

Web Appendix: Data-Gathering Technique, Coding Rules, and Reliability Checks for the Dependent Variable

Data Source Selection

There are multiple possible sources for contentious event data available for the majority of event types. The task of the researcher is to ascertain the most valid and reliable source for the systematic quantification of the events in question. Police archives are one possible source, but for obvious reasons they are likely to be, as Kriesi argues (Kriesi et al. 1995: 254), “heavily biased toward violent or illegal events,” are hardly impartial, and tend to be “...discontinuous, incomplete, unsystematic, and so disorderly as to be virtually inaccessible.” Kriesi maintains that,

...among the possible sources of quantitative data on protest development, newspapers are clearly the best choice. With the partial exception of strikes, official data on social movement activities are usually lacking, and if they exist, their criteria of selection and categorization are often vague and subject to change over time, and at any rate are likely to be different from those of a social scientist. Further, the number of variables employed in these statistics is very limited; usually they are no more than counts of a specific action form. Finally, and perhaps most important, such listings are themselves usually derived from newspapers (Kriesi et al. 1995: 254).

Reliance on newspapers as a primary source of data does, however, have its critics. The most common criticism is that the data suffer from a systematic bias (Olzak 1989: 128).¹ In fact, the reliability of newspapers does depend on the kind of information one is interested in getting. Here, Tuchman’s (1973) distinction between “hard” and “soft” news is often cited: “Newspapers can be considered relatively reliable when it comes to reporting the ‘hard,’ factual aspects of protest events, such as their timing and locality, the number of participants, the action form, the stated goal of the protesters, and the number of arrests that were made,” but in terms of the “softer,” more subjective aspects of social movements, “such as whether the participants are motivated by universalistic values or merely by self-interest, or whether they were motivated by their stated goal or were merely out for a riot, it is obvious that newspapers are as reliable or unreliable as anyone else’s subjective judgment” (Kriesi et al. 1995: 254-5).

Of course, it is true that even some of the hard facts will occasionally be distorted. Such is especially the case for the number of participants and, possibly, for whether or not a demonstration was violent. Kriesi contends that such bias, however, is not always a problem so long as the bias is systematic: “If, for instance, a particular newspaper systematically presents only the police estimate of the number of demonstrators, we would still be able to trace changes in the level of participation over time, because even the police estimate is a reflection of the actual size of a demonstration” (Kriesi et al. 1995: 255).

Overall, Kriesi argues, and McAdam concurs, that “...newspapers can hardly be seen as superior sources of information on protest in any absolute sense; rather, it is the poverty of the alternatives that makes newspapers so attractive” (Kriesi 1995: 253; see also McAdam 1982: 235).

¹ Snyder and Kelly describe the bias that does occur in a 1977 study that compared “...accounts of riots in daily *NYT* accounts with those from local newspapers in 43 American cities from 1965 to 1969. They found that the location of offices of major wire services was not related to the likelihood that an event in a local newspaper would be reported in the *NYT* but that conflict intensity, measured in terms of size, violence, and duration of event did” (Olzak 1989: 129).

As alluded to above, if this were a study merely of *violent* or large-scale contention, the scope of the analysis (in terms of both cases and time) could be expanded greatly by using the *New York Times* (or any other high-profile English-language daily newspaper) as the primary source of data. Since we are trying to determine what accounts for the dynamism among three primary strategic forms of nationalist contention, however, the first criterion is that we must have sufficient *variation* in these factors. The *New York Times* would be a more accessible source, but would not contain much information on petitioning in Valencia, on public rallies in Galicia, or on sit-ins in the Basque Country—on anything, that is, but the most violent of actions.²

Consequently, the best sources for analyzing the full range of ethnonationalist contentious events in Spain are Spanish newspapers. Three other criteria were fundamental in making the final selection of the data source. First, the paper must have a country-wide scope in order to ensure adequate coverage of political events in the geographic periphery. Second, the newspaper should not be too closely associated with either the Franco regime or the anti-Franco left, since that would potentially bias the description of the events—or the regime response to those events—which took place during the transition from Franco’s authoritarian rule. Third, the newspaper must be located in the geographical *center* of the country. This criterion is crucial: in order for the coverage to be fair to all peripheral nations within a country (or, rather, to systematize the bias), it is necessary that the newspaper *not* be based in one of the regions with a salient ethnonationalist movement. This meant that several newspapers with large circulations located in major cities in the periphery (e.g., Barcelona’s *La Vanguardia*) had to be automatically discounted.

Only two newspapers, both based in Madrid, satisfy all three criteria. The selection between the center-right *ABC* and the center-left *El País* was relatively easy. *ABC*, which has been in continuous circulation since 1905, was too closely associated with the Franco regime before and during the Transition. In contrast, *El País*, which was founded in May of 1976, was untainted by such collaboration. Moreover, it is directed to a more educated audience than most of the newspapers in circulation and, in fact, was generally regarded as the most objective source of information of all the large-circulation papers in Spain during the immediate post-Franco period (Solsten and Meditz 1988).

