

GRUPO TRABAJO 10

AULAS	A0.10
09:30-11:30	<p>9:30 Angel Luis Ariza Jiménez: Un estudio de las identidades de los ciudadanos del estado español</p> <p>9:45 Antonia María Ruiz Jiménez: El impacto de la Gran Recesión sobre las identidades en España, ¿nacionalismo o chovinismo del bienestar?</p> <p>10:00-10:15 Debate/Eztabaida</p> <p>10:15 Ayoze Corujo Hernández: ¿Quién vota a los partidos nacionalistas en España? Un análisis de las bases electorales de Coalición Canaria</p> <p>10:30 Martín Sainz de la Maza San José: Entendiendo el pasado como una lucha entre el avance y el retroceso: identidad, ideología y funciones anticipatorias de las representaciones sociales de historia en miembros de asociaciones de memoria histórica vizcaínas</p> <p>10:45-11:00 Debate/Eztabaida</p> <p>11:00 Haritz Garmendia Iturria & Eguzki Urteaga Alderdi periferikoak Hego Euskal Herrian: zertan oinarritzen da alderdi erregionalista eta abertzaleen arteko bereizketa?</p> <p>11:15 Ander Vizan Amoros & Eneko A. Romero: Autodeterminazioa vs. erabakitze eskubidea. Zentro-periferia gatazka euskal lurraldeetan</p>
12:15-14:15	<p>12:15-12:30 Debate/Eztabaida</p> <p>12:30 Ricardo Feliu Martínez: Navarrismo y la cultura popular: el caso de la jota navarra</p> <p>12:45 Haritz Garmendia Iturria & Joana Miguelena Torrado: Trikitixaren nazionalizazio prozesua 60-70eko euskal pizkundearen abaroen: euskal nazio identitatearen eraikuntza</p> <p>13:00-13:15 Debate/Eztabaida</p> <p>13:15 Estibaliz Amorrortu Gómez, Jone Goirigolzarri Garaizar, Ane Ortega Etcheverry & Iñigo Beitia: Euskararen aldeko muda Bilbo Handiko unibertsitateko ikasleen artean. Lehen hurbilpena</p> <p>13:30 Joseba Fernández de Landa Aguirre: Euskara Twitterren, zertaz eta zeinekin? Euskarazko edukien analisisa sare sozialetan, gaiak identifikatuz eta harreman sareak erakutsiz</p> <p>13:45 Ane Larrinaga Renteria: Emozioak gizarte mugimenduetan: emozioen eragina euskararen aldeko mugimenduaren bilakaeran</p> <p>14:00-14:15 Debate/Eztabaida</p>

Emozioak gizarte mugimenduetan: emozioen eragina euskararen aldeko mugimenduaren bilakaeran

(Emotions in social movements. The emotional influence in the evolution of the Basque linguistic movement)

ANE LARRINAGA RENTERIA

Lan Taldea:

Grupo de Trabajo:

Identidad, lengua y nacionalismo.

Gizarte mugimenduetako ekintza kolektiboaren eraikuntzan eta haien epe luzeko iraunkortasunean emozioek betetzen dituzten funtzioetako batzuk hartzen ditu komunikazio honek aztergai. Zehazki, euskararen aldeko mugimenduaren bilakaera aztertzen du frankismoaren osteko garaian, 1980ko hamarkadatik aurrera. Horrela, kasu azterketa batetik abiatuz, Euskal Herriko hizkuntzaren aldeko mugimenduak sortu dituen diskurtso-markoen analisi bat egiten da. Analisi horren barruan, aipatu diskurtsoei atxikitako emoziozko testuinguruak aztertzen dira, emozioek mugimenduaren ekintza kolektiboaren motibazio eragile moduan jardun dutelakoan. Azterketak erakusten duenez, ekintza kolektiboa orientatzen duten interpretazio markoen osagai kognitiboak eta emoziozkoak erabat loturik agertzen dira. Horrekin batera, ikusten da emoziozko osagaiek mugimenduaren barne elkartasuna nahiz kanpotik lortu litekeen atxikimendua errazten dituztela. Modu horretan, emozioek gero eta instituzionalizatuago dagoen mugimenduaren izaera estrategikoa orekatzen laguntzen dute, eta haren epe luzeko iraunkortasuna bermatzen dute.

