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Identity and Nationalist Vote in Catalonia**

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## INTRODUCTION

The analysis of acculturation processes has been one of the topics with much attention in the social sciences. It has worried hundreds of scholars from varying fields such as economists, sociologists, political scientists, psychologists, among others, and its salience in the literature has been increasing in the last decades due to the exponential trends of international migration. Furthermore, the accentuated cultural differences between the sending and the receiving societies that characterize the new waves of immigration (e.g., western individualism versus Latin-American or African collectivism; Triandis 1995) have required intense efforts for theoretical and empirical studies of what has sometimes been conceptualized as a “cultural shock” (Oberg 1960) or an “acculturative stress” (Berry 1970).

Acculturation is defined as comprehending “those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield *et al.* 1936: 149). However, it seems to be acknowledged by the literature that the impact is usually more prominent for one of the two groups (Berry 1990). At the same time, there exists the distinction between *collective acculturation* and *psychological acculturation*. While the former refers to the general changes that occur in the ethnic or identity group, the latter describes cultural shifts that take place at individual level, which may differ to the general pattern of the whole group and that usually affects identity, values, attitudes and behavior (Graves 1967, Berry and Sam 1997).

For its historical migration trends and its double national identity, Catalonia is a perfect case study that gathers key elements for better understanding how identity-based acculturation works. Historically, Catalonia has been the center of attraction of national and international migration. Its privileged situation in Spain as the gateway to Europe and its particular economic development in the last two centuries have been important reasons to understand why Catalonia has become a clear net receptor of migration from a wide array of origins (Solé 2000). Over the course of the history, immigration has been seen as a double-edged sword, an incoming cheap-labor that creates new economic opportunities for the native population but, at the same time, a real threat for the Catalan cultural, social, national and linguistic identity (Zapata-Barrero 2008). Traditionally, the massive entrance of migrant population to Catalonia was made up of people from other regions of Spain. Particularly important was the wave of national migrants that came in the 60's which coincided with high rates of economic growth and development. However, this tendency shifted over the 90's, the national migration rates slumped and the international migration monopolized the recently arrived population in Catalonia. All in all, Catalonia presents essential features that may well serve as the basis for further studying acculturation, its impact over subjective national identity and electoral behavior for either the native and migrant population.

This paper uses as a main theoretical framework an identity-based Berry's model

of acculturation. It attempts to incorporate a new component usually forgotten in the study of the migrants' national identity, the context of reception. It is common to find in the literature applications of acculturation models and analysis about how the national identity of the immigrants evolves over time where the context of reception is taken as a constant for the entire population. However, we know that people's characteristics are unevenly distributed and that people tend to live around their similar. Is then the context of reception irrelevant for explaining the tendency of acculturation of the newcomers? How is the individual subjective national identity affected by the origin of the people around the subjects? Is the affection over the subjective national identity turned into distinct nationalist vote? This research gives an answer to these questions by using the case of Catalonia.

Firstly, Berry's acculturation model is presented in the following section as well as the literature surround it. In the second place, the importance of the context of reception in sociology and political science literature is illustrated by reviewing its historical roots and development in the field. However, it also serves to show the need to follow-up studying the impact of the contextual predictors in the ethnic identity literature. Thirdly, a new variant to the main theory is provided to accommodate an extensive literature in political science about the susceptibility of the cross-pressure individuals. After that, the bridge between identity and voting behavior is established to analyze one of the main social implications of the study of national identity: elections. The following section is devoted to the specification of the general hypothesis and the specific hypothesis to the concrete case study of Catalonia. After the hypotheses, the methodology is detailed by showing the variables that will be used as well as the way the analysis will be carried out. The results section is divided into three sections. It starts with some descriptive statistics, followed by the illustration of the results derived from testing the individual and contextual predictors of identity and voting. Lastly, the main discussion and conclusions from the results are derived.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### ***Models of acculturation***

Traditionally, psychological acculturation was first understood as a lineal and unidimensional process whereby immigrants decided whether to lose their cultural heritage in favor of the new society or to keep their previous traditions, values and beliefs. Thus, the old culture and the new one were conceptualized as opposing ends of a straight continuum (Gordon 1964).

In this sense, Berry's contribution to the field with his two dimensional approach has entailed a great advance over earlier models and has dominated the field over the last two decades (Berry 1970; 1990; Berry *et al.*, 2002, 2006). This author pointed out that individual preference to keep his heritage culture does not clash with his wish to have contacts with the host society. The position of the individual in both dimensions, maintaining original culture and having contacts with receiving society, classifies the

integration strategies into four possible categories: *integration*, if both they want to maintain their culture and have contacts with the new society; *assimilation*, they contact host society but not maintain their heritage; *separation*, when migrants want to keep their original culture and having no contact with host majority; and, *marginalization*, when they do not want neither (Berry 1990). The two dimensions of the model, wishing to maintain cultural heritage and having contacts with host majority, refer to two items of different natures, while the former is an attitude the latter is a behavior what casted some doubts over its consistency. To solve the problem some authors suggested replacing contact by willingness of adopting the majority culture (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault and Senécal 1997; Matera *et al.* 2011).

The concept of acculturation is wide in its meaning and has multiple different aspects of study. Schwartz *et al.* (2010) has identified three different layers and drawn its multidimensionality in “behavioral acculturation”, “value acculturation”, and “identity based acculturation.” The first deals with the differences of practices, customs or gastronomy, the second with collectivism and individualism, and the third with the identification with the sending and the receiving society. In the case of international migration, this model applies in all three dimensions with changing intensity depending on the gap between the community of origin and destiny that marks the immigrant’s “cultural shock”.