Data-Gathering Technique

Once the source is selected, the contentious events researcher must choose between three different methods for gathering the data. The first—and almost never performed—method

² Of the large-scale cross-national data sets currently available, only the *World Handbook* and *Minorities at Risk* contain information on ethno-nationalist protests. The former suffers from the serious constraint that the data are measured only at the country level. This is wholly inappropriate for testing not only the impact of regional-level factors, but also for countries—such as Spain, France, India, or the United Kingdom—in which contention is spread among several distinct ethno-nationalist communities. Furthermore, the data are derived from a single source—the *New York Times*—that cannot be considered an accurate source for anything but the largest and most violent contentious actions outside of the United States. The *Minorities at Risk* (MAR) data set represents a tremendous improvement upon previous data sets for the possibilities it affords in the testing of cross-national models of ethnic and nationalist phenomena. MAR coders were fortunately able to improve upon the limited source material provided by the *World Handbook* by investigating a wider range of sources in order to ascertain the magnitude of ethnonationalist protest and rebellion in each case. Although MAR represents an excellent resource for testing an array of ethnopolitical phenomena, the data do not adequately incorporate weak or “potential” cases of nationalism (Fearon and Laitin 1997). For instance, only the two strongest Spanish cases are included—the Basques and the Catalans. This raises concerns about sampling on the dependent variable.

involves the examination of every single publication of the journal or newspaper over the desired time period. Doing so would require such an expense of time that it is for all purposes not a viable option for most research projects.

In the second method, researchers will perform some type of sampling of the newspaper articles. For instance, for their study on Western European new social movements, Hanspeter Kriesi et al. (1995) employed a sampling strategy that involved the examination of every Monday edition of selected newspapers in France, Switzerland, West Germany, and the Netherlands between 1975 and 1989. Others (e.g., Tilly 1978) choose to draw a random sample of months or weeks per year, of which all editions will be coded.

Unfortunately, the flaws associated with random sampling of event data are difficult to overcome. Although random sampling may maximize the simplicity of the data-gathering process, it results in the “...exclusion of many important protest events from the sample.” Sampling on intensity, in turn, has the advantage of including all theoretically important events, but it excludes otherwise interesting but less “important” events and is “... practically impossible to implement in a consistent way” (Kriesi et al. 1995: 260-1).

Upon consideration of these difficulties, we relied on a third method: the non-sampled investigation of the index of *El País*.³ As of 2001, the index to *El País* was available annually from mid-1976 (when the newspaper was founded) until the end of 1996. The full collection of indices is available in several large libraries throughout Spain. This research was conducted at the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid.

The annual indices contain categorized summary reports of all articles appearing in the print version; as seen in the following examples from 1977, each summary report includes sufficient information on date, place, actors, and actions to create a valid event data set (translations in parentheses):

- 1/5/1977 – Estalla una bomba en las oficinas de una compañía aérea en Las Palmas cuya autoría se adjudica el MPAIAC (a bomb exploded in the offices of an airline company in Las Palmas, attributed to the MPAIAC, *el Movimiento por la Autodeterminación e Independencia del Archipiélago Canario*).
- 3/29/1977 – Violentos incidentes en Barcelona tras la celebración de una manifestación catalanista (violent incidents in Barcelona after the holding of a pro-Catalan demonstration).
- 4/5/1977 – Protesta multitudinaria en Bilbao reivindicando la *ikurriña*, la cooficialdad del *euskera* y la amnistía total (a multitudinous protest took place in Bilbao demanding recognition of the Basque national flag, the co-officiality of the Basque language, and total amnesty for Basque political prisoners).
- 6/19/1977 – Atentado de ETA sin víctimas contra el coche de un policía armado en Bilbao (Terrorist attack without victims against the car of an Armed Police officer in Bilbao).
- 9/27/1977 – Diez mil personas asisten a una manifestación celebrada en Burgos a favor de la autonomía de Castilla y León (10,000 people attend a demonstration held in Burgos in favor of autonomy for Castilla y León).

³ This data-gathering technique has thus far been used primarily with the *New York Times* (e.g., McAdam 1982, and the countless studies using Taylor and Jodice’s *World Handbook* data). A fourth technique, not normally feasible for historical and foreign-language material such as conducted here, is the automated coding of electronic sources (Schrodt and Gerner 1997).

- 10/18/1977 – 15.000 personas en una manifestación en Guipúzcoa a favor de las *ikastolas* (15,000 people in a demonstration in Guipuzcoa in favor of *ikastolas*, schools that provide education entirely in *Euskera*, the Basque language).
- 11/13/1977 – Enfrentamientos entre la policía y grupos de manifestantes durante una manifestación *abertzale* en San Sebastián (confrontations between police and groups of demonstrators during a Basque nationalist demonstration in San Sebastian).
- 12/20/1977 – Voladura de una estación de radio en Tenerife a cargo de un comando del MPAIAC (radio station in Tenerife blown up by a commando unit of the MPAIAC).

As was the case with the Kriesi et al. (1995) study, time constraints were a consideration in this decision. Even using the index, the gathering of the event data required an enormous amount of time and energy. The first step was to look through each annual edition of the *Indice de El País* in order to find the appropriate sections in which ethno-nationalist events were found. The majority of the events were discovered in sections on “Nationalism” and “Public Order,” in addition to sections devoted to each of the seventeen autonomous communities and to each of the nationalist organizations that were involved in contentious activities (e.g., ETA, Terra Lliure). These indexes were then examined to identify individual events, which were then entered into an *Excel* spreadsheet and later recoded in *Stata*. As described below, these event data then facilitated the operationalization of our *Nationalist Expression* dependent variable.

