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Understanding Secession: An Analysis of the 2012-2014 Debates on Independence in Scotland and Catalonia

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Understanding Secession: An Analysis of the 2012-2014 Debates on Independence in Scotland and Catalonia

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

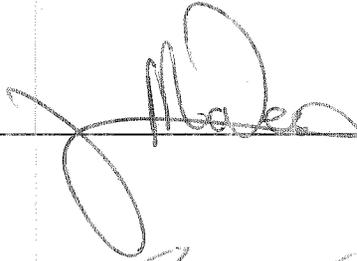
Bachelor of Arts with Honors in International Relations

from The College of William & Mary

by

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Abstract

In 2014, the regions of Scotland and Catalonia voted on independence from their larger states, the United Kingdom and Spain. The period preceding these votes was filled with tense political discussion on a variety of topics ranging from the role of the EU to considerations over social welfare. This thesis presents a cross-regional study of the discussions on the issue of independence that occurred in the years leading up to these historically unique votes. To do this, the paper was inspired by discourse analysis methodology to perform a quantitative test on independence-leaning newspapers from each region. This method traced the recurrence of multiple themes to see if a differences emerged based around the divergent histories, traditions, and local contexts of each region. Although a degree of difference was observed between the two debates, the data indicated unique regional-national ways of referring to independence were more based around circumstantial factors as opposed to deeper identities.

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Table of Contents	3
Acknowledgements	4
I. Introduction	5
II. Literature Review	8
III. Theory	11
IV. Methodology	21
V. Results and Findings	30
VI. Conclusion	62
VII. Bibliography	66
VIII. Appendix	69

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I. National Questions: from Edinburgh to Barcelona

The borders of Western Europe are being put into serious question for the first time in decades, this time not from war, a collapsing Soviet bloc, or rapid European integration, but from growing calls for self-determination by Scotland and Catalonia, stateless nations in the United Kingdom and Spain. Since the early 2010s, parties calling for independence have dominated the political scene in these regions.

In Scotland, the Scottish National Party (SNP) won the largest group of seats in the 2007 elections to the Scottish parliament, promising a referendum on the region's independence from the United Kingdom. In 2011, Scotland's First Minister Alex Salmond renewed those pledges in a new election which reaffirmed the SNP's mandate. On November 14, 2013 the Scottish Parliament passed the Scottish Independence Referendum Bill which paved the way for the region's historic vote on September 18th, 2014. After much debate and polls showing a tight race, Scotland's people voted with a 45% No and a 55% Yes vote to remain in the United Kingdom. Although the result affirmed Scotland's continued union with the UK, the effects of this referendum had a profound impact on Scottish and UK politics.

Meanwhile, on September 11th, 2012 an unprecedented 1.5 million people marched through the streets of Barcelona in a rally calling for Catalan secession from Spain.¹ Two months later, on November 15th, an election gave independence-leaning forces a majority in the regional parliament of Catalonia for the first time in its history. A month after that vote, the two leading parties signed a governmental agreement which promised a referendum on independence from Spain on November, 9th 2014. Their attempts to hold an official or unofficial referendum were eventually struck down by Spain's Constitutional Court in October 2014. Nonetheless,

¹ Stephen Burgen, "Catalan independence rally brings Barcelona to a standstill," *The Guardian*, Tuesday September 11, 2012, accessed April 27, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/sep/11/catalan-independence-rally-barcelona>.

Catalonia's governing parties and several large civil society groups pushed through an unofficial consultation in the region on November 9th, 2014. 88% of votes cast during the November 2014 unofficial vote were cast in favor of Catalan independence, although the turnout was lower compared to the official vote that occurred in Scotland.²

Although the future of these movements is uncertain, the autumn of 2014 demonstrated to political leaders and the European public that votes on self-determination by culturally distinct regions are an important part of the European landscape of today.

Motivation

After a successful research project on the Catalan independence movement in the summer of 2012 left me with a new interest in regional issues, I became motivated to pursue an honors thesis that would bring in more of Europe's regions. Noticing the upcoming referenda in both Catalonia and Scotland in 2014, I saw an ideal opportunity to design a project which would let me approach the referenda as a comparison to better understand how and why calls for independence are similar or different across borders. I also noticed that little is said in the mainstream US media about these movements compared to other issues. In an age in which regional minorities have attained a greater voice, it is crucial that we understand what mechanisms are at work in stateless nations in order to understand how best to accommodate their grievances or understand them as new states in our international community.³ As we witness two of Europe's most active regionalist movements gather the momentum to push for a referendum, students and scholars of political science must not miss the opportunity to further explore these unique situations.

² "Results of the participation process," *Generalitat de Catalunya*, accessed May 06, 2015, <http://www.participa2014.cat/resultats/dades/en/escr-tot.html>.

³ "Nation" defined in section III, *defining key concepts* subsection.

Research Questions

My thesis will investigate similarities and differences that exist in the way Scots and Catalans refer to the issue of independence. I analyze what factors shape uniquely (sub-) national mentalities on independence. To do this, my thesis seeks to answer two questions:

In what ways do pro-independence factions in a region refer to the issue of independence? How can a comparison lead us to better understand how a region refers to independence and its many related issues uniquely?

II. Literature Review

In literature related to regional issues, some scholars approach their analyses with a focus on the supra-national, national, or regional-level, others are more attentive to electoral politics and voting behavior, while yet a newer set has opted for discourse analysis. I will briefly review relevant works in these fields to situate my research.

Fitjar asserts that "culture-based explanations" have been considered a chief factor in many analyses of regional sentiment.⁴ He adds that economic factors, as portrayed by political leaders, are also relevant as "Regional elites can play a role in developing a discourse that convinces the regional public that their standard of living would be better if they did not have to fund the poorer regions of the state, and this can lead to demand for keeping more of the wealth locally."⁵ Other authors have argued that European integration and globalization have played a leading role in increased regional mobilization.⁶ For example, Elias references the "Europe of the Regions," or the idea that Europe could be reorganized around new regional-national lines, as a demonstration of the power of European integration in aiding devolutionist or secessionist aspirations.⁷ Elias argues that "subnational actors saw in [the Europe of the Regions] the potential for creating an alternative supranational framework for meeting their territorial and other policy goals."⁸

On the electoral level, Sorens makes the case that electoral politics determine the transfer of powers to regions, explaining that "partisan political calculations ... explain the timing and

⁴ Rune Dahl Fitjar, *The rise of regionalism: causes of regional mobilisation in Western Europe* (London: Routledge, 2010), 16.

⁵ Ibid, 29.

⁶ Ibid, 16.

⁷ Anwen Elias, "Introduction: Whatever Happened to the Europe of the Regions? Revisiting the Regional Dimension of European Politics," *Regional and Federal Studies* 18 (2008): 483.

⁸ Ibid.

character of devolution."⁹ In their party-focused work, Boonen and Hooghe argue that groups such as the New Flemish Alliance have "managed to address a preexisting reservoir of Flemish nationalist voters."¹⁰ Boonen and Hooghe further highlight the importance of this "preexisting reservoir" of voters by asserting that the literature should not "overestimate the constructionist power of ... political elites for the development of (sub-) nationalist identities."¹¹ Meanwhile, Sandri finds a role for identity in her study on the Union Valdôtaine (UV) in Italy's Aosta Valley explaining that the "UV has strategically employed identity issues."¹² Deschouwer reinforces the role of identity in electoral politics as "shaped by long-run structural factors" in Flanders, a combination of the ideas presented above.¹³ My study connects to the literature on electoral politics through both Boonen and Hooghe's, and Deschouwer's findings about a pre-existing reservoir of long-run structural factors. I seek to scrutinize these deeper identities to better understand how independence takes on local forms.

Fuchsel and Rojo apply critical discourse analysis to Spanish parliamentary speeches to investigate how "Spanish nationalism interacts with the most influential regional (Catalonian and Basque) nationalisms."¹⁴ Their findings, which revealed a higher salience of ethnic nationalist codes in the Basque country versus greater codes of civic nationalism in Catalonia, make the case for "a socio-psychological conceptual framework of nationalist cultures, attention to historical and political concrete contexts, and critical discourse analysis, for an integral

⁹ Jason Sorens, "The Paradox of Federalism: Does Self-Rule Accommodate or Exacerbate Ethnic Divisions?" *Regional and Federal Studies* 19 (2009): 255.

¹⁰ Joris Boonen and Marc Hooghe. "Do nationalist parties shape or follow sub-national identities? A panel analysis on the rise of the nationalist party in the Flemish Region of Belgium, 2006-11," *Nations and Nationalism* 20 (2014): 56.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Giulia Sandri, "Ethno-linguistic identity and party politics in the Aosta Valley." *Ethnopolitics* 11 (2012): 287.

¹³ Kris Deschouwer, "Party Strategies, Voter Demands and Territorial Reform in Belgium." *West European Politics* 36 (2013): 338.

¹⁴ Hector Grad Fuchsel and Luisa Martím Rojo, "'Civic' and 'ethnic' nationalist discourses in Spanish parliamentary debates," *Journal of Language and Politics* 2 (2003): 225.

approach" to political processes.¹⁵ Shanhav, et al., in a similar study, trace the type of reference to other democracies in Israeli parliamentary discourse and exclaim that "a cross-national study that would replicate the framework proposed here could produce a broader understanding."¹⁶ Meanwhile, Adamson and Lynch use discourse analysis on speeches made during the Scottish independence referendum campaign to analyze the "...operation of discursive strategies..." and how they shape the way frontiers are created in Scottish and British politics.¹⁷

My study considers the multiple factors presented, ranging from culture to electoral politics, as possible causes of regional mobilization towards independence. The literature also suggests that bedrock values a group holds may underpin the discussion on independence in fundamental ways. Fuchsel and Rojo in particular note the important role of historical and contextual factors in their study.¹⁸ Although not referring to regional discourse in particular, Shanhav, et al. suggest the use of cross-national discourse analysis in order to use comparison as a tool.¹⁹ I am inspired to take a bi-regional approach to understand a region's discourse in a comparative lens. By situating my study in this way, I have the opportunity to better understand how local context, tradition, and history may create varying interpretations for the way different regions view the important issue of independence.