This paper is a reflection on some of functions that the emotions perform in constructing and maintaining the collective action of social movements in the long term. More specifically, it studies the evolution of the movement in favor of the Basque language in the post-Francoist period, from 1980 onwards. Thus, based on a case study, we make an analysis of the successive frames produced by the linguistic movement of the Basque Country. In our analysis we examine the emotional contexts that were associated with these discourses and acted as motivating element for the movement's collective action. The study reveals that the cognitive and emotional elements of the diverse frames of interpretation that orientate collective action are indissolubly united. It was also found that the emotional components are elements that facilitate both the movement's internal solidarity and external adhesion. Thus, their presence balances the exclusively strategic component of an increasingly institutionalized movement, and favors its long-term sustainability.

3 hitz gako:

3 palabras claves:

Emozioak, gizarte mugimenduak, euskararen aldeko mugimendua

Emotions, social movements, Basque linguistic movement

UN ESTUDIO DE LAS IDENTIDADES NACIONALES DE LOS CIUDADANOS DEL ESTADO ESPAÑOL

ANGEL LUIS ARIZA JIMENEZ

Lan Taldea:
Grupo de
Trabajo:

Identidad, lengua y nacionalismo.

Presentamos un estudio sobre la evolución y la situación actual que muestran los ciudadanos españoles sobre sus sensibilidades o sentimientos de pertenencia hacia España y hacia su comunidad autónoma, analizando también su modelo de organización territorial preferido. A través de los datos oficiales de los barómetros del CIS constatamos la existencia de notables diferencias entre los ciudadanos de comunidades autónomas con lengua propia, habiendo aumentado en éstas el sentimiento de pertenencia a sus comunidades en los últimos años y disminuido la preferencia por el actual modelo de organización territorial a través de las autonomías. Destacan los casos de Cataluña y País Vasco, en los que alrededor del 50% de la población manifiesta un sentimiento de pertenencia quasi-exclusivo a la comunidad autónoma; en el caso de Cataluña se ha llegado a ese porcentaje desde niveles anteriores entorno al 20% y rápidamente en los últimos años, mientras que en el País Vasco ese dato ha sido prácticamente recurrente en toda la serie. La insatisfacción por el actual modelo de organización territorial también deviene en fuerte descenso en su preferencia, incluso en las comunidades autónomas con un fuerte sentimiento de pertenencia a la nación española, es decir, prácticamente todas salvo Cataluña y País Vasco. Introducimos también el sentimiento de pertenencia a Europa, que se intuye fuerte entre los ciudadanos españoles aunque en decrecimiento en los últimos años.

We present a study about the national identity of the Spanish citizens. Throughout the use of official statistics data from CIS written in the last 20 years, we conclude that there are important differences between citizens who live in lands with their own language, like Catalonia and The Basque country, and the rest of the Spanish state. Almost 50% of the people in these two communities prefers some other political organization model, next to an independence state, in other words, a model like federation or a much more de-centralised country. The support to the current model of political organization is decreasing in the entire country, specially in Catalonia. As for the European feeling, Spanish citizens show a strength one, but it presents a decreasing tendency in the last few years.

3 hitz gako:
3 palabras claves:

SENTIMIENTO DE PERTENENCIA; MODELO DE ORGANIZACIÓN TERRITORIAL;
NACIONALIDADES DIVERSAS.
BELONGING FEELING, POLITICAL ORGANIZATION MODEL, DIFFERENT
NATIONALITIES.

El impacto de la Gran Recesión sobre las identidades en España: ¿nacionalismo o chovinismo del bienestar?

