**Appendix B: Methodological note, data analyzed, and codebooks**

**Methodological note**

To complement our data on identity in Galicia we have include ethnographic interviews. These interviews were conducted in the form of informal conversations: (1) not recorded, (2) both individually and collectively, (3) in non-politicized places and contexts (bars, parties, restaurants...). Around fifty interviews were carried out in towns and cities in the province of A Coruña, during which topics related to identification, language use, nationalist politics, etc., were brought up during the conversation. While their significance is not central to the research, they provided additional validation and greater clarity in understanding the everyday interpretation of ethnic conflict and relating it to statistical data.

To conduct the analysis of the BNG’s mobilization, we selected forty files, including party documents, photos, news, media interviews, public speeches, and opinion articles written by the main political leaders of the BNG. The heterogeneity of the data allows for both discursive and performative analysis. We have been especially careful to include public interventions during events of special interest because of their relation to national symbolism or the history of the BNG. The data corresponds to two different time periods (2005-2009 and 2020-2023), as explained in the body of the article. Nonetheless, our desire was to include, when possible, equivalent documents from both time frames. For this reason, we selected discourses pronounced by both political leaders during the *Día da Patria* (National Day of Galicia),the anniversary of the BNG, parliamentary inaugural ceremony speeches, and interventions before BNG’s National Assembly.

Only eight files (see Data analyzed, documents in bold) have been transcribed and subsequently coded using a qualitative analysis software (MaxQDA). Such software has been already used in previous investigations regarding the discursive production of political actors. Its features facilitated the segmentation of the different speeches following a deductive-inductive process. We build upon theoretical frame analysis work and in a later stage we include inductive codes to enrich the research process and make it as accurate as possible to the case study we are interested in. By doing so, we ended with four main frames and several specific categories (see Codebook).

By coding only Anxo Quintana and Ana Pontón’s public speeches, we expect to better discover the differences between both periods. This variability might not be so evident if we were to analyze sympathizers or long-established BNG office holders’ discourses. Our aim is to see whether there are different existing discourses within the organization depending on the different periods. Therefore, Quintana and Pontón —as candidates and spokespersons of the BNG— suit our research design as they represented the BNG in different contexts: in opposition (with Pontón and the current BNG as the leading opposition party in Galicia) and in government (with Quintana as Vice President of the executive regional government).

**Data analyzed**

For the BNG (2005-2009)

Atlántico. 2009. “Quintana pide a los mayores que 'voten en libertad' y compromete las ayudas de la dependencia para todos.” Available at: <https://www.atlantico.net/articulo/galicia/quintana-pide-mayores-voten-libertad-y-compromete-ayudas-dependencia-todos/20090220200212056926.html> (Accessed March 22, 2023)

Aymerich, Carlos. 2009. Speech at *Xornadas de Formación*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gL0X77f7l54> (Accessed March 3, 2023)

BNG. 2005. Galiza’s Statute. Available at: <http://arquivo.bng-galiza.org/opencms/export/sites/default/BNG/global/contidos/arquivos/Documentos/Estatuto_de_Galiza.pdf> (accessed January 25, 2023).

BNG. 2005. Programa de goberno. Eleccións ao Parlamento de Galiza. Available at: <https://www.bng.gal/media//bnggaliza/files/2012/05/10//ProgramaBNG2005.pdf> (accessed December 8, 2023).

BNG. 2006. A nación en marcha. XII Asemblea Nacional. Available at: <https://www.bng.gal/media//bnggaliza/files/2016/08/17/XII_asemblea_estatutos.pdf> (Accessed January 30, 2023).

BNG. 2006. Cartaces do Día da Patria Galega. Available at: <https://www.bng.gal/album/imaxes/cartaces-do-dia-da-patria-galega/20170210140831019414.html#photo-42> (Accessed January 30, 2023).

El País. 2008. “Francisco Rodríguez: “El cambio debería ser más acelerado”. January 27, 2008. Available at: <https://elpais.com/diario/2008/01/27/galicia/1201432693_850215.html> (Accessed May 26, 2023).

**Quintana, Anxo. 2005. Speech at Galician Parliament in Touriño´s investiture. Available at:** <https://www.es.parlamentodegalicia.es/sitios/web/BibliotecaDiarioSesions/DP70003.PDF> (Accessed January 25, 2023).

**Quintana, Anxo. 2007. Speech at the BNG’s 25th anniversary act. Available at:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MjIB31O6th8&t=1s> (Accessed January 25, 2023).

