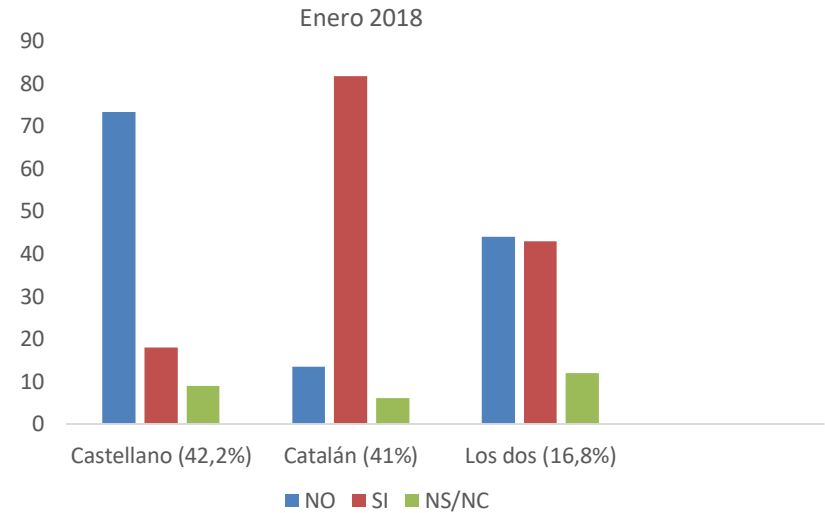
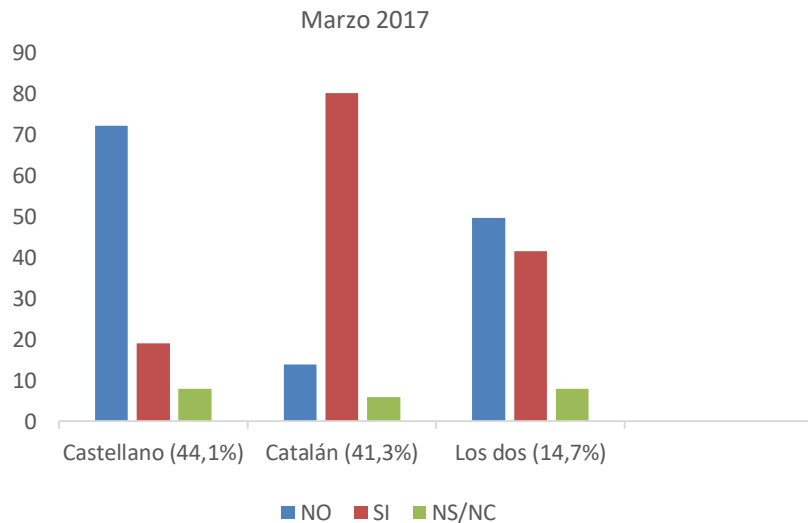


**Figure 1.** People in favor or against Catalanian independence (in percentages), in relation to their familial origin (CAT Born: Born in Catalonia). Adapted from Llaneras (2017), from available statistics provided by the June 2017-CEO “Political barometer” (Barómetro de Opinión Política June-July, 2017). Remnants correspond to non-responders, in each category.

**El apoyo a la independencia tiene raíces económicas y de origen social** Kiko Llaneras, *El País*, 28 Sept. 2017.

[https://politica.elpais.com/politica/2017/09/28/ratio/1506601198\\_808440.html](https://politica.elpais.com/politica/2017/09/28/ratio/1506601198_808440.html)

## ***SUPPORT vs. REJECTION OF SECESSION DEPENDING ON FAMILIAL LANGUAGE.***



**% Support (YES) vs. Rejection (NO) to Secession, or do'nt know/no answer (NS/NC), depending on familial/habitual language, from CEO surveys March 2017 and January 2018 (personal interviews to N=2000).**