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Lan Taldea:
Grupo de
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Este trabajo presenta los primeros resultados exploratorios del proyecto PRY028/28 financiado por la FCEA. En él se ponen a prueba diferentes hipótesis derivadas de las teorías del nacionalismo del bienestar y del chovinismo del bienestar, que no han sido suficientemente probadas con datos empíricos.

Las hipótesis del trabajo son que: 1) los ciudadanos se sienten más vinculados con el nivel territorial de gobierno que percibe como responsable de su bienestar; 2) el deterioro del bienestar y el incremento de la desigualdad económica han debilitado la vinculación con el nivel territorial de gobierno que los ciudadanos perciben como responsables del deterioro en su bienestar o del incremento de la desigualdad.

Para comprobar estas hipótesis se han agrupado los datos de los tres barómetros regionales del CIS para 2005, 2010 y 2012, con muestras representativas cada año para cada una de las 17 CCAA (esto es un 10.000 a 11.000 casos por estudio). Además de las variables de percepción y atribución sobre el estado del bienestar de nivel individual que figuran en cada estudio, se han imputado variables objetivas para cada Comunidad en cada año (GINI, índice 80/20, riesgo de pobreza relativo, renta disponible por cápita, nivel de politización den eje centro-periferia, importancia del bienestar en la competición política para los partidos de cada Comunidad, etc.).

Los resultados de una primera exploración bi-variada son los que se presentan para su discusión y evaluación en este congreso. Estos resultados indican que, efectivamente, la percepción y atribución del bienestar a diferentes niveles territoriales de gobierno influye sobre la vinculación afectiva que los ciudadanos establecen con dicho niveles. Esta vinculación confirma hasta cierto punto las teorías del nacionalismo y del chovinismo del bienestar, con las salvedades que se señalarán.

This work presents our preliminary and exploratory results from the Project PRY028/28 sponsored by FCEA. Here we put to test different hypotheses related to the theories of welfare nationalism and welfare chauvinism, which have not been adequately proven with empirical data.

Our working hypotheses are: 1) citizens feel closer to the territorial level of government that they perceive, or hold responsible for their wellbeing; 2) welfare retreatment and increasing economic inequality have weakened the attachment with the level of territorial government that citizens perceive, or hold responsible for the deterioration of their wellbeing or the increase on inequality.

To test these hypotheses we have pooled the data from three CIS's regional barometers for the years 2005, 2010 and 2012, with representative simple each year for each of the 17 Spanish CCAA (that is 10,000 to 11,000 interviews per study). Besides the individual variables on perception and attribution of responsibility over welfare that are found in the barometers, we have included new objective variables for each Autonomous Community for each year within our pooled data base (GINI, 80/20 index, risk of poverty, disposable income, politicization of the center-periphery cleavage, politicization of welfare within political competition, etc.).

There is the bivariate exploration of these variables in relation to the Linz scale of national identity the results that are presented for discussion and evaluation in this congress. These results point that, in fact, the perception and attribution of welfare responsibilities to different territorial levels of government influences the

attachment that links citizens to those levels. This type of attachment backs to certain extent the idea of welfare nationalism and welfare chauvinism with the limitations that will be pointed out.

3 hitz gako:

Nacionalismo del bienestar, chovinismo del bienestar, identidad nacional

3 palabras claves:

Welfare nationalism, Welfare chauvinis, national identity

Alderdi *periferikoak* Hego Euskal Herrian: zertan oinarritzen da alderdi erregionalista eta abertzaleen arteko bereizketa?

Peripheral parties in the Southern Basque Country: on what is the distinction between regionalist and nationalist parties based?

- 1) Haritz Garmendia Iturria
- 2) Eguzki Urteaga

Lan Taldea:

Grupo de Trabajo:

Identidad, lengua y nacionalismo.

