Peripheral identities in contemporary Spain

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Abstract

This article examines the individual and contextual factors affecting peripheral identifications in Spain. It does so by conducting multilevel statistical analyses on two surveys on regional and national identifications that were carried out by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS) in 1996 and 2006, at two very different political conjunctures. At the individual level, these analyses show that peripheral identifications are strongly conditioned by language attributes (in particular by vernacular mother languages), by the place of birth of respondents, and by left–right self-placements. At the aggregate level, only geographical distance from the national center exerts a significant and consistent influence on peripheral identifications. Our analysis reveals also that the effects of language attributes and ideological orientations increased from 1996 to 2006, and suggests that contexts of polarization regarding political–territorial issues strengthen the influence of linguistic characteristics and ideological orientations on peripheral identities.

Introduction

Peripheral identities and nationalisms have played a crucial role in Spanish history (Linz, 1973). They have conditioned political conflicts, shaped the characteristics of the party system, and decisively affected the evolution of political regimes and the survival of democratic experiences. Due to the critical importance of peripheral nationalism in Spain, many scholars have produced very important contributions to the study of this topic. However, these studies have tended to focus on a few regions, and have mostly addressed those instances in which peripheral political mobilization has been more successful. These works have allowed researchers to identify the specific configurations of circumstances characterizing individual territories and peripheral nationalist movements, and yielded both a profound knowledge of cases and important insights on the development of peripheral nationalist identities in Spain.[1] However, by avoiding comprehensive comparisons among regions, these studies have generally failed to provide us with a broader analytical framework on the determinants of peripheral nationalism and identities in Spain. Furthermore, although important comparative pieces on peripheral nationalist movements and identities in Spain have been produced (Chernyha and Burg, 2012; Díez Medrano, 1995; Keating, 1996; Linz, 1973), they have mostly focused on the most successful instances of peripheral nationalism.[2] In so doing, these analyses have not systematically considered the degree to which the variables they identified were present or absent in cases of failed peripheral mobilization.[3]

This article aims at enriching and broadening our understanding of peripheral identities by conducting statistical analyses on the factors affecting individual peripheral identifications in all Spanish regions. Our theoretical framework and our use of the term 'peripheral' is based on Stein

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[1] The most important works addressing nationalisms and nationalist movements in Spain are those by Linz (1973, 1986, 2008). For an analysis on the literature on nationalisms in Spain see Núñez Seixas (1993). Important case-studies and structured comparisons on Spanish peripheral nationalisms can be found in Máiz (1984, 1994), Díez Medrano (1995), and Conversi (2000). Recent studies on Spanish nationalism and national identities can be found in Muro and Quiroga (2005) and Muñoz (2012).

[2] The Núñez Seixas study on the literature on nationalism and regionalism in Spain (1993) devoted 66 pages to the Basque, Catalan and Galician cases, and only 11 to the remaining instances of this phenomenon. Bollen and Díez Medrano (1998) have contributed an empirical analysis on Spanish identities, but their study focuses on the determinants of the sense of belonging to Spain and the feeling of morale linked to the Spanish identity. Our analytical angle is consequently different from theirs. Our methodological approach is also different from that of comparative historical studies on the development of political institutions and peripheral identifications (Martínez-Herrera, 2002; Martínez-Herrera and Miley, 2010).

[3] There are, however, rich and suggestive studies on the interplay of nationalisms in Spain. See Ucelay-Da Cal (2003) and the contributions put together by Beramendi et al. (1994).

Rokkan's analysis of political and territorial variations in Europe. In Rokkan's analysis of state-building processes, peripheries are understood as a 'spatial archetype' that can be defined 'horizontally' or 'geographically' (as outlying areas within the territories controlled by the center) and 'vertically' (as the set of individuals who have lesser influence upon the central group of decision-makers) (Rokkan et al., 1999: 113–115). In Rokkan's framework, peripheral situations are based on distance, difference, and dependence (Hooghe and Marks, forthcoming; Rokkan et al, 1999: 115). Center–periphery relations also entail boundaries for political, economic, and cultural transactions (Rokkan et al., 1999: 116–120). And in the cultural field, peripheries involve perceptions of distinctiveness in the two dimensions (horizontal and vertical) that we mentioned above.

Empirically, our analysis follows the path opened by Chernyha and Burg's work (2012: 7–12) on the determinants of individual peripheral identifications. In their work, they also pay special attention to the influence that descent-based attributes (such as the mother language and place of birth of respondents) exert on peripheral identifications in Spain. However, their work focused on four autonomous communities (Galicia, the Basque country, Catalonia, and the Valencia region), for which they conducted separate multinomial logistic regression analysis using CIS survey data from the late 1990s.[4] By contrast, our work conducts multilevel logistic regression analysis of CIS survey data from all Spanish regions at two points in time (1996 and 2006). In this respect, it must be taken into consideration that strong peripheral identifications are also present in other regions. For instance, in the year 2006, 24.4% of Andalusian, 17.8% of Aragonese and 46.4% of the Canary Islands' respondents identified more strongly with their region than with Spain. Multilevel techniques take into consideration the fact that individuals are nested within regional contexts. This type of analysis allows us to assess how different individual and contextual (regional) factors correlate with peripheral identifications, and to examine the degree to which the associations between individual characteristics and identities vary from region to region.[5] The 1996 and 2006 CIS surveys include an extremely rich battery of questions regarding cultural identities and vernacular languages. They are also of interest by being placed in two very different historical moments. The 1996 survey took place under a Conservative government led by José María Aznar, while the 2006 survey was conducted under the Socialist government headed by José Luis

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[4] In Spain there are 17 regions or autonomous communities (*Comunidades Autónomas*) and two autonomous cities (Ceuta and Mellila, in North Africa). All autonomous communities have one regional parliament which is directly elected by regional citizens, and one regional president, who is elected by the regional parliament. The competencies of regions are regulated, wihin the constitutional framework, by regional statutes of autonomy.