Quintana, Anxo. 2008. Debate in *Hai Debate* en *TVG*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1i6Y4tboI2s&ab_channel=BNG-BloqueNacionalistaGalego> (Accessed February 17, 2024)

Quintana, Anxo. 2008. Interview in *Desayunos* en *TVE*. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HFx9Yd1ivgQ> (Accessed January 30, 2023).

**Quintana, Anxo. 2008. Speech at *Día da Patria* rally. Available at:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GucxabyBNVs&t=75s> (Accessed January 25, 2023).

**Quintana, Anxo. 2009. Speech at BNG’s National Electoral Convention rally. Available at:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kG_at6JvHsI> (Accessed January 25, 2023).

La Vanguardia. 2009. “El tremendo cumpleaños de Quintana”. February 26, 2009. Available at: <https://blogs.lavanguardia.com/carta-de-galicia/el-tremendo-cumpleanos-de-quintana> (Accessed March 22, 2023).

Rodríguez, Francisco. 2007. Speech at Spanish Congress of Deputies in *estado de la nación* debate. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kvjwUNbkF5Y> (Accessed January 30, 2023).

For the BNG (2020-2023)

20minutos. 2021. “Pontón erige al BNG en ‘el Partido Galeguista del siglo XXI’ con el reto de un nacionalismo "determinante" que gobierne.” December 6, 2021. Available at: <https://www.20minutos.es/noticia/4917333/0/ponton-erige-al-bng-en-el-partido-galeguista-del-siglo-xxi-con-el-reto-de-un-nacionalismo-determinante-que-gobierne/> (Accessed March 20, 2023).

BNG (@obloque). X, June 26, 2020, 9:46 p.m. Available at: [https://X.com/obloque/status/1276602773706903552](https://twitter.com/obloque/status/1276602773706903552) (Accessed February 24, 2023).

BNG (@obloque). 2021. X, September 10, 2021, 9:02 p.m. Available at: [https://X.com/obloque/status/1436404832848519168](https://twitter.com/obloque/status/1436404832848519168) (Accessed February 27, 2023).

BNG (@obloque). 2021. X, October 13, 2021, 5:53 p.m. Available at: [https://X.com/obloque/status/1448315853326409732](https://twitter.com/obloque/status/1448315853326409732) (Accessed February 24, 2023).

BNG. 2021. BNG presenta a estratexia ambiental para unha Galiza verde líder en desenvolvemento sostible e contra o cambio climático. Available at: <https://www.bng.gal/articulo/novas/bng-presenta-estratexia-ambiental-galiza-verde-lider-desenvolvemento-sostible-cambio-climatico/20210529161531029999.html> (accessed December 8, 2023).

BNG. 2021. Gañar unha nova Galiza! XVII Asemblea Nacional. Available at: <https://bnggaliza.opennemas.com/media/bnggaliza/files/2021/12/27/Textos_XVII_AN_BNG_definitivos.pdf> (Accessed January 27, 2023).

BNG. 2022. Ana Pontón visita as instalación de Inditex e destaca a importancia de ter en Galiza a sede dunha empresa que é referente mundial. Available at: [https://www.bng.gal/articulo/novas/ana-ponton-visita-instalacions-inditex-destaca-importancia-ter-galiza-sede-dunha-empresa-que-referente-mundial/20221011195856033343.html](https://www.bng.gal/articulo/novas/ana-ponton-visita-instalacions-inditex-destaca-importancia-ter-galiza-sede-dunha-empresa-que-referente-mundial/20221011195856033343.html%20) (accessed January 2, 2024).

BNG. 2023. Ana Pontón propón unha ordenación multifuncional do monte, innovar e pechar os ciclos produtivos no sector da madeira. Available at: <https://www.bng.gal/articulo/novas/ana-ponton-propon-ordenacion-multifuncional-do-monte-innovar-pechar-ciclos-produtivos-sector-da-madeira/20231215191400036633.html> (accessed January 2, 2024).

**Pontón, Ana. 2021. Speech at the BNG’s XVII National Assembly act. Available at:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qqvkawZLWHY> (Accessed January 25, 2023).

Pontón, Ana. 2021. Speech at Galician Parliament about energetic companies. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZSymRpT4v54> (Accessed February 13, 2023)

Pontón, Ana (@anaponton). 2022. X, March 21, 2022, 1:00 p.m. Available at: [https://X.com/anaponton/status/1505876917693870088](https://twitter.com/anaponton/status/1505876917693870088) (Accessed March 13, 2023).

Pontón, Ana. 2022. Interview in Radio Galega. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2gM_HkHGIs8> (Accessed January 30, 2023).