In the case of Spain some reservation should be made before starting the analysis. First, it is evident that the application of the acculturation model is illogic when the difference between both communities is low. If the difference is nearly negligible there is no space for changes in any of the communities. Although the differences of behavior and values between Spain and Catalonia were fairly similar, they relevantly differed in terms of national identification, what enables researchers to use the acculturation models in this case.

The second reservation is about prejudices, post-migration influences and attitudes. Unlike most of the international migration processes, national migration movements are characterized by an important preexisting knowledge of the migrants about the receiving territory. At the same time, even though most international immigrants remain in contact, at least to some extent, with the reality and the news of their country of origin, this is absolutely essential in internal migration, as the sources of information may almost be identical before and after the migration process. Also, it is possible that as the migrant does not change of country, he may feel legitimated to avoid any change whatsoever. Despite all the additional difficulties for applying an international migration model to a national context, this paper attempts to examine to what extent the context of reception may be relevant for understanding the patterns of acculturation.

### ***The Relevance of the Context of Reception for individual’s attitudes and behavior***

Although some degree of acculturation always take place in the migrant communities, the literature has paid less attention on how patterns of acculturation differ across migrants and its receiving societies. The interaction between migrants and society

may be key determinant factors for explaining how the newcomers feel about the new place they come to live (Rohmann *et al.* 2008). As receiving societies differ, the result of the interaction between migrants and context should also be different. It is known that the context of reception may fundamentally interfere on migrant's reception of host culture, and, therefore, on its acculturation process (Rumbaut 2008). In particular, a negative local context characterized by native's attitudes of discrimination against migrants may become a major source of stress and affect the acculturation process to the society at large (Segal and Mayadas 2005).

Either in a positive or negative way, the idea that context plays a role in the shaping of people's attitudes, values, beliefs, and as a partial determinant of behavior, is not new in political science. The idea of neighborhood effect, that is to say, the importance of social interactions with the rest of people around the individual to understand its political behavior, dates back to the genesis of the electoral studies in the French school (Sigfried 1913, 1949) and the pioneers and most prominent classics in the field (Lazarsfeld *et al.* 1944, Berelson *et al.* 1954, Campbell *et al.* 1960). Although the individualistic approach taken in it has usually been the focus of the analysis, they did assert that to understand electoral behavior it is indispensable to comprehend the context in which it occurs. Therefore, places or context are not neutral for political behavior, they are not empty containers, but full of content able to be significant in final political outcomes through an impact on people's attitudes, beliefs and eventually behaviors.

Although the existence of early contributions in the social psychology field to explain context influences in final individual choices (Asch 1948) and the apparition of remarkable efforts for its application to the study of electoral behavior (Miller 1977), Huckfeldt's works are usually taken as the reference for reemerging the importance of the social networks for political behavior (Huckfeldt 1979, 1983). Despite the variety and richness of social networks does not match with geographical space (Baybeck and Huckfeldt 2002), current literature focuses on the salience of geographically bounded places (e.g. Oliver and Mendelberg 2000; Baybeck 2006). Context is especially relevant in interethnic relations, as shown in American literature, accounted for the great impact of intergroup beliefs within a social space. In particular, it has been found that the greater the numbers of black people within a community the higher the negative stereotypes against the black community, a relationship even more powerful than the North-South differences (Oliver and Wong 2003).

It seems to be accepted that heterogeneity or homogeneity of the population in a given context matters for the understanding of how individuals feel accepted or discriminated in that context. Although most literature focuses on the attraction effect that context places upon individuals, it has also been argued that higher levels of national identification are expected to produce rejection against the nationally or ethnically different (Gijssberts *et al.* 2004). All in all, national attachment of the individuals living in the same context is expected to affect individual attitudes and behavior, either negatively or positively, in one direction or in the other, in its ease or difficulty of acquiring an



acculturation path. Even though literature has set a consensus that context matters for acculturation processes and, specifically for the object of study here, for identity based acculturation, it is still unresolved the direction and intensity to which context drives people's identity. In this sense, two theories have been argued in the literature which relates to the Berry's acculturation model: assimilationist, so people move towards the average position of the context, versus reactive or oppositional identification, so people react against the context and move in the opposite direction (Portes 1994; Cross *et al.* 1999; Ogbu 2004). Thus, Berry's theory will be examined under a dynamic perspective by using these theories of direction. In addition to these contributions, political science has provided some orientation about how the impact of contextual factors may be mediated by cross-pressured effects on identity and voting.

### **Cross-Pressure Effects on Identity and Voting**

In contrast to what ideal theoretical models may suggest, real societies are not dichotomized between natives and immigrants, but their mixing process inevitably increases over time. Catalan society is not an exception in these terms and is composed by a large number of people with non-aligned group identities. While literature has shown that origin and language are two key determinants for identity, the mixed character of the Catalan population (respondents have been born in Catalonia but with both parents born elsewhere, one parent from outside and other from inside and the number of people who state that normally use both Catalan and Spanish languages) implies that there is lack of alignments of identity groups of many individuals who receive a combination of contradictory influences throughout their lives.

Literature has shown that individuals with more inconsistent influences are more able to be more comfortable with the difference, be more tolerant with others and, in general, have more positive feelings and perceptions about out-groups (Brewer and Pierce 2005). The contrary has been said for those with more aligned identity groups of reference. Early contributions to the study of cross-pressure on individual's voting behavior by Lazarsfeld *et al.* (1944) and Campbell *et al.* (1960) reached similar conclusions and predicted that those individuals with more contradictory external influences would be more likely to have less specific group identity attachments, have a more independent worldview and receptive attitude.