[5] Guinjoan and Rodón (2014) use the same technique in their analysis but, instead of trying to predict peripheral identifications, they aim at explaining support for decentralization in Spanish regions.

Rodríguez Zapatero. More importantly, in 1996 the Popular Party (PP) had won the general elections with a mostly centrist strategy, and had reached important parliamentary agreements with Basque and Catalan nationalist parties. By contrast, in 2006 polarization regarding political–territorial and cultural issues was extremely intense. This polarization resulted from the strategies developed by both peripheral nationalist and Spanish national parties after the 1998 Lizarra agreement aimed at Basque self-determination. The 2006 survey took place the same year that the new Catalan statute of autonomy was approved by the Catalan and Spanish parliaments (over the strong opposition of the PP) at a period of strong politicization of center–periphery divisions. By analyzing surveys from these two moments we can distinguish persistent and conjunctural correlates of identities, and assess the influence of historical contexts on the associations between peripheral identifications and different types of individual and regional variables.

Our analysis is close to Fitjar's work on sub-state regional identities (2010) in that it considers all kinds of regions and not only those in which peripheral mobilization is strong. But his work uses data from 13 European countries whereas ours holds constant, Spanish, system-level characteristics. Our work on regional identities departs from Fitjar's also in that we try to avoid endogeneity problems by not including in our multivariate analysis those variables that we consider a result rather than a cause of peripheral identifications (such as the existence of regional parties, the distinctiveness of regional party systems and, in the case of Spain, the existence of regional autonomy in the 1930s). Finally, our analysis uses data on individual linguistic characteristics (vernacular mother language and fluency in the vernacular language), whereas Fitjar's uses an aggregate additive index that maps the regional strength of the peripheral languages. These differences allow us to develop a more fine-grained analysis on the causes of peripheral identifications in Spanish regions.

This article addresses several alternative explanations of peripheral identities in the context of consolidated democratic regimes.[6] These explanations include both contextual and individual variables, and take into consideration factors of very different kinds, such as economic characteristics and interests, cultural traits, and territorial identifications. This comparative analysis is restricted to territories belonging to a single country and which therefore share very important system-dependent explanatory features, such as being a multilingual society, with a polycephalic city network structure, and federal or confederal traits until the 19th century (Rokkan et al., 1999: 180–185, 214–216). A country in which peripheral elites were incorporated under a 'most-favored lord' status, that is, having 'rights and privileges equal to the elites of similar status and education in the political center' (Laitin, 1998: 60) and that shares at least some of the characteristics of what

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[6] That is, in cases in which democratic transitions have been completed, governments rule democratically and a functioning state is present ('stateness' condition) (Linz and Stepan, 1996: 14).

Stepan et al. have labeled as state-nations (Stepan et al., 2011: 3–11). By focusing on Spain, this exploration holds constant important contextual characteristics and leaves aside other potential paths towards peripheral nationalist mobilization. Still, by examining the predictive strength of different types of arguments and variables, valuable insights can be gained into the comparative analysis of peripheral identities and nationalisms in countries that share at least some of the general properties identified above.

The first section of this article examines some theoretical explanations relevant to the analysis of peripheral identities in Spain and lays out the main hypotheses guiding our research. The second section assesses the effects of different contextual and individual variables on peripheral identifications by conducting a multilevel logistic regression analysis of two surveys on regional and national identifications. These surveys were conducted by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS, Center for Sociological Research) in the years 1996 (CIS study n. 2.228) and 2006 (CIS study n. 2667).

On the characteristics and causes of ethno-cultural identifications

The importance of ethnic and cultural identities in the explanation of nationalism has been underscored from different theoretical perspectives (Armstrong, 1982; Chandra and Wilkinson, 2008; Levi and Hechter, 1985: 130; Smith, 1986, 1994, 1998). In the Spanish case, it has also been shown how identities play a key role in the explanation of nationalist mobilization, preferences regarding territorial autonomy, and voting for nationalist parties (Chernyha and Burg, 2012: 4–7; Guinjoan and Rodón, 2014: 14; Linz, 1986).

Identities have been studied from very different theoretical approaches. They have been addressed from either rational-choice or value-based rationality perspectives (Varshney, 2003), and from either 'primordialist' or 'constructivist' approaches. However, as Hale has pointed out, dichotomous classifications fail to capture both the shared elements and the complexity of different theoretical accounts of identity formation (Hale, 2004: 459). For instance, important differences notwithstanding, most scholars have tended to see identities as dynamic and changing, rather than fixed and immutable (Laitin, 1998). Hale (2004) goes beyond rigid theoretical dichotomies by understanding identities as personal points of reference prompted by psychological mechanisms. These points of reference allow individuals to establish social boundaries and can act, in the terms of rational choice theory, as coordination points that help individuals to reduce uncertainty, stabilize expectations, facilitate communications and lower transaction costs (Hardin, 1995: 49ff). Chandra and Wilkinson's (2008: 520) approach to ethnicty underlines also the difference between nominal and activated identities. Whereas nominal identities are based on descent-based attributes, activated

identities (a sub-set of nominal identities) involve a professed membership in social groups. Nominal ethnic identities can be based on different types of atrributes (language, religion, physical appearence, caste, etc.) and have a strong inertial component. By contrast, activated identities are much more sensitive to political action and political institutions. Both in Hale's (2004) and Chandra and Wilkinson's (2008) interpretation, political actors and elites play a key role in activating specific sets of markers or nominal identities.