Euskara

Lan honetan, nazio auziaren inguruko eztabaida hizpide hartuta, Hego Euskal Herriko Alderdi sistemen gaineko berrirakurketa bat proposatzen da. Berrirakurketa hori burutzera bultzatu gaituen motiboa, alderdi periferikoen ideia bera eta bere baitan egiten den bereizketa da. Bereizketa horren arabera, alderdi periferikoak, *erregionalista* (adibidez, Unidad Alavesa) eta *nazionalista* (adibidez, EAJ edo Sortu) bezala bereizten dira. Horren aurrean, honako ondorio honetara iritsi gara: alderdi politikoak sailkatzerakoan erabiltzen diren irizpideak, nazioaren gaineko ideia jakin baten arabera dira. Gauzak horrela, zein da alderdi politikoak sailkatzerakoan gaur egun nagusitzen den nazioaren irudia? Erantzuna, hiritartasunean oinarritutako nazioaren gaineko perspektiba “ilustratu” Frantziar modernista da. Ondorioz, alderdi sistemaren sailkapena ere, perspektiba modernistari subordinatuta dago. Gure lanean, nazioaren gaineko bestelako irudi batean oinarrituz, perspektiba modernistak, nazio gutxituak dauden lurraldeetan, alderdi sistema sailkatzerako orduan dituen gabeziak mahai gainean jartzen dira. Era berean, nazioaren gaineko bestelako ideia batetik abiatuz, alderdi politikoen sailkapen alternatibo bat proposatzen da.

Helburu horiek erdiesteko, lau ataletan bereizten da lana. Hasteko eta behin, alderdi sistemen gaineko ikerketen hurbilpen bat egiten dugu. Horretarako, Lipset eta Rokkanen *Cleavage structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An introduction (1967)* lana hizpide hartuta, soziologian nagusi den *cleavageen* teoria aurkezten da. Bigarren zatian, NFEko eta EAEko alderdi sistema aztertzerakoan, hainbat autorek cleavageen teoria hori nola interpretatu duten aztertzen da. Alde horretatik, alderdiei ezartzen zaizkien “erregionalista” edota “nazionalista” kategoriak, nazioaren gaineko irudi “ilustratuaren” galbahetik pasatzen direla ikusten da. Hirugarrenik, bestelako nazio definizioak badaudela eta besteak bezain legítimoak direla azaltzen da. Ildo horretatik, hizkuntza oinarritzen den nazioaren gaineko definizio “kulturalago” bat aurkezten da. Nazioaren gaineko definizio “kulturalari” jarraiki, euskal kasuan, Txillardegi, Paulo eta Ibai Iztueta edota Joxe Azurmendi bezalako autoreek egindako proposamenak biltzen dira. Horrela, laugarren puntuan, autore horiek marraztu duten nazio definiziotik abiatuz, alderdi sistemaren gaineko sailkapen alternatibo bat proposatzen da.

Ingelesa:

This paper proposes a reinterpretation of the political party system in the Southern Basque Country, based on the debate regarding nationhood. The reason for the rereading is the notion of peripheral political parties and the distinction generally made within this category. According to this distinction, there are two types of peripheral political party: *regionalist* parties (e.g. Unidad Alavesa) and *nationalist* parties (e.g. EAJ-PNV and Sortu). This prompts the following conclusion: the criteria used to differentiate between political parties is one based on a specific idea of nationhood. This being the case, what is prevailing idea of nationhood that is used today to categorise political parties? The answer is the "enlightened" perspective based on citizenship, or in other words, the French modernist perspective. This means that the classification of the political party system is also subordinate to the modernist perspective. Based on an alternative idea of nationhood, our paper aims to highlight the shortcomings of the modernist perspective in relation to classifying the party system, particularly in regions with minoritised nations. It also aims to offer an alternative means of classifying political parties, based on a different notion of nationhood.

