

Ab e Lec e: Why does support for secession increase over time? Recent scholarship finds part of the answer to this question in the loss of pre-existing political autonomy. Yet, this apparently intuitive explanation runs aground – rather spectacularly – in the Spanish region of Catalonia. Here, support for independence rose when it was not supposed to have, and failed to increase when it was reasonable to expect it would. The presentation accounts for this apparent anomaly by challenging the key feature of existing studies – the assumption that loss of autonomy is an objective fact with ready-made meaning. Institutional change does matter in secessionist contests, not as a substantive 'causal variable', but as a discursive tool and a polysemic social fact. In the Catalan case, this feature of institutional change interacted with inter-party outbidding and civil society mobilization to produce for some of the counter-intuitive outcomes observed.