One of the most important cultural factors affecting identity differentiation is language. Language is not only a vehicle for communication and for the transmision of cultural practices and attachments, but is also a core component of the self-perception of cultural groups (Billig, 1995; Brubaker, 2013; Rokkan et al., 1999). Languages establish objective, symbolically loaded marks separating populations and can operate as barriers to communication and as constraints on the development of feelings of cultural solidarity (Rokkan et al., 1999: 171; Smith, 1991: 23).[7] In the case of Spain, although other descent-based attributes have ocassionally become components of activated ethnic identities (e.g. family names in the Basque case), the most important marker affecting ethnic differentiation has traditionally been language.[8] In Rokkan et al.'s terms, languages different from Castilian Spanish have worked as 'a focal point of identity' and 'the most pervasive and obvious stigma of distinctiveness' (Rokkan et al., 1999: 171).[9] Now, vernacular languages can be descent-based attributes (when they are acquired as mother languages) or can be learned in social communications outside the household, sometimes in educational institutions. In some cases, fluency in their use is already the result of previously strong nationalist or regional identities, as has been the case, for instance, for many Basque nationalists who learned Basque as adults (such as the Basque regional presidents Carlos Garaikoetxea and Juan José Ibarretxe), which makes language, as Chernyha and Burg point out (2012: 8), an endogenous result of identifications. For this reason, an

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[7] Smith emphasizes also the importance of languages as markers 'endowed with diacritical significance' (1991: 23).

[8] More information about the political importance of language in Spain may be found in Van Morgan (2006), who investigates the impact of linguistic grievances on nationalist mobilization in Galicia. For an insightful ecological analysis of the effects of language on voting in Catalonia, see Gutiérrez (2014).

[9] In Spain we find three basic basic types of linguistic situations. In some territories, languages different from Castilian Spanish either completely disappeared (such as in all those territories that were conquered to the Arabs by the Castilian crown) or saw their use reduced to very small territories and segments of the regional population (as in the cases of Aragon or Leon). In a second group of territories, languages different from Castilian Spanish persisted, but remained highly fragmented and did not achieve a cultural standard (as in the case of Asturias). And finally, in a third group of territories peripheral languages continued to be spoken by significant sectors of the population and achieved a minimal level of standardization, also giving rise to a literary tradition. All differences notwithstanding, these are the cases of Catalan (in Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and the Valencia region), Basque (in the Basque country and Navarre), and Galician. On this topic see Siguan (1994).

explanatory analysis of the effects of linguistic attributes must try to disentangle the effects of vernacular languages as descent-attributes from the effects of their fluent knowledge or everyday use. Hierro's (2015) analysis on the effects of families and schools on identifications in Catalonia underscores also the need to distinguish among acquired and descent-based linguistic attributes. Differences between these two types of language variables notwithstanding, one would expect individuals fluently speaking vernacular languages and individuals having vernacular languages as their mother language to hold strong peripheral identifications. And we would expect as well that birth in a specific region would have positive effects on the identification with that region, as it has been shown by previous empirical research on identities in Spain (Linz, 1986: 38–43; Shabad and Gunter, 1982). Following Rokkan and Urwin (1983), we also assume that physical distance prevents the development of flows and exchanges (cultural, demographic, economic, etc.) between the centre of the state-building process and peripheral territories, and favors the development of distinctive cultural and territorial identities (Hooghe and Marks, forthcoming).

The socioeconomic characteristics of both individuals and territories can also affect cultural identities. Such links have been established both from resource mobilization and rational-choice theories. From the first perspective, the higher the resources (economic and educational) enjoyed by peripheral societies, the easier it will be the development of platforms of peripheral nationalist mobilization (Máiz, 1994: 175–176; Rokkan and Urwin, 1983; Saxton and Benson, 2008: 60–61). From rational-choice perspectives, identities make social coordination possible and can be considered as means for the achievement of political power (Hardin, 1995: 9). They are affected by individual self-interest and by the economic opportunities opened by nationalist mobilization (Hardin, 1995: 9, 19–21, 47). At the aggregate level, the populations of territories that are comparatively wealthy and that do not directly benefit from the redistributive flows carried out by democratic states will be more likely to embrace nationalist mobilization and the identities that make such mobilization possible (Bookman, 1991). This expectation is consistent with the intense nationalist mobilization experienced by the Catalan society in recent years. At the individual level, individuals pertaining to peripheral cultures and societies and who possess the skills (technical, educational, symbolic) necessary to occupy higher-ranking public jobs and offices would see distinctive group identification as a means for the attainment of positional goods and be more likely to embrace nationalist mobilization (Hardin, 1995: 57–58; Rogowski, 1985: 90).[10] Based on these two different types of theoretical expectations (resource mobilization and rational-choice theories),

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[10] This argument is consistent with Hroch´s finding that the leaders of national movements mainly came from the intelligentsia and the middle classes in (Hroch, 2000: 157). Hroch's analysis leads also to the conclusion that 'the urban milieu played a considerable role in the national awakening in all the cases investigated' (with the sole exceptions of Lithuania and Belorrusia) (Hroch, 2000: 160). On this topic see also Coakley (1992).

we would expect peripheral identities to be stronger in wealthier regional societies and among the middle and upper-middle classes of peripheral societies.

Below we state our main hypotheses regarding the effects of different kinds of cultural, geographic and socioeconomic characteristics on peripheral identifications. Table 1 summarizes the effects we hypothesize in our statistical analyses.