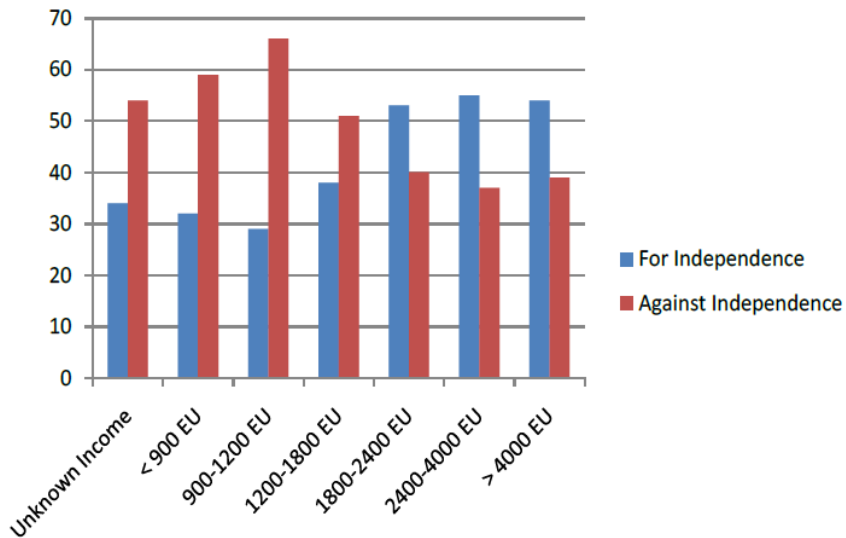
**Global support (48%), rejection (43%) or DK/NA (8%), to Secession were almost identical in these surveys.**  
(<http://ceo.gencat.cat/ca/barometre/>)

# A strongly polarized ethnocultural frontier

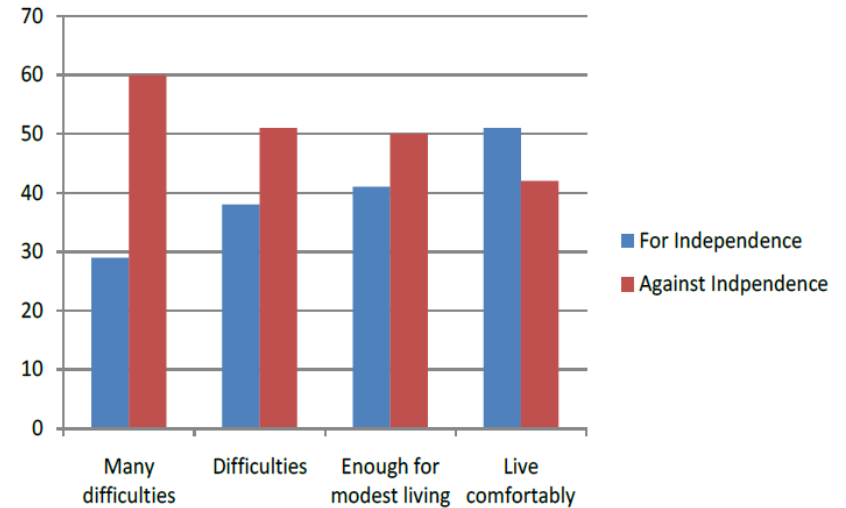


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ISSN Online: 2152-7199  
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**Figure 2.** People in favor or against Catalonia Secession (in percentages) depending on declared monthly incomes in Euros (EU). Adapted from Llaneras (2017), from available statistics provided by the June 2017-CEO “Political barometer” (Barómetro de Opinión Política June-July, 2017). Remnants correspond to non-responders, in each category.



**Figure 3.** People in favor or against Catalanian independence (in percentages), in relation to the declared hardship to subsist according to their monthly incomes). Adapted from Llaneras (2017), from available statistics provided by the June 2017-CEO “Political barometer” (Barómetro de Opinión Política June-July, 2017). Remnants correspond to non-responders, in each category.