Coding the Dependent Variable: Nationalist Political Expression

Using the sources of electoral, protest and rebellion data summarized below, each ethno-national community was annually assigned one of the following scores depending on the *highest* level of political expression that took place:

0. no claims-making (no nationalist contention)
1. electoral expression (nationalist parties obtain 5% or more of regional electoral vote)
2. protest (two or more nationalist protest events)
3. rebellion (two or more nationalist rebellious events)

To create our measure of *Nationalist Political Expression*, we first had to establish when nationalists in each of the 17 communities had engaged in contentious electoral, protest, or rebellious ethnonationalist activities. To measure electoral strategies, we gathered voting data for all regional elections in the post-Franco era. Regional elections were held in 1983, 1987, 1991 and 1995 in all autonomous communities except Galicia, Andalusia, Catalonia and the Basque Country, which individually set the timing for their own elections. To increase the accuracy of the early scores, vote data from the national elections of 1977 and 1979 were also used. For years in between elections, the values were interpolated. For each year that nationalist political parties garnered greater than 5% of the regional electoral vote, that community was considered to have pursued an “electoral” strategy. [Source: *El País: Anuario*, editions 1982 – 1996]

To measure the occurrence of protest and rebellion strategies, we first built our nationalist contentious event data set by creating an annual event count⁴ of protest and rebellious activities for each of the seventeen ethnonational communities. The rules for coding an event as “protest”

⁴ This annual aggregation is in line with previous studies (Gupta, Singh and Sprague, 1993; Davenport, 1995, 1996; Ekiert and Kubik, 1998; Krain, 1998).

or “rebellion” were analogous to those given to MAR coders.⁵ All intentionally violent ethnonationalist contentious actions are coded as rebellion. All activities without this intention are coded as protest events. Riots and other spontaneous outbursts of violence are thus considered protest behavior. A total of 2,071 protest events and 2,196 rebellion events were coded in all regions from 1977-1996. For each year that at least two nationalist protest events⁶ were generated by a region, we code that community as employing a “protest” strategy, and when a community experienced two or more rebellious nationalist events, we code it as having a “rebellious” strategy [Source: annual indices to *El País*, 1977 – 1996].

In sum, we consider a community to have used an “electoral” strategy when voting for regional nationalist parties exceeds a five-percent threshold for political party representation, a “protest” strategy each year it generated two or more protest events, and a “rebellious” strategy in years it generated at least two rebellious events. In the final step, each region’s yearly score (0-3) on the dependent variable, *Nationalist Political Expression*, is then determined by the highest level of action that takes place—quiescence, electoral contention, protest, or rebellion. The appendix to this document contains a table with the annual *expression* scores, along with the presence of electoral, protest, and rebellion strategies, in each of the 17 regions by year.

Data Verification and Reliability Checks

As noted above, while an event dataset is used as the basis for the dependent variable, the dependent variable is not an event count. Instead, each region’s yearly *expression* score is dictated by its most militant political manifestation of nationalism. This means, for example, that the dependent variable does not include *counts* of how many rebellious events a group has undertaken in a given year. Instead, if a group has performed two or more violent, rebellious events we consider it to have undertaken a “rebellious” strategy. Among other benefits, this approach has positive implications for reliability. In particular, even if our event count data set was found to have missed a protest or rebellious event, it is unlikely that it would have any effect upon our dependent variable; the only likely cases where reliability of the dependent variable might be in question because of a missing event are those where a community has employed a protest or rebellious strategy *one* time in a given year. Given that there are only 28 out of 340 observations where this is the case, the worst-case scenario of every single one of these cases being miscoded (i.e., coded as one event when more than one event actually took place) would lead to a still respectable 92% reliability of the dependent variable.

Nevertheless, in order to check for any remaining reliability issues, we undertook several intensive data-verification procedures. Despite the limited possibility of miscoded observations, we undertook these checks out of the desire to remove any doubt as to the reliability of our data. Fortunately, as we explain in detail below, *none* of the events in the various data verification

⁵ Because of the lack of consistently available information for all 275 cases, the MAR project creates ordinal scales for rebellion and protest for each ethnopolitical group based on the single largest protest or rebellion event that takes place in each region every year. To create analogous scales out of the non-sampled event data available for Spain would result in an unnecessary loss of information. Because all violent events will tend to be reported in the national press, while only larger non-violent events will tend to be thus reported, this non-sampled data set contains more instances of rebellion than of protest. Consequently, this study should not be viewed as facilitating the study of *small* non-violent contentious events. Rather, it is a study of essentially all violent events and medium-to-large non-violent events.

⁶ This threshold ensures the group uses protest or rebellion as a regular policy tool.

checks we undertook would have caused us to change the coding of the dependent variable for any of our 340 observations.

To verify the quality and reliability of our data set, we conducted the following cross-checks:

- *El País*: content in the full-text version versus that in the index.
- Comparison of *El País* index data with that in the comprehensive Spanish terrorism almanac 1973-1983, *La Década del Terror*.
- Comparison of *El País* index data with that in the Protocol for the Analysis of Nonviolent Direct Action (PANDA) data set.
- Comparison of *El País* index data with that in Ronald Francisco’s European Protest and Coercion data set.

1) *El País*: Index vs. Full-Text Version

First, we compared the content of the index to *El País* with the full-text version of the paper. Specifically, we wanted to ensure two things with this reliability test: 1) that all of the ethnonationalist contentious events we gathered from the index appear in the full-text version of *El País* (which was available on microfiche); and 2) that the index includes summaries of all reports of ethnonationalist contentious events that are found in the full-text version of the newspaper.

To begin our test, we randomly selected one month from each of the 20 years in our study, and then one random week from each month, as listed in the table below:

Year	Random Month	Random Week
1977	September	3
1978	January	2
1979		
1980		
1981	August	1
1982	May	2
1983	May	2
1984		
1985	July	1
1986	March	3
1987		
1988		
1989		
1990	February	2
1991	January	2
1992	February	1
1993	June	2
1994	March	2
1995		
1996	May	3

Note that the inter-library loan source (the Center for Research Libraries) was missing microfiches for 7 out of the 20 years in our study. Given the high reliability found in the 13 years we sampled from, however, we feel confident that the index does accurately reflect the content of the full-text version of the paper.