H1. Having a regional vernacular mother language increases the probability of having a strong peripheral identification.

H2. Fluency in vernacular regional languages increases the probability of having strong peripheral identifications.

H3. Individuals who were born in the same community where they are living will be more likely to identify strongly with that autonomous community.

H4. Individuals living in regions with an official regional vernacular language will be more likely to display strong peripheral identities.

H5: The more distant from the state-building center a region is, the higher the probability that individuals will embrace strong peripheral identities.

H6. Individuals with higher formal education will be more likely to display strong peripheral identities.

H7. Entrepreneurs will be more likely to have strong peripheral identities.

H8. Individuals living in wealthier regions will be more likely to have strong peripheral identities.

---Table 1 about here---

Finally, we assume that historical conjuctures may have also affected the role played by some of these explanatory variables. In particular, we hypothesize that, given the strong polarization experienced around nationalist and center-periphery conflicts from 1998 onwards, the effects of individual linguistic and ideological variables will have increased from 1996 to 2006.

Data, methods and discussion: a multilevel analysis of the conditionants of peripheral identifications.

A comprehensive and comparative analysis on the determinants of peripheral identities in Spain must consider the role played by the individual-level factors that we discussed in our theoretical section. This kind of analysis must include both regions where peripheral identities are strong and

regions where such identities are hardly present. This inquiry should consider also the possible influence of some regional characteristics on peripheral identities, as well as the possibility that the associations between peripheral identities and individual explanatory factors vary across regions. For these purposes multilevel statistical techniques are particularly adequate.

Multilevel analysis is a useful technique when researchers face hierarchical data structures with complex patterns of variability.[11] In such cases, individuals are nested within their contexts, and the latter exert influence on both individual characteristics and associations between individual-level variables. The fact that individual observations are not independent from each other would lead to the violation of the independence of error terms assumption if we were to use statandard regression techniques for the whole Spanish population. Chernyha and Burg (2012) surmount that difficulty by conducting separate analysis for several regions where peripheral nationalist identities are strong. By contrast, our approach consists in using multilevel analysis, which allows us both to include all Spanish territories and to take into consideration the contextual, regional nature of our data.

In multilevel research, data are considered as a multistage sample from a hierarchical population. At each level in the hierarchy, we may identify several types of explanatory variables, and each level of this structure is characterized by its own sub-model. These sub-models reflect relationships among variables within a given level, and specify how variables at a higher level influence relations within a lower level. In our data, individuals are nested within regions, and regional effects are taken into account in order to understand both the characteristics of individuals and the associations between individual-level variables. In our model we assess the effects of individual (level 1) and regional (level 2) characteristics on peripheral identifications, and also the degree to which the effects of individual variables on peripheral identifications vary from region to region.

When the number of groups is low, estimates for higher-level effects and cross-level interactions become less accurate. In this case, we are far (17 regions) from the number of level-2 groups (50) recommended for the analysis of cross-level interactions (Hox, 1998: 147–154). For this reason, we have avoided developing a full multilevel model in which regional characteristics are used to predict the associations of our individual independent and dependent variables. In fact, exploratory analyses with full multilevel models rendered extremely unstable and statistically non-significant coefficients for our cross-level interactions.

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[11] On the characteristics and advantages of this statistical technique, see Bryk and Raudenbush (1992), Kreft and De Leeuw (1998), Snijders and Bosker (1999), and Luke (2004).

Finally, multilevel analysis does not allow us to assess in a single model the statistical effects of regional contexts and time. For this reason, our exploration of variations across time will be restricted to a mostly qualitative comparison between our results for 1996 and 2006.

We have used the Linz-Moreno question in order to create a dependent dichotomous variable informing of the strength of the respondents' peripheral identifications.[12] Individuals displaying exclusive regional identities or regional identities stronger than their Spanish identity were coded as 1. Otherwise, they were coded as 0. The reasons for the transformation of this indicator on peripheral identifications into a dichotomous variable are both substantive and methodological. They are substantive because we are not interested in the specific differences between each level of the ordinal outcome variable, but on the display of peripheral identities that are stronger than the Spanish identity. For this reason, our codification provides us with a good indicator of activated particularistic identities. Methodologically, this choice allows us to avoid the complexity of model identification when the number of levels is large. An additional technical reason for this choice is that ordered logistic regression assumes (parallel lines assumption) that the relationships between different pairs of outcome groups are equal, and that the effects of explanatory variables for the different categories of the dependent variable are always the same (Adeleke and Adepoju, 2010). The formal specification of our model is the following one:

Level-1 Model

$\text{Prob}(Y=1|\beta) = P$

$\log[P/(1-P)] = \beta_0 + \beta_1*(\text{born in the region}) + \beta_2*(\text{language fluency}) + \beta_3*(\text{vernacular mother language}) + \beta_4*(\text{ideology}) + \beta_5*(\text{gender}) + \beta_6*(\text{age}) + \beta_7*(\text{entrepreneur}) + \beta_8*(\text{self-employed}) + \beta_9*(\text{university studies}) + \beta_{10}*(\text{secondary studies}) + \beta_{11}*(\text{less than primary studies}) + \beta_{12}*(\text{retired}) + \beta_{13}*(\text{unemployed}) + \beta_{14}*(\text{student}) + \beta_{15}*(\text{house-wives/husbands})$

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[12] The question asked by CIS was as follows (our own translation):

'With which of these sentences do you identify the most?'

   –I feel only Spanish

   –I feel more Spanish than of my autonomous community

   –I feel both Spanish and of my autonomous community

   –I feel more of my autonomous community than Spanish

   –I feel only of my autonomous community.