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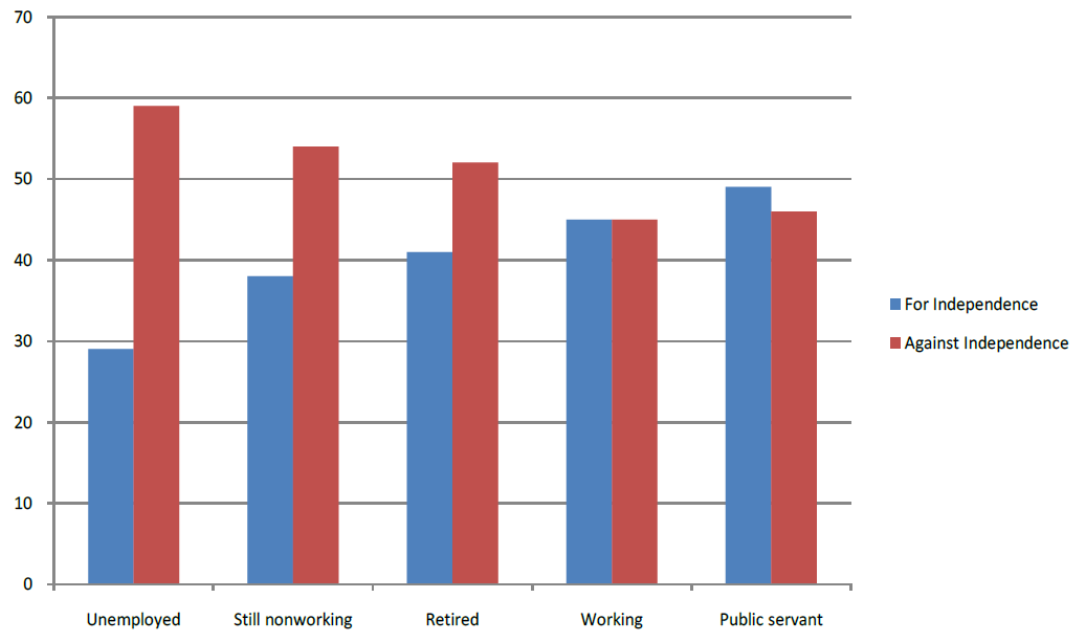
[https://politica.elpais.com/politica/2017/09/28/ratio/1506601198\\_808440.html](https://politica.elpais.com/politica/2017/09/28/ratio/1506601198_808440.html)

# *A strongly polarized ethnocultural frontier*



Psychology, 2018, 9, 460-471  
<http://www.scirp.org/journal/psych>  
ISSN Online: 2152-7199  
ISSN Print: 2152-7180

## Entrenched Catalonia: A Secessionist Venture Trapped on an Ethno-Political Draw



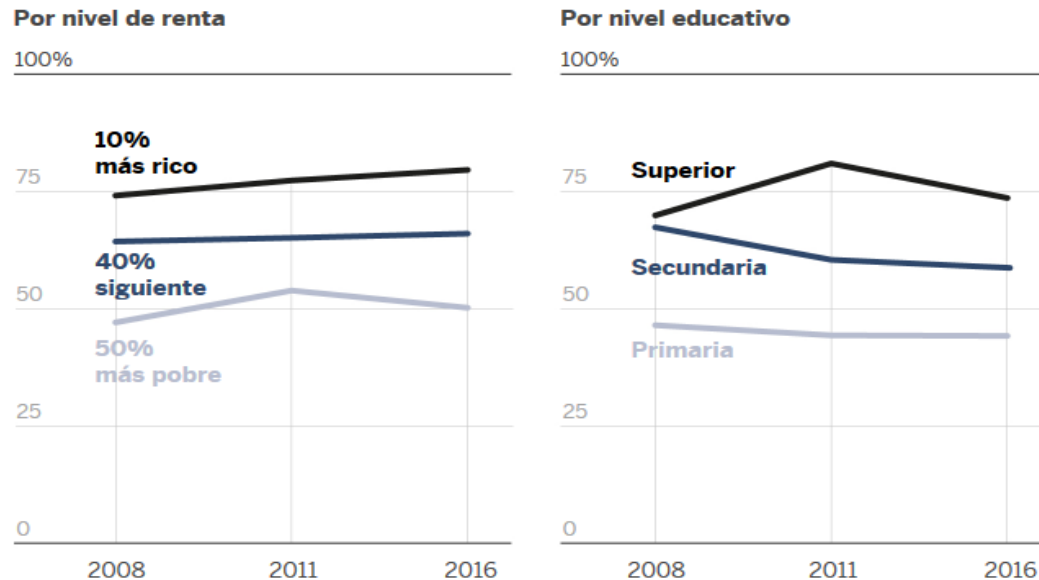
**Figure 4.** People in favor or against Catalanian independence (in percentages), in relation to their current working situation. Adapted from Llaneras (2017), from available statistics provided by the June 2017-CEO “Political barometer” (Barómetro de Opinión Política June-July, 2017). Remnants correspond to non-responders, in each category.