¹⁵ Hector Grad Fuchsel and Luisa Martím Rojo, "'Civic' and 'ethnic' nationalist discourses in Spanish parliamentary debates," *Journal of Language and Politics* 2 (2003): 261.

¹⁶ Shaul R Shenhav, et al. "Testing the Language-Power Assumption of Critical Discourse Analysis: The Case of Israel's Legislative Discourse," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45, (2012): 219.

¹⁷ Kevin Adamson and Peter Lynch. "Yes Scotland and Better Together - Mobilizing and Neutralizing National Identity for the 2014 Independence Referendum" (paper presented at the Political Studies Association annual conference, Cardiff, Wales, March 25-27, 2013).

¹⁸ Hector Grad Fuchsel and Luisa Martím Rojo, "'Civic' and 'ethnic' nationalist discourses in Spanish parliamentary debates," *Journal of Language and Politics* 2 (2003): 225

¹⁹ Shaul R Shenhav, et al. "Testing the Language-Power Assumption of Critical Discourse Analysis: The Case of Israel's Legislative Discourse," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 45 (2012): 219.

III. Theory

From Union to Referendum: The Scottish and Catalan Contexts

An explanation of how local realities play a role in my two cases will be found by understanding the key similarities and differences between the Scottish and Catalan situations today. An overview of each region's general context and history will help explain how the geographies, economies, politics, values, and institutions of both evolved to shape them today. Space not allowing for a full description of each region's history, I will focus on elements of similarity or difference that may be relevant later.²⁰

In the 13th and 14th century the kingdoms of England and Scotland fought in a series of wars known as the Wars of Scottish Independence. As England was ultimately unsuccessful at conquering Scotland, the two entities existed as separate neighboring kingdoms for centuries. Each part of the island developed a distinct culture and independent institutions. During this time much of Scotland spoke Gaelic, a Celtic language with different origins than English. It was not until the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century that English influence began to dominate the Highlands, one of Scotland's northern-most regions. During this time much of the population of the Highlands, where Gaelic was spoken and Gaelic culture had its stronghold, was dislocated and/or evicted due to developmental pressures which changed land ownership structures in the UK.²¹ Events such as the potato famine of the mid-nineteenth century also

²⁰ For further reading on the history of Spain, and in particular Catalonia's case, please refer to *Spain 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict* by Henry Kamen, or *Breve Historia del Nacionalismo Catalán* by Albert Balcells. For a review of Scotland's history with England, please refer to *A History of Scotland* by Rosalind Mitchison, or *The Independence of Scotland* by Michael Keating.

²¹ Neil Davidson, "The Scottish Path to Capitalist Agriculture 2: The Capitalist Offensive (1747-1815)," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 4 (2004) 448-449.

furthered the depopulation of the Highlands, where Gaelic-speakers and culture declined relative to the increasingly present English language and culture in the rest of the island.²²

Although Scotland and England had been united dynastically in the past, such as in 1603 under King James VI, it was not until 1707 that the independent states themselves were combined into one. The 1707 Act of Union, passed by both the English and Scottish parliaments, combined the parliaments, crowns, and many national-level institutions to create those of Great Britain. Some of the reasons for the 1707 Union included "the need to secure the Protestant succession for both thrones when Queen Anne would die ... [the fear] that Scotland might fall back under French influence, with serious strategic implications ... [and] ...economic concerns in Scotland, after the failure to establish a Scottish colony at Darien and the continued exclusion of Scottish traders from English imperial markets."²³

Many important Scottish institutions such as the Church, the legal system, much of civil society, and local government were maintained locally despite union with a stronger state.²⁴ The British case differed in some cases from state-construction in Europe by "sustaining a sense of Scottish distinctiveness while channeling it to the institutions of the [new] central state" in London.²⁵ For instance, the 1707 Act of Union recognized to some degree the national diversity of Great Britain, while developments in Spain, such as Philip V's Nueva Planta decrees of 1706-1719, abolished the autonomy of Spain's regions.²⁶ This is not to say that certain aspects of Scotland's formerly independent culture did not suffer. For instance, the Scotland Education Act of 1872 heavily supported the dominance of English in formerly-Gaelic speaking areas of

²² Eric Richards, "Highland Emigration in the Age of Malthus: Scourie, 1841-55," *Northern Scotland* 2, (2011): 60.

²³ Michael Keating, "Scotland in the UK: A dissolving Union?" *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 2 (1996): 233.

²⁴ Michael Keating, *The Independence of Scotland: self-government and the shifting politics of union* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 18.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 18.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 34.

Scotland. As of 2011, only around 1.1% of the population of Scotland stated they could speak Gaelic.²⁷

During the past 308 years of union between Scotland and England, Great Britain prospered as a state, creating an extensive international empire and ushering an age of industrial revolution. In the 1960s, the movement for Scottish independence entered the political scene, although it only became more prominent in the following decades. At the end of the 20th century, the UK's political structure changed rapidly with accession into the EU in 1973, the creation of a Scottish parliament in 1997, and devolution of powers to Wales in 1998. Scottish devolution in 1997 granted a new parliament legislative power over matters such as agriculture, education, and home affairs. The SNP became a leading force in Scottish politics when it won the most seats in elections to Holyrood, its devolved parliament, in 2011. It is in this context of decentralization and increased regional mobilization in the UK that the government of Prime Minister David Cameron signed the Edinburgh Agreement in October 2012 giving Scotland the power to hold a referendum on independence.²⁸ The campaign in favor of the Yes vote focused much of its efforts on claims related to opportunities independence would grant related to Scotland's welfare system, social justice, and equality.²⁹ In Spain, any type of equivalent agreement allowing Catalonia to vote on its independence has been met with stiff opposition from the Spanish High Court.³⁰

²⁷ "Key results on Population, Ethnicity, Language, Religion, Health, Housing, and Accommodation in Scotland," *Scottish Government Census 2011.*, accessed May 12, 2015, <http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/news/census-2011-release-2a>.

²⁸ Stephen Tierney, "Legal Issues Surrounding the Referendum on Independence for Scotland," *European Constitutional Law Review* 9 (2013): 362.

²⁹ Gerry Mooney and Gill Scott, "The 2014 Scottish independence debate: questions of social welfare and social justice," *Journal of Poverty and Social Justice* 23 (2015): 5.

³⁰ Montserrat Guibernau, "Prospects for an Independence Catalonia," *International Journal of Politics, Culture & Society* 27 (2014):16

The Catalan context's difference is at least partially rooted in a very different history of nation-building compared to the situation in Scotland. In 1473, in one of the final years of the *reconquista*, the period during which Spanish kingdoms reclaimed Iberia from the Moors who inhabited it from 711-1492, Isabel of Castile married Ferdinand of Aragon. Castile and Aragon at the time were among the most powerful kingdoms on the Iberian Peninsula, who would together overcome the last Moorish strong hold at Granada in 1492. This arrangement united dynastically the two major kingdoms of the peninsula. Not unlike the situation in the British Isles before 1707, dynastic union still signified that all constituent parts of the union maintained their distinct institutions despite sharing one monarch.

Castile, however, also emerged as the stronger kingdom on the peninsula during this time. Although the region that is today Catalonia retained most of its own independent institutional structure during the 16th and 17th century, including its own monetary and fiscal system, by the time Moorish Granada fell into Spanish hands, Catalonia had already come to "occupy a secondary and marginal position" in Spain and its empire.³¹ After centuries of self-governance within a Castile-dominated empire, Catalan autonomy was abolished completely at the end of the War of Spanish succession on September 11th, 1714. This day marks the surrender of Barcelona to the armies of the Castilian Bourbons who defeated the Catalans. After the conquest, Philip V, the first Bourbon king of Spain, "abolished Catalan institutions and implemented Castilian law, centralization, and Castilian as the official language."³² Unlike the events in Scotland in 1707 which were negotiated to ensure Scotland kept some degree of autonomy, 1714 signified the beginning of a rapid set of decrees which abolished many of Catalonia's autonomous political and cultural institutions.

³¹ Albert Balcells, *Breve Historia Del Nacionalismo Catalan* (Madrid: Grupo Anaya Comercial, 2004) , 24.

³² *Ibid*, 28-29.

Despite political subjugation, throughout the 18th and 19th century Catalonia experienced an important period of industrialization. The legacy of this time period survives to the present day. For example, Catalonia's economy accounted for around 19% of Spain's total GDP in 2010.³³ Additionally, the region underwent the *Renaixença* in the 19th century, or a local Renaissance, during which Catalan intellectuals and artists revived Catalan language and culture.³⁴ With a short exception during the Spanish Second Republic (1931 - 1939), leadership in Castilian Spain, whose power is centered in Madrid, dominated the other regions of the country culturally and politically until the end of Francisco Franco's rule in 1975. Despite a history of dominant Castilian culture, the Catalan language survived to become "central to the sense of national identity."³⁵ Unlike the situation of Gaelic in Scotland, according to a recent poll over 73% of those surveyed in Catalonia in 2011 stated they could speak Catalan.³⁶ Due to its high prevalence and resistance to policies of assimilation during the years of dictatorship, the use of Catalan has had a connection with the national struggle for political and cultural rights as well as independence.

The advent of Spanish democracy led to the creation of a new constitution in 1978 which attempted to reorganize regional and central power. The 1978 constitution received input from formerly marginalized political actors in Spain, most notably the Spanish left and political actors from Catalonia, the Basque Country, and other Spanish regions. The new constitution embraced multiparty democracy and attempted to strike a balance between a centralized unitary state, as supported by a more right-leaning tradition in Spain, and a federal structure. The result was the

³³"Higher Education in Regional and City Development Catalonia 2010," *OECD*, accessed May 12 2015, <http://www.oecd.org/edu/imhe/46826969.pdf>.