   –Do not know

   –Does not answer

Level-2 Model

$$\beta_0 = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}*(\text{logdistance}) + \gamma_{02}*(\text{logpercapitagdp}) + \gamma_{03}*(\text{logpopulation}) + \gamma_{04}*(\text{official language}) + u_0$$

$$\beta_1 = \gamma_{10} + u_1$$

$$\beta_2 = \gamma_{20} + u_2$$

$$\beta_3 = \gamma_{30} + u_3$$

$$\beta_4 = \gamma_{40} + u_4$$

$$\beta_5 = \gamma_{50} + u_5$$

$$\beta_6 = \gamma_{60} + u_6$$

$$\beta_7 = \gamma_{70} + u_7$$

$$\beta_8 = \gamma_{80} + u_8$$

$$\beta_9 = \gamma_{90} + u_9$$

$$\beta_{10} = \gamma_{100} + u_{10}$$

$$\beta_{11} = \gamma_{110} + u_{11}$$

$$\beta_{12} = \gamma_{120} + u_{12}$$

$$\beta_{13} = \gamma_{130} + u_{13}$$

$$\beta_{14} = \gamma_{140} + u_{14}$$

$$\beta_{15} = \gamma_{150} + u_{15}$$

The U-terms are residual error terms at the regional level.

Our analysis uses two surveys on regional and national identifications conducted by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS, Center for Sociological Research) in the years 1996 (CIS study n. 2.228) and 2006 (CIS study n. 2667) that are characterized by comparatively very large numbers of respondents and by the inclusion of a rich battery of questions regarding cultural identities and vernacular languages. The intraclass correlations for the null-models, calculated following Evans et al. (1993), are 0.31 for 1996 and 0.20 for 2006.

We considered a large set of contextual and individual-level predictors. Following our theoretical discussion in the first section of this work, we have included as contextual factors the average regional per capita income and an indicator for the presence of a regional official language different from Castilian Spanish. We hypothesize that these two variables will have a positive effect on peripheral identifications. We have also included one indicator for the physical distance from the political and administrative center of the state-building process (the city of Madrid). This indicator

maps the territorially peripheral character of regional territories and, consequently, we expect this variable to have positive effects on peripheral identifications. Finally, following Hooghe and Marks's discussion on the determinants of federalism (2013), we have included a control for the population size of regions, which might also positively affect peripheral identifications.

At the individual level we have included two linguistic variables. The first one reveals whether the respondent's mother language was the regional vernacular language, and the second shows whether the respondent speaks the vernacular language fluently. Therefore, the first variable measures language as a descent-based attribute, and presents less endogeneity problems than the variable for language fluency. Our interest in the role of vernacular languages follows Chernyha and Burg's work (2012) but, as was indicated before, we take a further step in order to disentangle the effects of language as a descent-based attribute and language as a communicative skill. Given the fact that peripheral identities might also lead some individuals to learn regional languages, the inclusion of the language fluency variable poses a more demanding statistical test for the vernacualr mother langue variable: the connection between mother language and peripheral identifications has a basically one-directional character, whereas the association between language fluency and peripheral identifications might hide reciprocal effects. We hypothesize that both linguistic variables will have positive effects on peripheral identifications.

We have also included in this analysis a variable (born in the region) that indicates whether the respondent was born in the autonomous community in which s/he responded to the survey and another variable that informs of the left–right ideological position of respondents. Finally, following previous works on peripheral identities and nationalisms in Spain (Chernyha and Burg, 2012; Pérez-Nievas and Bonet, 2006), we have included in our analysis controls for education (less than primary studies, secondary studies, university studies), occupation (self-employed, entrepreneur, unemployed, student, retired, house-wives/husbands), age, and gender. Although our list of sociodemographic dummies is not exhaustive, it allows us to assess whether some socioeconomic characteristics (which are in turn linked to specific economic interests), exercise some direct influence on peripheral identifications after controlling for individual cultural attributes and for regional-level variables.

Tables 2 and 3 contain the descriptive statistics for the variables to be included in the multilevel analysis.

With the exception of the indicators for ideology (which range from 1 to 10) and age,[13] the rest of the individual variables included here are dichotomous. In the gender variable women have a

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[13] Age cohorts are ordered following the 1996 survey classification: 18–24, 25–34, 35–44, 45–54, 55–64, and 65 or more. Alternative models including dummy variables for age cohorts did not affect our statistical results.

value of 1 and men a value of 0. The born in the region variable captures whether respondents were born in the region in which they responded to the questionnaire. Vernacular mother language indicates whether the vernacular language was the main language spoken by respondents at home during their childhood. Language fluency indicates if respondents are fluent in the vernacular language. As indicated above, the dependent variable, peripheral identities, reveals whether individuals identify with their region exclusively or more strongly than with Spain.

Among the regional level variables, we have used the logarithmic transformation of population size, percapita GDP, and kilometers from Madrid. We have also included a dichotomous variable for the presence of a vernacular language with an official regional status.

---Tables 2 and 3 about here---

Table 4 presents the coefficients for all the individual and regional variables included in our analysis. It also presents the variance components for the random part of the model. As shown in Table 4, only three individual-level variables have statistically significant effects (at the .05 level) in both 1996 and 2006: birth in the autonomous community, vernacular morther language, and left–right self-placement. As expected, individuals who were born in the region and who have the regional language as their mother language are more likely to hold strong peripheral identities. And the farther to the right individuals place themselves in the ideological dimension, the less likely they are to adopt strong peripheral identities. As for vernacular language fluency, it becomes statistically significant (at the .01 level) only in the 2006 data. Overall, the coefficients for vernacular languages and being born in the region lend support to hypotheses 1 to 3, which emphasized the influence of cultural characteristics and descent-based attributes on peripheral identifications. These results endorse, for all Spain, Chernyha and Burg's findings (2012) on the key role of vernacular mother languages in the four autonomous communities they analyze.

