

Dimensions and time persistence of Catalanian social divide induced by the secessionist venture

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Social Fragmentation in Catalonia: a civil conflict?

Tuesday 03 December 2019 6:00pm to 8:00pm

Hosted by the Conflict and Civil Society Research Unit, Department of International Development

The London School of Economics and Political Science, London





Joint with

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Based on

- Oller, J.M., Satorra, A. & Tobeña, A., Pathways and legacies of the secessionist push in Catalonia, Linguistic frontiers, economic segments and media roles within a divided society, **Policy Network Paper, 14** October 2019, <https://policynetwork.org/publications/papers/pathways-and-legacies-of-the-secessionist-push-in-catalonia/>
- Oller, J.M., Satorra, A. & Tobeña, A. Unveiling pathways for the fissure among secessionists and unionists in Catalonia: identities, family language, and media influence. **Palgrave Commun 5**, 148 November 2019, <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41599-019-0357-z>

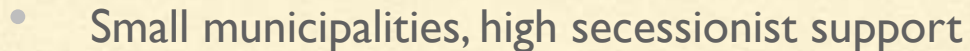
...in open access

Uncovering Catalanian divides on secession

Using:

- Registered data
- **Survey data**

Registered data

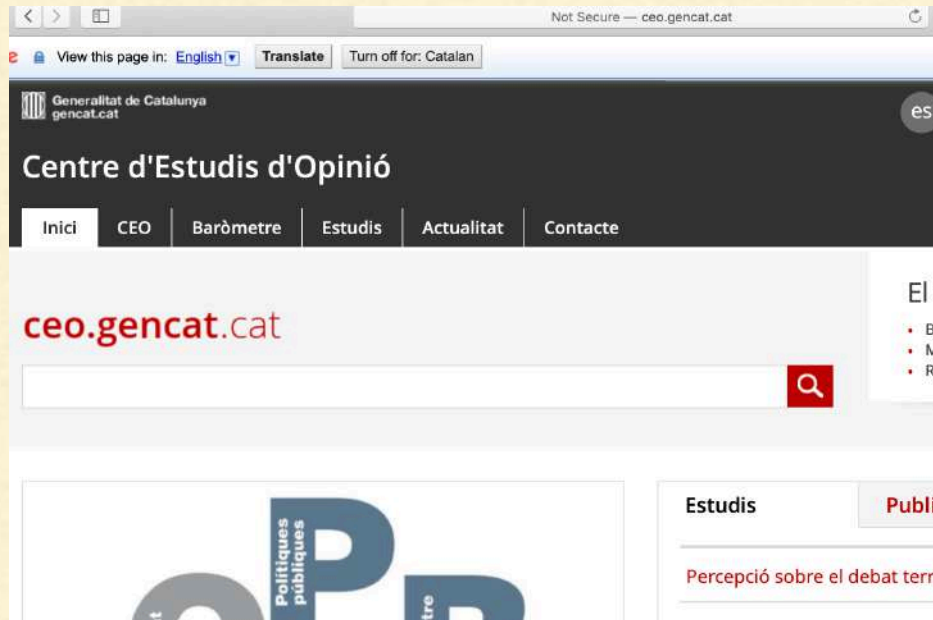


A very high % of the mayors in Catalonia in demonstration pro
secession from Spain



Survey data, from **C. E. O.**

Generalitat de Catalunya
Ministry of the Presidency



Estudis	Publicacions
Estudis	
Percepció sobre el debat territorial a Espanya. 2019	
Cosmopolitisme i localisme a Catalunya. 2019	
Enquesta sobre el debat de política general. 2019	
Òmnibus de la Generalitat de Catalunya. 2019	
Baròmetre d'Opinió Política. 2a onada 2019	

Data in open access. We use:

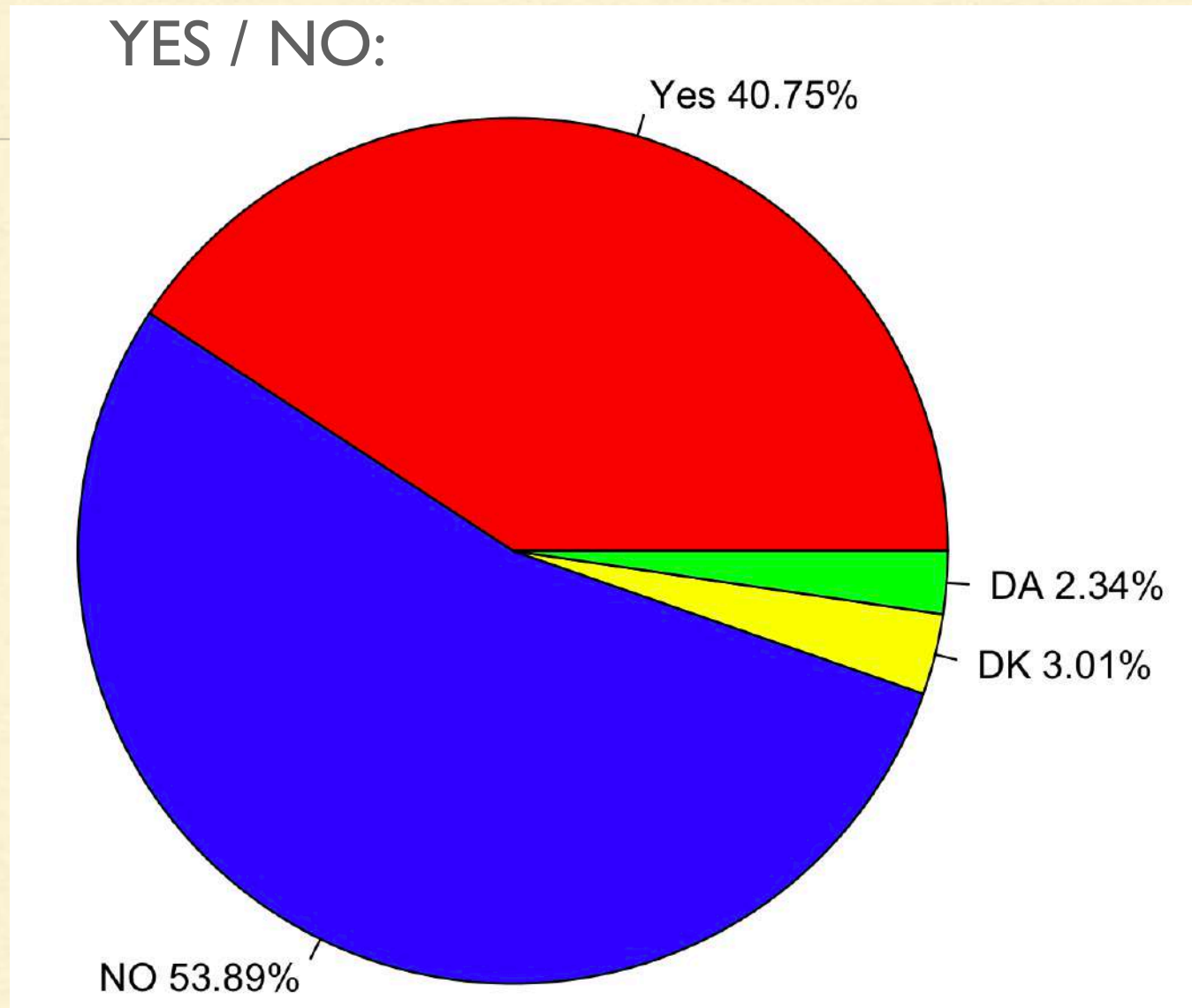
45 surveys (B.O.P.)