Specifically, the analysis resulted in 100% reliability insofar as all of the reports included in the indexes were found in the full-text version of the paper. More importantly, all of the articles that we found in the full-text version were also included in our index-based data set. There was one front-page “in brief” summary report of three separate ETA actions in the January 8th, 1978 full-text version that was not included in the index, but we did still capture the three events reported in that summary through the three individual full-length reports of those events that were found in the main section of the newspaper. Two of those articles were in the January 8th edition of the paper, while a third was in the following day’s edition. That latter report included updated information stating that ETA had claimed responsibility for the event. In sum, all three full-length reports and events were captured by the index and, subsequently, in our index-based data set. The reason the index did not capture the initial front-page summary report was that it was merely an “in brief” report. Also important is the fact that the responsibility for the third action was not completely clear until a day later, when a specific and credible claim was made by ETA. In fact, we believe that uncertainty over authorship of events is an important reason for differences between sources noted in the three other data verification checks elaborated below.

Overall, because of the high reliability found in this verification of the randomly selected weeks and months, we feel secure in saying that the material in the annual indexes is an accurate representation of the content in the full-text version of the newspaper.

The next three data cross-checks were done in order to verify the consistency of the data with the historical record and to check for potential sources of bias. Among other things, we wanted to be sure that a Spanish-language newspaper located in Madrid could have good coverage of events in regions such as Catalonia or the Balearics.

Because of the sheer number of events that took place (e.g., in the Basque Country), we simplified our data-verification process by concentrating on three specific regions in Spain’s geographic periphery: the Canary Islands, Catalonia, and Galicia. Collectively, these test cases will give us a good sense of the ability of the data set to tap contention in the outlying areas of the country.

2) *El País* Index vs. 1973-1983, *La Década del Terror* (datos para una causa general). 1984. Ediciones Driysa. “Equipo D.” 1,045 pp.

The Decade of Terror is a 1,045-page almanac of terrorism in Spain over the 1973-1983 period. It includes a day-by-day account of terrorist actions (including bombings, assassinations, bank robberies, assaults on *Guardia Civil* camps, etc.), as well as the most important terrorism-related political events, arrests, terrorist group announcements, etc. It is the best “comprehensive” source of terrorist events in Spain in the sense of being nation-wide in scope and attempting to include all relevant terrorist actions. In effect, the book is a good resource for comparing rebellious events in the daily account in the book to the rebellious events in our nationalist contentious event data set.

Our strategy here was to go through the book from the beginning and enter all of the relevant protest and rebellious event in an *Excel* spreadsheet, then compare those data with what was

found in our *El País* data set. We first coded all instances of protest and rebellion in the first two years of the book that corresponded with our study period, namely 1977 and 1978. Comparing these data with that found in our *El País* data set showed very high reliability. Consequently, we truncated this quite labor-intensive data-gathering project by jumping to the final year of the book, 1983. Table 1 below shows the date the event took place, the region on behalf of which the contention occurred, and a description of the event (edited) from *The Decade of Terror*. The final column then states whether the event is also listed in our *El País* data set.

[Insert Table 1 here]

As noted above, we searched for events by nationalists acting on behalf of three regions: the Canary Islands, Catalonia, and Galicia. In 1977 and 1978 only the Canary Islands contained a rebellious nationalist organization, the MPAIAC (*Movimiento por la Autodeterminación e Independencia del Archipiélago Canario*), which was active especially between 1976 and 1979. Table 1 shows that we missed 1 out of the 8 events listed in *The Decade of Terror* for the MPAIAC for 1977 and 2 out of 8 for the MPAIAC for 1978. By 1983, the Canary Island nationalists were out of commission, and Galician nationalists (particularly the *Exército Guerrilheiro do Povo Galego Ceive*, or Guerrilla Army of the Free Galician People) had yet to escalate to terrorism. By that time, however, the Catalan separatist group *Terra Lliure* (Free Land) had begun to undertake violent rebellious actions against the state. The almanac lists three rebellious events in 1983 by *Terra Lliure*, all of which are included in our *El País* data set. Table 2 presents the cross tabulations of the number of rebellious events in the three regions found in our *El País* index-based data set with the information found in *La Década del Terror*. Our data set contains 34 rebellious events in the Canary Islands, Catalonia, and Galicia that are not found in the almanac, which attests to the more comprehensive nature of the data we employ to test our hypotheses.

[Insert Table 2 here]

La Década del Terror also selectively includes nationalism-related *protest* events. Table 3 below shows the protest events in *The Decade of Terror* over the three years for which verification data were gathered. Note that the focus of the book was not to report protest events—the book purports instead to be a more or less comprehensive account of all *rebellious* events that took place from 1973-1983—though such reports are included in some cases throughout the text. We recorded from the almanac all of these that took place in the three regions noted above, as well as the few that occurred in Andalusia, Castilla y León, and Valencia:

[Insert Table 3 here]

The Decade of Terror almanac reports 15 protest events in Andalusia, Castilla y León, Catalonia, Galicia, and Valencia in 1977, 1978, and 1983. Our *El País* data set includes 14 out of the 15 events, missing one demonstration in 1983 in Barcelona.

3) *El País* Index vs. Protocol for the Analysis of Nonviolent Direct Action (PANDA).

Weatherhead Center, Harvard University (www.wcfia.harvard.edu/ponsacs/research/PANDA_IDEA.htm)

PANDA is an extensive data set coded using the Kansas Event Data System (KEDS) automated event-coding protocol. As described on the KEDS web site:

PANDA's data set uses a superset of the WEIS coding scheme that provides greater detail in internal political events, and contains about 500,000 events covering the entire world (using Reuters leads) for the period 1984-present. The PANDA project has also developed dictionaries that are substantially more detailed than ours and are probably preferable if you are planning a major research project (<http://www.ku.edu/~keds/other.html>).