Left-wing oriented respondents are also more likely than right-wing oriented individuals to display strong peripheral identities. This association holds in all Spanish regions. Rather than assuming the existence of connections between peripheral identifications and preferences for socioeconomic policies, we hypothesize that the key to this association between ideology and ethno-territorial identifications lies in the way political–ideological conflicts intertwined with political divides on cultural, symbolic and national issues in Spanish history. The fact that the Francoist regime articulated strong ideological conservatism and Spanish nationalism has made it very difficult for individuals holding strong peripheral identifications to define themselves as rightists.

Finally, our analysis did not find any significant direct impacts of socio-demographic characteristics. Certainly, this does not exclude the possibility that future and more sophisticated analyses will unveil some effects, either directly or in interaction with cultural attributes, of individual socio-economic and occupational conditions.

The coefficients for variance components indicate statistically significant cross-regional variations (at the .05 level) in the effects of several variables (mother language, language fluency, and having been born in the region). However, most regions do not differ from the average values for those coefficients, and there are no stable regional patterns regarding these differences. As for left–right ideology, its coefficients do not show statistically significant cross-regional variations.

Both individual linguistic attributes increase their substantive importance and statistical significance from 1996 to 2006. The coefficient for left–right ideology also becomes larger in the 2006 dataset. These results confirm our hypothesis regarding the increasing importance of individual linguistic and ideological characteristics in a context of strong politicization and polarization of center–periphery conflicts. By contrast, the effects of having been born in the region decrease. The decreasing importance of this variable can also be explained by the the fact that many first-generation immigrants may have become both fluent in the vernacular and have adopted strong peripheral identities.

We used the restricted PQL method to estimate our models, and this method does not yield reliable deviance estimates (Snijder and Bosker, 1999) that would allow us to compare the fit of our models. However, running conventional logistic regression analyses (but without level-2 predictors) provides us with useful information about the relative importance of the different sets of variables included in our multilevel models. The pseudo-R^2 for models including only socio-demographic variables equals 0.01 for 1996 and 0.02 for 2006. When birth in the region and ideology are added, the pseudo-R^2 equals 0.10 for 1996 and 0.18 for 2006. Finally, the inclusion of individual linguistic variables in a complete model increases the pseudo-R^2 to 0.24 in 1996 and 0.29 in 2006. These results underscore the importance of left–right positions and cultural attributes in the explanation of peripheral identifications.

In our multilevel models, among the regional-level variables, only distance from Madrid (that is, from the political–administrative center of the state-building process), is statistically significant at the .05 level in both 1996 and 2006. As expected (hypothesis 5), the impact of this variable is positive. The presence of an official vernacular language has a strong and statistically significant effect (at the .01 level) in 1996, but it ceases to play any role in 2006. This development is particularly interesting considering that the two types of individual linguistic attributes that we include in our analysis have increased their importance from 1996 to 2006. That is, individual linguistic differences have become more important for the explanation of individual identifications

than cross-regional aggregate differences. Finally, regional per capita income becomes statistically significant only in the 2006 models, which may be due to the increasing salience of interterritorial fiscal and distributive conflicts in Spanish politics, a process that developed in parallel to the elaboration and approval of the Catalan statute of autonomy in the year 2006. In conclusion, among the level 2 predictors only physical distance has a consistent effect on peripheral identifications.[14]

---Table 4 about here---

Comparing estimates for different conditions in our independent variables allows us to explore the substantive implications of our statistical results. This comparison can be made using odd-ratios, which reveal to what extent changes in certain variables affect the odds of peripheral identifications. The odd values reported in Table 5 show how different conditions affect the odds of displaying strong peripheral identities in 1996 and 2006. These comparisons hold constant certain conditions for all groups (average distance from Madrid, average per capita income, average age, average left–right position, primary studies, having been born in the region, etc.) and introduce changes in linguistic characteristics, thus giving rise to three groups of respondents. Individuals in the Reference Group do not speak vernacular regional languages and live in regions where no regional language is present. Individuals in Group 1 are fluent speakers of a regional language that was their mother language. And individuals in Group 2 are fluent speakers of a regional language that was not their mother language.

In the year 1996, compared to the Reference Group, the odds of having strong peripheral identities are 9.9 times higher for individuals speaking the vernacular language fluently and having it as their mother language (Group 1 in Table 5), and 6.6 times higher for individuals speaking the vernacular language fluently but not having it as their mother language (Group 2 in Table 5). In the year 2006, compared to the same Reference Group, the odds of having strong peripheral identities are 6.2 times higher for individuals speaking the vernacular language fluently and having it as their mother language (Group 1 in Table 5), and 2.3 times higher for individuals speaking the vernacular language fluently but not having it as their mother language (Group 2 in Table 5). There are also

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[14] The fact that our model takes into account both contextual and individual characteristics limits the statistical impact of our contextual variable for official vernacular languages, and obscures its role as a necessary condition for the existence of individual linguistic differences. Exploratory multilevel analyses conducted including just the regional official language variable revealed that this variable had a statistically positive effect (at the 0.01 level) in both 1996 (a coefficient of 1.48) and 2006 (a coefficient of 1.11). Both these coefficients were stronger than the ones found in our full multilevel model (see Table 4). Interestingly, also in in this model the effects of this variable decreased from 1996 to 2006.

two interesting differences between odd ratios in 1996 and 2006. In the first place, the odds-ratios for Groups 1 and 2 decrease in 2006, due to the fact that the regional-level official language variable stops affecting peripheral identifications. The second interesting difference concerns the larger role that mother language plays in the 2006 database. Overall, these comparisons reveal the key role played by vernacular languages in general and by mother languages in particular in the explanation of peripheral identities.