88,538 respondents

Years: 2006 to 2019

Secession from Spain?

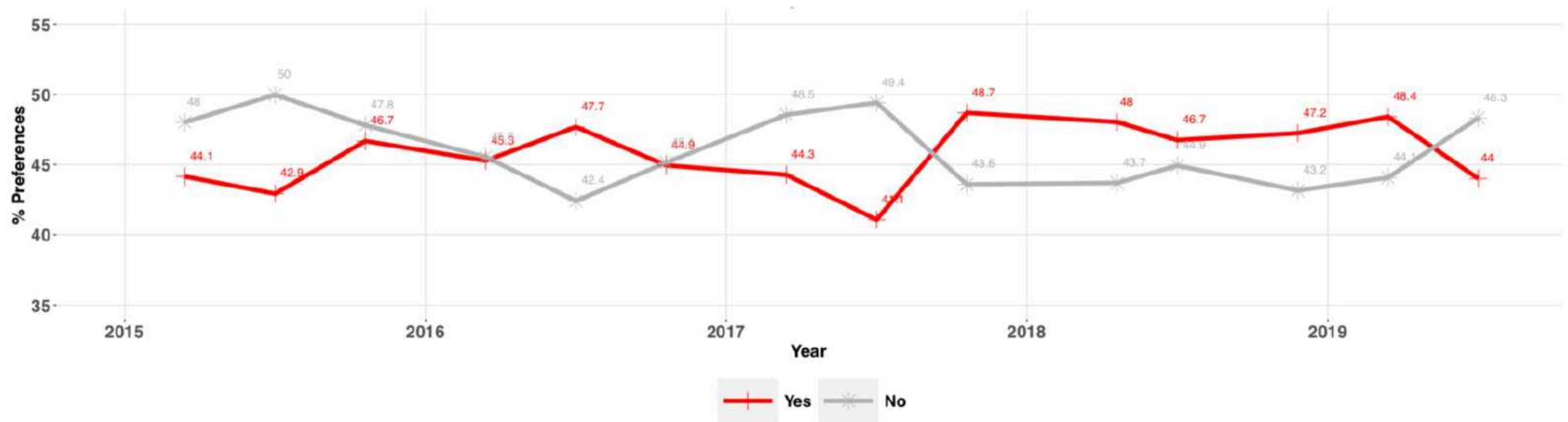
Estimates: 2018



Yes/No Secession from Spain?

(surveys: 2015-2019)

Figure 2: Percentages of citizens responding YES/NO to a direct question about secession from Spain in a hypothetical referendum of self-determination



Response "Yes" (to secession):
oscillating between 41% to 48%, 14 surveys, 5 years

... surveys of CEO record this variable only from 2015

VARIABLES COMMON IN ALL THE SURVEYS (SINCE 2006)

- **Which of the following sentences best expresses your identity? You feel... (*Sense of belonging/national identity feelings*):** Only Spanish=1 ; More Spanish than Catalan = 2 ; As Spanish as Catalan = 3 ; More Catalan than Spanish = 4 ; Only Catalan = 5 ; DK = 98; NA= 99.

This variable, shall be referred either as “*Sense of Belonging*” or “*national identity feelings*”,

- **What language you first spoke at home, when you were a child?**

Catalan = 1 ; Spanish = 2 ; Both languages = 3 ; Aranese = 4 ; Other languages = 80 ; DK = 98; NA = 99.

This is the *Family/Mother language*

- The variable ***Media Following*** was a binary one built with P16a (**At which television channel do you usually see the news?**) and P16b (**at which radio station do you usually listen to news?**).

It shall be referred as “*Regional media following*” reaching only two values: 1, if respondents watched the news in the main public Regional TV (TV3), or listened them at the main public regional radio (CatRadio): 0, if otherwise.

- **And more specifically, do you want Catalonia to become an independent State?**

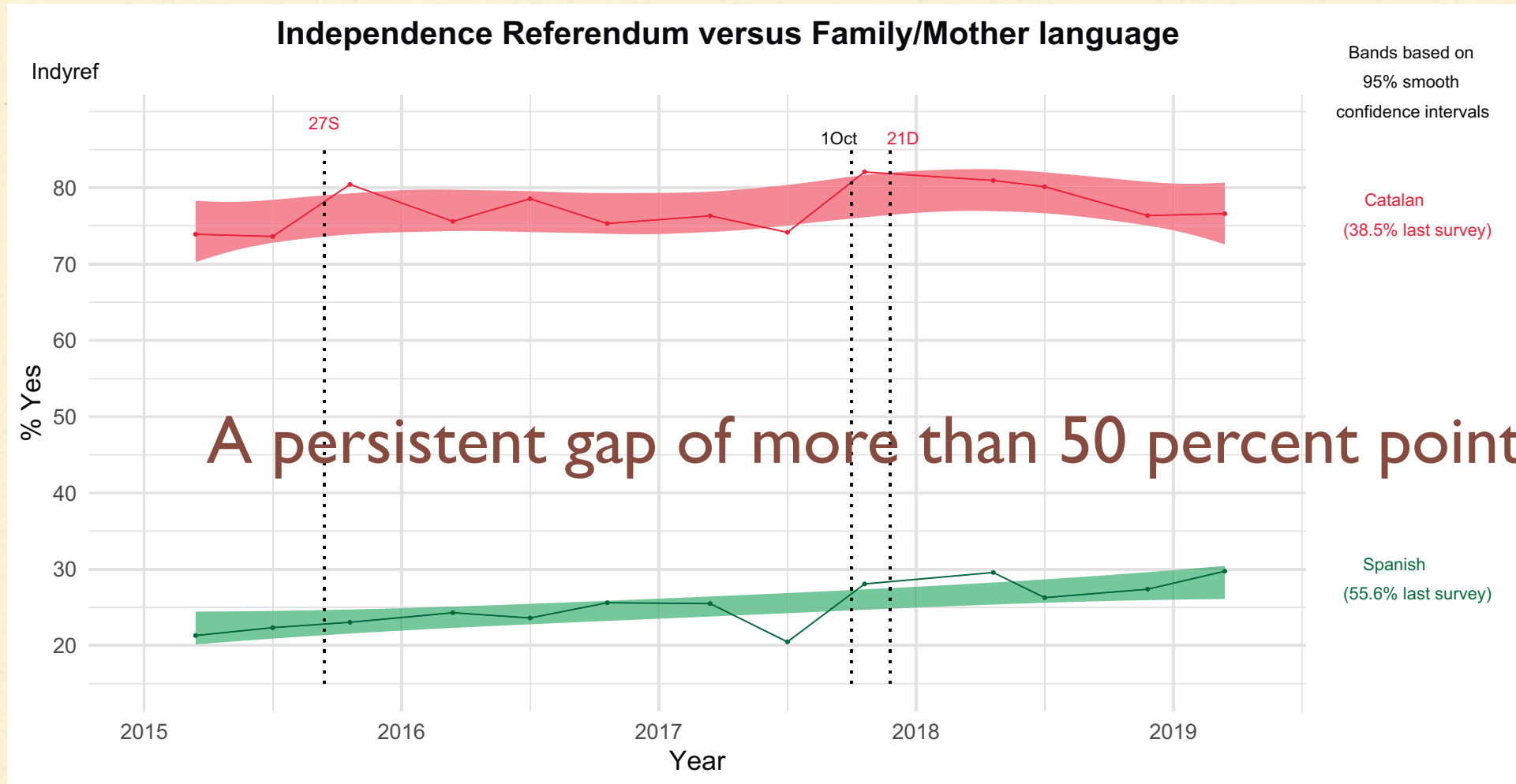
Yes = 1; No = 2; DK = 3; NA = 4.