**El apoyo a la independencia tiene raíces económicas y de origen social** Kiko Llaneras, *El País*, 28 Sept. 2017.

[https://politica.elpais.com/politica/2017/09/28/ratio/1506601198\\_808440.html](https://politica.elpais.com/politica/2017/09/28/ratio/1506601198_808440.html)



**% Support for higher decentralization or for CATALONIAN secession, depending on rent and education levels, across recent years.**



Fuente: [piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideologie](http://piketty.pse.ens.fr/ideologie)  
EL PAÍS

Piketty Th (2019) *Capital and Ideology*, Harvard Univ. Press.

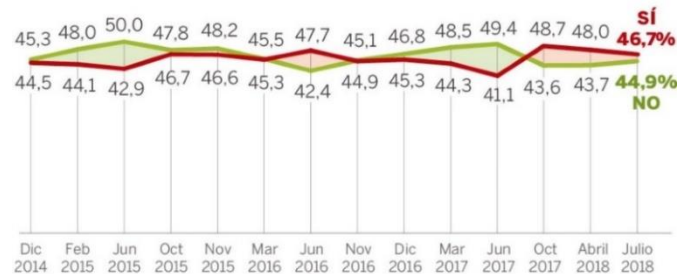
**“Piketty asserts that Catalan secessionism is a form of fiscal egoism”**

[Marc Bassets](https://elpais.com/elpais/2019/11/22/ideas/1574443433_230223.html) , *ELPaís-IDEAS*, 24 Nov. 2019. [https://elpais.com/elpais/2019/11/22/ideas/1574443433\\_230223.html](https://elpais.com/elpais/2019/11/22/ideas/1574443433_230223.html)

# A FRACTURED AND DEEPLY DIVIDED SOCIETY

¿Quiere que Cataluña se convierta en un Estado independiente?

Evolución, en %

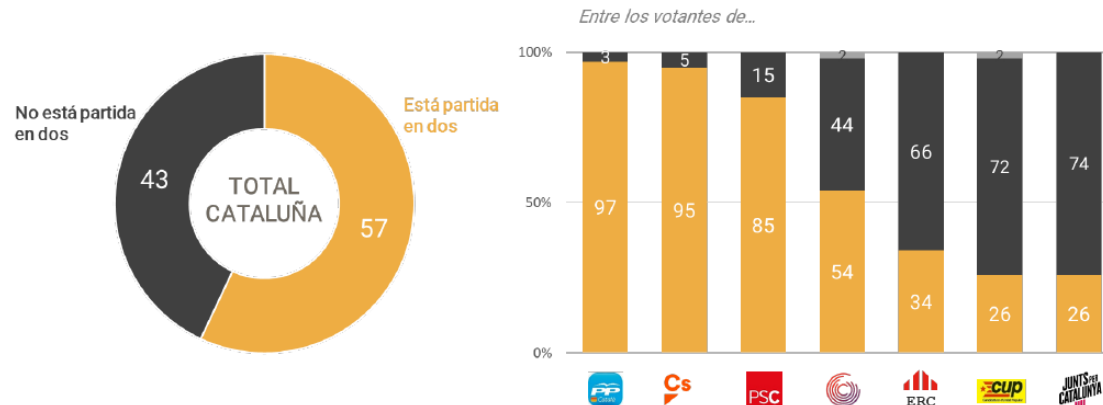


Fuente: Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, Generalitat de Catalunya. EL PAÍS

- Son mayoría (57% frente a 43%) quienes estiman que **ahora Cataluña está partida en dos**.