Individual's non-alignment impedes the psychological incorporation of in-group biases and negativity against the other group what makes them undefended of the filters used to protect individuals from contextual influences. The non-negative predisposition to a specific group may make them more vulnerable to the opinion of the majority. In addition to the abovementioned potential expectations of the impact of context over individual identity and electoral choices, it might be that those who have a less aligned identity influences are more subjected to the mainstream values than those who have more consistent and neatly defined identity groups.

### ***From Identity to Voting in Catalonia***

In the last thirty years there have been many relevant works studying what causes and in what effects national identity in Catalonia. Generally speaking scholars have reached a consensus about some key variables that shape individual's national identity such as origin and native or common use language. These are always present in all studies about competing national identities in Catalonia, Spanish versus Catalan identities. This sort of classification may be used for the application of Berry's matrix of identity. There are two extreme positions of exclusive identities, those who state to feel only Spanish and those who state to be only Catalan which would be parallel to the idea of separation or assimilative acculturation in Berry's typology. Additionally, the mixed positions where people state to feel Catalan and Spanish at the same time might be classified as an integrative sort of acculturation. For this case, marginalization can hardly be fitted in the Catalan case.

The relevance of individual's national identity is not only given by its existence as a social identification group in the Catalan context, but primarily for its political implications. To large extent, national identity is responsible for shaping preferences over the territorial organization of the state, opinions over territorial distributive policies, the use of language in all the spheres of the life, and so on. Especially, the salience of the national identity in Catalan politics is due to the well-established relationship between subjective national identity and vote preferences for nationalist parties. In conjunction with the classic left-right cleavage, territorial identity is the second most relevant cleavage in Catalonia and a determinant in the Catalan political debate (e.g., Font *et al.* 2000; Riba 2000). Accordingly, there is an expectation of a movement of the social conflicts to the political arena through the linkage between national identity and voting patterns (e.g., Chernyha and Burg 2012). Therefore, the empirical analysis is carried out for identifying the individual and contextual causes of national identity as well as nationalist vote on the basis of the hypotheses deduced from the theoretical framework.

### **HYPOTHESES**

The impact of the contextual factors on the individual's national identity cannot merely be deduced from the theoretical framework, Berry's acculturation models (1990) in conjunction with the cross-pressure contributions, but it requires further empirical research. Nevertheless, literature is not clear about how places affect identity-based acculturation. This paper attempts to contribute in filling the empirical gap with the general hypothesis that levels of homogeneity in the context matter for the understanding of individual's subjective national identification and voting.

Models of acculturation are applied for both natives and migrants as it is understood both groups can be seen their national identity position and nationalist vote influenced due to the larger or smaller presence of the other. At empirical level, the case of Catalonia presents sufficient heterogeneity in terms of variation of ethnic heterogeneity among its towns as well as levels of national identification so as to use it as a suitable

case study. The specific hypotheses are shown as follows: the assimilation, the reactive and the assimilation hypothesis.

1. Assimilation model

*General Hypothesis 1*

When the host society presents high levels of ethnic homogeneity, all members of this society tend to be more similar to the context than they were expected to be accounting for their individual features.

*Specific Hypothesis 1*

When a given town presents high levels of the predictors related to Catalan national identification, the members of this town tend to be more identified with Catalonia than they were expected to be accounting for their individual features.

2. Reactive / Separation model

*General Hypothesis 2*

When the host society presents high levels of ethnic homogeneity, the members of the minority ethnic group tends to be more dissimilar to the context and the members of the majority group tend to be more similar to the context than they were expected to be accounting for their individual features.

*Specific Hypothesis 2*

When a given town presents high levels of the predictors related to Catalan national identification, the members of the minority ethnic group of the town tend to be less identified with Catalonia than they were expected to be accounting for their individual features.

3. Integration model

*General Hypothesis 3*

When the host society presents high levels of ethnic homogeneity, the members of the minority ethnic group tends to be more similar to the context and the members of the majority group tend to be more dissimilar to the context than they were expected to be accounting for their individual features.

*Specific Hypothesis 3*

When a given town presents high levels of the predictors related to Catalan national identification, the members of the minority ethnic group of the town tend to be more identified with Catalonia and the members of the majority group tend to be less identified with Catalonia than they were expected to be accounting for their individual features.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### ***Data Analysis***

The multilevel models were used for the analysis of the data from Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials (ICPS) for the individual-level characteristics and data from Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (IDESCAT) for the town-level contextual analysis. The usage of multilevel modeling is becoming a more commonly

available method, and is potentially an excellent way to address contextual determinants of individual behavior (Gelman and Hill 2007). The SPSS and Hierarchical Linear Model (HLM) were used to fit multilevel models with a continuous and binomial distribution assumption and a logit link. The method of estimation was a restricted maximum likelihood procedure.

Empty models were first fitted to generate the null model. In the second stage, the individual-level and town-level characteristics were incorporated, which were selected based on prior literature (Font 1991, Montero and Font 1991, Pallarés *et al.* 1997, Font *et al.* 1998, Font *et al.* 2000, Fraile and Pérez-Nievas 2000, Pallarés *et al.* 2001, Martínez-Herrera 2002). In the third stage, models included both individual and town level effects that were significant in the second stage. These parsimonious models are shown in tables 3 and 4 and constitute those used to test whether town-level characteristics may affect individual's identity and choice after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics. In the fourth stage, the interaction terms of individual-level characteristics and town-level characteristics were added to the models in order to assess whether contextual variables were mediated by individual-level origin or language. Lastly, the third column of tables 3 and 4 show the parsimonious models with only those individual-level, town-level and cross-level effects with significant influence on subjective national identity position and nationalist electoral choice, respectively. As a previous step of showing the results, the operationalization of the concepts into variables are described below.