This qualitative variable, with three different outputs, shall be referred as “*Support of secession*” within the paper.

THE MAJOR DIVIDE:

FAMILY/MOTHER LANGUAGE

"Yes" to secession in a hypothetical referendum, in the two language groups



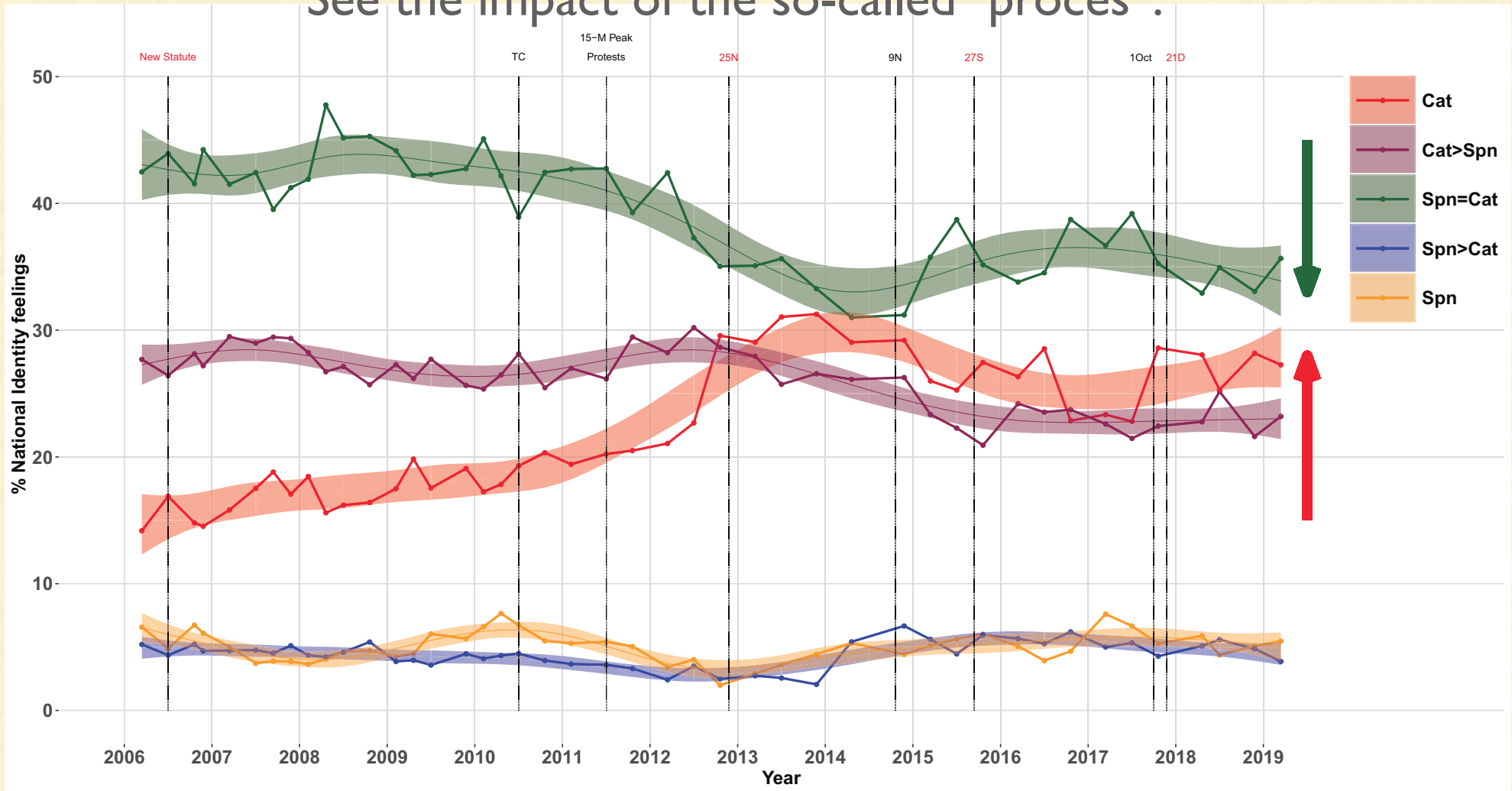
Support of secession variable is recorded only since 2015

The “*Sense of Belonging*” variable,
its variation in 10 years

All Catalan citizens

Evolution (last 10 years) of the *Sense of Belonging*

See the impact of the so-called “proces”:

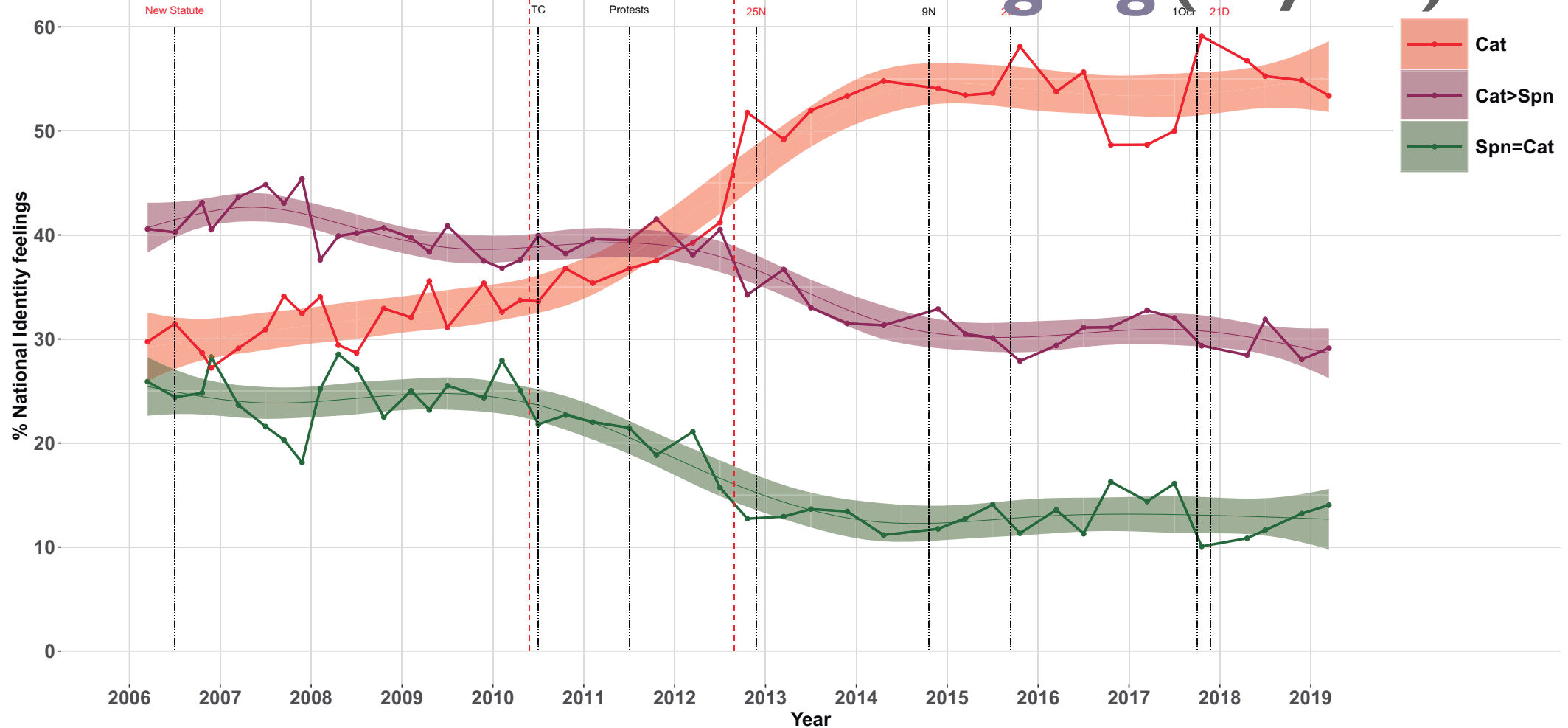


- Erosion of the sentiment of the dual sentiment of belonging, Cat=Spn
- Increase of one extreme sentiment of belonging, only Cat
- no variation of the other extreme sentiment of belonging, only Spanish, and Span > Cat.

Catalan citizens with family/mother language Catalan (38.5% of all catalans)

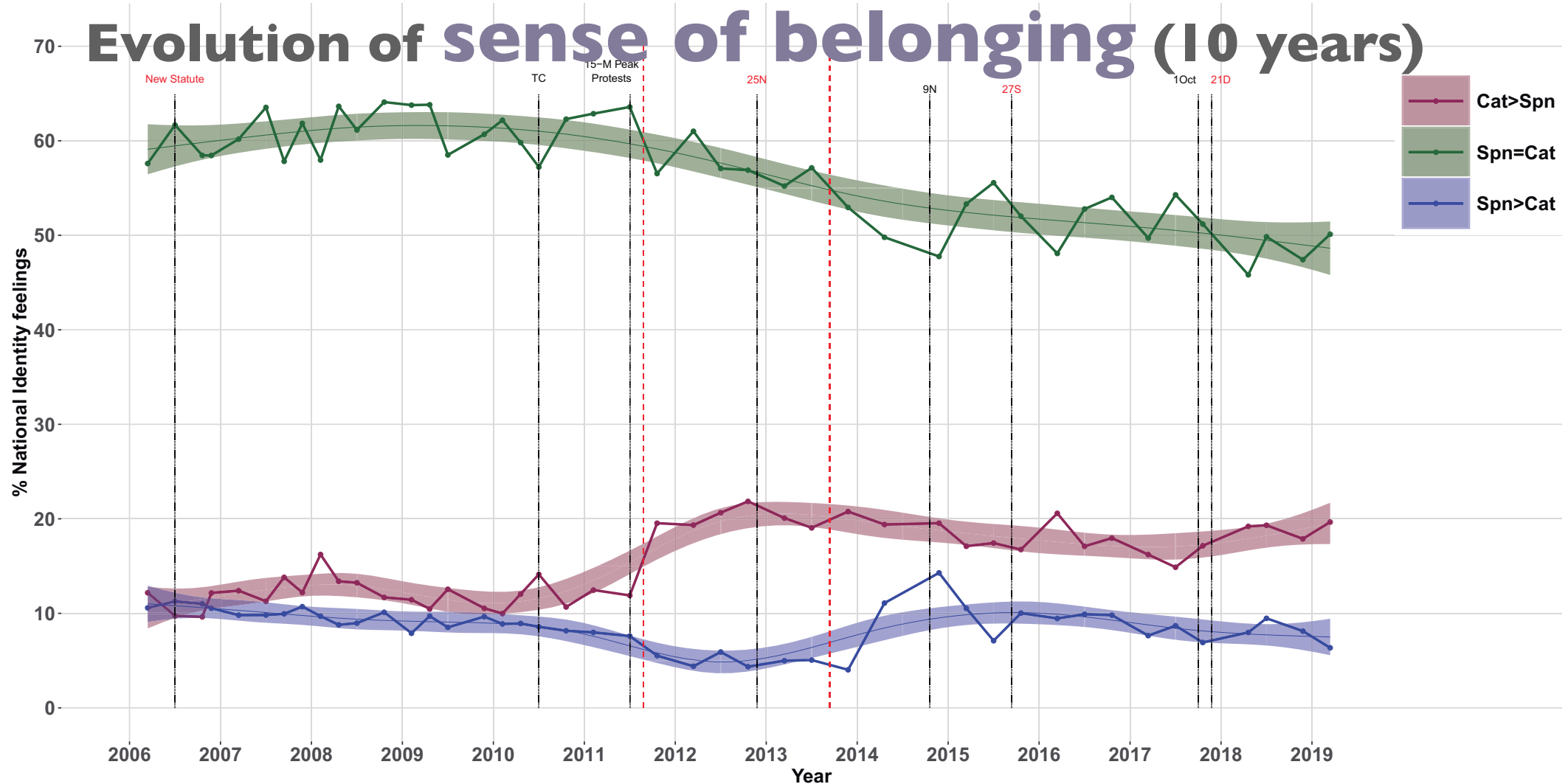
At 2006, 44.2% of the entire population; at March 2019 survey, 38.5%

Evolution of sense of belonging (10 years)



Catalan citizens with family/mother language Spanish (55.6% of all catalans)

At 2006, 38.3% of the entire population; at March 2019 survey, 55.6%



Not shown, the two extremes segments of only Cat, only Spn, as they are nearly at zero level (with no variation) in this subpopulation