Gráfico 5

¿Diría usted que en el momento actual la sociedad catalana está partida en dos mitades?  
(septiembre 2019)

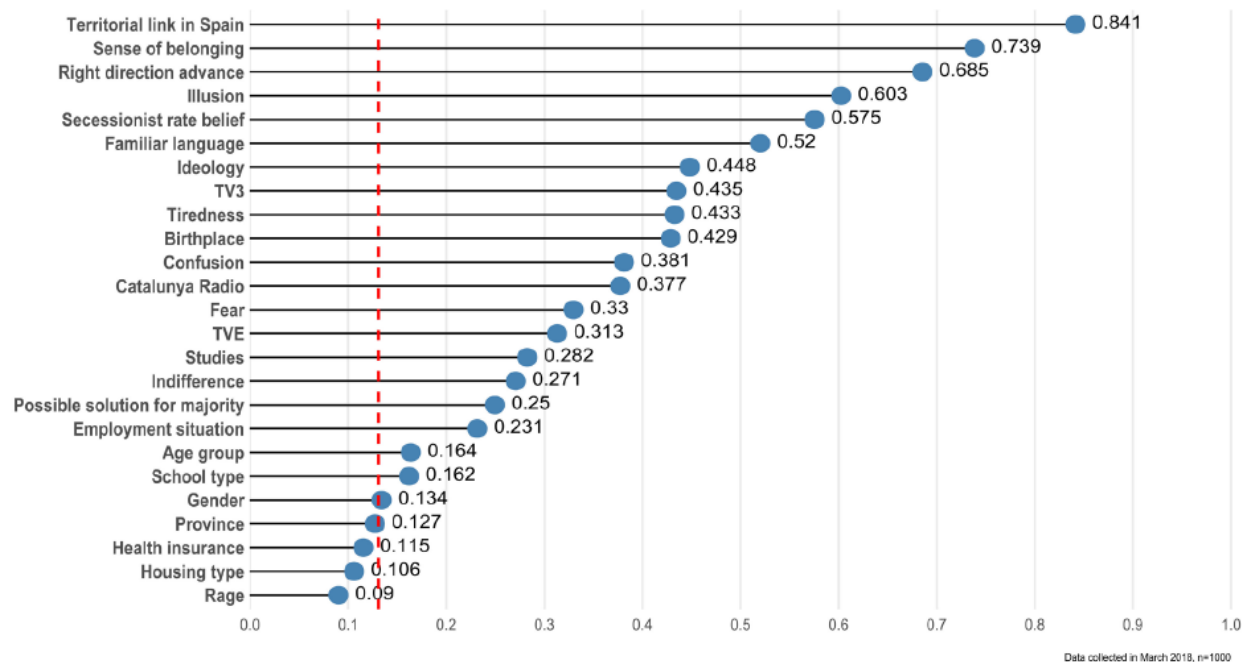


**Metroscopia Survey "Cataluña: balance de situación"**: Interviews to 1500 Catalan electors >18 years old, 10-13 Sept, 2019.  
[www.metroscopia.org](http://www.metroscopia.org)

# Secessionists vs. Unionists in Catalonia: Mood, Emotional Profiles and Beliefs about Secession Perspectives in Two Confronted Communities

Josep Maria Oller<sup>1</sup>, Albert Satorra<sup>2</sup>, Adolf Tobeña<sup>3</sup>

Psychology, 2019, 10, 336-357  
<http://www.scirp.org/journal/psych>  
 ISSN Online: 2152-7199  
 ISSN Print: 2152-7180



**Figure 1.** Differences between Catalan secessionists and unionists on 25 categorical variables of the survey. Numerical values and length of the bar correspond to the contingency coefficient  $C$  reported at **Table 1**. Variables are sorted by their  $C$  values. All the variables with bullets on the right of the red line of the graph distinguished significantly (5% level) between both groups of citizens.