---Table 5 about here---

In order to have a better grasp of the effects of our two individual linguistic attributes on identifications we have run two additional multilevel regressions restricted to those regions in which a regional language is present (the Basque country, Navarre, Valencia, Catalonia, the Balearic Islands, and Galicia). In the first model we included only the regional mother language variable. In the second model, which was restricted to those respondents who did not have the regional language as their mother tongue, we included only the variable for language fluency. We have not included regional level predictors in these models due to the low number of regions. Our first model, which just includes the mother language variable, shows that this attribute has strong and statistically significant effects on peripheral identities (at the 0.01 level) in both 1996 (a coefficient of 1.63) and 2006 (a coefficient of 1.95)[15]. These coefficients are higher than those we found in our full Spanish-wide model (see Table 4). If we focus the analysis exclusively on those individuals who did not have the regional language as their mother tongue, the regional language fluency variable has also strong and significant effects (at the 0.01 level) on peripheral identifications. However, these effects are less strong than those of our mother tongue variable (coefficients of 0.79 in 1996 and 1.49 in 2006)[16]. In any case, the language fluency variable has also stronger effects when we restrict our analysis to just these five Spanish regions and when we remove from our model those individuals who had the regional language as their mother tongue (see Table 4). Consistent with our analysis for all Spain, the effect of both individual linguistic attributes increased from 1996 to 2006. These results help us to interpret the paradoxical result that the importance of the regional-level, official language variable decreased in this period. In our view this decrease derives from the fact that the polarization of linguistic characteristics had to a large extent taken place *within* the regions in which regional languages are spoken. In fact, the results reported in Table 4 suggest that, in those regions in which regional languages are present, people

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[15] This analysis included 2587 individuals in 1996 and 1931 individuals in 2006. Additional information on these results is available on demand.

[16] This analysis included 1375 individuals in 1996 and 1253 individuals in in 2006.

who were not native and/or fluent speakers of regional languages had become in 2006 less prone to peripheral identifications than they were in 1996.

Conclusion

Analyses of peripheral identities in Spain have tended to focus on specific regions, and have usually selected those territories showing a strong nationalist mobilization. By contrast, this article has explored the sources of individual peripheral identifications in all regions, including also those territories in which peripheral nationalism is weak or non-existent. This perspective has made it possible to assess the relative importance of different types of explanatory factors when accounting for peripheral identities. The results of this exploration have underscored the crucial role played by descent-based and linguistic attributes.

Our statistical, multilevel analysis reveals that regional vernacular languages in general, and vernacular mother languages in particular, exert a very strong influence on peripheral identifications. Having been born in the region and left–right self-placements exert also an important influence of identifications. We assume that the influence of the latter variable relates to the historically constructed links between right-wing orientations and Spanish nationalism. Among the aggregate predictors of peripheral identifications, only physical distance from the centre of the state-building process shows a consistent effect on peripheral identifications. The significant influence exerted by this variable underscores the importance of structural and geographical constraints in the explanation of cross-regional differences in peripheral identifications.

The crucial role played by linguistic attributes and physical distance is consistent with the expectations derived from Stein Rokkan's comparative analyses on the survival of peripheral distinctiveness. That is, identities are strongly constrained by cultural and structural factors. However, regional differences in the degree to which vernacular languages affect identities suggest that historical and political developments have also played an important role in the mobilization of cultural differences (Chandra and Wilkinson, 2008; Hale, 2004). Furthermore, our comparison of two historical moments reveals that the importance of both linguistic attributes and ideological orientations has increased from 1996 to 2006. These changes suggest that contexts of politicization and polarization, which are to a large extent driven by the strategies of political actors, can exert a strong influence on the characteristics, the determinants, and the evolution of peripheral identities (Linz, 1973; Máiz, 1994; Martínez-Herrera, 2002; Martínez-Herrera and Miley, 2010). In any case, a fully satisfactory explanation of historical and cross-regional differences in peripheral identifications will demand in-depth and process-tracing comparative analyses on the activation of

cultural characteristics by political entrepreneurs along the lines first developed by Linz (1973) in his seminal comparative study on nationalisms in Spain.

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Table 1. Expected effects of main explanatory variables

Variable	Effects on peripheral identities
1. Vernacular mother language (level I)	+
2. Fluency in the vernacular language (level I)	+
3. Born in the region (level I)	+
4. Entrepreneur (level I)	+
5. Educational level (level I)	+
6. Official regional vernacular language (level II)	+
7. Distance from Madrid (level II)	+
8. Regional affluence (level II)	+

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics 1996

Variable	N	Mean	S.D	Minimum	Maximum
Individual Level Variables					
Born in the region	3807	0.80		0	1
Vernacular mother language	3807	0.23		0	1
Vernacular language fluency	3807	0.37		0	1
University studies	3807	0.13		0	1
Secondary studies	3807	0.27		0	1
Less than primary studies	3807	0.07		0	1
Entrepreneur	3807	0.03		0	1
Self-employed	3807	0.18		0	1
Retired	3807	0.21		0	1
Unemployed	3807	0.12		0	1
Student	3807	0.08		0	1
House-wives/husbands	3807	0.18		0	1
Ideology	3807	4.70	1.94	1	10
Age	3807	3.46	1.72	1	6
Gender	3807	0.48		0	1
Peripheral identities (outcome)	3807	0.26		0	1
Regional Level Variables					
Log population	17	14.28	0.92	12.48	15.78
Log pcGDP	17	9.96	1.67	9.10	14.81
Log km from Madrid	17	5.70	1.56	0	7.65
Official vernacular language	17	0.41		0	1

