

DUAL IDENTITY IN AUTONOMOUS CATALONIA

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INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL PREMISES

Group internalization of common symbols takes expression in the powerful instrument of collective identity (Cohen 1992). Identity, which is closely related to sentiment, can be regarded as a process of synthesis by which persons seek to integrate their various roles and statuses, as well as their experiences, into a coherent image of themselves (Epstein 1978). Ethnic identities are subject to a permanent interaction of inner perception and outer response. Such an interaction fosters the development and maintenance of group boundaries (Barth 1969). In the group formation process, identity is generally more reactive (others) than affirmative (ourselves). Because of its intrinsic subjectivity, sociologists have traditionally been reluctant to approach ethnic identity and its manifestations. It is a social category which cannot be measured easily by consistently applicable objective, or behavioural, criteria (de Vos 1983).

The combination of the cultural, the social, and the psychological is reflected in the elasticity of the concepts of ethnicity, and of ethnic identity, which ensue. These three dimensions overlap and make it possible for group members to emphasize origin, collective solidarity, cultural uniqueness, unity, or territorial integrity, to varying degrees. Ethnicity, therefore, manifests itself in various degrees of emotional content and forms of social organization. Daily confusion on 'ethnic group', 'culture', and 'ethnic identity' can be detected. Even group members find it difficult to assess their degree of ethnic

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affinity. Ethnic identity is a relational construct and, consequently, means little without the existence of ethnic groups or categories (Roosens 1989).

The spurious instrumentalization of history, culture, identity, and lineage can make myths look like incontrovertible facts (Anderson 1983; Hobsbawm 1990). For instance, that Catalans have lived together in the territory of Catalonia for many centuries can explain an implicit sense of intra-group solidarity. However, to state that Catalans carry the 'same blood' or share an equally compelling industriousness and stinginess does not correlate with any empirical evidence. Indeed, ethnicity allows a wide range of stereotype representation.

Primordial ties are, like any other set of bonds, forged in historical time processes and are subject to shifts in meaning, and ambiguities of references, and are open to political manipulation (Nash 1989). This is caused to a great extent by the 'unpolluted' presentation of ethnic ingredients such as culture, kinship, history, territory, or religion. In fact, most of these are vague categories which are often analyzed out of context.

Many academics would agree that ethnic groups have a common history and culture. Furthermore, they would argue that these groups are characterized by distinguishable traits. The problem arises in the analysis of who the ancestors were, when collective consciousness took place, how cultural patterns were passed on from generation to generation, what kind of contacts with other groups were established, and which type of mutual interaction lay at the root of their social attitudes and values. Such aspects are widely open to ideological falsification and historical reconstruction. They also pose great methodological challenges in order to explain the various phases involved in the various processes of group mobilization, whether cultural or political.

Ethnic groups can be regarded as national, religious, geographic, linguistic and cultural collectives which do not necessarily coincide with racial groups and whose cultural traits have no demonstrated genetic connection with racial traits (Montagu 1975). In this article we deal specifically with collectives of an ethno-territorial nature. There has traditionally been a distinction between the territoriality principle and the personality principle (Coakley 1994; McRae 1975). We will refer to ethno-territoriality as a conceptual dimension where conflicts and political mobilizations are developed, in which the chief social actors are those ethnic groups which possess a geographical underpinning. Such a spatial reference is identifiable within the boundaries of a polity, usually of a compound or plural composition (Rudolph and Thompson 1992).

Ethno-territorial groups or movements can be divided into two broad categories: nationalist or regionalist. The task of distinguishing them is complex mainly because of the lack of linearity between both phenomena. In general terms, ethno-territorial groups share a somewhat analogous level of self-perception and self-identification. For our discussion, the view that ethno-territorial identity is not necessarily exclusive or incompatible with identities attached to state or supra-state levels is essential.

The debate on national identity can be set in the more general inquiry about the development of global changes in the structures of today's societies. Assumptions brought about by the forces of modernity are openly questioned, and national identities become more problematic while being corroded by the forces of 'globalization'. This process may also lead to the strengthening of local identities. That is to say, the discontinuity, fragmentation, and dislocation of social arrangements provide that different identities relate to each other in quite an unpredictable manner (Giddens 1991; Melucci 1989; McCrone 1993).