**Pontón, Ana. 2022. Speech at the BNG’s 40th anniversary act. Available at:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K3NJP3tuPpw&t=5543s> (Accessed January 25, 2023).

**Pontón, Ana. 2022. Speech at *Día da Patria* rally. Available at:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_VUQiiVt7Bk&t=178s> (Accessed January 25, 2023).

**Pontón, Ana. 2022. Speech at Galician Parliament in Rueda’s investiture. Available at:** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hmr7lziffRA> (Accessed January 25, 2023)

Pontón, Ana. 2023. Interview in Hora 14 Galicia. Available at: <https://cadenaser.com/audio/1674396322923/> (Accessed January 30, 2023)

Pontón, Ana (@ana\_ponton). 2023. Instagram, May 27, 2023. Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CsviRqssfK3/?hl=es> (accessed January 2, 2024).

Pontón, Ana (@ana\_ponton). 2023. Instagram, June 29, 2023. Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CuFC-41MemQ/?hl=es> (accessed January 2, 2024).

Pontón, Ana (@ana\_ponton). 2023. Instagram, January 8, 2023. Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CnKGTEXs_ci/?hl=es> (accessed January 2, 2024).

Rego, Néstor. 2022. Conquistar a hexemonía, avanzar para a soberanía da Galiza. *Nós Diario*. Available at: <https://www.nosdiario.gal/opinion/nestor-rego-candamil/conquistar-hexemonia-avanzar-soberania-da-galiza/20220813110006149919.html> (Accessed January 25, 2023).

Rego, Néstor. 2022. Speech at Spanish Congress of Deputies in *estado de la nación* debate. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T8d-N8LmqVs> (Accessed January 28, 2023).

Rego, Néstor. 2022. Rego's speech is withdrawn in Congress of Deputies for speaking in Galician language. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n8cXHQdgGOY> (Accessed January 13, 2023).

Rego, Néstor. 2023. Rego´s press conference in Congress of Deputies. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VcPRO-yjTMk> (Accessed February 17, 2023).

Rodil, Olalla. 2023. Speech at Galician Parliament about the term ‘nationalism’. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C38Ifpna6gc> (Accessed February 24, 2023).

Sanmartín, Goretti (@GorettiSRei). 2023. X, July 22, 2023, 3:34 p.m. Available at: [https://X.com/GorettiSRei/status/1682746053060165633](https://twitter.com/GorettiSRei/status/1682746053060165633) (Accessed Setember 12, 2023).

**Codebook for the BNG and Anxo Quintana (2005-2009)**

|  |
| --- |
| **Codes** |
| **Problem** | **Prognosis** |
| Clientelism | **Alternatives** |
| Galiza’s underdevelopment | New national statute |
| Inequality | Self-government/ + competences |
| Centralist and uniformizing Spanish State | Galician Nation |
| Historical mistreatment  | Democratic regeneration |
| **Diagnosis** | Defense of Galician language |
| **Causes** | Galician welfare state |
| PPdeG’s government | Financial autonomy |
| Nationalist excluded | Industrialization |
| State of Autonomies | Plurinational state |
| Economic liberalism | **Protagonists** |
| **Antagonists** | *Bloque Nacionalista Galego* |
| *Partido Popular* | Galicians |
| State-wide parties | Allies |
| Fraga/Feijóo | **Motivation** |
| Madrid | Historic Galicianism |
| Media groups | Trust own possibilities |
|  | Exaggeration |
|  |  Love for Galiza |
|  |   |

**Codebook for the BNG and Ana Pontón (2020-2023)**

|  |
| --- |
| **Codes** |
| **Problem** | **Prognosis** |
| Crisis/great swindle | **Alternatives** |
| Small Galiza/impoverished | Sovereigntist project |
| Climate emergency | Feminism |
| Predatory wind power boom | Tax the rich |
| Loss of Galician speakers  | Making Galicia productive |
| Shattered public healthcare system | Galician electric rate |
| **Diagnosis** | President with ‘free hands to act’ |
| **Causes** | Fair solution to the crisis |
| Centralism/Madrid | 21st century train |
| European Union/Brussels | **Protagonists** |
| PPdeG’s government | *Bloque Nacionalista Galego* |
| Cuts and privatization  | Galicians |
| Energy resources extraction | Allies |
| **Antagonists** | **Motivation** |
| Multimillionaires/multinationals | Exciting future |
| *Partido Popular* | Love for Galiza |
| Feijóo/Rueda | Trust own possibilities |
| Electric companies | Historic Galicianism |
| Monarchy |  |
|  |  |