PANDA is notable in that it includes both violent and non-violent contentious events. However, highlighting the utility of our chosen data-gathering technique over previous data sets is the fact that only 1 relevant contentious event is included in the PANDA data set for the Canary Islands, Catalonia, or Galicia during the entire 1984 to 1996 period, whereas our *El País* data set contains this event plus several hundred more for those three regions during the same period. Table 4 presents the cross tabulations of the number of rebellious events found in our *El País* index-based data set and those found in the PANDA data set.

[Insert Table 4 here]

4) *El País* Index vs. Ronald Francisco's *European Protest and Coercion* Data. 2005.

Department of Political Science, University of Kansas. Data downloaded from <http://lark.cc.ku.edu/~ronfran/data>.

Francisco's *European Protest and Coercion* data set utilizes the KEDS Project's automated machine-coding protocol (for more information, see <http://www.ku.edu/~keds>) to code protest and rebellious events in 28 European countries from 1980 to 1995:

The data are interval-level, with date, day, tactic, who protests, the target, the agent, event description, linked-dates, time or duration, number of protesters, number of protesters injured, arrested, killed; the number of state agents, the number killed, then injured; source and source date.....Now complete are Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, FR Germany, GDR, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Northern Ireland, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. Hungary and Romania will finish the project. This project was supported by the National Science Foundation (SBR-9631229) and by the Department of Political Science and the General Research Fund of the University of Kansas (Francisco 2005).

The main data-gathering process was to search for wire service reports from the Lexis-Nexis database:

We sought to use high quality sources and settled on full wire-service text with local newspapers included. The project used Lexis-Nexis as its primary source medium and accessed its Reuters Textline library, which provides global, regional and local wire-services as well as on-line newspapers and magazines—a total of over 400 publications....When conflicts arose among sources we chose the highest quality source (best ability to estimate local numbers of protesters, arrests, etc.) When irresolvable disputes arose among qualified sources, we took the mean (Francisco 2005).

After the reports are downloaded from Lexis-Nexis, the data were cleaned and coded automatically using the KEDS protocol. In a final step, the data were verified by human coders. The codebook for the project, available at <http://lark.cc.ku.edu/~ronfran/data/codebook.doc>, contains a full list of the sources used for all 28 countries.

In the three regions noted above that we are using for our data-verification efforts (the Canary Islands, Catalonia, and Galicia), Francisco's data set includes 74 protest and rebellion events

between 1980 and 1995. They derive from three sources: *Lloyd's List*, *Financial Times*, and (primarily) *Reuters*. These events are shown in the following table:

[Insert Table 5 here]

As shown in the first column of Table 5, our *El País* data set includes 63 of these 74 events. While it cannot be considered ideal to be missing any events, we feel it is within an acceptable range. Much of the difference is likely due to the difficulty in attributing terrorist actions to particular groups in ambiguous cases: since not all groups explicitly claimed responsibility for each bombing, initial newspaper accounts often reported the bombing without mention of any nationalist motive (for example, the *non-nationalist* terrorist group GRAPO, or Grupos de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre, was highly active in post-Franco Spain), in which case we did not record the event in our data set.

What's more, a comparison of the Francisco data set to our *El País* data shows our data have a much higher correspondence to the historical record. Whereas the Francisco data set includes 74 individual contentious events in the Canary Islands, Catalonia, and Galicia between 1980 and 1995, our *El País* data set includes 617 contentious events. This highlights the validity of our approach. This information is summarized in Table 6, which presents the cross tabulations of the number of protest and rebellion events found in our *El País* index-based data set and events coded in Francisco's *European Protest and Coercion Data Set*.

[Insert Table 6 here]

While automated coding of electronic sources has its uses (Francisco's data are quite valuable for cross-national tests, for example), it is less feasible for historical and foreign-language material such as used here. Without looking at the Spanish-language press, we would simply be unable to obtain sufficient variation in the coding of the protest and rebellious events in the 17 Spanish regions.

In short, as a result of the four above data cross-checks, we are confident that our *El País* data set is not biased in any significant way, has a high correspondence to the historical record, and presents the most complete collection of Spanish contentious event data currently available. Most importantly for our purposes, in no instance would adding any of the events we missed, from either the Francisco data set or *La Década del Terror*, have changed a region's annual *Nationalist Expression* score.

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Table I. *La Decada del Terror*: Rebellious Events in Canary Islands, Catalonia, and Galicia in 1977, 1978, and 1983