DUAL IDENTITY AND SHARED LOYALTIES IN SPAIN

Both ambivalent state building and national formation in Spain's modern history explain the duality of the way in which citizens identify themselves, to a considerable degree. This concept of dual identity - or compound nationality - concerns the way citizens identify themselves in sub-state communities within pluri-ethnic polities. It incorporates - in variable proportions, individually or subjectively asserted - the local/ethno-territorial self-ascribed identity and the state/national identity produced by political integration - or, rather, mal-integration - in the state-building process. As a result of this, citizens share their institutional loyalties at both levels of political legitimacy without any apparent fracture between them (Moreno 1986, 1988).

The concept of dual identity provides a crucial element for the understanding and assessment of political conflict and ethno-territorial politics in contemporary Spain. It also provides a useful methodological tool for the measurement and interpretation of the degree of internal consent and dissent in 'autonomical' Spain. Let us recall, as Juan Linz (1975) has observed, that 'Spain today is a state for all Spaniards, a nation-state for a large part of the Spanish population, and only a state but not a nation for important minorities'. In broad terms, the quest for self-government by sub-state nations and regions is in full accordance with the variable manifestation of this duality: the more

the primordial ethno-territorial identity prevails upon modern state identity, the higher the demands for political autonomy. Conversely, the more characterized the state-national identity is, the less likely it would be for ethno-territorial conflict to appear. In an extreme case, complete absence of one of the two elements of dual identity would lead to a socio-political fracture in the pluriethnic state, and demands for self-government would probably take the form of self-determination. In other words, when citizens in a sub-state community identify themselves in an exclusive manner, the institutional outcome of such antagonism will also tend to be exclusive.

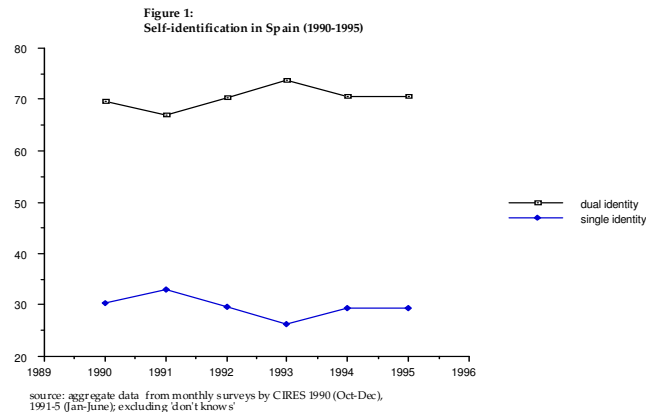
In the case of Spain, the task of identifying and measuring both the cultural and the judicial categories involved in the concept of dual identity/compound nationality is far from simple. The changing nature implicit in such a duality complicates matters. Thus, positive perceptions of the action of the Spanish state by members of sub-state *Comunidades Autónomas* (Autonomous Communities) can result in a loosening of their self-ascribed local identity and a corresponding reinforcement of their sense of membership within the Spanish nation-state, and vice-versa. Obviously, the dual identity concept modifies its constituent elements according to subjective perceptions and evaluations. In fact the reinforcement of one identity over the other may well result in the complete disappearance of such a compound nationality as it now stands.

The existence of this compound nationality in most of the Spanish *Comunidades Autónomas* had its institutional correlation in the setting-up of regional legislatures and governments in the 1980s which not only have preserved local identities but have also projected the political aspirations of these sub-state communities. In the past the maintenance of regional ethno-cultural peculiarities in Spain was the result, at least partially, of the inefficiency and weakness of the centralizing forces. Since the approval by popular referendum of the 1978 Constitution, such cultural diversity has been greatly encouraged by the governments of the *Comunidades Autónomas* which have given priority to cultural, educational, linguistic, and mass media policies (Giner and Moreno 1990).

As the 1978 Spanish Constitution recognizes, the Basque Country, Catalonia, and Galicia are three 'historical nationalities' within the Spanish state. They are seen, therefore, as minority nations characterized by a 'differential fact' or, in other words, as distinct societies. After 15 years of widespread political decentralization, the political and spatial reorganization brought about by the progressive consolidation of the Spanish *Estado de las Autonomías* (State of Autonomies) is in line with a model of 'multiple ethno-territorial concurrence'

(Moreno 1994, 1995). This model relates socio-political sub-state ethnic mobilization to the competitive interplay among Spanish nationalities and regions pursuing political and economic power, as well as to achieving legitimation for their institutional development.