³⁴ Albert Balcells, *Breve Historia del Nacionalismo Catalán* (Madrid: Grupo Anaya Comercial, 2004), 32, 46.

³⁵Clare Mar-Molinero, *The Politics of Language in the Spanish-Speaking World* (London: Routledge, 2000), 47.

³⁶ "Coneixement del català," *Catalan Government Census 2011*, accessed May 12, 2015, <http://www.idescat.cat/economia/inec?tc=3&id=da04&lang=es>.

creation of *estados de autonomía*, or states of autonomy, in which different regions of Spain were accorded varying levels of cultural, economic, and political autonomy in addition to the capacity to review this arrangement. Similarly to the events of Scottish devolution in 1997, Catalonia, as one of Spain's most historically distinct regions, received significant autonomy in fields such as education, linguistic policy, and interior affairs. The newly democratic Spain also joined the EU in 1986, 13 years after the UK's accession.

Unlike the situation in Scotland, forces calling for Catalonia's independence have been frustrated by several rulings by the Spanish constitutional court in 2014 that struck down the current regional government's ambition to hold a referendum on independence, claiming that Spain's constitution does not allow for a vote on secession. Although the pro-independence camp forced through an unofficial consultation of the public in November 2014, the situation today continues to be a deadlock between those in Madrid refusing to allow the vote and others in Barcelona calling for a referendum.

The autumn of 2014 manifested Scotland and Catalonia's shared desire for debate and a vote on independence but it also hinted at fundamental differences in the way Scotland and Catalonia relate to their respective central governments and perceive their case for independence. In Scotland, the union that occurred in 1707 allowed the region to retain several autonomous institutions and gain representation through newly unified shared institutions based in London. This situation diverges starkly from that of Catalonia, where autonomy was violently abolished after the War of Spanish Succession in 1714 and in the following years under the Nueva Planta Decrees. In the Scottish pro-independence camp, attachment to certain elements of the welfare state such as the National Health Service and education form integral parts of the SNP's

platform.³⁷ Meanwhile in Catalonia, debate in the years leading to the November 9th, 2014 vote was focused on issues related to the Spanish High Court's 2006 ruling which was seen as infringing on Catalonia's lawmaking process.³⁸ Furthermore, the Catalan context is distinct in the widespread presence of a local language and its connection to the struggle for autonomy and self determination. These main divergences, in addition to many others emerging from the separate traditions of each region, created different settings for these regions as they each debated the case for independence.

Defining Key Concepts

Here I will formulate the units of my analysis and the basic conceptual framework through which my paper progresses.

Nation: Scholars have debated definitions of the term "nation" for decades. They range from primordial definitions, which define a nation as a fixed group of people with similar attributes, to post-modern definitions which add more abstract elements to a conception of nation. For this paper, I use Benedict Anderson's frequently used 1983 definition which sees a nation as "an imagined political community -- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."³⁹ Due to my paper's focus on the regional level, this definition allows us to both clearly delineate between what attributes pertain to distinct groups, for instance a Catalan one and a Spanish one, but also understand that a community is imagined and therefore flexible on the way it defines itself.

³⁷ "Scottish National Party Manifesto 2011," *Scottish National Party Website*, accessed May 12, 2015, http://votesnp.com/campaigns/SNP_Manifesto_2011_lowRes.pdf.

³⁸ "Catalonia Votes", *Public Diplomacy Council of Catalonia*, accessed May 06, 2014, <http://www.cataloniavotes.eu/why-a-independence-referendum-incatalonia/>.

³⁹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed. (London: Verso, 1991), 5.

Center-Periphery Theory: A major framework in regional studies is center-periphery theory. The center of a state is typically represented by the capital city and its region, an area where the dominant national culture leads state-building efforts.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, the periphery is defined as an area that resists the state-building efforts of the center to try to preserve its distinct cultural, economic, and political structures.⁴¹ In Spain, the traditional center can be identified broadly as Castile, a region which hosts the capital, Madrid, and whose culture has historically dominated the Spanish peripheries, such as Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Galicia. In the UK the center is considered London, or more broadly the English majority-nation which has dominated state-building efforts, while the peripheries are the nations of Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. It is through the lens of this theory that we analyze peripheral nations which seek votes on secession from the central nations that have long dominated state-building efforts. In many European states, where the idea of the single nation-state was entrenched throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, periphery nations adopted many of the political, economic, cultural, and linguistic institutions of the center.

Today, a period, during which peripheries are increasingly gaining rights of democratic expression in the forms of autonomy or referenda on independence, nations are acknowledged to exist outside of the nation-state concept which expects a unitary correspondence between nation and state. This tension between the existence of nations and the historical realities created by center-periphery theory are reflected in the constitutions of many states. Spain's post-Francoist constitution of 1978, for example, recognizes the existence both of nationalities with unique

⁴⁰ Michael Gallagher et al., *Representative Government in Modern Europe*, 5th ed (Berkshire: McGraw-Hill Education, 2011), 281.

⁴¹ Rune Dahl Fitjar, *The Rise of Regionalism: Causes of Regional Mobilisation in Western Europe* (London: Routledge, 2009), 6.

cultural traditions and histories as well as an indivisible Spanish nation.⁴² For the purposes of my paper, I will use the term region and periphery to represent the same concept. Meanwhile, references to the capitals of "London" or "Madrid" correspond to the idea of the center.

Discourse: Post-structuralist theory, where much of the conceptualization of discourse has its origins, defines the idea as "...concrete systems of social relations and practices ... that are contingent and historical constructions."⁴³ Meanwhile, empirical data, such as the print media sources I use for my study, are "...viewed as sets of signifying practices that constitute a 'discourse'."⁴⁴ As such, the "slice" of the periphery's discourse I will analyze will allow me to see how the pro-independence segments of the Scottish and Catalan nations refer to and understand the issue of independence.

Theoretical Framework

My unit of analysis for my investigation is discourse, or in a specific sense the way discussion on the topic of independence inside Scotland and Catalonia refers to certain issues. I use the idea of nation to delineate the limits of the discourse to national boundaries, at first those of the UK and Spain, and more importantly later those of Scotland and Catalonia. Meanwhile, center-periphery theory, as a driver of history in each region's relationship with its capital, acts as the overall structure in which the substance of these slices of national discourse is created. My final framework views this overlap of discourse with center-periphery relations as an ideal way to gauge viewpoints on the topic of independence.

⁴² "La Constitución Española de 1978," *Website of the Congreso de los Diputados*, accessed May 12, 2015, <http://www.congreso.es/consti/constitucion/indice/titulos/articulos.jsp?ini=1&fin=9&tipo=2>.

⁴³ Aletta Norbal and Yannis Stavrakakis. *Discourse Theory And Political Analysis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 5.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 6.

General Hypotheses

H_{1a}: Themes evoked in a peripheral region's discourse will be different in frequency to those in another region's discourse when the two have relatively divergent histories, traditions, or local contexts* related to that theme.

H_{1b}: Themes evoked in a peripheral region's discourse will be similar in frequency to those in another region's discourse when the two share relatively similar histories, traditions, or local contexts* related to that theme.

H₂: The salience of different themes in a peripheral region's discourse formed by its history, tradition, and local context* will produce a specific regional-national perspective that is used to refer to the issue of independence from the center.**

*histories, traditions, or local contexts as outlined in the *From Union to Referendum: The Scottish and Catalan Contexts* section of this paper

**center as defined in the *Defining Concepts* section of this paper

IV. Methodology

Case Selection Criteria

Europe contains many strong regional and secessionist movements that I could have chosen as the object of analysis. Several, in fact, have gained electoral momentum and in some cases, ultimate success in recent history. For instance the Lega Nord in northern Italy reached electoral prominence in the 1990s and early 2000s when it attained over 8% of the total Italian vote in several elections and entered coalitions with Berlusconi governments multiple times. In the 2014 federal election, the separatist Flemish *Nieuw-Vlaamse Alliantie*, or New Flemish Alliance, received over 20% of total Belgian votes making it the dominant party and coalition leader in the Federal Parliament. In what was formerly the state of Serbia and Montenegro, the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro and its partners spearheaded the independence movement from Serbia. Montenegro's secession from Serbia was ultimately successful with the 55.5% majority obtained in the 2006 referendum.

In the cases of movements in Italy, Belgium, and others in Western Europe, the parties running on regionalist or pro-independence stances, despite significant electoral weight, have not made seeking a referendum on independence central and/or successful parts of their platforms. In Scotland and Catalonia in 2014, referenda on independence were, and to a large extent are still today, the largest agenda items for these regional parties. In the case of Montenegro and other relatively recent independent states such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, the context of the fall of communism or the breakup of Yugoslavia are historical factors that distinguish their origins. The case for the comparison of Scotland and Catalonia is ideal due to their similar evolutions, having pushed for referenda in the early 2010s and both planned for the Fall of 2014. Scotland and Catalonia also make for useful comparison due to the comparable

nature of Spain and the United Kingdom as geographically proximate countries, long-established nation-states, and members of the EU. Additionally, both movements in Scotland and Catalonia have called clearly for referenda on independence as opposed to legislation for further devolution or federalization, as has been the case for regionalist movements in Italy, Belgium, and other parts of the UK and Spain.

In a practical lens, Scotland and Catalonia's vast array of print media accessibility online through my university's resources make extensive content-analysis possible for these two regions. Lastly, my language abilities in English as well as Spanish allow me to understand the content of print media and work with an understanding of both cultures.

Data Sources

The relationship between a news source and its audience is complicated. Media acts as both a business selling its perspective on world events but "must also balance this with reflecting views of audiences."⁴⁵ There is evidence that shows, however, that newspapers "have adapted to articulate particular variants of language for particular social groups."⁴⁶ For this reason, choosing specifically pro-independence newspapers for my study presented itself as an attractive data source as it will present an opinion that articulates the values of the pro-independence communities in each region. Additionally, although print media has seen a recent dip in readership, it continues to have a large readership base, its written format makes it easier to apply to discourse analysis, and its easy accessibility in large quantities online also make it a appealing data source.⁴⁷ Although television, radio, and other means of communication also offer

⁴⁵ Paul Baker et al., *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes: The Representation of Islam in the British Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 6.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 6.