Date	Region	Description	Responsible	In <i>El Pais</i>?
March 27, 1977	Canary Islands	hace explosion un artefacto en el aeropuerto de Gando (Las Palmas). Fueron desviados todos los vuelos a Tenerife	MPAIAC	
August 3, 1977	Canary Islands	son desactivados en Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 2 artefactos presuntamente atribuidos al MPAIAC	MPAIAC	yes
September 1, 1977	Canary Islands	Antonio Cubillo, dirigente del MPAIAC, reivindicada los ultimos atentados y acciones cometidos ultimamente en Arrecife de Lanzarote.	MPAIAC	yes
November 1, 1977	Canary Islands	desactivado un artefacto explosivo colocado en la cafeteria "Europa" en el termino municipal de La Laguna, Santa Cruz de Tenerife.	MPAIAC	yes
November 4, 1977	Canary Islands	el MPAIAC reivindica la colocacion de diferentes explosivos en bancos, supermercados y colegios con lo que la Policia tuvo que desalojar los edificios resultando falsas amenazas	MPAIAC	yes
November 23, 1977	Canary Islands	1 persona herida al hacer explosion un artefacto colocado en la puerta de la Mutualidad Laboral de Tenerife.	MPAIAC	yes
December 21, 1977	Canary Islands	un artefacto hizo explosion en el hotel "El Botanico" de Tenerife. No hubo victimas. Ha sido reivindicado por el MPAIAC.	MPAIAC	yes
December 29, 1977	Canary Islands	descubierto un artefacto colocado en la estacion de Atocha [Madrid]. El MPAIAC se hace responsable.	MPAIAC	yes
January 19, 1978	Canary Islands	atentado en Santa Cruz de Tenerife contra un centro de iniciativas turisticas	MPAIAC	yes
February 8, 1978	Canary Islands	estalla una carga explosiva en la residencia de jefes y oficiales del Ejercito en Santa Cruz de Tenerife	MPAIAC	yes
February 23, 1978	Canary Islands	un policia armada muerto al intentar desactivar un artefacto explosivo en La Laguna (Santa Cruz de Tenerife)	MPAIAC	yes
April 5, 1978	Canary Islands	estallo un artefacto explosivo colocado en una de las ventanas del Gobierno Civil de Las Palmas	MPAIAC	yes
June 18, 1978	Canary Islands	explosion de una bomba en las oficinas de la Compania Aerea de Africa del Sur en Las Palmas de Gran Canaria como advertencia a la politica de "Apartheid" que protagoniza el regimen de Pretoria.	MPAIAC	yes
June 20, 1978	Canary Islands	explosion de un potente artefacto colocado en Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, que no ocasiono victimas.	MPAIAC	yes
July 7, 1978	Canary Islands	explosion de 2 artefactos en la Caja de Reclutas y en la Audiencia Territorial de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria	MPAIAC	
September 15, 1978	Canary Islands	la Policia de Gran Canaria desactivo una bomba colocada en el Parque de Santa Catalina, de la capital tinerfena.	MPAIAC	
August 11, 1983	Catalonia	un comunicante anonimo de Terra Lliure amenazo con colocar una bomba en el albergue donde celebran un cursillo miembros de la CEDADE, en una llamada telefonica.	Terra Lliure	yes
November 9, 1983	Catalonia	Terra Lliure se ha responsabilizado del atentado perpetrado ayer contra un cuartel de la Policia Nacional en Barcelona, situado junto a las fuentes de Montjuich. Los terroristas lanzaron un artefacto con mortero que produjo un agujero en el interior de la terraza del acuartelamiento.	Terra Lliure	yes
December 2, 1983	Catalonia	los terroristas de Terra Lliure colocan un explosivo en la compania electrica FECSA en Barcelona.	Terra Lliure	yes

Table 2: *Data Cross-Check of Rebellious Events in the Canary Islands, Catalonia, & Galicia in 1977, 1978, 1983: El País index versus La Década del Terror*

		<i>La Década del Terror</i>		
		No	Yes	Total
<i>El País Index</i>	No	-	3	3
	Yes	34	16	50
	Total	34	19	53

Table 3. La Decada del Terror: Protest Events in Andalusia, Castilla y Leon, Catalonia, Galicia, and Valencia in 1977, 1978, and 1983

Date	Region	Description of Event	In <i>El Pais</i> ?
April 17, 1977	Cataluna	en la plaza de San Jaime, en Barcelona, con ocasion de celebrarse un baile de sardanas, un grupo de personas intento quemar una Bandera nacional. 1 herido, y un policia con quemaduras en los ojos al ser alcanzado por un "coctel molotov"	yes
September 11, 1977	Cataluna	celebracion de la "Diada" en Cataluna. En las diversas provincias catalanas se hicieron sendas manifestaciones en las que se provoco y ataco a las FOP calificandolas de "fuerzas de ocupacion." Durante los sucesos resultado de gravedad Carlos Gustavo Frecher Solana.	yes
December 4, 1977	Andalucia	en la manifestacion de Malaga con motivo del "Dia de Andalucia" se produjeron graves incidentes y ataques a la Bandera que hizo necesaria la intervencion de la Policia resultando un muerto y numerosos heridos	yes
December 5, 1977	Andalucia	en el entierro del joven muerto en la manifestacion de ayer en Malaga se apedreo un cuartel de la Policia Armada, resultando heridos de gravedad un capitan y un numero, asi como otros 7 de menor importancia	yes
March 9, 1978	Catalonia	manifestacion en Barcelona para pedir amnistia por los 4 condenados del grupo teatral "Els Joglars", condenados por ofensas al Ejercito. Durante la misma fueron lanzadas piedras contra las FOP.	yes
April 12, 1978	Castilla y Leon	durante los actos que tuvieron lugar en Villalar (Valladolid) para pedir la autonomia de la region castellano-leonesa, se arrojaron piedras y botellas contra un grupo de personas que portaban banderas nacionales resultando heridas 17 personas.	yes
September 10, 1978	Catalonia	durante el primer acto de la "Diada", celebrado en Barcelona, unos jovenes queman 2 banderas nacionales	yes
September 11, 1978	Catalonia	varios hechos en Barcelona durante manifestaciones de la "Diada"	yes
April 23, 1983	Catalonia	unos miles de personas se concentraron en la plaza de San Jaime de Barcelonas convocadas por entidades nacionalistas y separatistas catalanas bajo el lema "contra los ataques del Gobierno espanol y por la soberania nacional. Un grupo de manifestantes quemo 2 banderas espanolas en las Ramblas. Asimismo, varios activistas asaltaron e incendiaron una caseta electoral del PSC-PSOE, profiriendo gritos a favor de las organizaciones marxista terrorista ETA, y separatista, Terra Lliure. Unos 12 militantes fueron agredidos por los manifestantes, sufriendo diversas contusiones.	yes
April 24, 1983	Valencia	manifestacion en Gandia (Valencia), convocada por la Coordinadora de Entidades Civicas del Pais Valenciano, de matiz separatista. Los manifestantes profirieron gritos a favor de la "autodeterminacion," "somos una nacion," y "Pais Valenciano, libre y socialista." Fue arrancada una "senyera" valenciana e intentos de quemar la Bandera nacional que ondeaba en el Ayuntamiento. Fueron detenidos 2 jovenes.	yes
July 17, 1983	Catalonia	Gritos a favor de la independencia de Cataluna tuvieron lugar en "Pi de les Tres Branques" en termino de Berga (Barcelona), durante un acto de "afirmacion nacionalista" al que acudieron unas 8.000 personas.	
July 25, 1983	Galicia	manifestacion separatista en Santiago de Compostela, integrada por unas 7.000 personas con motivo del "Dia de patria galega" convocada por el Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG). Los manifestantes gritaron pidiendo la "soberania nacional," Galicia libre, poder popular", y otras expresiones independentistas. 9 policias heridos y 7 activistas detenidos es el balance registrado en los enfrentamientos callejeros, con formacion de barricadas en diversos puntos.	yes
August 17, 1983	Catalonia	la guerra contra la Bander se ha extendido a Cataluna. Jose Giber, teniente de alcalde de Playa de Aro (Gerona), arrio la Bandera nacional del balcon del Ayuntamiento en el transcurso de las fiestas de la poblacion. Por otra parte, en Alcanar (Tarragona), una Bandera espanolas medio quemada fue colocada en una casa particular. Un grupo separatista reivindico la accion.	yes
September 11, 1983	Catalonia	6 banderas nacionales fueron quemadas durante los actos de celebracion de la "Diada" en Cataluna. Una de ellas en el Fossier de les Moreres, tras una concentracion separatista. Otra fue quemada en pleno centro de Barcelona, y la tercera en la fachada del Ayuntamiento de Figueras (Gerona). Otras 3 banderas espanoles fueron quemadas y ultrajadas junto al monumento a Rafael Casanova, en Barcelona, sin que los "mozos de escuadra" hicieran nada para impedir estas acciones vandalias. La "Diada" estuvo marcada por su caracter netamente independentista pronunciandose gritos de insultos a Espana, a favor de la independencia, libertad de los "patriotas" y contras las "fuerzas de ocupacion." El edificio de la Magistratura de Trabajo fue apedreado por manifestantes de Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.). 4 individuos que incendiaron una de las banderas fueron detenidos.	yes
September 21, 1983	Catalonia	1 Bandera espanola y otra catalana fueron objeto de ultrajes al ser quemadas en Gerona por parte del grupo terrorista afincado Terra Lliure.	yes