In all seventeen *Comunidades Autónomas* there is a high proportion of citizens who claim some form of dual identity (see Methodological Appendix for matters regarding survey data used in this paper). As shown in figure 1, aggregate data in percentages concerning self-identification by Spaniards in the period 1990-95 indicate that a degree of dual identity has been expressed by between two thirds and three quarters of the total Spanish citizenry (categories 2/3/4 as outlined in the Appendix: that is, 'More Andalusian, Basque, Catalan, Castillian, etc than Spanish'; 'As much Andalusian, Basque, Catalan, Castillian, etc as Spanish'; and 'More Spanish than Andalusian, Basque Catalan, Castillian, etc'). Furthermore, between a quarter and a third of all Spaniards have expressed a single identity (categories 1/5) with respect to either state/national or local/ethno-territorial dimensions ('Only Spanish' or 'Only Andalusian, Basque, Catalan, Castillian, etc').



Note that shared identity in Spain as a whole is prevalent (category 3: 'As much Andalusian, Basque, Catalan, Castillian, etc as Spanish'). However,

Table 1
Self-identification in Andalusia, Aragon, Catalonia, Galicia, Basque Country and Valencia
(1985/1986, 1991, 1994)

| I FEEL | Andalusia | | | Aragon | | | Catalonia | | | Galicia | | | Basque Country | | | Valencia | | |
|----------------------|-----------|------|------|--------|------|------|-----------|------|------|---------|------|------|----------------|------|------|----------|------|------|
| | 1986 | 1991 | 1994 | 1986 | 1991 | 1994 | 1986 | 1991 | 1994 | 1985 | 1991 | 1994 | 1986 | 1991 | 1994 | 1985 | 1991 | 1994 |
| Only* | 2 | 7.4 | 6.7 | 2 | 6.1 | 3.5 | 11 | 15 | 10.5 | 6 | 21.1 | 11.9 | 28 | 27.9 | 29.7 | 1 | 2 | 3.4 |
| More ** than Spanish | 18 | 17.1 | 17.4 | 11 | 16.8 | 13.6 | 19 | 20.6 | 20.5 | 27 | 16.3 | 24.3 | 20 | 20.5 | 18.2 | 9 | 7.6 | 5.9 |
| As much * as Spanish | 63 | 54.7 | 59.5 | 66 | 52 | 46.7 | 48 | 36.8 | 42 | 52 | 46.4 | 53.5 | 36 | 31.6 | 30.2 | 53 | 30.7 | 52.4 |
| More Spanish than * | 7 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 5 | 5.8 | 6.4 | 8 | 7.5 | 14.9 | 7 | 5.1 | 5.3 | 4 | 7.2 | 5.9 | 18 | 11.8 | 9.8 |
| Only Spanish | 7 | 12 | 8.7 | 13 | 18 | 27.5 | 11 | 18.4 | 11.3 | 5 | 9.1 | 4.4 | 10 | 10.2 | 12.8 | 17 | 46.8 | 27.9 |
| Don't know | 3 | 1.2 | 0.4 | 3 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 3 | 1.6 | 0.8 | 3 | 1 | 0.6 | 2 | 2.6 | 3 | 2 | 1.1 | 0.6 |
| Sample size | 4165 | 1943 | 1825 | 1500 | 394 | 345 | 2380 | 2190 | 1703 | 3987 | 1303 | 793 | 2100 | 1095 | 592 | 1500 | 1146 | 1034 |

* Andalusian, Aragonese, Catalan, Galician, Basque, Valencian.

Percentages in columns

Source: CIS (Spanish Center for Sociological Research) Data Bank, 1982/1986, CIBES, 1991 and 1994 (Data have been aggregated by years from monthly surveys).

differences are important in some nationalities and regions (see table 1 for the cases of Andalusia, Aragon, Catalonia, Galicia, Basque Country, and Valencia). Between a fifth and a quarter of the total Spanish population regard themselves as exclusively Spanish, whereas around a tenth identify themselves as being only Andalusian, Basque, Catalan, Castillian, etc. As regards the Basque Country it is worth emphasizing that, in spite of the climate of political violence induced by ETA terrorism, the number of Basques expressing a degree of dual identity has remained stable without major fluctuations in recent years. However, the percentage of those who identify themselves exclusively as Basques (between a quarter and a third of the total Basque population) marks a clear deviation with respect to single identity figures in the whole of Spain (10%, approximately). Catalans and Galicians also show over 10% of 'exclusiveness'.