⁴⁷ Ibid, 3.

interesting avenues of research, data engines my university provides such as *LexisNexis Academic* provide an immense universe of print media sources to draw from that are not available for other media.

My first round of analysis seeks to see if the salience of the independence issue is similar at the national-level by looking at print media distributed throughout the entirety of the UK and Spain. To do this, I have chosen to use *The Times* of London and *El País* of Madrid as they are the reference newspapers in each country, each having the largest readership in the UK and Spain respectively. The pro-union position of each paper is not relevant here as I seek to measure only the salience of the theme of independence at the national level. This is also intended as a preliminary search which will allow me to test and adjust the comparability of critical discourse analysis inputs across countries and languages.

My second and main round of investigation will investigate the pro-independence voice at the regional level. To do this, I have selected *The Sunday Herald* of Glasgow and *El Periódico de Catalunya* of Barcelona. The former is the only major Scottish paper which came out in support of independence. The latter is one of the major Barcelona papers which have historically had a *Catalanista* orientation, or standpoint favoring regional autonomy. Although some other choices were available, *El Periódico de Catalunya* was the only paper available on *LexisNexis Academic* that had both a large readership, contained the needed date range, and favored the Catalan regionalist position historically. It also has a Spanish edition I can read in full. Additionally, *El Periódico de Catalunya* is a politically left-leaning paper which helps maintain a level of consistency with the left-leaning *The Sunday Herald*.

When determining my search parameters on *LexisNexis Academic*, I limited the search terms to "Independence AND Scotland" and "Independencia AND Cataluña" in order to obtain a

sample size related specifically to the issue of independence of these regions. I tested multiple other combinations of potential search terms beforehand but found this one to provide the best balance between focus on independence issues and quantity of data. This resulted in a sample size of 1,890 articles for *The Times*, 1,046 for *El País*, 556 for the Sunday-only *The Sunday Herald*, and 1,942 for *El Periódico de Catalunya*. Although these numbers vary greatly, they do not necessarily indicate any initial salience or composition differences as different papers habitually publish different numbers of articles of different sizes.

I used a one-year sample size for the national papers, starting from the date of the respective independence vote to exactly one year back.⁴⁸ This provided uniformity for the first searches. For the searches on the regional papers, I used the signing of the Edinburgh Agreement on October 15th, 2012 and the Catalan Parliamentary Elections of November 25th, 2012 as the start dates. These dates represent important 2012 markers in the independence debate in each region. For Scotland, the Edinburgh Agreement formalized the vote and set many of the parameters involved, such as the form of the question and the rules London and Edinburgh would have to follow during the campaigns. The Catalan Parliamentary Elections of November 25th, 2012, meanwhile, created a majority of seats for parties in favor of independence for the first time in the region's history. This event triggered widespread debate about a vote and the possibility of independence in the near future. Both dates also correspond with each other in year and provide a nearly equal duration of time preceding the vote, marking almost exactly two years for both Scotland and Catalonia. For the regional papers, paying attention to the time between these trigger events and the respective votes allowed the sample to represent approximately equal time periods in which pro-independence actors actively sold the case for independence.

⁴⁸ For Scotland: September 18, 2013 to September 18, 2014, for Catalonia: November 9, 2013 to November 9, 2014

Analytical Technique

My analytical technique is inspired by *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes: The Representations of Islam in the British Press*, a 2013 work by Paul Baker, Costas Gabrielatos, and Tony McEnery. I will apply their two-technique approach with some modification.

The first part of the analytical process involved identifying a set of words, concepts, people, and locations, which represent relevant concepts in each discourse. This process is known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a process which "involves the close examination of language in texts, as for example, in showing how particular linguistic phenomena (word choice, sentence structure, metaphor, implicature, argumentation strategy, etc.) can be used to represent a particular stance."⁴⁹ This technique "combines close analysis of language with consideration of social context..."⁵⁰ An example of this is the understanding the word "European Union" in the body of text related to Scottish independence as a reference to issues related to the EU. I performed CDA on a series of five articles from each sample from the national papers and fifteen articles from each of the regional papers. More specifically, I performed this analysis process by searching for words and phrases which corresponded to themes I identified earlier as present in each case's discussion on independence. This included specific grievances each region expressed to justify independence. For instance, I identified words such as "equality" and "fair" that I saw appear in multiple Scottish articles which reflected a focus on social justice issues I had identified when studying the Scottish debate. I combined this with more general reading on the topics in order to draw out relevant words, concepts, locations, people, etc. I also drew from

⁴⁹ Paul Baker et al., *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes: The Representation of Islam in the British Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 20.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

both my analysis of history and my literature review to insert terms, providing a way to test an extensive set of words and phrases.

After performing the CDA on each of the four papers, I subdivided each set of CDA word findings into three clusters for the national papers and ten clusters based for the regional media based on different themes that encompassed general arguments for independence. For the national papers these were geographic, political, and descriptive. For the regional paper they were political, economic, cultural, worldwide movements, normative, democratic, historic, institutional, welfare, and EU. The regional themes with more terms were further divided in sub-clusters to further organize the data. This step also allowed me to tighten my search around the frequencies I am interested in contrasting, such as the salience of welfare references or the European Union in each discourse. Additionally, I kept the clusters, sub-clusters, and many of the words consistent across each set of papers in order to keep consistency in my comparison. This process was complicated as it often required thinking along cross-cultural lines. Oftentimes, I had to modify words multiple times and research extensively online about the most accurate translation of words, ideas, and events.

I applied the words and phrases from the CDA process as search terms for the samples drawn from the media sources laid out above. When entering the search terms into the samples, I ensured, to the best of my ability, that they were inserted as words and phrases that would not form parts of other words. This process helped make certain that searches would not yield hits related to other words which would skew my results. I also entered the Spanish search terms without their otherwise required accent marks because the sample text in excel did not transfer over accent marks from the articles.

The second analytical technique is known as a corpus analysis. A corpus application "will allow us to see which choices are privileged, giving evidence for mainstream, popular or entrenched ways of thinking."⁵¹ The body of language, or the data sources, is "representative of the variety of language that [a researcher is] interested in."⁵² I organized my corpus in Microsoft Excel in order to embed each article and its relevant information as a line on the spreadsheet. Performing a digital corpus search after a manual CDA proves as a convenient method to work through more data compared to a manual approach.

To record counts, I first used a formula which counted the recurrence of a certain word or phrase within all the articles. The process could not, on its own, be used to compare with the other print media sample due to the different sizes of the samples, but, by calculating each cluster as a percentage of the total hits for the whole sample I found percentages that could be used as cross-sample comparisons. Second, I used a simple binary function to count the number of articles that use a certain word. When this total was divided by the total number of articles in the sample size, I obtained a percentage which can be compared across data samples. These are the percentages displayed next to each word in table series A and B.⁵³ Tables for each set of results are divided by general cluster themes. For the national papers, displayed in table series A, I included all data points in order to indicate how the process was performed and how percentages were calculated based on raw count totals. For the regional papers, I indicated sub-category, the input word, the percent of total articles that contain the specific word, and the cluster percentage count based on the total recurrence hits for that cluster compared to the rest of the corpus.

⁵¹ Paul Baker et al., *Discourse Analysis and Media Attitudes: The Representation of Islam in the British Press* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 25.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Table series A-B are displayed in **V. Results and Findings** Section after each sub-section.

Statistical Tests

I performed a two-sample T-Test on the general cluster word counts across each corresponding cluster set in order to test for statistical significance that could appear between different clusters.⁵⁴ Since my hypotheses look closely at differences and similarities in frequency using statistical tests in this way allowed me to draw more accurate conclusions about comparability across clusters.

Shortcomings

Although *The Sunday Herald* and *El Periódico de Catalunya* both fit the aims of my investigation, *The Sunday Herald's* circulation was limited due to its status as a Sunday-only paper. The Catalan paper, meanwhile, represents a relatively more centrist opinion on independence that does not completely match the outwardly pro-independence discourse "slice" I envisioned when planning the project.

During the CDA process I faced repeated challenges trying to find equivalent cultural concepts for word inputs that I would find, for instance, in one paper but not the other. For search terms I expected to be similar, such as the names of political parties or names of leaders in each region, translation from one culture to the other was not overly complicated due to the more equivalent nature of the concepts. However when working with terms in the normative or historical section, in particular, I had trouble translating words and phrases. One example of this difficulty was the word such as "fair," which although existing in Spanish as "equitable," does not represent a word with the same general frequency of use in Spanish as in English. These discrepancies indicate that cross-cultural interference may have had an effect in skewing my data in certain cases, especially when concerning more abstract and less technical vocabulary.

⁵⁴ Refer to **VIII. Appendix**

Nonetheless, I maintained this practice of cross-cultural conversion during the CDA process as having a generally one-to-one lineup of words across newspapers allowed for a more accurate comparison process with the percentage article counts.

Lastly, I had originally aimed for this project to include a series of interviews with Scottish and Catalan experts on the topic of independence. Unfortunately the reach-out process did not yield the prompt and efficient responses I had expected and the process had to be discontinued in order to focus on the quantitative data. Access to this qualitative information would have allowed me to refine my conclusions, particularly on the topics that yielded the most promising results.