Table 4: *Data Cross-Check of Protest and Rebellious Events in the Canary Islands, Catalonia, & Galicia from 1984 to 1996: El País index versus PANDA*

		PANDA		
		No	Yes	Total
<i>El País</i> Index	No	-	0	0
	Yes	538	1	539
	Total	538	1	539

Table 5. European Protest and Coercion Data Set: Contentious Events in the Canary Islands, Catalonia, and Galicia, 1980 - 1995

In El Pais?	Date	Action	Protester	Event	Location	Issue	Source
	31-May-81	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb television relay station	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	23-Jun-81	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb offices	Gerona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	23-Jun-81	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb offices	Salou	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	23-Jun-81	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb in office is defused	Reus	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	10-Sep-81	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb government buildings the day before Catalan independence day	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	10-Sep-81	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb government buildings the day before Catalan independence day	Tarragona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
	14-Mar-82	demonstration	Catalan nationalists	Catalan nationalists protest bill to weaken regional autonomy	Barcelona	regional autonomy bill	Reuters
	14-May-82	preclude	Terra Lliure	interrupt bomb planting	Barcelona	autonomy	Reuters
yes	23-Apr-83	demonstration	Catalan nationalists	burn Spanish flag & call for independence	Barcelona	autonomy	Reuters
yes	15-Jun-84	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb power company offices	Barcelona	autonomy	Reuters
yes	10-Jul-84	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb 4 power company offices	NE Spain	autonomy	Reuters
yes	25-Jan-85	demonstration	Catalan separatists	demonstrate by throwing gas bombs & burning cars	Barcelona	detention of guerrillas	Reuters
yes	11-Sep-85	demonstration	Terra Lliure	demonstrations on Catalan independence day	Barcelona	Catalonia independence	Reuters
	11-Sep-85	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	police defuse 1 bomb; another explodes	Barcelona	Catalonia independence	Reuters
yes	11-Sep-85	demonstration	Terra Lliure	demonstrators throw rocks & gas bombs at police	Gerona	Catalonia independence	Reuters
yes	16-Dec-85	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes while being set	Barcelona	Catalan independence	Reuters
	17-Dec-85	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	explode bomb at telephone exchange	Villafranca Del Ponedes	Catalan independence	Reuters
yes	16-Apr-86	demonstration	Catalan separatists	march through city	Barcelona	US attack on Libya	Reuters
	14-Jul-86	bomb-nd	Catalan Militia	bomb explodes in Catalan bookstore	Barcelona	Catalan independence	Reuters
yes	11-Sep-86	demonstration	Catalan separatists	demonstrators smash windows & riot during Catalan independence day	Barcelona	Catalan independence	Reuters
yes	11-Sep-86	demonstration	Catalan separatists	demonstrators smash windows & riot during Catalan independence day	Gerona	Catalan independence	Reuters
yes	5-Feb-87	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes in bank entrance	Vigo	trial of Galician separatists	Reuters
yes	5-Feb-87	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes in bank entrance	Orense	trial of Galician separatists	Reuters
yes	5-Feb-87	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes in bank entrance	Lugo	trial of Galician separatists	Reuters
yes	5-Feb-87	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes in bank entrance	Pontevedra	trial of Galician separatists	Reuters
yes	5-Feb-87	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes in bank entrance	La Coruna	trial of Galician separatists	Reuters
yes	5-Feb-87	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes in bank entrance	Santiago	trial of Galician separatists	Reuters
yes	5-Feb-87	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes in bank entrance	Ferrol	trial of Galician separatists	Reuters
yes	28-Feb-87	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes outside courthouse	Gerona	Catalan independence	Reuters
yes	23-Apr-87	demonstration	Catalan separatists	throw gas bombs, tear down Spanish flag & clash with police	Gerona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	23-Apr-87	demonstration	Catalan separatists	throw gas bombs, tear down Spanish flag & clash with police	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	30-Apr-87	bomb-nd	EGPGC	8 bombs explode outside banks	Galicia	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	9-May-87	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes outside bank	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	16-Jun-87	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb Hewlett Packard building	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Lloyd's List
yes	31-Jul-87	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes outside bank	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	31-Jul-87	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes outside furniture store	Pamplona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	23-Aug-87	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes in garbage dump	Besalu	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	10-Sep-87	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes near courthouse	Borjas Blancas	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
	9-Mar-88	bomb-nd	Galician separatists	2 bombs explode under police bus	Santiago de Compostela	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	13-Mar-88	bomb-nd	Galician separatists	bomb explodes under bus	Vigo	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	30-Apr-88	bombs	EGPGC	3 bombs explode on electric pylons & water relay	Pontevedra	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	1-May-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes near electric relay	Santiago de Compostela	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	2-May-88	bomb-wd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes in garbage can & near bank	Barcelona	Catalan independence	Reuters
yes	27-May-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb rightists' leader Fraga's holiday house	Perbes	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	5-Jun-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes outside Civil Guard post	Orense	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	13-Jun-88	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes in apartment building	Castellon de La Plana	Catalan independence	Reuters
	5-Sep-88	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes outside bank	Barcelona	Catalan independence	Reuters
yes	7-Sep-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	2 bombs explode outside banks & one outside electric company	Santiago de Compostela	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	7-Sep-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes outside Bank	El Ferrol	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	7-Sep-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes outside Bank	Vigo	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	7-Sep-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes outside Bank	La Coruna	Galician independence	Reuters
	7-Oct-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes outside government office	Pontevedra	Galician independence	Reuters