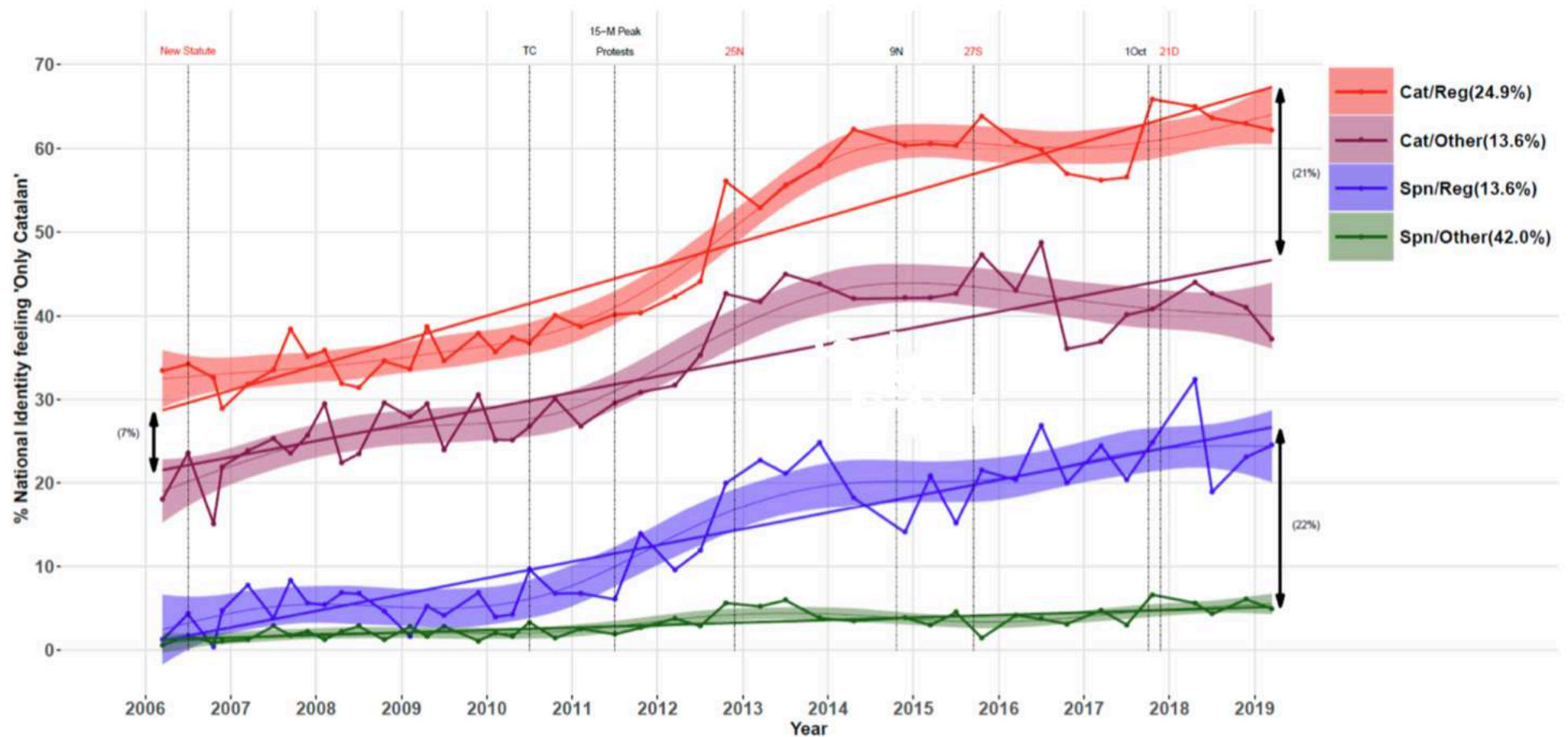
Media influence?

TV3, CatRadio vs. other channels

TV3 and CatRadio are public media, broadcasting in Catalan and under the control of the Regional Government

Evolution of Sense of Belonging extreme only Cat, by family/mother language x Media

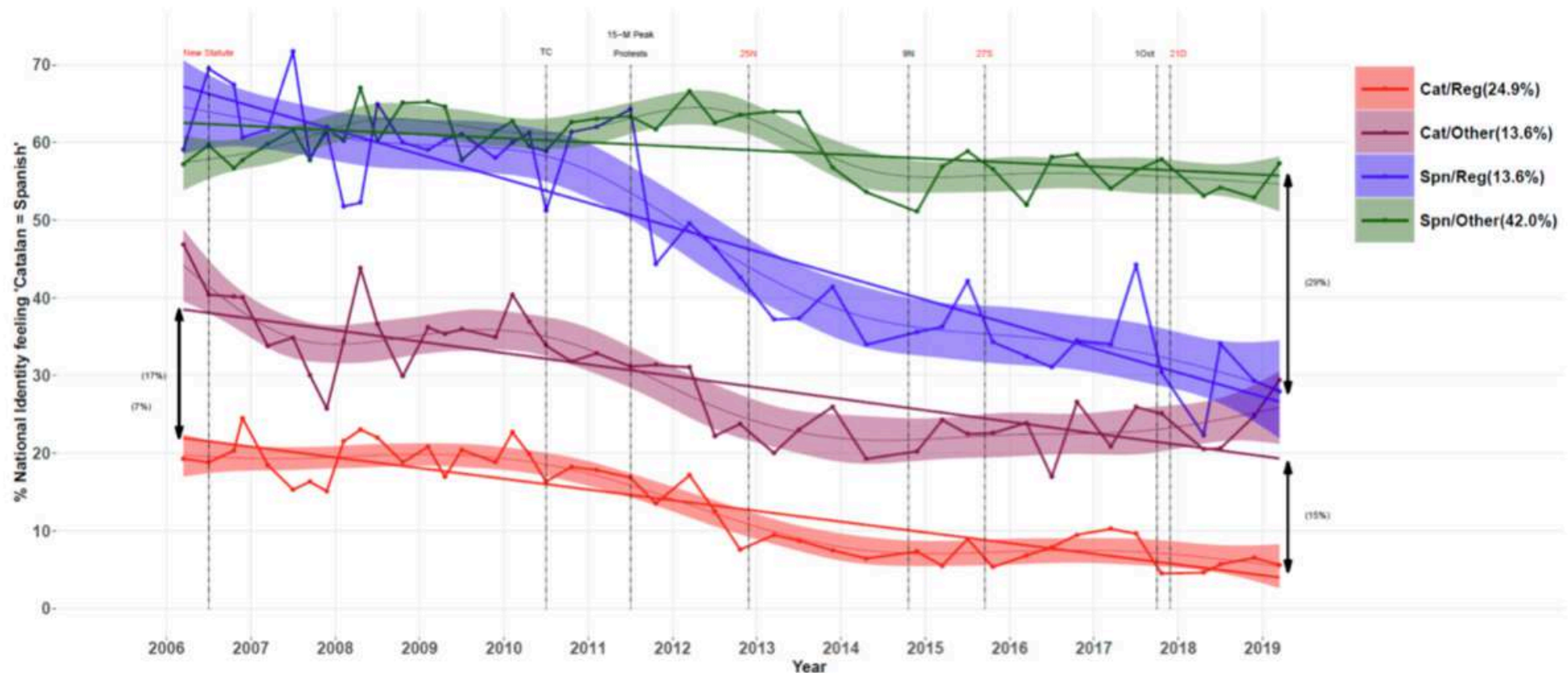
Figure 6: Changes in "only Catalan" national identities in different population segments depending on family/mother language and following news or not through public regional media