Specific Hypotheses

Considering the context section and above methodology, the specific hypotheses of this paper are outlined below:

H_{1a}: Themes evoked in Scotland's and Catalonia's pro-independence discourse will be different in frequency when they are broadly related to:

- i.** Scotland's greater attachment to the welfare state, its historically autonomous institutions, economic concerns, and its oil wealth
- ii.** Catalonia's greater connection to its distinct language, a relevantly recent past under dictatorship, and Madrid's continued resistance to a referendum

H_{1b}: Themes evoked in a Scotland's and Catalonia's pro-independence discourse will be similar in frequency when they are related to the other themes tested

H₂: The differing salience of the above themes in the peripheral regions' discourses will reflect:

- i.** A unique Scottish way of viewing independence which prioritizes tangible economic benefits related to welfare and more left-leaning policies
- ii.** A unique Catalan way of viewing independence in which Madrid's reticence towards a referendum as well as Spain's relatively recent history with a dictatorship adds a greater perception of aggressive confrontation between Barcelona and Madrid

V. Results and Findings: CDA and Corpus Search

Establishing Comparability on the National Level: National Newspaper Searches

Note: Please refer to Tables A1 and A2 at the end of the sub-section

The searches in *The Times* and *El País* intend to test the comparability of the two larger national discourse units. As I performed the CDA analysis I noticed both papers frequently refer to cities in the designated regions. While also analyzing geographic referendum electoral results about yes and no votes for independence in each region, I thought it would be interesting to include geographic inputs in the corpus search. Moreover, geographic references are a way to test the salience of a basic aspect of the center-periphery relation, or how often the center refers to physical areas of the periphery.

In this cluster the corpus search across countries yielded largely similar results. The regions of Scotland and Catalonia themselves are referred to roughly equally, with 80.74% and 94.09% hits respectively, making it slightly less salient in *The Times* in this time frame. This finding is balanced by fewer hits for the city of Girona in *El País* compared to Glasgow in *The Times*. This difference surprised me as Glasgow and Girona are major cities with reputations for having populations with strong pro-independence sentiment in Scotland and Catalonia respectively. I would have expected salience for these cities to be fairly equal cross-nationally in the targeted print media searches. When comparing to the control references, Glasgow produced results much closer to the "Europe" test while Girona was more in line with the control terms "United States" and "Merkel" which received lower frequencies.

The search for the Catalan Parliament fell relatively flat compared to the search for the Scottish Parliament, however this finding related to regional government is seen in reverse with *El País* showing a much larger salience for the "Generalitat," Catalonia's government, compared

to "Holyrood," the name commonly attributed to the seat of the Scottish devolved government. Although geographic references accounted for a larger share of the British discourse "slice," representing 41% of the total hits compared to 29% for the Spanish national paper, the percentages of articles with words related to geography often surpass the control references. The physical Scottish and Catalan peripheries are both referred to frequently in the highest-circulation national papers of the UK and Spain respectively, a basic but important finding which evokes the center's attention to the periphery in articles related to regional independence. No statically significant difference was found across geographic clusters based on total recurrence hits.

When performing the CDA analysis on articles from the national papers, I regularly came across references to specific political actors in Scotland and Catalonia. I created the political cluster in order to compare the salience of pro-independence parties in the biggest papers of the UK and Spain in the selected time frame. The results show that political actors are salient in both discourses, with both papers showing that over 30% of all articles in the samples include references to the leading pro-independence parties, the SNP and CiU respectively. Divergence exists, however, over references to Artur Mas and Oriol Junqueras, Catalonia's leading pro-independence figures which produced 43.08% and 13.06% respectively, compared to the SNP's Alex Salmond and Nicola Sturgeon who showed frequencies of only 27.55% and 5.96% respectively. The total cluster percentage in *The Times* is also only 15%, compared to 27% in *El País*, although this gap did not demonstrate statistical significance in the two sample T-Test. It is important to note that this level of significance was likely affected by the small number of words in the political category that were used to produce the cross-cluster T-Test. This difference in salience could be a result of the crisis-dynamics that the independence debate has taken in Spain

due to the constitutional conflict between Barcelona's parties and the Spanish constitutional court. This may have caused the discourse in Spain to focus acutely on actors such as Artur Mas, mentioned in a striking 43.08% of articles, because of his controversial push for a vote on self-determination in Catalonia. Whereas in Scotland, Alex Salmond's position on the right to vote was largely accepted in the political discussion. All in all, however, the party and leadership searches in the political cluster emerged as more salient than the control references in both papers. This suggests that the political activity of the Scottish and Catalan peripheries is pertinent, and comparable, in both centers' discourses.

I created the descriptive category in order to include words that were both descriptive of the vote, such as "referendum," but also some words and phrases that had more normative connotations. Instead of choosing a category such as culture or economics, which I will analyze in detail in the regional paper searches, I thought having this third cluster would round out the three different categories to offer a small yet varied set of salience comparisons for the national level.

The results for descriptive references follow some of the themes found in the political cluster. The word "referendum" appeared in nearly 50% of all articles in each sample. Meanwhile the word "independence," appeared in nearly all. Of course, this is to be expected to a large degree due to the initial search parameters I implemented on *LexisNexis Academic* to create the samples. The words "nation" and "sovereignty" are present in 66.41% and 9.64% of articles in *El País* respectively compared to 48.04% and 1.49% in *The Times*. This large disparity further suggests that words which are related to questions over Spain's unity are at the center of discourse in Spain while in the UK, although relevant, they have largely been acknowledged as part of a campaign between two sides and a discussion between center and periphery, as opposed

to a crisis. The cluster totals for descriptive references, 38% for *The Times* and 32% for *El País*, and the non-significant result of the T-Test for this cluster indicate that both are elements salient to similar amounts in the UK and Spain respectively when taken as clusters.

The results from *The Times* and *El País* searches display similar results in terms of salience and do not show any statically significant difference at the level of clusters, a finding which suggests that the two larger national units, the United Kingdom and Spain, refer to the independence of their regions in comparable amounts. It is important that I established this first step as it allows me to claim that both larger national units are comparable, so we should expect their smaller regional parts to follow comparable logic. The search at the national level also hinted at an initial difference in the way the votes on independence may be contextualized in each discourse. This was seen in the Spanish paper's greater references to specific political actors in Catalonia and certain descriptive or normative words. Does this initial divergence from the perspective of the center indicate a deeper difference which may reflect a fundamentally distinct way of referring to independence in Britain compared to Spain? Diving into regional level comparison will enable us to distinguish further.

Sub-Section Tables (A1-A2):

Cluster	Words	Total recurrence	Number of articles with word	Percentage of articles total with word
Geographic References	Scotland	2867	759	80.74%
	Edinburgh	393	212	22.55%
	Glasgow	291	154	16.38%
	Aberdeen	84	60	6.38%
	Holyrood	189	111	11.81%
	Scottish Parliament	96	64	6.81%
	Westminster	257	180	19.15%
	Cluster total recurrence	4177		
	Cluster total as % of total hits	41%		
Political References	Scottish National Party	15	14	1.49%
	Scottish National party	5	5	0.53%
	SNP	642	291	30.96%
	Salmond	769	319	33.94%
	Sturgeon	105	56	5.96%
	Cluster total recurrence	1536		
	Cluster total as % of total hits	15%		
Descriptive References	referendum	811	469	49.89%
	independence	1613	893	95.00%
	nation	1032	455	48.40%
	union	352	170	18.09%
	destiny	6	6	0.64%
	sovereignty	15	14	1.49%
	Cluster total recurrence	3829		
	Cluster total as % of total hits	38%		
Control References	Merkel	4	3	0.32%
	Europe	341	176	18.72%
	United States	29	25	2.66%

Table A1. CDA and Corpus Search results displaying raw total word/phrase recurrence (hits) within all articles, number of total articles with word/phrase, percentage of total articles containing each individual word/phrase, raw word/phrase cluster total, and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *The Times (London)*

Cluster	Words	Total recurrence	Number of articles with word	Percentage of total articles with word
Geographic references	Cataluna	1529	605	94.09%
	Barcelona	368	204	31.73%
	Girona	48	28	4.35%
	Lleida	88	67	10.42%
	Generalitat	734	299	46.50%
	Parlamento de Cataluna	1	1	0.16%
	Cortes	31	28	4.35%
	Cluster total recurrence	2799		
	Cluster total as % of total hits	29%		
Political references	Convergencia i Unio	56	48	7.47%
	Esquerra Republicana	103	86	13.37%
	CiU	513	212	32.97%
	ERC	401	168	26.13%
	Mas	1312	358	55.68%
	Junqueras	211	84	13.06%
	Cluster total recurrence	2596		
	Cluster total as % of total hits	27%		
Descriptive references	referendum	567	273	42.46%
	independencia	1000	624	97.05%
	nacion	1260	427	66.41%
	union	187	123	19.13%
	destino	20	16	2.49%
	soberania	100	62	9.64%
	Cluster total recurrence	3134		
	Cluster total as % of total hits	32%		
Control references	Merkel	19	9	1.40%
	Europa	268	129	20.06%
	Estados Unidos	23	16	2.49%

Table A2. CDA and Corpus Search results displaying raw total word/phrase recurrence (hits) within all articles, number of total articles with word/phrase, percentage of total articles containing each individual word/phrase, raw word/phrase cluster total, and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El País* (Madrid)

Interpreting Frequencies: The Strength of Self-Determination

In this section, I will first analyze possible common points between the two discourses, then review ambiguous or mixed cases, and finalize by focusing on divergences that emerged in the data. I will not refer to every point of data from the quantitative analysis. Instead, I will focus on the most crucial aspects, both those that showed clear results and more ambiguous cases.

Commonalities

*Note: Please refer to **Tables B1-B4** at the end of the sub-section*

The initial divergence I noted in *The Times* and *El País* political categories related to the greater frequency of references to Catalan leadership compared to that of Scotland was not seen in the regional papers. Prime Minister Cameron was mentioned in 12% of the articles in *The Sunday Herald* and Prime Minister Rajoy a comparable 18% in the Catalan paper. References to national-level parties were also similar, with the Partido Popular, known in its abbreviation as the PP, mentioned 27% of the time and Britain's conservatives mentioned in their different abbreviations in 6%, 15%, and 10% of all Scottish articles. Although the Scottish paper's political cluster accounted for a relatively large part of its total word recurrence, at 30% of all total hits compared to Catalonia's 26%, *El Periódico de Catalunya* had a much greater recurrence of hits or simple references to "politics." The recurrence of London and Madrid was also similar. In this sense Scottish and Catalan pro-independence discourse demonstrates that both refer to the national political scene in roughly equal amounts. No statistically significant difference was found across clusters. These inconclusive results from the CDA and corpus analysis drew me to include more normative-based words in later categories which may delve into the nature of the relationship in a more indirect way.