THE CATALAN CASE

Broadly speaking, the number of Catalans expressing a degree of dual identity has been higher than 60% over the period under consideration (1986-95). As shown in table 1, it has fluctuated from 77% in 1986 to 61.2% in 1992, and went back to its peak in 1994 (78%). These variations are related to changes in both exclusive identifications ('Only Spanish', 'Only Catalan'), but no apparent polarization can be drawn from this observation. Spanish exclusive identity went up from 11% in 1986 to reach proportions of around 20% in the period 1990-93, and then down to 11.3% in 1994. Catalan single identity increased from 6.3% in 1990 to 17.1% in 1992. Since then it has declined to 10.3% in 1995 (see table 2).

Shared identity ('As much Catalan as Spanish') has progressively grown from 37.3% in 1990 to 44.1% in 1995. This trend has coincided with a reduction in the Catalan identity figures (those expressing 'Only Catalan' and 'More Catalan than Spanish') and the Spanish identity figures ('Only Spanish' and 'More Spanish than Catalan'). Both revolved around an equal value of about 28% in 1995. Having said that, it is worth noting that Catalan identity has a larger degree of duality: those respondents identifying themselves as 'More Catalan than Spanish' outnumbered those who felt 'Only Catalan'. Only in recent years (1994-95) can the same be said of Spanish identity.

A broad stable composition can be observed in the figures of self-identification throughout Catalonia. However, a number of modifications can be traced (for example, increases in the dual and shared options, as well as in the duality of Spanish identities, or in the lack of identity transfers from

Catalan to Spanish exclusiveness). Let us note, in any case, that we have dealt with data obtained from a rather short time span (1990-95) and that the indicator is not sufficiently sensitive. Further research with more suitable methodological tools and a longer time span under observation is necessary in order to gain reliability.

Table 2

| I FEEL | Self-identification in Catalonia (1990-1995) | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--|-------|------|------|------|------|
| | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 |
| Only Catalan | 6.3 | 14.9 | 17.1 | 11.5 | 10.5 | 10.3 |
| More Catalan than Spanish | 23 | 20.7 | 17.4 | 17.9 | 20.5 | 17.2 |
| As much Catalan as Spanish | 36.3 | 36.9 | 36.9 | 41.6 | 42.1 | 43.6 |
| More Spanish than Catalan | 9.5 | 7.4 | 6.1 | 9.1 | 14.8 | 15.5 |
| Only Spanish | 22.4 | 18.45 | 21.1 | 19.4 | 11.3 | 12.2 |
| Don't know | 2.5 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 0.5 | 0.8 | 1.2 |
| Sample size | 557 | 2191 | 1684 | 1695 | 1704 | 1297 |

Percentages in columns.

Source: CIRES, 1990 (October-December), 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994 and 1995 (January-September). Note: Data have been aggregated by years from monthly surveys carried out by CIRES.

AGE AND SEX

An immediate finding concerning age is that no large variations can be underlined (table not shown). Shared identity accounts for around 40% of the total and is very similar in all age groups (defined as 18-29 years of age, 30-44, 45-50, 60 and over). Deviation is produced in the youngest group (18-29) which expresses a higher degree of Catalan identity *vis-à-vis* Spanish identity (37.9% compared to 32.2% in the Catalan population as a whole). But the shared identity percentage is the same as the Catalan population as a whole (39.8% compared to 40.1%). The 45-59 age group shows a higher degree of

Spanish identity (31.5% as compared with a figure for the Catalan population as a whole of 27.6%).

Self-identification by the younger group is more in line with Catalan and dual identities, but the interpretation of the various generational biographies seems to be a better route to explain differences.

Self-identification according to sex does not translate into significant differences either (table not shown). Notwithstanding, a higher level of Spanish single identity is noticeable among women (18.3% as compared with 15.9% corresponding to the male population).

PLACE OF BIRTH

A greater proportion of citizens born in and outside Catalonia identify themselves as being 'As much Catalan as Spanish': 41.5% and 37%, respectively (see table 3). But significant differences in self-identification by both groups can be detected: while around 46% of those citizens born in Catalonia express a predominantly Catalan identity ('Only Catalan' and 'More Catalan than Spanish'), those born outside Catalonia declare a higher Spanish identity (around 51%).

