

## Appendix 1 – Data and methodology

### 1. The Framing Territorial Demands (FraTerr) dataset

FraTerr is a novel dataset that provides information on regionalist actors' territorial demands and how these are framed. It includes this data for 61 regionalist parties, electoral coalitions and civil society actors in twelve regions in eight European countries, including Catalonia. Full information on the criteria for country, region and actor selection are provided in Elias et al. (2021).<sup>1</sup>

The data was compiled through a qualitative content analysis of a range of different political documents, using an original coding scheme to capture i) the kind of territorial demand being made; and ii) how the territorial demand is framed. The analysis undertaken here focuses on specific aspects of the dataset that are relevant for the analysis of Catalan pro-independence parties' justifications of secession. Firstly, it draws on the coding of ERC, CDC (and related parties) and CUP manifestos for regional, state-wide and European election manifestos for the period 2008-2018. We also include the manifesto of JxS, an electoral coalition formed by ERC and CDC for the 2015 Catalan election. This results in a document sample of 18 election manifestos (9 ERC, 5 CDC/CiU/JxC, 3 CUP, 1 JxS). Secondly, within these manifestos, we analyse only the quasi-sentences that have been coded as containing a demand for 'independence' (including more ambiguous expressions which imply independent statehood (e.g. 'full sovereignty', 'our own state')). This results in a total of 604 quasi-sentences containing such a claim.

In a third step, we analyse the frames that have been linked to each demand for independence. The FraTerr dataset's coding scheme for frames is provided in Table 1 below. It was developed based on a review of the literature on territorial politics and specific studies of regionalist actors' framing strategies; a first categorisation of frames derived on this basis was further revised based on piloting using a sample of political documents from the FraTerr case studies (see Elias et al. (2021) for a full discussion). The coding scheme contains a total of 33 frames organized into 4 thematic categories (cultural, socio-economic, political and environmental frames) and a fifth category of 'other' frames to capture any justifications that cannot be placed in any of the thematic categories. Two of the frames included in the coding scheme capture, by definition, an expression of territorial grievances. These are the 'dissatisfaction' frame that captures statements expressing discontent with the territorial status quo, and the 'blame' frame that captures statements attributing blame for this (unsatisfactory) territorial status quo. The remaining frames, however, are more broadly conceived: they capture a specific issue or theme in a general sense, and can capture arguments that articulate a sense of grievance in respect of this issue, as well as those positing a more positive articulation of the issue.

For these latter types of frames, we thus undertook an additional round of coding in order to further categorise frames according to whether they articulate a sense of grievance or justify secession as a means to some kind of better future. Table 2 provides the definitions used as the basis of such a categorisation, and provides an example of how the frame 'social justice' can be articulated in either of these respects.

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<sup>1</sup> The Fraterr dataset, codebook and coding manual are available at <https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/fraterr>.

**Table 1 The FraTerr dataset’s coding scheme for frames**

TYPES OF FRAMES				
Cultural	Socio-economic	Political	Environmental	Other
<b>Identity</b>	<b>Economic distinctiveness</b>	<b>Political distinctiveness</b>	<b>Environmental distinctiveness</b>	<b>Other</b>
<b>Cultural distinctiveness</b>	<b>Socio-economic prosperity</b>	<b>Dissatisfaction with the territorial status quo</b>	<b>Environmental crisis</b>	
<b>Linguistic distinctiveness</b>	<b>Territorial cohesion and solidarity</b>	<b>Attribution of blame</b>	<b>Environmental colonialism</b>	
<b>Religious distinctiveness</b>	<b>Social justice</b>	<b>Quality of democracy</b>	<b>Environmental sustainability</b>	
<b>Historical distinctiveness</b>	<b>Socio-economic colonialism</b>	<b>Civil and human rights</b>		
<b>Customs distinctiveness</b>	<b>Globalisation</b>	<b>Self-determination and sovereignty</b>		
<b>Cultural invasion</b>	<b>Economic crisis</b>	<b>Europe</b>		
<b>Cultural/identity crisis</b>	<b>Sustainable development</b>	<b>Comparison</b>		
		<b>Efficiency</b>		
		<b>Central state unity</b>		
		<b>Political colonialism</b>		
		<b>Political crisis</b>		
		<b>Peace and security</b>		
		<b>Policy</b>		

**Table 2 Framing ‘social justice’ as a grievance vs. better future argument**

Framing	Definition	Example
Grievance	Argument about the present which articulates a sense of discontent, dissatisfaction, unfairness or injustice in some way.	‘We don’t want to live in a state that cuts the rights of workers and middle classes, and which leads the European ranking of unemployment’ (ERC, 2016, p. 56)
Better future	Argument about an alternative future that can be realised as a result of secession, and which will constitute a clear improvement on the present.	‘Having our own state would let us live better, meaning that we would be able to guarantee more wellbeing for all Catalans, and ensure Catalonia’s social cohesion’ (CDC, 2016, p. 170)

## 2. Interviews with Catalan pro-independence parties

A total of 8 interviews were undertaken with elected or senior political representatives of each political party between March and May 2020: 3 ERC, 3 CDC, 2 CUP. Interviews were semi-structured, using an interview guide composed of a common set of questions that sought to elicit explanations of what kinds of territorial demands each party made, and how these were framed. These common questions were supplemented by specific questions tailored to each party, informed by a prior analysis of the FraTerr data and the specific patterns emerging from it in terms of parties’ framing strategies.

This enabled the interviews to probe the specific contexts in which, and the factors shaping, strategic decisions about how the case for Catalan independence was made by individual parties over time. Interviews were subsequently transcribed and analysed thematically in order to identify the key factors driving each party's justification strategy.

## References

Elias, A., Basile, L., Franco-Guillén, N., & Szöcsik, E. (2021). The Framing Territorial Demands (FraTerr) dataset: A novel approach to conceptualising and measuring regionalist actors' territorial strategies. *Regional & Federal Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2021.1964481>

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