Conducting CDA to find historical-words was a challenge due to the difficulty of producing equivalent historical reference words. To do this, I performed both the close reading

of the thirty articles as well as a broader reading of texts related to Scottish and Catalan history, with the goal of finding events, places, or dates that may be viewed similarly by Scots and Catalans. Some examples of this include 1707 and 1714 as crucial dates in both regions when local autonomy was reduced. Other examples include references to Franco or Thatcher as figures who opposed the devolution of powers to the regions in both Scottish and Catalan recent history, although certainly in very different ways. I chose Juan Carlos I and Tony Blair as figures from the political centers who were key in the devolution of authority, king Juan Carlos as a key advancer of Spanish democratization in the 1970s and 1980s and Blair as the Prime Minister who oversaw the devolution of powers to Edinburgh in the 1997 referendum. Other terms, such as "famine" and "civil war," reference violent events in both regions' pasts that form an important part of national memory. I also included the Enlightenment and the Second Spanish Republic as references to periods when each region prospered.

I believed this equivalent line up of historical terms would indicate history as a more salient factor in Catalonia. More specifically, I expected the current relationship between center and periphery in Spain would evoke uncomfortable historical links to periods during which Catalan cultural and political autonomy was suppressed, often violently, as it was during the Civil War of 1936-1939 or the dictatorship of Francisco Franco.

References to direct historical terms, however, showed little divergence. References to the key dates of 1707 and 1714 respectively stayed low at 1% in Scotland and 2% in Catalonia. References to famine, Thatcher, and Blair in Scotland remained at low 1%, 4%, and 5% respectively. In Catalonia, references to the civil war, Franco, and King Juan Carlos I, however, produced the even lower results of 2%, 3%, and 2%. The findings indicate that direct historical references were not very present in the Scottish or Catalan newspapers during the referendum

campaign period. Furthermore, the cross-cluster T-Test showed no statistically significant difference. The word-search findings for this section, however, should be taken with caution due to the difficult nature of cross-cultural comparison for this cluster. The frequency results also encouraged me to think of indirect ways in which the Catalan periphery's more confrontational history with the center in Madrid may manifest itself in other clusters.

Sub-Section Tables (B1-B4):

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word	
Political	General	politics	18%	
	National Politics	Westminster	27%	
		Number 10	1%	
	Party Politics	Conservatives	6%	
		Tory	15%	
		Tories	10%	
		Labour	34%	
		Cameron	12%	
	Centralism	London	21%	
	Austerity	austerity	5%	
	Federalism	federalism	1%	
	General cluster as % of all hits			30%

Table B1. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **political cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in the *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Political	General	politica	43%
	National Politics	Cortes	2%
		Moncloa	5%
	Party Politics	Partido Popular	1%
		PP	27%
		PSOE	11%
		Rajoy	18%
	Centralism	Madrid	16%
	Austerity	austeridad	2%
	Federalism	federalismo	4%
	General cluster as % of all hits		

Table B2. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **political cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Historic	N/A	Act of Union	0%
		1707	1%
		Highlands	2%
		famine	1%
		Enlightenment	0%
		Thatcher	4%
		Blair	5%
General cluster as % of all hits			2%

Table B3. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **historic cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in the *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Historic	N/A	Nueva Planta	0%
		1714	2%
		Napoleon	0%
		Segunda Republica	0%
		guerra civil	2%
		Franco	3%
		Juan Carlos	2%
General cluster as % of all hits			1%

Table B4. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **historic cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona)

Mixed and Ambiguous Cases

*Note: Please refer to **Tables B5-B14** at the end of the sub-section*

I tested for differences in references to institutions in order to determine if the role of institutions held different weight across the regions. I divided the institutional cluster into sub-clusters referring to devolved institutions, historical institutions, and monarchy in order to gauge potential difference at that level as well. Both the Scottish pro-independence discourse and the Catalan one referred to devolved institutions such as Holyrood or the Generalitat frequently, with 17% and 19% respectively. However, differences did emerge with the number of times each newspaper referred to Parliament, with a 16% result in Scotland compared to a 9% in Catalonia. This finding may suggest that the importance of the recently created Scottish institutions may be of greater importance to Scots evaluating the question of independence. For Catalans, the case for self-governance may be rooted elsewhere, as in their distinct culture and wish to express this identity through institutions that work separately from Madrid. This may also reflect the greater historical continuity of parliamentary democracy in the UK relative to Spain, where multiparty democracy was only restored in the 1970s. Along these lines, the Scottish paper demonstrated many more references to the monarchs, whether King or Queen, than did the Catalan paper. This finding, similarly to the greater salience of "Parliament" in the Scottish paper, could indicate the greater historical continuity of the monarchy in the UK compared to Spain, where the monarchy has a more disputed recent past.⁵⁵ The rest of the categories, including references to civil society and the church, showed little difference in either discourse. Finally, the statistical T-Test showed no cross-cluster statistical difference in the results.

My observations during my stay in Scotland during the September 18th, 2014 referendum as well as the CDA process suggested that the Scottish debate appeared to dwell more on topics

⁵⁵ Fernández F. Ramos, "The monarchy, a journalistic taboo in Spain. The royal crisis and the circumstantial crisis," *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social* 16 (2013): 210.

related to the economy and welfare than did the discussion in Catalonia. There, the discourse seemed to be more focused on democratic concerns related to the ban on the referendum in addition to cultural issues. I therefore predicted that a divergence would manifest itself in economic topics, chiefly by general frequency but also through more specific sub-cluster differences.

The findings point to a discourse in Scotland that only shows some evidence for more focus on economic topics. 18% of articles included the word "economy" in Scotland compared to only 10% with the same word in *El Periódico de Catalunya*. Notable divergences also emerged between the two newspapers over energy topics, with 19% and 9% of Scottish articles including references to oil or energy respectively compared to only 2% of each in the Catalan paper. Oil, a bigger factor in the Scottish context than in the Catalan one, understandably emerged as a more salient part of the discourse in Scotland. This clear difference also helps confirm the use of discourse analysis as an effective methodology to trace local context in discourse. Meanwhile references to "deficit" and "debt" were found in 5% and 6% of articles in Catalonia respectively, compared to 2% and 0% in Scotland. This suggests more attention to questions of debt issues due to Spain's struggling public debt problems since the 2009 crisis, a large concern to Catalan secessionists who believe independence would bring about deficit reduction due to Catalonia's economic strength. 11% of articles in the Catalan sample also referenced strikes, compared to only 3% in Scotland. This divergence may further suggest a degree of discontent in Catalonia towards the economic situation in Spain, which is seen as driven in part by mismanagement in Madrid.

Few other differences were found in the important categories of economic crisis, employment, and economic growth. Furthermore, the T-Test showed no significant difference in

the overall clusters. The results here only partially go in tandem with the hypothesis. As confirmed by the data, I expected to find references such as energy and debt appear as simple reflections of the different issues in those debates. This was also a positive finding to support the validity of discourse analysis methodology. However, little difference was found across other categories and no significance appeared across the clusters which would have soundly indicated a Scottish discourse more focused on economic issues.

When I performed CDA in the cultural category, identifying comparable cultural terms was a challenge. Although, the word "culture" appeared in a similar 10% and 11% of articles in *The Sunday Herald* and *El Periódico de Catalunya* respectively. When I added an "ethnic" search term such as "Celt," which yielded a 3% result, it did not prove helpful as no accurate comparable term exists in Catalonia. As such, I focused on language as a comparable feature across the two regions. As discussed earlier, Scottish Gaelic, the indigenous language of the northern-most part of Great Britain, holds a much weaker role in society compared to the Catalan language in Catalonia. The results for the cultural test yielded only 1% of articles with references to Gaelic while 6% of articles in the Catalan discourse talked about the Catalan language. Furthermore, "language" was present in 6% of articles in the Scottish discourse compared to the greater 8% and 3% for each form of the word language in Spanish. Meanwhile, the T-Test yielded no significant difference between the identical 4% of total hits that the culture cluster represents in both newspapers. These findings, although not presenting a huge difference, still support the hypothesis that culture, in the form of language, has a greater frequency in the Catalan discourse than it does in the Scottish national discussion. They also show that cross-cultural comparisons of cultures are difficult as culture represent a largely unique aspect of a

region, not comparable to economy or politics that hold relatively common notions such as political parties, economic terminology, or names of leaders that can be compared.

When performing my CDA analysis of the texts, I decided to include welfare as a separate section from economics as it has certain cultural norms attached to it. In Scotland, in particular, attachment to social welfare is seen as an integral part of the regionalist Scottish movement.⁵⁶ The CDA yielded more references to specific issues in Scotland, such as the bedroom tax or the National Health Service, which were included alongside more general references such as education or health. The corpus search results, however, showed little difference across any category and little frequency overall of social welfare themes in each discourse. This goes in tandem with my expectation for the Catalan discourse but not for the Scottish one. The only exception was found in references to health, which occurred in 13% of Scottish articles and only 4% of Catalan ones. This suggests more attention to social welfare issues in the Scottish debate relative to the Catalan one. Additionally, the T-Test found no statistically significant difference between the two clusters. The majority of findings for the social welfare themes do not support my hypothesis which would have expected more attention to social welfare in Scotland relative to Catalonia.

I created the "normative" cluster due to the difficulties I faced performing CDA analysis on historic and cultural notions. This cluster was intended to delve more indirectly into cultural and historic norms which may not have appeared through direct references to historical events or language, for instance. My CDA yielded words pertinent to the sub-cluster categories I termed "discontent," "justice and equality," and "separatism." The search terms I chose from the CDA analysis were ones that indicated disapproval or evaluation of the relationship between center

⁵⁶ Nicola McEwen. *Nationalism and the State: Welfare and Identity in Scotland and Quebec* (Brussels: PIE-Peter Lang, 2015), 120.

and periphery or words that commonly occurred in the referendum campaigns such as "equality" or "crisis."