- Overall, the national identity sentiment Only Catalan increased: 14.2 to 27.3 ¹⁹

Evolution of Sense of Belonging Cat=Spn, by Language x Media

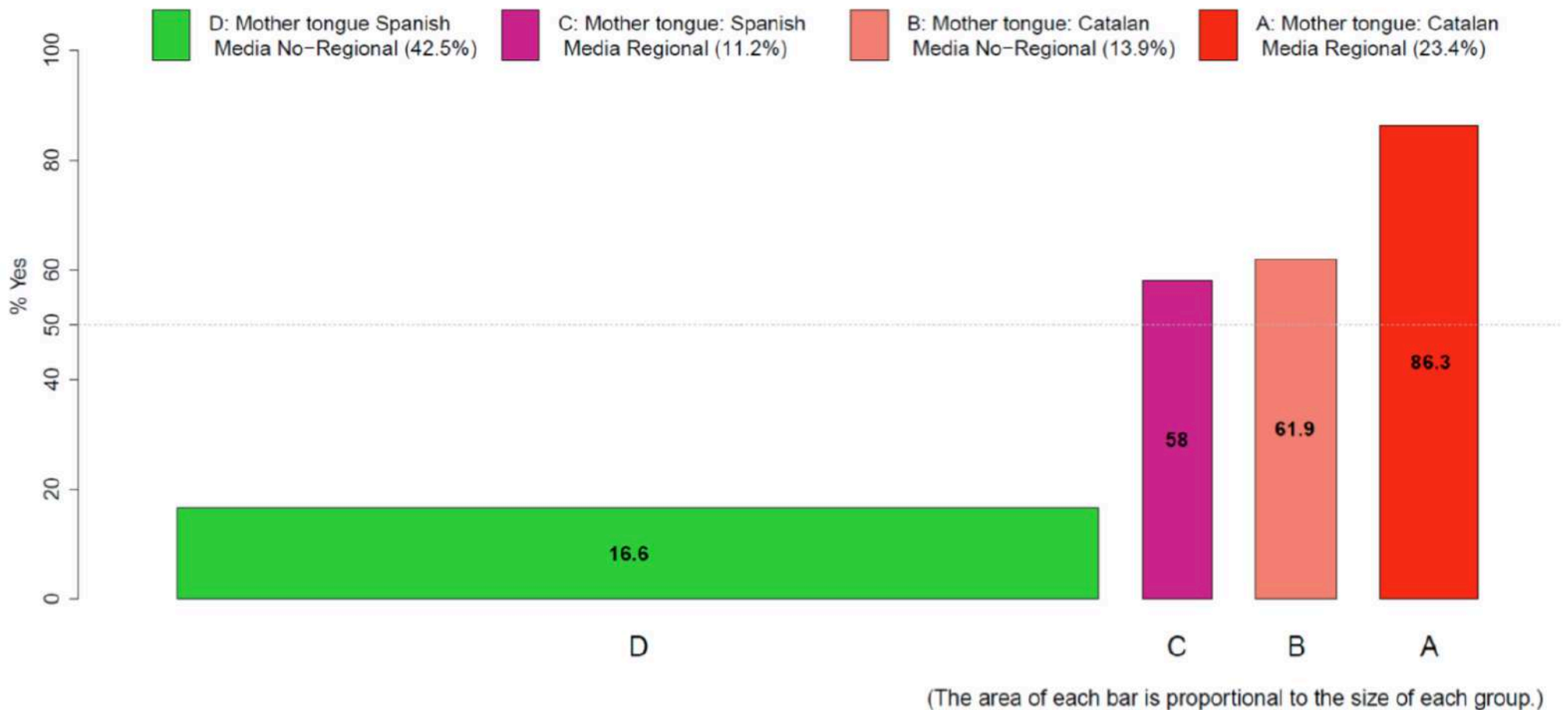
Figure 7: Changes in "equal Spanish than Catalan" national identity in different population segments obtained considering family/mother language and follow news or not through public regional media



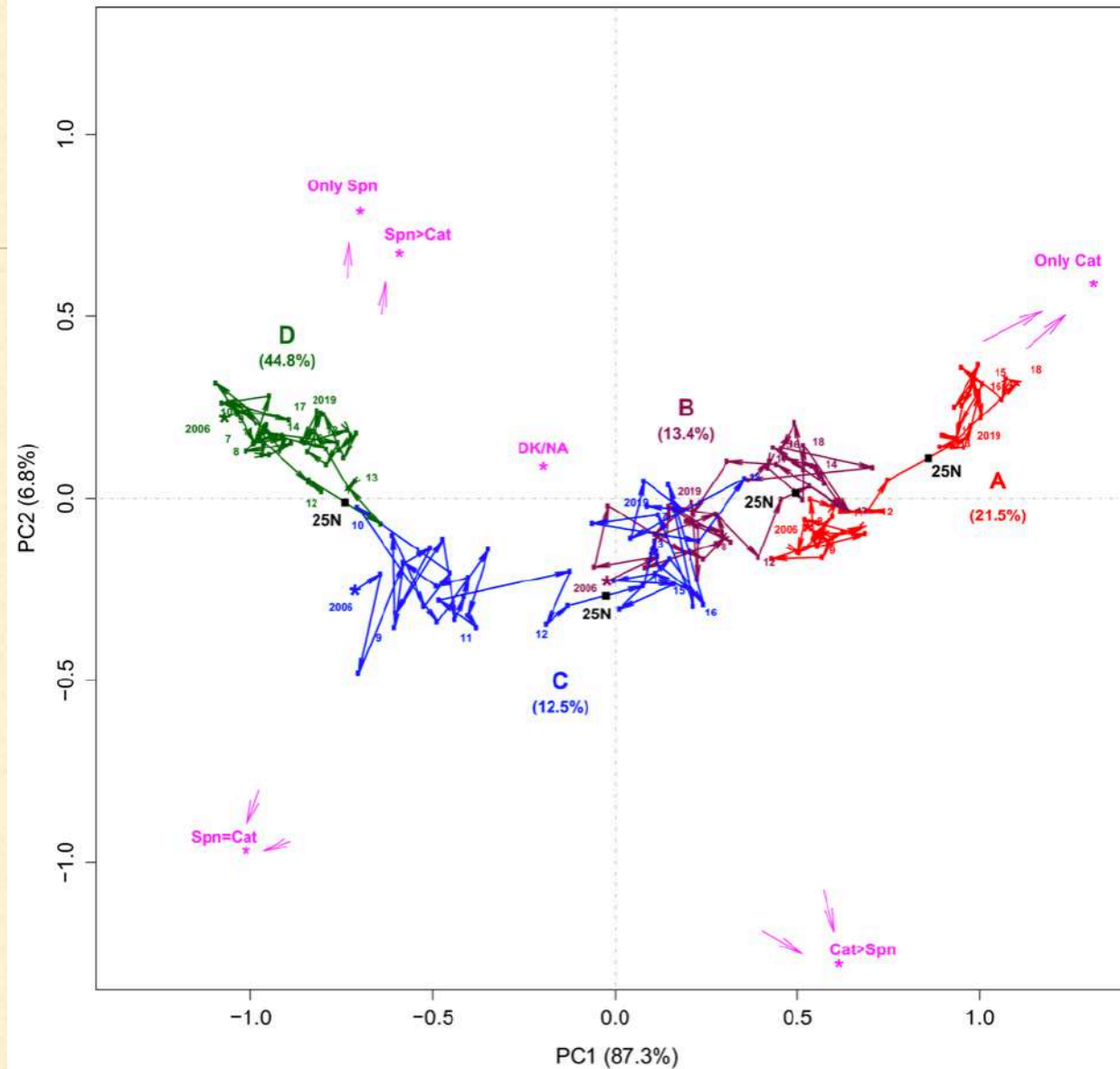
- Note the major drop is in language Spanish and watching regional media
- Overall, the national identity sentiment Cat=Spn, dropped from 42.5 to 35.73 20