### **Dependent Variables**

As a natural derivation of the theoretical framework and the hypotheses above suggested, there are two key dependent variables that will be studied: subjective national identity and nationalist vote. For subjective national identity, we use the subjective relative identity scale commonly used in the literature (the so-called "Moreno question") so as to capture the dual or balancing identities traditionally existing in Catalonia (e.g. Moreno and Arriba 1996, Moreno *et al.* 1998). The question has been categorized as 0 to 4 positions, being 0 if the respondent states to feel exclusively Spanish, 1 if more Spanish than Catalan, 2 if as Catalan as Spanish, 3 if more Catalan than Spanish, and 4 if exclusively Catalan. The models with subjective national identity as dependent variable have 2.000 cases.

The second dependent variable is the nationalist vote. This has been taken as a binary dependent variable that takes the value of 1 if the respondent voted for *Convergència i Unió (CiU)*, *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)*, *Solidaritat Catalana (SI)*, *Reagrupament (ReCat)* and *Candidatura d'Unitat Popular (CUP)*, and 0 if otherwise. The models with the nationalist vote as dependent variable have 1.250 cases.

### **Independent Variables**

The main independent variables of the analysis are the contextual-level variables regarding potential predictors of national identity. Accounting for the limitations of the quality of second-level variables, the variable that has better suitability for the analysis is the *percentage of town population born in the rest of Spain* in 2011. This variable measures the density of Spain-born population and, as a good indicator of national identity, it captures a sense of environmental national orientation at town-level. Another good potential predictor is the percentage of the population that states to be proficient in Catalan: understand, read, speak or write properly. However, this indicator has important weaknesses that recommend not using it: the latest update to this variable dates back in 2001 in the Idescat database at town-level.

### **Individual-Level and Town-level Controls**

Many scholars in the last thirty years have contributed to the understanding of the causes of nationalism in Catalonia and its main predictors. As the contribution that this paper seeks is to put forward the importance of the nationalist context even after controlling for classic individual-level variables, the models have to be built by controlling for those individual predictors commonly found in previous literature as well as other potential second-level factors. All the models have been first controlled for the following variables provided in the database: age, squared age, sex, origin (recoded to *dummy* variables for each category with native and native parents as the category of reference), language of common usage (recoded to *dummy* variables for each category with common Catalan speakers as the reference value) and left-right scale position (extreme left takes the value of 0 and extreme right takes the value of 6. Missing values have been recoded to take the median value.

As far as the contextual-level controls, the data used has basically depended on the data available in the Idescat database at town-level. Thus, a large number of variables have been introduced to see whether they had a significant effect on the final outcome: population and population density and its various functional forms in 2011, unequal distribution of sex and age in 2011, percentage of the population with university studies in 2001, number of people proficient in Catalan: speak or write in 2001 and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita in 2008. The measure of the GDP per capita has the shortcoming that it is only provided by the Idescat for median and large towns. For those who are small, its GDP has been estimated the extrapolation of the relationship between the tax base (available for small town) of the median and large and its GDP to the small towns.

## **RESULTS**

In the following sections, some descriptive statistics of the micro and macro level data are shown. Next, the results of multilevel analysis of group-level key variables (origin and language) will be presented to contrast the hypotheses regarding contextual effect

and cross-level interactive effects on individual identity. Lastly, the models are replicated to test the same hypothesis with application to the influence of the contextual effects on nationalist vote.

### **Demographic Statistics**

The sample of the ICPS survey has 2000 respondents from 64 different towns. The distribution of the respondents according to the size of the town with the weighted factor applied is the following: 98 live in small towns of less than 2.000 inhabitants (4,9%), 269 are from of towns between 2.001 and 10.000 inhabitants (13.4%), 536 live in averagely populated towns of between 10.001 to 50.000 (26.8%), 408 in towns between 50.001 and 150.000 inhabitants (20.4%), 239 are from towns between 150.001 and one million inhabitants (11.9%) and 450 live in towns of more than one million people (22.5%). The average age of the respondents is 47 years old. There are no remarkable differences in the sex distribution of the respondents with 49.2% of males and 50.8% of females.

As shown in Table 1, most of the respondents have been born in Catalonia and so both of their parents (37.1%). The sample population is constituted by a 14.2% of second generation migrants (born in Catalonia and both parents born outside Catalonia) and a 10% of migrants with mixed parents (born in Catalonia with one parent born also born in Catalonia and the other outside Catalonia). Altogether, the 61.3% of the sample population has been born in Catalonia. The rest of the sample is constituted by people born in the rest of Spain (17.2%), most of them with both parents also born outside Catalonia, and people born outside Spain that are mostly part of the new wave of foreign migration that has taken place over the last decade (21.3%). From this table a new variable called origin has been created.

**Table 1. Cross-tabulation of Respondent's Origin**

Respondent's Birthplace		Parent's Birthplace		
		Both born in Catalonia	Both born outside Catalonia	One of them in Catalonia and one outside Catalonia
	Catalonia	742 (37.1%)	285 (14.2%)	200 (10.0%)
	Rest of Spain	10 (0.6%)	332 (16.6%)	1 (0.0%)
	Outside Spain	3 (0.2%)	416 (20.8%)	6 (0.3%)
	NA	1 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Besides origin, another important social feature traditionally taken into account in the literature that predicts individual's subjective national identity is language which, at the same time, is highly linked to origin. Both variables are included in the models. The distribution of the subjective national identity of the population seems to have been largely determined by their origin. As shown in table 2, the relationship between origin and subjective national identity is evident.