Table 3

| Self-identification by place of birth | | | |
|--|----------------|-------------------|------|
| I FEEL | In Catalonia | Outside Catalonia | All |
| Only Catalan | 17.8 | 5 | 12.7 |
| More Catalan than Spanish | 27.7 | 6.2 | 19.2 |
| As much Catalan as Spanish | 41.5 | 37 | 39.7 |
| More Spanish than Catalan | 5.2 | 17.7 | 10.1 |
| Only Spanish | 6.7 | 32.7 | 17 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1.5 | 1.2 |
| Sample size (% in row) | 5468 (60.2) | 3613 (39.8) | 9080 |

Percentages in columns, except where indicated.

Source: CIRES, 1990 (October-December), 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994 and 1995 (January-September). Data have been aggregated by years from monthly surveys carried out by CIRES.

Dual identity figures are notably higher regarding respondents born in Catalonia (75%) than those born outside Catalonia (61.8%). This variation mostly results from the higher duality of those citizens born in Catalonia who feel 'More Catalan than Spanish' (around 28%) in comparison with the higher proportion of citizens born outside Catalonia with a single identity (32.7% of 'Only Spanish').

In the light of these figures, is it legitimate to conclude that there are two separate collectives or, alternatively, that they are interwoven in various degrees and manifestations? For further research there is still the analysis of the evolution of the identities of second and third generations immigrants in Catalonia. This might prove to be clarifying and indicative of future trends and developments.

SIZE OF TOWN

As shown in table 4, in towns of less than 10,000 residents, Catalan identity is higher than the average (between 34.5 and 44%). Nevertheless, dual identity figures are also higher than percentages corresponding to total numbers (between 71.3% and 74.8% as compared to 69.8% for the total percentage). Excluding Barcelona, in those towns with a population of over 10,000 inhabitants, Spanish identities are equal to or higher than Catalan identities. Accordingly, it can be established that with the increase of population there is a parallel decrease of dual identity together with a stronger manifestation of Spanish single identity.

The case of the city of Barcelona is a special one. The capital of the Principate shows a clear deviation from the rest of Catalonia: higher Catalan identity (38.5%), an average percentage of Spanish identity (26%), and a lower level of shared identity (35.5%).

Towns where Catalans live are related to diverse cultural contexts which have a direct influence on the way citizens identify themselves. However, the concentration of immigrants in specific areas and towns (for example, the 'industrial belt' around Barcelona) turns out to be a crucial element when explaining differences in the data. This element has to be considered in close combination with place of birth, a variable which generally proves to be well-equipped for plausible explanations across social indicators of various kinds.

Table 4

Self-identification by size of town

| I FEEL | Self-identification by size of town | | | | | | | | | | All |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|------|--|-----|
| | Fewer than 2000 | 2001-5000 | 5001-10000 | 10001-50000 | 50001-100000 | 100001-250000 | 250000 and more | Barcelona | | | |
| Only Catalan | 17.9 | 15.1 | 10.9 | 9 | 12.5 | 9.7 | 7.4 | 16.4 | 12.7 | | |
| More Catalan than Spanish | 25.8 | 20.9 | 23.6 | 17.7 | 17.1 | 15.2 | 10.9 | 21.2 | 19.2 | | |
| As much Catalan as Spanish | 41.6 | 45 | 40.4 | 41.6 | 39.4 | 41.7 | 41.9 | 34.8 | 39.6 | | |
| More Spanish than Catalan | 3.7 | 4.6 | 10.8 | 12.3 | 11.1 | 12.2 | 12.1 | 9.6 | 10.1 | | |
| Only Spanish | 10.2 | 13.4 | 14.3 | 18.4 | 18.4 | 20.2 | 27.5 | 15.9 | 17.1 | | |
| Don't know | 0.8 | 0.9 | - | 1 | 1.6 | 1 | 0.3 | 2 | 1.2 | | |
| Sample size (percentage in row) | 650 (7.1) | 650 (7.1) | 583 (6.4) | 1941 (21.3) | 753 (8.2) | 1499 (16.4) | 391 (4.3) | 2661 (29.1) | 9127 | | |

Percentages in columns, except where indicated.