Although most results indicated little variation between cases and no statistically significant cross-cluster difference, some words point to interesting divergences between the cases. For instance, the word "fair," that I included due to its relevance in the Scottish CDA, appeared in 24% of articles in the Scottish paper while its Catalan equivalent appeared 0% of the time. It is important to qualify this finding, however, with the difficulty of translating this word and its connotations. Other results are suggested by the appearance of "secession" and "crisis" in 14% and 22% of articles respectively in the Catalan discourse compared to the minimal 1% and 9% in the Scottish one respectively. This finding points to a noteworthy difference between how the discourse in the two cases refers to center periphery relations in the independence debate. In Catalonia, the higher salience of "crisis" especially reflects a viewpoint of the current situation as a time of intense tension and conflict between the pro-independence opinion in Barcelona and the unionist forces in Madrid which have sought to uphold the unity of Spain. Similarly, the higher frequency of "secession" echoes a mindset where independence is associated with the implication of separatism, as opposed to the vote that was permitted in Scotland by the central government in London. These findings in the normative searches provide more evidence to support distinct perspectives, though the overall normative comparison still indicates multiple common points between how independence is perceived in each discourse.

Sub-Section Tables (B5-B14):

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Institutions	Devolved Institutions	Parliament	16%
		Holyrood	17%
		devolve	5%
	Historical institutions	Church	3%
		Church of Scotland	1%
		civil society	0%
		local government	2%
		Monarchy	King
	Queen	7%	
	General cluster % of all hits		

Table B5. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **institutional cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in the *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Institutions	Historic Institutions	iglesia	1%
		catolic	1%
		sociedad civil	2%
		gobierno local	0%
	Devolved Government	autonomia	9%
		Generalitat	19%
		Parlamento	9%
	Monarchy	rey	5%
		reina	2%
	Cluster % of all hits		

Table B6. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **institutional cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona)

General Category	Sub-category	Word (English)	% of total articles that contain word
Economic	General	economy	18%
		economic	21%
		economic growth	2%
	Debt	deficit	2%
		debt	0%
	Employment	strike	3%
		privatisation	2%
		employment	8%
	Energy	oil	19%
		energy	9%
	Economic Crisis	economic crisis	1%
		financial crisis	1%
	General cluster as % of all hits		

Table B7. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **economic cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in the *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow)

General Category	Sub-category	Word (Spanish)	% of total articles that contain word	
Economic	General	economia	10%	
		economic	26%	
		crecimiento economico	1%	
	Debt	deficit	5%	
		deuda	6%	
	Employment	paro	11%	
		privatizacion	1%	
		empleo	5%	
	Energy	petroleo	2%	
		energia	2%	
	Economic Crisis	crisis economica	3%	
		crisis financiera	0%	
	General cluster as % of all hits			10%

Table B8. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **economic cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Cultural	General	culture	10%
	Identity	Celt	3%
	Language	Gaelic	1%
		language	6%
General cluster as % of all hits			7%

Table B9. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **cultural cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in the *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Cultural	General	cultura	11%
	Language	El catalan	6%
		lengua	8%
		idioma	3%
General cluster as % of all hits			4%

Table B10. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **cultural cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Welfare	N/A	bedroom tax	5%
		health	13%
		NHS	5%
		education	8%
		public spending	2%
General luster as % of all hits			7%

Table B11. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **welfare cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in the *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Welfare	N/A	pacto fiscal	3%
		salud	4%
		educacion	6%
		gasto publico	0%
Cluster % of all hits			2%

Table B12. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **welfare cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Normative	Discontent	crisis	9%
		failure	7%
		flaw	1%
		exploit	3%
		superficial	1%
	Justice and Equality	equal	16%
		equality	7%
		fair	24%
		fairness	2%
		justice	7%
	Separatism	secession	1%
		withdraw	3%
	General cluster as % of all hits		

Table B13. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **normative cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in the *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word	
Normative	Discontent	crisis	22%	
		fracaso	4%	
		falla	2%	
		explota	1%	
		superficial	0%	
	Justice and Equality	igual	17%	
		igualdad	4%	
		equitativo	0%	
		justicia	7%	
	Separatism	secesion	14%	
		retira	3%	
	General cluster as % of all hits			11%

Table B14. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **normative cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona)

Divergences

*Note: Please refer to **Tables B15-B20** at the end of the sub-section*

"Nou estat d'Europa," meaning a new state of Europe, is a common slogan of the Catalan independence debate. Membership in the European Union and its various agreements and institutions is a present issue in the independence debates of both regions. For all references tested, the Catalan paper had more articles referencing the EU than did the discourse in Scotland. This was the only cluster for which all CDA inputs words yielded greater articles hits for one region. The differences were small for most words, with the exception of the basic search "EU" which was found in 27% of articles in the Catalan national discourse compared to a less frequent, yet still present, 13% in the Scottish paper.

I believe this divergence suggests two possible explanations. First, it shows that the European Union is a more salient part of the discourse because Catalan pro-independence forces have made the "Nou estat d'Europa," or the idea of a new state within the EU, a larger part of their debate compared to pro-independence campaigners in Scotland. Second, Spain historically has held a more pro-European view due to the economic advantages Europe brought through both European integration and EU development aid during Spain's years in transition away from dictatorship. These two explanations, in some sense, could also be working in tandem. Catalonia, as a part of Spain, has also been part of a historically larger Spanish discourse which sees Spain as a European country moving away from its historical underdevelopment relative to its northern European neighbors.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Ramon Pacheco Pardo, "EU membership and the Europeanization of Spanish political parties," *International Journal of Iberian Studies* 25 (2012): 3-4.

Meanwhile, the lower scores for the Scottish discourse could point to the effects of a larger British tendency to view itself as distinct from the European Union. *The Times* and *El País* searches also support this case, albeit weakly, showing the control reference "Europe" present slightly more frequently in the Spanish national paper compared to Britain's. Although the overall cross-cluster T-Test yielded no significant difference, comparing the article percentage counts of the individual references still evokes the greater salience of the EU in the Catalan discourse, a finding that does not support my hypothesis, which expected to find the EU as a point of similarity.

Just as I separated out welfare-related terms from the broader economic category, my CDA results drew out input words such as "referendum" and the Spanish "consulta" which could fit under the more specific cluster that I labeled "democratic." This cluster referred to the more specific voting events, which given the disparate situations in each region, I decided was an important divergence to look for. References to "referendum" appeared in 54% of articles in the Scottish discourse and only 4% in Catalonia, while the word "consulta," or consultation in English, yielded 42% in *El Periódico de Catalunya*. This difference represents the differing perspectives of the situation in Scotland versus Catalonia, where in the former the voting event is seen as a permitted expression of self-determination, in Catalonia a consultation has been the more recurrent word, emphasizing the less official nature of the event. Similarly, *The Sunday Herald* referred to both self determination and the "right to vote" in 0% of articles while in Catalonia 8% of articles referred to self determination and 16% to the "right to vote." Although the cross-cluster T-Test yielded no significant difference between the two groups of words, the real difference for these references is to be found in comparing the individual words.

In Scotland the discourse of the pro-independence camp views the right to self-determination and the right to vote as accomplished facts, while in Catalonia pro-independence and regionalist voices are running into opposition from the Spanish government and constitutional court over this right, which is not enshrined in the Spanish constitution. I believe this is a powerful divergence between the two cases, one which reflects deeper differences about the way each culture views independence.

My CDA analysis, particularly the close reading of articles, revealed that both cases refer to other independence movements. As such, I created a cluster which tested for other regionalist movements in not only the British Isles and Spain, but also in other parts of the world. Hypothesizing that Scotland and Catalonia both have unique ways of referring to independence, I considered that references to other movements may be an indirect way of testing for some level of solidarity with the ideals of other movements.

In *The Sunday Herald* over the established time period, the discourse had the greatest references to Ireland, Irish, and Wales, gaining 9%, 4%, and 6% respectively. In Catalonia, references to these movements in the British Isles were expectedly lower. More notably, the Catalan discourse referred to "Scotland" or "Scottish," in 9% and 8% of articles respectively while the Scottish paper referred to "Catalonia" or "Catalan" in a slim 1% of articles for both references. The higher frequency of Scottish references in Catalonia's discussion on independence suggests that the Scottish vote on independence certainly acts as a model for those calling for independence in Catalonia. As pro-independence voices in Catalonia feel they have reached an impasse with the Spanish government, the Scottish referendum acts as a reference point that serves to highlight their right to a vote, a previously discussed salient feature of the Catalan discourse. Meanwhile in Scotland, relatively fewer references to the Catalan movement

may indicate relatively less motivation to look to a region that lacks the power to vote on self determination. Conversely, as was the case with divergence of reference to the EU, the Scottish discourse here may be taking on elements of a larger British mentality more turned on itself as opposed to engaged towards the European continent. I affirm that this is also supported by a higher salience of references to examples from the British Isles, particularly the finding that nearly 10% of articles from *The Sunday Herald* on the topic of Scottish independence during this time referenced Ireland.

Furthermore, the Scottish paper posted few references to movements in the rest of Europe or Quebec. The most references the Scottish discourse reached outside of the British Isles was to "Ukraine," which was repeated in 3% of articles. Meanwhile in *El Periódico de Catalunya*, "Ukraine," "Ukrainian," and "Crimea" were recorded a respective 5%, 3% and 3%, relatively high findings compared to those in Scotland. 1% of Catalan articles also referenced Yugoslavia compared to 0% in Scotland, a finding which suggests that the Catalan discourse accords at least a slim degree of attention to the violent secessions that shook Europe in the 1990s.