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics 2006

Variable	N	Mean	S.D	Minimum	Maximum
Individual Level Variables					
Born in the region	2435	0.80		0	1
Vernacular mother language	2435	0.23		0	1
Vernacular language fluency	2435	0.37		0	1
University studies	2435	0.23		0	1
Secondary studies	2435	0.30		0	1
Less than primary studies	2435	0.03		0	1
Entrepreneur	2435	0.06		0	1
Self-employed	2435	0.12		0	1
Retired	2435	0.22		0	1
Unemployed	2435	0.06		0	1
Student	2435	0.05		0	1
House-wives/husbands	2435	0.12		0	1
Ideology	2435	4.70	1.94	1	10
Age	2435	3.61	1.66	1	6
Gender	2435	0.51		0	1
Peripheral identities (outcome)	2435	0.26		0	1
Regional Level Variables					
Log population	17	14.28	0.92	12.48	15.78
Log pcGDP	17	9.96	1.67	9.10	14.81
Log km from Madrid	17	5.70	1.56	0	7.65
Official vernacular language	17	0.41	0.51	0	1

Table 4. Multilevel analysis. Results in the years 1996 and 2006

	1996	*2006*
Fixed part	Coefficient [Odds Ratio; (95%CI)]	Coefficient [Odds Ratio; (95%CI)]
Intercept	-3.41**	-2.84**
Born in the region	1.32** [3.73; (2.07,6.72)]	1.05* [2.85, (1.29,6.30)]
Vernacular mother language	0.92* [2.51; (1.27,4.93)]	1.04** [2.84; (1.56,5.17)]
Vernacular language fluency	0.32 [1.38; (0.51,3.70)]	1.11** [3.05; (1.44,6.46)]
University studies	0.27 [1.30; (0.76,2.25)]	-0.13 [0.88; (0.56,1.37)]
Secondary studies	0.07 [1.07; (0.77,1.50)]	0.22 [0.85; (0.53,1.37)]
Less than primary studies	0.14 [1.14; (0.63,2.08)]	-0.06 [0.94; (0.16,5.45)]
Entrepreneur	0.29 [1.34; (0.74,2.45)]	-0.66 [0.51; (0.18,1.43)]
Self-employed	0.24 [1.28; (0.87,1.88)]	-0.07 [0.93; (0.53,1.64)]
Retired	-0.23 [0.79; (0.43,1.46)]	-0.00 [0.99; (0.46,2.15)]
Unemployed	-0.07 [0.93; (0.56,1.54)]	-0.68 [0.50; (0.25,1.03)]
Student	-0.03 [0.97; (0.53,1.76)]	0.27 [1.31; (0.61,2.80)]
House-wife/husband	-0.32 [0.72; (0.49,1.07)]	-0.06 [0.94; (0.53,1.67)]
Ideology	-0.15** [0.86; (0.80,0.92)]	-0.19** [0.82; (0.75,0.90)]
Age	-0.06 [0.94; (0.82,1.10)]	-0.08 [0.93; (0.77,1.11)]
Gender	0.02 [1.02; (0.72,1.44)]	0.24 [1.27; (0.93,1.74)]
Regional Level Variables	Coefficient [Odds Ratio]	Coefficient [Odds Ratio]
Log km from Madrid	0.38** [1.46; (1.12,1.90)]	0.58** [1.79; (1.29,2.50)]
Official vernacular	1.05** [2.86; (1.38,5.93)]	-0.28 [0.76; (0.23,2.44)]
Log population	0.03 [1.03; (0.69,1.54)]	-0.30 [0.74; (0.46,1.17)]
Log GDPpc	-0.08 [0.92; (0.77,1.11)]	3.07** [21.64; (2.93,159..86)]
Random part	(Variance Component)	(Variance Component)
Intercept	1.33**	3.90
Born in the region	0.41*	1.13**
Vernacular mother language	0.65**	0.38*

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Vernacular language fluency	1.48**	0.60**
University studies	0.49*	0.19
Secondary studies	0.09	0.31
Less than primary studies	0.30	4.21
Entrepreneur	0.21	1.90*
Self-employed	0.17	0.39**
Retired	0.52	0.97
Unemployed	0.33*	0.43
Student	0.46*	0.54
House-wives/husbands	0.06	0.19
Ideology	0.00	0.00
Age	0.02	0.04
Gender	0.15	0.06
N-Level 1	3807	2435
N-Level 2	17	17

* Significant at the .05 level
** Significant at the .01 level
95%CI: 95% Confidence Interval

Table 5. Regional vernacular languages and odd ratios for peripheral identities

	Distance, population, per capita income, ideology, age	Gender, occupations, educational levels	Born in the region	**Regional official language**	**Language fluency**	**Mother language**	Odds ratios 1996	Odds ratios 2006
Group 1	Average	0	1	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	9.9	6.2
Group 2	Average	0	1	**Yes**	**Yes**	**No**	6.6	2.3
Reference Group	Average	0	1	**No**	**No**	**No**		

Cells reflect values for individuals in each group. In bold letters, those variables—vernacular mother language, vernacular language fluency, and official regional language—in which Groups 1 and 2 may diverge from the Reference Group.