PROBABILITY OF A CATALAN TO BE INDEPENDENTS | LANGUAGE X MEDIA

Figure 9: Barplot of percentages of secession support for the combinations of language and exposure or not to public regional media



Time series 2D-MDS biplot representation of groups A, B, C, D

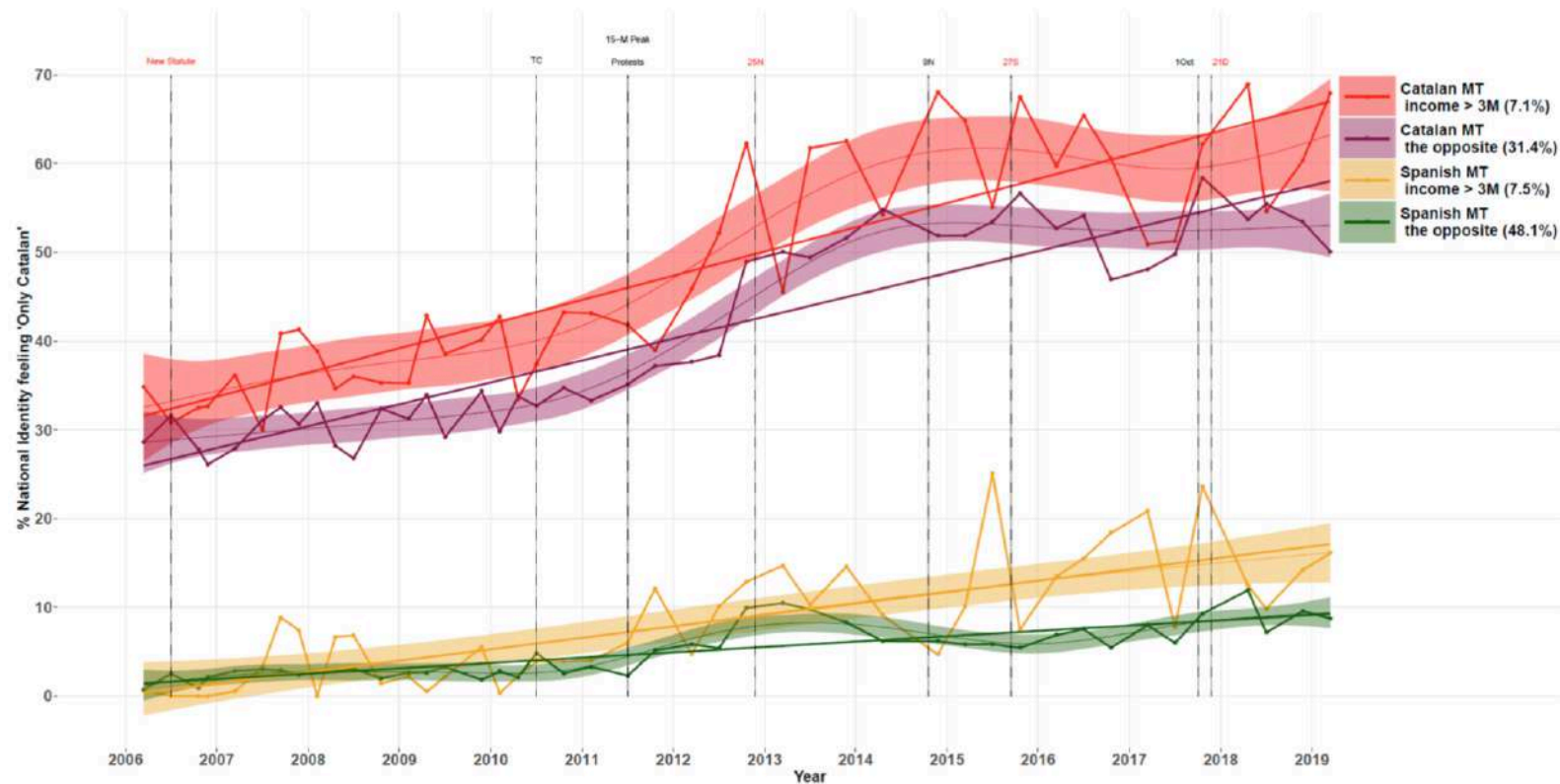


2D-Dynamic Profile Diagram of *National Identity Feelings* across the period 2006–2019. For the four citizenry segments obtained crossing Family/Mother language (Catalan vs. Spanish) and News (following news on public regional media or not). Group A (red): Family/mother language Catalan, following news on regional media (21.5% at July 2019 survey); Group B (purple): Family/mother language Catalan not following news on regional media (13.4% at July 2019 survey); Group C (blue): Family/mother language Spanish, following news on public regional media (12.5% at July 2019 survey); Group D (green): Family/mother language Spanish not following news on regional media (44.8% at July 2019 survey).

wealth gap on secession ?

Evolution of the extreme Sense of Belonging "only Cat by family/mother language x high vs other levels of incomes

Figure 14: Evolution of "only Catalan" national identity feelings depending on family/mother language and household net income (2006-2019)



Elaborated from CEO surveys microdata. Attached to each label appear the percentages of each group at the March 2019 survey. MT: family/mother language.