To achieve these aims, the paper is divided into four sections. The first section reviews some of the research carried out into the party system, focusing particularly on cleavage theory (a key theory in the field of sociology) as expounded by Lipset and Rokkan in *Cleavage structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An introduction (1967)*. The second section explores how some authors have interpreted cleavage theory in relation to the political party system in the Autonomous Communities of the Basque Country and Navarre, showing how the labels "regionalist" and "nationalist" stem from the "enlightened" view of nationhood. The third section explains how other, equally valid, definitions of nationhood exist, and presents a more "cultural" alternative based on language. Exploring this more "cultural" definition of nationhood further, and in relation to the Basque Country, this section also highlights the proposals made by authors such as Txillardegi, Paulo and Ibai Iztueta and Joxe Azurmendi. Finally, the fourth section proposes an alternative classification method for the political party system, based on the definition of nationhood developed by these authors.

3 hitz gako:

Alderdi sistema - nazioa - hizkuntza

3 palabras claves:

Party system - nation - language

¿QUIÉN VOTA A LOS PARTIDOS NACIONALISTAS EN ESPAÑA? UN ANÁLISIS DE LAS BASES ELECTORALES DE COALICIÓN CANARIA.

- 1) Ayoze Corujo Hernández (Primer autor)
- 2) Carlos Fernández Esquer
- 3) José Rama Caamaño

Lan Taldea:

Grupo de Trabajo:

Identidad, lengua y nacionalismo.

Resumen: España es un país en el que el *cleavage* nacionalista tiene una importancia fundamental para entender los sistemas de partidos y las dinámicas de competición electoral en algunas Comunidades Autónomas. Esta comunicación realiza un análisis de las bases electorales de los principales partidos nacionalistas en España y, concretamente, centra su interés en las bases electorales de Coalición Canaria (CC). Este partido, a pesar de su importancia en el nivel regional, ha recibido una escasa atención por la literatura académica. En este trabajo se confirma la idea de que CC es un partido capaz de movilizar a un electorado cuyas preferencias se inclinan por una forma de organización territorial más descentralizada que la actual. Sin embargo, el principal hallazgo consiste en que, a diferencia de lo que sucede en los principales partidos nacionalistas españoles, el sentimiento de identidad asociado a la Comunidad Autónoma no resulta un factor explicativo del voto a CC.

Abstract: Spain is a country in which the nationalist cleavage has a fundamental importance to understand the party systems and the dynamics of electoral competition in some Autonomous Communities. This communication analyzes the electoral bases of the main regional parties in Spain and, specifically, focuses on the electoral bases of the Canary Coalition (CC). This party, despite its importance at the regional level, has received little attention from academic literature. This paper confirms the idea that CC is a party able to mobilize an electorate whose preferences are in favor of a more decentralized form of territorial organization than the current one. However, the key finding is that, unlike what happens in the main Spanish regionalist parties, the identity associated with the Autonomous Community is not an explanatory factor of the vote to CC.

3 hitz gako:

3 palabras claves:

partidos nacionalistas; Coalición Canaria; cleavage centro-periferia.

regionalists parties; Canary Coalition ; cleavage; center-periphery.

Euskararen aldeko muda Bilbo Handiko unibertsitateko ikasleen artean: lehen hurbilpena

Mudas in favour of the Basque language by university students of the Great Bilbao: a first approach

- 1) Estibaliz Amorrortu Gómez
- 2) Jone Goirigolzarri Garaizar
- 3) Ane Ortega Etcheverry

Iñigo Beitia

Lan Taldea:

Grupo de Trabajo:

Identidad, lengua y nacionalismo.