**Table 2. Cross-tabulation of Subjective National Identity and Origin**

Subjective National Identity	Parent's Birthplace				
	1 <sup>st</sup> Generation	2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation Mixed	2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation	Catalan Natives	Foreigners (new immigrants)
Only S	16.9	6.9	2.5	.5	9.1
S > C	13.1	5.8	8.5	1.0	11.9
S = C	57.1	56.3	37.7	23.3	52.5
C > S	9.9	20.9	34.7	34.1	19.2
Only C	2.9	10.1	16.6	41.1	7.3

Statistically, the Cramer's V of .29 confirms the first suggestion. While the 16.9% of the 1st generation of national migration feel only Spanish, it decreases in the second generation to 2.5% and becomes nearly inexistent for those who are classified as native Catalans. The same occurs for each level of subjective identity in the scale. It is remarkable the last column refers to those respondents who have born outside Spain whose parents are also from abroad. Table 2 clearly reflects an integration pace to the Catalan identity faster for the new immigrants than did the national migration.

### **Individual and Contextual Predictors of Subjective National Identity**

To confirm the existence of cross-level effects between second-level and first-level predictors a null model of multilevel analysis is first tested as follows:

$$\text{Level 1: } (\text{variable of interest})_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \varepsilon_{kij}$$

$$\text{Level 2: } \beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + u_{0j} \quad (1.1)$$

where  $\beta_{0j}$  is the intercept (mean score of the j town),  $r_{ij}$  refers to overall error term,  $\gamma_{00}$  refers to intercept of level 2 regression predicting  $\beta_{0j}$ ,  $\mu_{0j}$  refers to error term for  $\beta_{0j}$ ,  $i$  refers to individual, and  $j$  refers to group (town).

As shown in the second column (null model) of table 3, test results indicate that there existed significant between-group variance in subjective national identity of the respondent ( $\tau_{00} = 1.05$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Also, the between-group variance accounted for 7% ( $\tau_{00}/(\tau_{00} + \sigma^2)$ , where  $\sigma^2$  is the within-group variance) of the total variance within the data, implying that individual's national identity was significantly different in different towns. Therefore, results justify the existence of cross-level effects within the multilevel model and the need for following-up multilevel linear modeling analysis to study the variation of subjective national identity.

The first hypothesis asserts that there is an assimilation process in terms of feelings of identity, that is, individuals become closer to the majority identity of the place they live. It means that a relevant determinant of subjective national identity, such as origin of the population in the town, should have an effect on the subjective national identity of the inhabitants of that place in both same directions. Thus, the expectation is that there are no interactions between individual's origin or language and the percentage

of people with a certain origin or common language in the town, but they play an additive effect. The town-level models are specified as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Level 1: } (\text{variable of interest})_{ij} &= \beta_{0j} O_j + \beta_{1j} X_{1ij} + \beta_{2j} X_{2ij} + \dots + \beta_{kj} X_{kij} + \varepsilon_{kij} \\
 \text{Level 2: } \beta_{0j} &= \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01} W_1 + \gamma_{02} W_2 + \dots + \gamma_{0M} W_M + u_{0j} \\
 \beta_{1j} &= \gamma_{10} \\
 \beta_{kj} &= \gamma_{k0}
 \end{aligned} \tag{1.2}$$

In the above equations, the  $\beta$ s are regression parameters of level 1, where  $\beta_{0j}$  is the intercept and  $\beta_{1j}$  is the slope of the origin of the respondent. The  $\gamma$ s are regression parameters of level 2, where  $\gamma_{00}$  refers to the intercept predicting  $\beta_{0j}$ , and  $\gamma_{10}$  refers to the average regression slope relating individual-level origin of the respondent to percentage of people that has migrated from the rest of the Spain across towns. Some relevant aspects can be drawn from the results of table 3 (model 1).

The initial model has included variables neatly demographic such as age, sex and origin. At the same time, a social variable such as language of common usage and a clearly politically oriented variable such as position in the left –right scale. Finally, the parsimonious model that can be seen in the first model of table 3 only displays those variables that were statistically significant. For instance, age, squared age and sex have been dropped from the displayed model as they are not statistically significant. It seems clear that individual-level predictors are very significant, especially, origin, language and left –right position. As the literature has persistently shown having been born in Catalonia and having both parents been born in Catalonia is an excellent predictor of Catalan national identity. So, those who constitute the second generation are less likely to have a Catalan national identity, and the same occurs with those who have been born in Spain. Thus, the further the respondent is from the situation of having himself and his parents born in Catalonia the lower the Catalan subjective national identity.

The same can be applied to language. If respondent affirms to usually speak both language this is a negative predictor of Catalan national identity when compared with those who assert to mostly use Catalan. And the same occurs for those who assert that Spanish or another language is the one that is regularly used. The third variable in importance is left – right political orientation. Although this is a variable that, analyzed in abstract, should not be related to national identity, it usually results to be statistically significant in the studies about national identity in Catalonia. Probably, Spain's history and the conservative dictatorship play an explanatory role for this phenomenon. The historically deep-rooted belief in the Catalan imaginary of a connection between Spanish identity and rightist ideology is a reasonable explanation for the significant predictive capability of the left-right scale in that for each position an individual is located to the right it's expected to have a lower national identity position by 14.

Overall, the model predicts that a Catalan native is expected to have .80 of higher Catalan national identity than an individual who is a first generation Spanish migrant, all



else equal. Similarly, an individual who asserts to have Catalan as his language of common usage is expected to have a higher Catalan national identity by .92. At the same time, if an individual says to be extreme right, it is expected to have a national identity position .86 (.14 x 6) more Spanish than an individual positioned at the extreme left.