Figure 15: Evolution of "equal Catalan than Spanish" national identity feelings depending on family language and household net income (2006-2019)

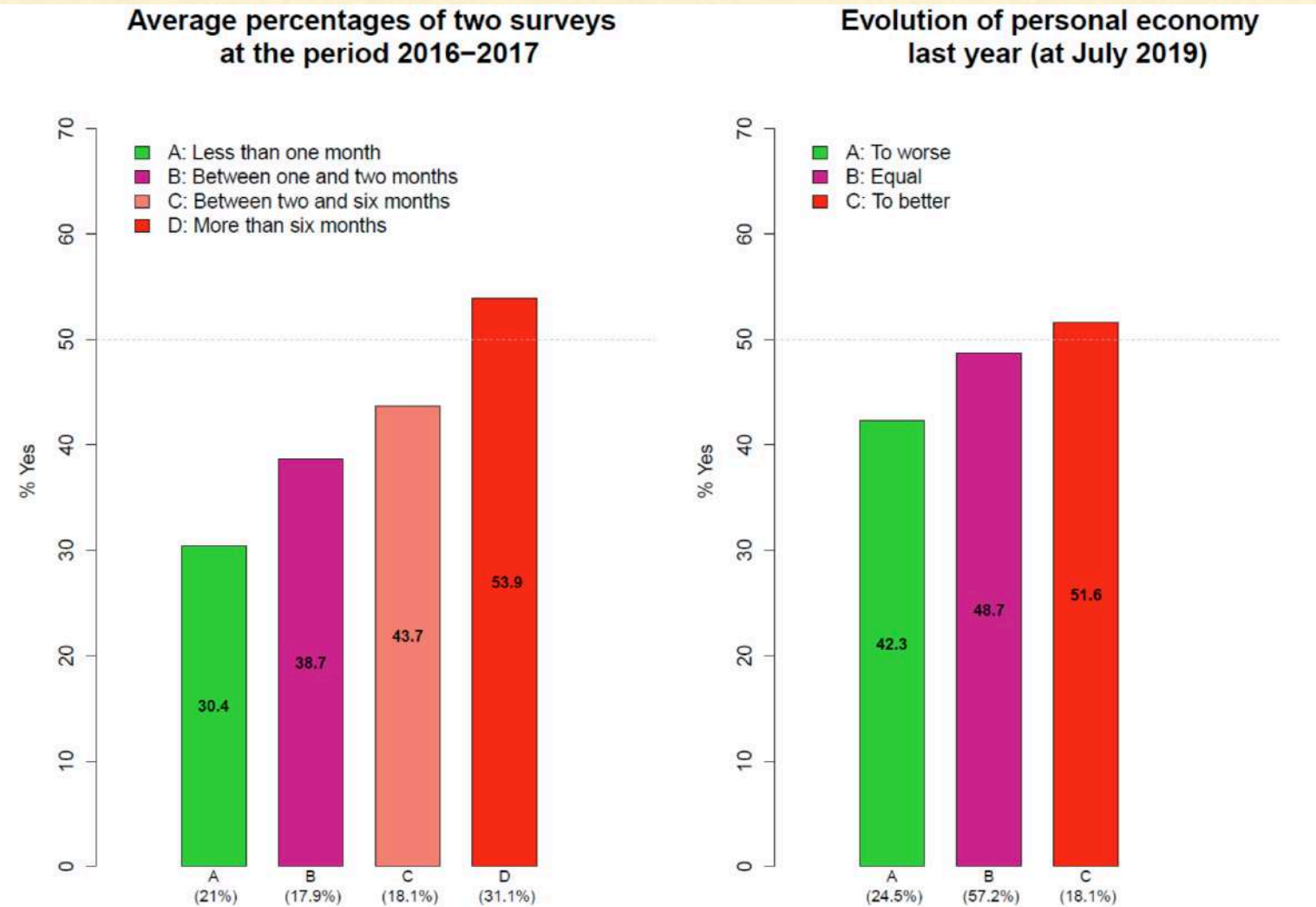
Evolution of the dual Sense of Belonging “equal Cat and Spn” by family/mother language x high vs other levels of incomes

Figure 15: Evolution of "equal Catalan than Spanish" national identity feelings depending on family language and household net income (2006-2019)



Elaborated from CEO surveys microdata. Attached to each label appear the percentages of each group at the March 2019 survey. MT: family/mother language.

Secessionist options Economic resistance levels (left), Perception of personal economy (right)



Elaborated from CEO surveys microdata. Left: secession was much more popular among those with higher economic resistance limits (in months), in case of an economic breakdown. Right: it was also more popular among those with a good perception of the evolution of their economies during the last year.

As more resistance and better personal economy more secessionist

In concluding

- Associated with the advent of “El proces”, a profound structural social divide has emerged in Catalonia. It profoundly divides relations: intimates, family, neighbours, friends, relations at work, public institution, ... Now, with increasing polarisation in the streets.
-
- We observe association with the so-called “El proces” (since 2012, 25N):
 - Severe erosion of the dual sense of belonging: “equal Catalan than Spanish” (that dominant group before the “El proces”)
 - Dramatic increase of the extreme sense of belonging: “only Catalan”. Mainly on the Catalan citizens with mother/Language is Catalan
 - Catalan citizens which mother/Language Spanish (56% of the citizens of Catalonia), only minor changes on their sense of belonging. Why this immunology to the “El Proces”? the mother/family language acting as a protective umbrella?
 - No increase of the extreme sentiment of belonging, "only Spanish"
 - We see association of Regional public media (TV3 and CataRadio) with the erosion of the dual sentiment of belonging (cat=spn) and the increase of the extreme sentiment of belonging, only Catalan, (on the segment of family/mother language Catalan, also on the segment of family/mother language Spanish)
 - A simple (non-parametric) predictive model: two binary variables (mother/family language and Media consumption) to predict the position yes/no to secession of a Catalan citizen (prediction ranges from 16.6% to 86.3%)

To note/recall:

- The high percentage, around 55%, of Catalan citizens whose mother language is Spanish
- The public media Catalan TV (TV3) and CatRadio are all in Catalan language
- Catalan language is mandatory, as first language, at primary school and most of high school. (See: “Usos lingüístics de la població de Catalunya: Enquesta 2013, Generalitat de Catalunya: Departament de Cultura, http://llengua.gencat.cat/web/.content/documents/publicacions/altres/arxius/eulp2013_fullet.pdf.)
- At Catalan universities, an example myself: I (as many colleagues of family/mother language Catalan) use the Catalan language in my teaching of statistics, now at UPF, before at UB, with no restrictions.

(My personal) **Epilog :**

This November 29, 2019, when receiving the *Price Francisco Cerecedo in Journalism*, the Catalan writer Javier Cercas said

[... in those days of September and October 2017]

“Miles de catalanes nos hemos sentido solos” ()*

(thousands of Catalans we felt alone)

thanking the King of Spain, for his words '*you are not alone!*' that were addressed on October 3, 2017, to all Catalans

(*) Many (millions) of Catalan citizens do not understand how the Generalitat of Catalonia, and other public institutions of Catalonia, are not neutral on an issue that is so critical for our lives and on which the Catalan citizens are so profoundly divided. We feel abandoned (to say it in light words) by the Generalitat de Catalunya, an institution that should represent all the Catalans, but that in recent years is exerting a partisan position in favor of the secession from Spain.