Azken hamarkadetan euskarak 300.000 hiztun irabazi ditu, neurri handi batean, hezkuntzako murgiltze ereduak esker. Azken datuen arabera (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2017), EAEko 14 eta 24 urte bitarteko gazteen %67k euskara eskolan ikasi du. Aurreko ikerketa batean (Ortega eta beste, 2016) aditzera eman genuen eskolan euskalduntutako gazte askok euskararen aldeko muda (Pujolar eta González, 2012) egin eta euskararen hiztun aktibo bilakatzeko zailtasun handiak dituztela. Aurkezpen honetan eskolan euskaldundu eta gaztelania nagusi den testuinguruetan bizi diren gazteen muda prozesuetan sakondu nahi dugu, arreta unibertsitate esparruan jarriz. Nola bizi dute gazteek unibertsitate mailako euskararen aldeko muda prozesua eta zeintzuk faktore mesedegarri eta oztopotzaile identifikatzen dituzte prozesu hori burutzeko? Galdera horiei erantzuteko Deustuko Unibertsitateko eta Begoñako Andra Mari Irakasleen Unibertsitate Eskolako 23 ikaslerekin ikerketa ekintza partehartzaile (Greenwood & Levin, 2006) bat burutu da teknika etnografikoak erabiliz. Bertan gazteek hausnarketa soziolinguistikoko bateratu bat burutu dute beraien eta inguruko praktika linguistikoko behatuz eta muda prozesuak simulatuz eta esperimentatuz. Ikerketako datuek muda prozesuen konplexutasuna berretsi du, hizkuntza gutxituen kasuan bereziki, non faktore sozial, harremanezko zein banakakoarenak hizkuntza nagusiaren erabilera sustatzen duten. Era berean, muda prozesuak aztertzeke metodologia etnografikoaren egokitasuna agerian gelditu da, datu aberatsak eskaintzen dituelako eta hizkuntza praktikak modu zuzenean aztertzea ahalbidetzen duelako.

In the last decades, the number of Basque speakers has grown by 300.000 in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (BAC), largely due to the rising numbers of young people studying in immersion schools. According to the latest data (Basque Government 2016), 67% of Basque speakers between 16 and 24 years old have learnt Basque at school. In a previous research (Ortega et al., 2016), it was shown that many youngsters who have learnt Basque as a L2 face difficulties to do a *muda* (Pujolar & González, 2012) and become an active speaker of Basque, especially in Spanish-speaking sociolinguistic contexts. In this presentation we will tackle the *muda* processes of university students who learnt Basque at school and live in highly Spanish speaking areas. How do they experience a university *muda* in favour of the Basque language and which kind of factors make the process easier or difficult? To answer these questions, participatory action research-(Greenwood & Levin, 2006) and ethnographic methodologies have been used to study 23 students of Bilbao-based University of Deusto and Begoñako Andra Mari Teacher Training College. With the aim of exploring becoming more active in their use of Basque, the participants carried out two changes in their language practices; this was preceded by reflection on their use and values, and observation of their actual

practices. Preliminary results point out the complexity of the *muda* processes for the young, especially in the case of minority languages, where social, relational and individual factors favour the use of the majority language. Likewise, the ethnographical methodology has proved suitable for the study of *muda* processes since it provides very rich data and allows a direct analysis of linguistic practices

3 hitz gako:

Euskara, muda prozesua, gazteak, ikerketa ekintza partehartzailea

3 palabras claves:

Basque language, muda process, young people, participatory action research

Trikitixaren nazionalizazio prozesua 60-70eko euskal pizkundearen abaroan: euskal nazio identitatearen eraikuntza

The Trikitixa Nationalization Process in The Basque Renaissance of the 1960's and 1970's: The Construction of Basque National Identity

- 1) Haritz Garmendia Iturria
- 2) Joana Miguelena Torrado

Lan Taldea:
Grupo de
Trabajo:

Identidad, lengua y nacionalismo.

Komunikazioaren laburpena (euskara/gaztelaniaz eta ingelesez). 300 hitz.
Resumen en de la comunicación (castellano/euskera e inglés). 300 palabras.