Source: CIREBS, 1990 (October-December), 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994 and 1995 (January-September). Note: Data have been aggregated by years from monthly surveys carried out by CIREBS.

SOCIAL CLASS

Under the heading 'social-class', table 5 incorporates hierarchically listed data according to ascription by the respondents themselves into five classes: Upper, Upper Middle, Middle, Lower Middle, and Lower. As the placement into these categories is essentially subjective, the low number of respondents in the extreme positions ('Upper' and 'Lower') does not come as a surprise.

An interrelation between functional (class) and spatial (place of birth) variables points out to the fact that identity variations are reflected in any position of the social class scale depending mainly on whether those interviewed were born in or outside Catalonia. Thus, over 70% of all respondents born in Catalonia expressed a degree of dual identity independently of their self-perceived social class. For those born outside Catalonia the degree of dual identity is much lower (61% on average of all social classes). Having said that, some common features ought to be pointed out. There is a similar pattern towards an increasing duality from higher to lower social classes for respondents born in and outside Catalonia. Moreover, there is a noticeable decreasing trend in Catalan identity ('Only Catalan' and 'More Catalan than Spanish') from higher to lower classes which applies to both groups of interviewees born in and outside Catalonia.

The highest levels of dual identity and, particularly, of shared identity ('As much Catalan as Spanish') are to be found among those who ascribe themselves to the lower middle class. At each level of the social class scale, the differences regarding those respondents born in and outside Catalonia are reflected in a similar way to that indicated by table 3. It can therefore be supposed that higher social classes correspond more generally to Catalan identities and that lower classes correlate more closely to dual and Spanish identities.

OCCUPATION

This is an indicator of a more objective nature which has been divided into eight categories (Housewife, Student, Retired, High occupational, Middle occupational, Low occupational, and Unemployed). From the analysis of the occupational variable (not shown in tables), it is possible to confirm some trends and interpretations suggested earlier about social class: identities for the lower occupational status are less Catalan and more Spanish. Once again,

Table 5

Self-identification by social class

| | Upper class | | Upper middle class | | Middle class | | Lower middle class | | Lower class | | All | |
|------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| | In Catalonia | Outside Catalonia | In Catalonia | Outside Catalonia | In Catalonia | Outside Catalonia | In Catalonia | Outside Catalonia | In Catalonia | Outside Catalonia | In Catalonia | Outside Catalonia |
| Single Identity | 21 | 59.9 | 29 | 38.7 | 26.7 | 43.6 | 20.7 | 34.3 | 23.9 | 33.8 | 24.6 | 38.3 |
| Dual Identity | 79 | 40.1 | 71 | 60.3 | 73.3 | 56.4 | 79.3 | 65.7 | 76.1 | 66.2 | 75.4 | 61.7 |
| Catalan Identity | 37.2 | 41 | 59.4 | 13.6 | 51.1 | 12.9 | 37.4 | 9.9 | 37 | 9.7 | 45.9 | 11.2 |
| Shared Identity | 36.3 | 40.1 | 28.9 | 41.2 | 38.7 | 35.8 | 49.2 | 40.3 | 44.7 | 35.1 | 42.1 | 37.6 |
| Spanish Identity | 26.4 | 18.9 | 11.7 | 45.2 | 10.3 | 51.3 | 13.4 | 49.8 | 18.3 | 55.2 | 12 | 51.2 |
| Sample size (row percentage) | 19 (0.2) | 5 (0.0) | 207 (11.7) | 68 (0.7) | 2995 (34) | 1473 (16.7) | 1715 (19.5) | 1401 (15.9) | 385 (4.3) | 529 (6) | 5321 (60.4) | 3477 (9.6) |

Percentages in columns, except where indicated.

Questionnaire responses have been grouped: see Methodological Appendix.

Source: CIRBS, 1990 (October-December), 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994 and 1995 (January-September). Note: Data have been aggregated by years from monthly surveys carried out by CIRBS.

the distribution of self-identification percentages between respondents born in and outside Catalonia are substantially different.

Dual identity shows diverging patterns according to place of birth. For citizens born in Catalonia it increases as occupational status decreases (from 72.5% to 76.7%). Duality for those born outside Catalonia decreases as the occupational status also drops (from 64.5% to 56.8%). These trends are also confirmed when considering the group of the unemployed: those born in Catalonia express a higher degree of duality than the average (78.3%) in contrast with respondents born outside Catalonia (58.2%).