These article percentages indicate that the Scottish movement may be less concerned with comparison with others, possibly because it inherits more isolationist elements of British opinion on Europe or simply because Scotland finds itself already a leading example of independence referendum experiences. Meanwhile it is possible that Catalonia, a situation characterized by Madrid's refusal to allow a vote on independence, is pushed to look to other movements to legitimize its claims to self determination. Chiefly, it is drawn to Scotland as Europe's current leading independence referendum experience. Furthermore, Catalonia's greater attention to the violent situations in Ukraine and the former Yugoslavia may indicate some degree of concern due to Catalonia's relatively recent history with civil war. It is important to note, however, that

both of these movements have operated peacefully and are committed to continue pursuing their aims in this way. The divergence is also reinforced by the .028 level of significance from the cross-cluster T-Test, the only statistically significant cross-cluster result of any of the categories.

Sub-Section Tables (B15-B20):

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
European Union	N/A	European Union	8%
		EU	13%
		Brussels	3%
		European	16%
General cluster as % of all hits			9%

Table B15. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **EU cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in the *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
European Union	N/A	Union Europea	9%
		UE	27%
		Bruselas	6%
		europe	19%
General cluster as % of all hits			11%

Table B16. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **normative cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Democratic	N/A	referendum	54%
		right to vote	0%
		self determination	0%
General cluster % of all hits			11%

Table B17. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **democratic cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in the *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Democratic	N/A	consulta	42%
		referendum	4%
		derecho a decidir	16%
		autodeterminacion	8%
General cluster as % of all hits			16%

Table B18. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **democratic cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word	
Worldwide Movements	British Isles	Ireland	9%	
		Irish	4%	
		Wales	6%	
		Welsh	2%	
	Catalonia	Catalonia	1%	
		Catalan	1%	
	Iberia	Basque	0%	
	Eastern Europe	Ukraine	3%	
		Ukrainian	2%	
		Crimea	1%	
		Crimean	0%	
		Yugoslavia	0%	
		Yugoslav	0%	
	Other Europe	Flanders	0%	
	N America	Quebec	1%	
	General cluster as % of all hits			7%

Table B19. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **worldwide movements cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in the *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow)

General Category	Sub-category	Word	% of total articles that contain word
Worldwide Movements	British Isles	Irelanda	0%
		irlandes	1%
		Gales	1%
		gales	5%
	Catalonia	Escocia	9%
		escoces	8%
	Iberia	vasco	2%
	Eastern Europe	Ucrania	5%
		ucraniano	3%
		Crimea	3%
		crimea	1%
		Yugoslavia	1%
		yugoslav	0%
	Other Europe	Flandes	1%
	N America	Quebec	1%
	General cluster as % of all hits		

Table B20. CDA and Corpus Search results for the **worldwide movements cluster** displaying percentage of total articles that contain each individual word/phrase and word/phrase cluster total as percentage of total hits in *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona)

VI. Conclusion

Revisiting the Hypotheses: Unique Regional-National Viewpoints

Scotland: Partially Accepting H₁ and H₂

References to both Scotland's historically autonomous institutions and welfare were not a large part of Scotland's discussion on independence as had been expected when compared to both article and cluster-word percentages in the Catalan debate. References to oil and energy questions, however, did post larger results that appeared divergent from those in Catalonia. The "Normative References" category suggests that references to Scotland's relatively unique attachment to welfare and a more fair society could be found through the high salience of words related to justice and equality. Additionally, *The Sunday Herald* references economic questions in higher frequency than *El Periódico de Catalunya*. The results of the CDA and corpus search partially favor my first hypothesis about the frequency of factors in Scotland as salience difference did not emerge strongly in all of the expected categories, and those expected to be similar displayed some unexpected divergence.

The overall picture that emerges from the results can only partially support the second hypothesis, which expected to see a unique Scottish viewpoint emerge from the data which prioritized economic and social-welfare questions above others.

Catalonia: Partially Accepting H₁ and H₂

The results of the CDA and corpus search also only partially accept H₁ in the Catalan scenario. Although references to Catalonia's language were greater than those in Scotland, they still did not post the high results I expected to be a result of a much more central linguistic debate in Catalonia. Additionally, the frequency of historical terms remained extremely low which suggests that history does not emerge directly in discourse. The "Normative References" results,

however, do help support my second hypothesis as aggressive terms such as "crisis" and "secession" note the situation in Catalonia may be more perceived as more intense and events are seen through more of this lens than they are in Scotland. This divergence from Scotland is likely a result of the modern-day controversy between Barcelona's pro-independence camp and Madrid's courts that refuse to endorse a regional referendum on independence. This difference is also manifested through the "Democratic References" category which shows the much higher presence of the term "consultation" and emphasizes concepts such as self-determination and the "right to decide" compared to the simple "referendum," which is much more common in the Scottish discourse. Additionally, Catalonia's greater references to Scotland rather than vice-versa may further note the dominating aspiration for a vote that exists in Catalonia but not Scotland. Similarities suggested in H_{1b} also provided mixed results, as categories such as the EU diverged where I did not expect.

In turn, these results allow me to more fully accept H_2 for Catalonia because a more crisis-defined discourse does emerge from the Catalan debate relative to the Scottish one. However, I cannot completely confirm the second hypotheses because references to Franco and the political connotation of language and culture in Catalonia did not appear frequently in the data.

Regional Perspectives: Unique?

The themes that did diverge, chiefly related to economics, oil, equality and justice, self-determination, normative terms, the EU, and worldwide movements do align with what we may consider to be major differences in the way the two cases refer to independence. I believe my methodology was, however, unable to reach the fundamental historical reference points I sought. What I attained instead were, I believe, hints at differences more rooted in the contemporary political debate on the issues, often framed by differing concepts such as the Catalan "right to

vote" or Scottish values such as "equality." This suggests that exploring Deschouwer's identity-driven "long-run structural factors" may be more difficult than I expected.⁵⁸ On a larger scale, these results only partially support the general hypotheses. A convincing link between local history and discourse only appeared with terms that I see as more related to the current political climate. Although this connection in the data does allow me to partially accept my hypothesis, it does not support my initial expectation to find deeper regional-national identities in the discourse which would define the way regions evaluate independence uniquely.

Shortcomings, Alternatives, and Suggested Research Directions

The potential for comparative discourse analysis to better understand the unique characteristics of different national mindsets needs to be explored further. Future studies should consider narrowing down the amount of categories and focusing instead on fewer normative words and how they appear across a large array of discourse. Additionally, discourse analysis investigations such as mine would benefit from the capability to pair the methodology with a series of interviews which would allow for a more refined understanding of word salience. On its own, word recurrence is difficult to interpret and sometimes only general suggestions can be made.

The difficulties of cross-cultural studies need to be considered further and new methodology created to ensure large discrepancies in data analysis do not take place. The difficulties of translating important, yet very context-dependent, notions such as "equality" should be considered and mitigated through the hiring of translators, more conversations with people of the cultures being analyzed, etc. Lastly, a more comprehensive study which looks at a

⁵⁸ Kris Deschouwer, "Party Strategies, Voter Demands and Territorial Reform in Belgium." *West European Politics* 36 (2013): 338.

greater number of secessionist groups across Europe at once may allow for more refined relative conclusions than those based on a two-way comparison.

Final Thoughts

Although the results only partially accepted the hypotheses, my study contributes in two main ways to our understanding of center-periphery relations. First, it hints at the existence of unique regional-national mindsets on independence, even if these are not necessarily rooted in the deep identity differences I had expected to find. This understanding of a country beyond the traditional nation-state perspective is vital to understand in an age in which regions play an increasingly important role in the politics of Europe. Second, it notes the ability of discourse analysis to help identify what is relevant in national discussions between center and periphery, something which could help policymakers make informed decisions related to regional accommodation and referendum considerations. As the independence votes of 2014 become history and new ones appear on the horizon, the importance of accurately understanding these movements and their potential to redraw some of the oldest borders of Europe is an opportunity not to be missed by students and scholars alike.

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VIII. Appendix: Statistical Tests

	National Paper Hits per Word							
	Geographic		Political		Descriptive		Control	
	Scotland	Catalonia	Scotland	Catalonia	Scotland	Catalonia	Scotland	Catalonia
	2867	1529	15	56	811	567	4	19
	393	368	5	103	1613	1000	341	268
	291	48	642	513	1032	1260	29	23
	84	88	769	401	352	187		
	189	734	105	1312	6	20		
	96	1		211	15	100		
	257	31						
P-value		0.66192229		0.6296		0.73531		0.88358307

A. Two Sample T-Test for *The Times* (London) and *El País* (Madrid)

.05 level of significance

Regional Papers											
Politics			Economic			Cultural		Worldwide Movements		Normative	
Scotland	Catalonia		Scotland	Catalonia		Scotland	Catalonia	Scotland	Catalonia	Scotland	Catalonia
158	1610		173	295		85	343	81	0	89	732
275	48		223	829		20	165	36	21	49	94
4	124		13	10		4	270	34	20	10	37
47	21		21	142		49	55	14	117	21	28
133	1212		96	178				3	693	3	7
85	584		31	256				6	513	140	419
706	872		19	34				2	84	65	91
132	502		67	136				93	494	192	7
180	47		249	57				56	175	15	227
36	103		94	38				31	232	55	429
9			3	72				4	36	5	73
			8	8				2	17	23	
								2	6		
								1	30		
								3	44		
P-Value	0.08633658		0.23026			0.0701		0.02800312			0.08226

B. Two Sample T-Test for *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow) and *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona) - first five clusters

.05 level of significance

P-Value	Regional Papers											
	Democratic		Historic		Institutions		Welfare		European Union			
	Scotland	Catalonia	Scotland	Catalonia	Scotland	Catalonia	Scotland	Catalonia	Scotland	Catalonia		
	554	2381	1	4	27	18	64	75	51	221		
	1	101	8	63	14	26	136	115	199	1036		
	0	501	11	5	1	56	102	144	26	146		
		192	10	3	25	7	60	7	173	734		
			2	39	45	267	16					
			40	70	153	594						
			43	48	133	252						
					72	124						
					56	56						
P-Value	0.348229		0.221948		0.175236		0.79818		0.139448			

C. Two Sample T-Test for *The Sunday Herald* (Glasgow) and *El Periódico de Catalunya* (Barcelona) - second five clusters

.05 level of significance