Table 5. European Protest and Coercion Data Set: Contentious Events in the Canary Islands, Catalonia, and Galicia, 1980 - 1995

	Event Date	Action	Protester	Event	Location	Issue	Source
yes	25-Oct-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	4 bombs explode outside banks & government offices; 1 defused	La Coruna	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	25-Oct-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	2 bombs explode outside banks	Vigo	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	25-Oct-88	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes outside a bank	Lugo	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	2-Feb-89	assassination	EGPGC	assassinate Civil Guardsman in the street	La Coruna	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	7-Feb-89	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb planted at Civil Guard barracks detonated by police	Vigo	Galician independence	Reuters
yes	2-Mar-89	bomb-nd	Terra lliure	bomb French tourism office	Catalonia	Extradition of Terra Lliure members	Reuters
yes	11-Sep-89	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	bomb explodes in Civil Guard office	Banolas	Catalan independence	Reuters
yes	20-Mar-90	bomb-nd	Catalan terrorist	bomb blows up while it is planted near a court	Gerona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	7-Apr-90	bomb-nd	Catalan separatists	bust of the king is blown up; bomb blows up in town square	San Cugat del Valles; Montserrat	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	13-Apr-90	bomb-nd	Terra Lliure	3 bombs, 1 defused at post office	Gerona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	21-Apr-90	demonstration	Catalan separatists	heckle visiting crown prince; demand autonomy	Gerona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	22-Apr-90	demonstration	Catalan separatists	heckle visiting crown prince; demand autonomy	Cervera	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	23-May-90	arson	Terra Lliure	set fire to Santa Maria replica ship of Columbus	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	25-May-90	arson	Terra Lliure	set fire to Santa Maria replica ship of Columbus	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	2-Jul-90	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bomb explodes in a bank	La Coruna	Galician autonomy	Reuters
yes	2-Jul-90	bomb-nd	EGPGC	2 bombs explode in employment offices	El Ferrol	Galician autonomy	Reuters
yes	11-Sep-90	demonstration	Catalan separatists	after CL demonstration, clash with police, burn Spanish flags	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
yes	11-Sep-90	demonstration	Catalunya Lliure	after fiesta, march for Catalonian independence	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Reuters
	10-Oct-90	bomb-nd	EGPGC	bombs at bank branch, in car dealership, in a café, and a small factory	Pontevedra	Galician autonomy	Reuters
yes	11-Oct-90	bomb-wd	EGPGC	bomb in disco kills 3, injures 49; may have killed those who set it	Santiago de Compostela	Galician autonomy	Reuters
yes	11-Sep-91	demonstration	Catalunya Lliure	Catalans march for autonomy	Barcelona	Catalan autonomy	Financial Times
	25-Jul-93	demonstration	Bloque Nacionalista Galega	demand regional independence for Galicia	Santiago de Compostela	autonomy	Reuters
EGPGC: <i>El Exército Guerrilheiro do Povo Galego Ceive</i> (Guerrilla Army of the Free Galician People)							
MPAIAC: <i>Movimiento por la Autodeterminación e Independencia del Archipiélago Canario</i> (Movement for the Self-Determination and Independence of the Canary Archipelago)							
Terra Lliure (Free Land)							

Table 6: *Data Cross-Check of Protest and Rebellious Events in the Canary Islands, Catalonia, & Galicia, 1980-1995: El País index versus the European Protest and Coercion Data Set*

		European Protest and Coercion Data (Francisco)		
		No	Yes	Total
<i>El País</i> Index	No	-	11	11
	Yes	554	63	617
	Total	554	74	628