Catalan identity ratios drop as occupational level does (including the unemployed). For those born in Catalonia there is a substantial fall from 59.5% (High occupational) to 33.5% (Unemployed). Corresponding figures for respondents born outside Catalonia are 13.3% and 9.7% respectively.

Spanish identity percentages ('More Spanish than Catalan' and 'Only Spanish') grow in inverse proportion to occupational status. Likewise, shared identity figures rise from higher to lower occupations. Note that for those born in Catalonia, shared identity goes up from 34.4% (High occupational) to 50.8% (Unemployed).

Establishing hierarchical listings as regards other categories ('Housewife', 'Student', 'Retired, Pensioner') is not an easy task. There are hardly any variations with housewives, either born in or outside Catalonia. The same can be said for the 'Retired' category.

A great majority of students have been born in Catalonia and express a higher degree of dual and Catalan identities, an observation consistent with what was interpreted with respect to age. Those students born outside Catalonia express a higher level of dual identity than the rest of the occupational groups. However, the percentage (66.9%) is lower than the duality of those students born in Catalonia (76.2%).

EDUCATION

This is another objective indicator (not shown in tables). Differences according to place of birth take shape as two distinct patterns of self-identification. In this respect it is important to note the educational inequality between both groups: while citizens born in Catalonia are over-represented in

high educational levels, those born outside Catalonia concentrate primarily in low levels.

Dual identity is lower at middle educational levels than at University levels. Catalan identity increases according to educational learning. This appears to be the case for citizens born in Catalonia (39.2% for 'Primary School' and 55.9% for 'University Higher'). The same trend, although in more moderate ratios, is observable for citizens born outside Catalonia (10.9% for the 'Illiterate' to 18.5% for 'University Higher').

In order to explain trend changes in future citizens' self-identification two considerations should be taken into account: generational differences related to educational tuition, and differences in educational levels achieved according to parents' place of birth.

IDEOLOGY

This analysis is not shown in the tables. First and foremost, there is a high proportion of non-responses ('No answer'). Close to 40% of the total number of respondents declined to ascribe themselves to any of the seven options available (Extreme Left, Left, Left Centre, Centre, Centre Right, Right, Extreme Right). The distribution of 'No answer' is rather uniform for all identity categories. Also note that 'Extreme' positions are very low (0.9% for 'Extreme Left' and 0.8% for 'Extreme Right').

Dual identity reaches its highest ratios with respect to the categories of 'Centre' (77.6 and 65.6% for Catalans born in and outside Catalonia, respectively), 'Centre Left' (75.4 and 65.7%, respectively), and the group of 'Left' respondents born in Catalonia (76%).

Highest percentages of single identity are in the 'Right' (30.4 and 48.9%) and in both 'Extreme Right' and 'Extreme Left'. Catalan identity is predominant among those self-ascribed to the category of 'Centre Right' (58.8 and 17.4% with place of birth in and outside Catalonia, respectively). It is also significant for those born in Catalonia in the ideology groups of 'Centre' (54.9%) and 'Centre Left' (58.8%).

Lower levels of Catalan identity for 'Left' respondents translate into higher percentages of shared identity for those born in Catalonia (46.9%) and of Spanish identity for those born outside Catalonia (52.6%).

CONCLUSION

Self-identification by Catalans shows a considerable degree of duality. Shared identity ('As much Catalan as Spanish') has increased steadily during the period under observation. In parallel, a decline in the percentages for both Catalan identity ('Only Catalan' and 'More Catalan than Spanish') and Spanish identity ('Only Spanish' and 'More Spanish than Catalan') is also observable.

An analysis of the different types of variation seems to indicate that even Catalan identity is constituted, to a greater degree, by the dual option of 'More Catalan than Spanish', whereas in the Spanish identity the single option ('Only Spanish') is predominant. The trend regarding the latter has been somewhat reversed in recent years (1994-95).

Close to three quarters of young respondents identify themselves in a dual manner. Also this group is characterized by analogous ratios for both shared and Catalan identities.

The place of birth is the variable which reflects the widest diversity in the way Catalans identify themselves. Those citizens born in Catalonia express higher levels of Catalan and dual identities. Likewise, a higher degree of Spanish identity corresponds to those citizens born outside Catalonia.