Knowledge about the influence of individual-level variables is very common in the literature. However, some strictly individualistic approaches may hide factors that go beyond the individual level and are located at the individual's context. There are a number of potential town-level predictors that have been tested to explain individual national identity which include size of the town, density of the population, GDP per capita of the town, population with university studies (percentage), population that state not to speak Catalan (percentage), unemployment rate, population over 65 (percentage) and number of people born in the rest of Spain (percentage). The single variable that yielded a statistically significant effect on individual subjective identity was the percentage of Spain-born population. Even after controlling for respondents' origin and language of regular use, the percentage of people that have been born in the rest of Spain in the town of the respondent plays a statistically significant role. Results support the thesis that the larger the Spanish-origin population in the respondent's town the lower is the predicted individual Catalan national identity for those who live in the town when origin, language and ideological orientation are controlled for ( $\gamma_{\text{ORIGINTOWN}} = -1.05$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ).

As shown in the model 1 of table 3, test results indicate that there has been a remarkable improvement of the null model with the introduction of the individual-level and town-level variables. There has been a reduction of the between-town variance and its significant level from 1.05 ( $\tau_{00} = 1.05$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) to .64 ( $\tau_{00} = 0.64$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Also, the between-group variance accounted for 7% in the null model and it has now experienced a remarkable reduction to 1% implying that individual's subjective national identity was not significantly different in different towns anymore when the set of variables are included.

Nonetheless, it is theoretically and empirically interesting to see whether the effect of the number of people born outside Spain in a given town on people's identity may be moderated by individual's origin or language. The interactive effect is specified as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Level 1: } (variable\ of\ interest)_{ij} &= \beta_{0j} O_j + \beta_{1j} X_{1ij} + \beta_{2j} X_{2ij} + \dots + \beta_{kj} X_{kij} + \varepsilon_{kij} \\
 \text{Level 2: } \beta_{0j} &= \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01} W_1 + \gamma_{02} W_2 + \dots + \gamma_{0M} W_M + u_{0j} \\
 \beta_{1j} &= \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11} W_1 \\
 \beta_{kj} &= \gamma_{k0}
 \end{aligned} \tag{1.3}$$

As far as individual-level variables are concerned, the second model of table 2 shows similar results than model 1. First generation immigrants and those who normally speak Spanish have a lower level of Catalan national identification. As previously seen, the left-right scale position is still statistically significant and negative. In this model, the percentage of population born in the rest of Spain has a negative impact on subjective

national identity, but this effect is moderated by individual-level variables. Firstly, a model with an interaction between Spain-born population in the town and origin was run, but it did not yielded significant results, so this effect was ruled out from the final model.

**Table 3. Individual and contextual determinants of subjective national identity**

Dependent Variable: Subjective National Identity	Null Model	Model 1	Model 2
	Coeff.	Coeff.	Coeff.
<b>Individual-level predictors</b>			
Constant	2.48 ***	3.12 ***	3.69 ***
Origin (ref. category: Catalan Native)			
Foreigners		-.28 ***	-.30 ***
2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation Mixed		-.36 ***	-.35 ***
2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation		-.21 ***	-.30 ***
1 <sup>st</sup> Generation		-.81 ***	-.76 ***
Language (ref. category: Catalan)			
Both		-.65 ***	-1.34 ***
Others		-.90 ***	-.87 ***
Spanish		-.92 ***	-.91 ***
Left-Right Scale		-.14 ***	-.13 ***
<b>Contextual-level predictors</b>			
Population born in the rest of Spain (%)		-1.05 *	-.93 *
<b>Cross-level interactions</b>			
Population born in the rest of Spain (%) *			3.47 **
Language Both			
Population born in the rest of Spain (%) * Language Others			-.32 ns
Population born in the rest of Spain (%) * Language Spanish			-.05 ns
<b>Covariance Parameters</b>			
Within groups	0.07	0.01	0.01
Between groups	1.05 **	0.64 *	0.62 ***
-2 Log Likelihood	5831.2	4793.2	4780.32
R <sup>2</sup> (% reduction of the error)		.18	.19
Interclass Correlation (ICC)	7%	1%	1%

Hierarchical Linear Model. Lineal 2-level nested model. Method: Restricted PQL. Logit: Link. Significance levels: p < ,1 \*; p < ,05 \*\*; p < ,01 \*\*\*

In contrast, the interaction with language was statistically significant. When the individual usually speaks Spanish or other languages an increase of the Spain-born population in the neighborhood means more Spanish-oriented national identity, results are not statistically significant though. By contrast, the outstanding result appears when the respondent states to speak Catalan as often as Spanish with a coefficient statistically significant with positive sign. In other words, those who state to speak usually both languages change their national identity towards the contrary direction of the environment. It is the same as to say that they nationally react against the context. This interactive model seems to accommodate to the data substantially better than the null model and similarly well as the first model.

All in all, results can be summarized by saying that individuals are influenced by the environment where they live. Generally speaking, people tend to be closer to the position of the majority of their environment showing an assimilation process for both migrants and natives to the context. The exception to the general rule are those who usually speak as Catalan as Spanish that react to the context and move their national identity to the opposed direction of the environment.