**Fuente:** Sondeo telefónico GAD3 ; muestra representativa de **1000 ciudadanos catalanes**, entre el 9-20 Marzo de 2018.

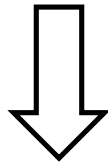
# ***EMOTIONAL-PERCEPTUAL TRAITS OF SECESSIONISTS, March 2018***

## **Secessionists (compared to Unionists):**

- are more politically engaged and more passionate; and they are also much more determined/convinced of attaining their final goals.
- have a narrower and stronger national identification, more homogeneous linguistic habits and their media consumption preferences are highly restricted to the regional "bubble".
- they are more affluent and their economic perspectives are superior as well

***So, they pertain to privileged segments of society and they are much more fanatized***

***Conditions, all these, in favour of a chronification of the challenge.***

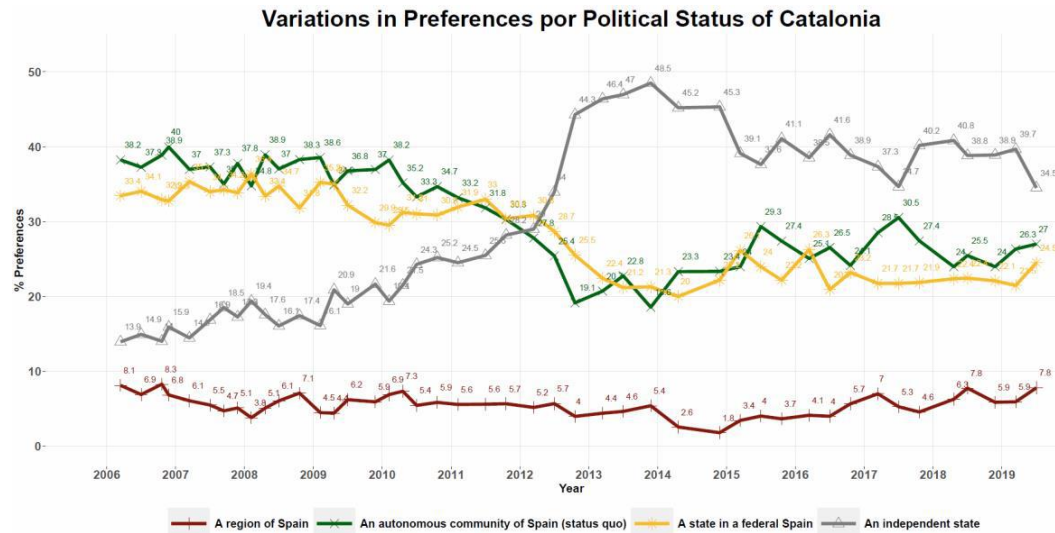


***THE SECESSIONIST PASSION IS ALIVE AND VERY ACTIVE,  
WITHIN A FRACTURED SOCIETY***





# FROM FEASTS TO CLASHES!!!



**Figure 1. Preferences of Catalan citizens (in percentages) about the political status of the region.**

As shown at CEO surveys (Barometer of Political Opinion; <http://ceo.gencat.cat/ca/barometre/>, the official polling agency of Catalanian Regional Government). Data gathered from personal interviews to representative samples of 1500-2500 citizens, on every survey (last survey, 26<sup>th</sup> July, 2019). *Autonomous Community*: current Catalanian status within Spain, meaning a decentralized region with Home Rule. The proportion of DK/NA (do not know or no answers) are omitted for the sake of clarity.



## Pathways and legacies of the secessionist push in Catalonia.

Oller, Satorra and Tobeña (2019), *Policy Network*.





**SEPARATION ANXIETY PERSISTS,  
TAMING THE NATIONALISTIC TIGER  
IS HARD.., AND LEADING WORLD  
PRESS OFTEN DOES NOT HELP ....**



Economist.com



**MANY THANKS!!....**