Variables used as indicators of social inequality (class, education and occupation) show important variations in the way Catalans identify themselves. There is an observable tendency indicating a decreasing level of Catalan identity as social status also decreases. The opposite is also applicable for the less numerous cases of Spanish identity.

The combination of variables such as place of birth and social indicators shows the deep interrelation between territorial and functional elements. These are intertwined in a very complex way and take shape in the changing nature of dual identity. Further research is thus required in order to gain new insights and to propose plausible explanations.

METHODOLOGICAL APPENDIX

The Centre for Studies on Social Reality (*Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Social, CIREs*) was established in 1990 by the *Fundación Banco Bilbao-Vizcaya, Bilbao-Bizkaia Kutxa*, and *Caja de Madrid*. Its main aim is to encourage high-level research undertaken by Spanish Universities and Research Institutes. *CIREs* provides research teams with data from national

surveys. They can then elaborate the information provided according to their interests and purposes.

From October 1990 until September 1995, 47 surveys have been carried out by *CIRES* on a monthly basis (except for the summer months) covering several monographic questions. The monthly questionnaire includes three types of items:

- a set of permanent indicators;
- questions regarding the monographic subject;
- data on the social and economic factors of the respondents.

The monthly sample size is 1,200 adults aged 18 and over (June 1991 was 2,400). The survey poll is representative of the Spanish population over 18. The margin of error is $\pm 2.88\%$. Field work is collected by interviews carried out in the households of the surveyed people during the first or second week of each month. Monthly samples are random and stratified by regions (*Comunidades Autónomas*) and municipalities according to size.

The periodical repetition of part of the questionnaire allows the analysis of time series as well as its aggregation for statistical purposes. In this way, larger samples can be obtained with a higher degree of reliability, and population areas such as Catalonia can be also analyzed. On aggregating data certain methodological limits have to be acknowledged, mainly those referring to time variation.

For the purposes of our paper, data from 47 survey polls from October 1990 until September 1995 have been aggregated resulting in a sample of 57,600 cases. For the Catalan case, 9,127 questionnaires have been selected. The sample has been weighted by sex and age according to the Catalan distribution in the Spanish 1991 Census (INE 1991).

Our aim has been to analyze the identity expressed by Catalan citizens between October 1990 and September 1995. The question addressed to them in the successive survey polls was as follows:

Question: 'In general, would you say that you feel...

1. Only Catalan'
 2. More Catalan than Spanish'
 3. As much Catalan as Spanish'
 4. More Spanish than Catalan'
 5. Only Spanish'
 6. Don't know'
 7. No answer (This value has been taken as a Missing value)
- (e27)

For the purpose of our study, answers have been aggregated according to the following categories:

- a. Single Identity (values 1 and 5).
Dual Identity (values 2, 3 and 4).
(Value 6 has been ignored).

This classification reflects the degree of identity either exclusive or dual.

- b. Catalan Identity (values 1 and 2).

Shared Identity (value 3).

Spanish Identity (values 4 and 5).

(Value 6 has been ignored).

This classification reflects identity predominance, either Catalan or Spanish.

The analysis of identity has attempted to describe its evolution throughout the period under scrutiny and to explain its relationship with social factors. In particular, interpretations have been drawn out from the following considerations:

- a. Time variations in citizens' self-identification (1990-1995)
- b. Relationship between self-identification and social factors such as:
 - b.1. Demographic variables: Sex (e9) and Age (e10-e11).

The age variable has been divided into four categories: 18-29, 30-44, 45-59 and 60 and over.
 - b.2. Spatial variables: Place of birth (e28-29) and Size of town (e36).

The place of birth variable has been divided into two categories: Born in Catalonia and Born outside Catalonia.

The size of town variable refers to population of the place of residence where the respondents live.
 - b.3. Social or functional variables: Social Class (e26), Occupation (e 15-16) and Education (e21).

The Social Class variable refers to self-ascription by the respondents into a scale of five categories (Low, Low Middle, Middle, Middle High, High). This a subjective indicator (self-perceived).

The occupation and education variables are objective indicators of the social position of the interviewee. The occupational variable incorporates different categories of 'non-actives' (housewife, pensioners and students) and 'actives'. Occupational categories (26) have been divided into three categories: High, Intermediate, and Low positions of responsibility in the public, private, and self-employed sectors.
 - b.4. Political ideology variable. This has been worked out by respondents' self-placement on a scale of seven values between extreme left and extreme right.

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