### **Individual and Contextual Predictors of Nationalist Voting**

Following the analysis of the individual and contextual predictors of subjective national identity, it is interesting to link them with the results presented in this section about the individual and contextual predictors of nationalist voting. It takes the value of 1 if they individual voted in the 2010 autonomous elections for a nationalist party (ERC and CiU) and 0 if otherwise. Overall, the number of cases, 1250, corresponds with the number of individuals that answered the question. Therefore, the results presented in this section have a binary dependent variable, so the multilevel analyses have been modeled using a Bernoulli distribution. To begin with, the null model of multilevel analysis is specified as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 &\text{Level 1: (variable of interest)}_{ij} \\
 &\text{Prob (variable of interest)}_{ij} = 1 | \beta_j = ij \\
 &\log\left[\frac{ij}{1 - ij}\right] = \eta_{ij} \\
 &\eta_{ij} = \beta_{0j} \\
 &\text{Level 2: } \beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + u_{0j}
 \end{aligned} \tag{2.1}$$

As occurred in the national identity model, the results indicate that there existed significant between-town variance ( $\tau_{00} = 0.29$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) implying that individual's nationalist vote was significantly different in different towns. As a consequence, results justify to follow-up multilevel linear modeling for analyzing individual and contextual predictors of the Catalan nationalist vote for understanding its cross-space variation. The town-level models are specified as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 &\text{Level 1: Prob (variable of interest)}_{ij} = 1 | \beta_j = ij \\
 &\log\left[\frac{ij}{1 - ij}\right] = \eta_{ij} \\
 &\eta_{ij} = \beta_{0j} O_j + \beta_{1j} X_{1ij} + \beta_{2j} X_{2ij} + \dots + \beta_{kj} X_{kij} + \varepsilon_{kij} \\
 &\text{Level 2: } \beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01} W_1 + \gamma_{02} W_2 + \dots + \gamma_{0M} W_M + u_{0j} \\
 &\quad \beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{01} W_1 \\
 &\quad \beta_{kj} = \gamma_{k0}
 \end{aligned} \tag{2.2}$$

The methodological process used for these models is identical that that used for the models regarding subjective national identity. Thus, the initial models have included all the possible variables available and the table only shows those that are parsimonious. There are interesting aspects to remark in the table. The first model (column 3) in table 4 shows the same pattern as the first model in table 3. The sociodemographic variables that

are relevant for explaining the nationalist vote are origin, language of common usage and left-right orientation. The sign of the coefficient is the same for voting as for identity with the exception of left –right orientation. In the case of origin, it is a consistent pattern in the literature and also in this analysis that matters and that those who have been born in the rest of Spain tend to vote more for state-wide parties in comparison to those born in Catalonia with both parents born in Catalonia. It is also interesting that a negative sign of similar strength is found for those born outside Spain who shows a more Spanish-oriented intention of voting. The lack of right to vote makes their responses a mere desideratum without practical consequences for the struggles in the political arena. By contrast, respondents of second generation have no statistically difference in their nationalist vote in relation to those that labeled as native Catalans. A similar pattern is found in language of common usage.

**Table 4: Individual and contextual determinants of Catalan nationalist vote**

Dependent Variable: Catalan Nationalist Vote	Null Model Coeff.	Model 1 Coeff.	Model 2 Coeff.	Model 3 Coeff.
<b>Individual-level predictors</b>				
Constant	0.51 ***	1.48 *	1.07 ***	1.29 *
Origin (ref. category: Catalan Native)				
Foreigners		-1.08 ***	-1.08 ***	-1.02 **
2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation Mixed		-0.31 ns	-.32 ns	-0.32 ns
2 <sup>nd</sup> Generation		-0.06 ns	-.05 ns	0.00 ns
1 <sup>st</sup> Generation		-0.93 ***	-.91 ***	-0.88 ***
Language (ref. category: Catalan)				
Both		-1.18 ***	-1,19 ***	-1.16 ***
Others		-2.09 ***	-2.13 ***	0.60 ns
Spanish		-1.63 ***	-1.66 ***	-3.23 ***
Left-Right Scale		0.29 ***	0.30 ***	0.30 ***
<b>Contextual-level predictors</b>				
Population born in the rest of Spain (%)		-4.30 *	-3.50 *	-5.44 *
Population with university studies (%)			-0.04 **	-0.00 *
Gross Domestic Product per capita (in thousands)			0.03 ***	0.03 ***
<b>Cross-level interactions</b>				
Population born in the rest of Spain (%) (%)*Language Both				-1.37 ns
Population born in the rest of Spain (%) (%)*Language Others				-15.5 *
Population born in the rest of Spain (%) (%)*Language Spanish				7.39 *
<b>Covariance Parameters</b>				
Between groups	0.29 ***	0.16 *	0.04 ns	0.03 ns
R <sup>2</sup> (% reduction of the error) (n)	1250	.19 1250	.22 1250	.23 1250

Hierarchical Linear Model. Lineal 2-level nested model. Method: Restricted Maximum Likelihood. Significance levels: p < ,1  
\*: p<,05\*\*; p<,01\*\*\*

In parallel with the pattern seen in the models regarding the subjective nationalist vote, language matters as a predictor of nationalist vote. Stating to usually speak Catalan and Spanish equally decreases the likelihood of voting for a Catalan nationalist party, it decreases even more when it is stated to usually speak only Spanish or “Others”. As far as the individual-level variables are concerned, the single change has occurred with the left-right orientation as a predictor of subjective national identity in relation to nationalist vote shifting from negative to positive sign. Although we have previously seen that those who are more Catalan-oriented respondents tend to be more leftist than Spanish-oriented respondents, it is the opposite when we take those who state to have voted in the regional elections instead of the total population only.

Overall, results regarding individual-level predictors of subjective national identity are very similar to the results of nationalist vote which is highly consistent with previous literature. Additionally, models 1, 2 and 3 show results for contextual-level variables and cross-level interactions between predictors of level 1 and 2. Another constant from the subjective national identity models appear in these results, the salience of the percentage of population born in the town is a statistically significant and negative predictor of national identity and nationalist vote. This lends further credence to the first hypothesis presented that reflects the assimilation pattern of acculturation as the percentage of population born in the rest of Spain in a given town predicts the subjective national identity and the nationalist orientation of the vote of its inhabitants after controlling for their actual origin, language, left-right orientation and others demographic potential predictors.

Apart from the percentage of Spain-born population, the models for nationalist vote add a new contextual variable as statistically significant predictor: gross domestic product per capita. Thus, high levels of GDP per capita in a town increase the likelihood that its inhabitants will vote for a Catalan nationalist party, so those towns which are more economically dynamic tend to vote more for Catalan-oriented than Spanish-oriented parties, all else equal. This pattern is consistent for the two models either with or without cross-level interactions. In the same vein, the percentage of people with university studies, despite a small size of the impact, show a negative relationship with Catalan nationalist vote. However, this data has to be taken with caution since the latest data available for the percentage of people with university studies at town-level is from 2001.

At the same time, the expected cross-effect between contextual and individual variables shows to be statistically significant, although its effect seems to be rather weak. According to the significance tests, those who state to speak Catalan as often as Spanish, although tending to have a subjective national identity towards the contrary direction of the environment after discounting the general positive effect, they do not convert their reactive identity into a reactive voting behavior since the results from identity and voting are not congruent. So, they are affected by the town-level effect in a negative direction, so the more Spain-born population in the town the less their Catalan national identity.

By contrast, the effect of the Spain born population in the town on nationalist voting is mediated by individual language when this is stated to be Spanish or others. Thus,

whereas those who state to usually speak other languages move their recalled vote towards the environment position, so more Spain-born population in town less national identification with Catalonia, the contrary is true for those who speak Spanish. Counter to what intuition would indicate for those who state to speak usually Spanish, an increment in the percentage of people who were born in the rest of Spain means an increase in their probability of voting for a Catalan nationalist party, controlling for their individual origin and left-right orientation, the GDP per capita and the rate of people with university studies in their town.

## DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to study the process of adaptation of the Catalan population to its context. The waves of national and international immigration in Catalonia have been steady throughout the last fifty years. It is reasonable to assume that most of the newcomers had a little or no previous knowledge at all about Catalan identity, so their position before arriving to the host territory is clear and, thus, their identity establishes the distance of the movement between the initial and the current position. In this sense, the advantage of the application of Berry's model is when we take it as a theory of movement. Not only do acculturation categories are useful for the meaning of the concrete positions in itself, but furthermore for their contribution to the study of movements and changes in identity. The purpose of this paper has been to examine whether the movements between positions may be determined by the context of reception and, additionally, whether this process is mediated by individual predictors.

Accordingly, multilevel models have been applied to analyze the impact of individual and town-level variables on subjective national identity and nationalist vote. Results are sharp. Individual-level variables predominate and seem to be stable in all the models. Particularly, origin, language and left –right position are the main predictors of national identity as well as nationalist vote. The same pattern of relationship between sociodemographic individual variables and national identity and nationalist vote has been a constant in the literature about identity in Catalonia (Font 1991, Montero and Font 1991, Pallarés *et al.* 1997, Font *et al.* 1998, Font *et al.* 2000, Riba 2000, Fraile and Perez-Nievas 2000, Pallarés *et al.* 2001, Martinez-Herrera 2002, Chernyha and Burg 2012). However, the contribution of the analysis here presented is the study of the contextual variable at town-level when controlling for individual origin, language, political orientation and others. It has been established a negative relationship between the number of individuals born in the rest of Spain and both the Catalan national identity and the likelihood of voting for nationalist parties in the autonomous elections.

As far as the models regarding national identity are concerned, the contextual variable adds significant explanatory capability of the individual predictors and has no remarkable differences among the population. So, results may support the idea that both more-Spanish and more-Catalan oriented population are equally influenced by the context and move toward the same direction. In both cases, the direction is an assimilationist acculturation as suggested in the first hypothesis. This is true with the exception of those who state to speak habitually as much Catalan as Spanish. Therefore, there has been found no sign of reactive or integrative movement in the

Catalan population since there seem to be no different influence according to individual features.

In the case of the models regarding the nationalist vote a similar pattern is found. Firstly, the significant importance of the individual variable remains unchanged. Secondly, the relevance of the context seems to be unaltered in these models and the number of people born in the rest of Spain is statistically significant as a contextual variable for predicting the individual vote in the nationalist axis after controlling for individual relevant variables.

However, there are some differences in relation to the identity model such as the statistical significance of additional contextual variables: percentage of population with university studies and GDP per capita in the town. Additionally, there are significant cross-effects between second and first-level predictors. In this case, while those who state to speak neither Catalan nor Spanish are found to be significantly influenced by the context by assimilating more than the rest, those who state to speak only Spanish seem to move away from the majority of the town and react against them. With these results, we should expect that international migrant population would assimilate to the Catalan identity more easily in towns with larger number of Catalan native population, while people with the features to be nationally Spanish-oriented are more Catalan-oriented than expected when the number of Spain-born in the zone increases. In other words, while foreign population is more prone to assimilate to the context, Spanish population tends to react against it and act in opposite direction.

All in all, results provide information enough to encourage further research in the study of the influence of the context and evidence enough to support the recommendation to introduce contextual variables for studying individual outcomes in Catalonia regarding national identity and nationalistic vote. As people are connected to each other, share information and views about political issues, it is reasonable to think that environment shapes one's individual characteristics such as, for instance, language of common use or left-right orientation. In addition, context is as powerful as to be able to influence one's national identity or nationalistic vote directly and not only through the shaping of individual factors.

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