Euskara

Lan honetan, *trikitixaren* nazionalizazio prozesuaren berrirakurketa bat proposatzen da. Berrirakurketa hori burutzerako orduan, honako galdera honi erantzuten saiatu gara: Zergatik eta nola igarotzen da trikitixa 1960-1970eko hamarkada bitartean "*inpernuko hauspoa*" izatetik, euskal nazio sinbolo izatera? Gure hipotesia honako hau da: trikitixaren nazionalizazio prozesua 1960ko hamarkadako abertzaletasun kulturalaren eskutik bideratzen da. Hipotesi hori, honako marko interpretatiboan kokatzen dugu.

Euskal abertzaletasunaren baitan nazio definizio ezberdinak formulatu izan dira, batzuk, hizkuntzan oinarritu izan dira, beste batzuk, berriz, abizenetan, hiritartasunean edota lurraldean. Garai historiko bakoitzean, nazioaren gaineko definizio jakin bat nagusitu izan da. Lehen hamarkadetan (1900-1950), Sabino Aranak formulatutako abertzaletasuna izan zen nagusi, eta ondorioz, nazioaren irudi hark, trikitixa, instrumentu atzerritar eta ezpuru gisa kategorizatzea ekarri zuen. Izan ere, trikitixak, txistuak ez bezala, ez zuen bat egiten Aranaren abertzaletasunak aldarrikatzen zuen nazio irudiarekin. Azken batean, kanpotik etorritako instrumentua zen eta ez zen elizaren begikoa. Beraz, nazio sinbolo gisa ez zuen balio. Alabaina, 1950tik aurrera, frankismo betean, lehen abertzaletasun hura ahuldu eta euskal komunitate linguistikoa zurkaizten zen abertzaletasun kulturalak hartzen du indarra. Abertzaletasun honek, nazioaren erdian euskal komunitate linguistikoa jartzen du. 1960tik aurrera, gainera, abertzaletasun kultural horren paralelo, ezkerreko abertzaletasun bat erretzen da (adibidez, ETAren nazionalismo iraultzailea). Korrante horiek guztiak, euskal iruditeria berri bat ekoitzi zuten, eta iruditeria kolektibo hori ekoizterakoan, trikitixa (ordezkutzen dituen ezaugarriengatik; hiritik etorria baina euskal menditarren artean errotua, euskal komunitate linguistikora mugatzen den instrumentua, harreman sozialetan askatzailea) nazio askapenaren sinbolo bihurtzen da.

Hipotesi hori frogatzeko, lau ataletan bereizten da lana. Hasteko eta behin, Hobsbawn eta Rangerren (2002 [1983]) *La invención de la tradición* lanean oinarrituko gara. Modu horretara, trikitixaren fenomeno *tradizio asmatuaren* perspektibatik aztertzeke tresna teorikoak aurkezten dira. Bigarren atalean, XX. mende hasierako mugimendu abertzalearen eta trikitixaren arteko lotura aztertzen da. Ildo berari jarraituz, hirugarren atalean, XX mendeko bigarren erditik aurrera indartzen den abertzaletasun kulturalak trikitixarekin duen lotura aztertzen da. Azken atalean, bi garaiekin arteko ezberdintasunak alderatu eta ondorioak aurkezten dira.

Hasierako galderari erantzunez, trikitixa euskal iruditeria nazional zehatz bat eraikitzeke nazionalizatu zela, eta prozesu hori, 60ko hamarkadan indartu zen abertzaletasun kulturalaren eskutik bideratu zela ondorioztatzen da.

Inglesa

In this paper, we propose a reinterpretation of the nationalization process of *trikitixa* (Basque accordion) music. At the end of this reinterpretation, we try to answer the following question: Just how is it that *trikitixa* music rumbled through the 1960s and 1970s to go from being a kind of "hellish bellows" to becoming a Basque national symbol? Our hypothesis is that the nationalization process of *trikitixa* music was driven by the cultural nationalism of the 1960's. This hypothesis is placed within an interpretative framework.

Within Basque nationalism, different national definitions have been formulated, some of which have been based on language while others have been based on surnames, on citizenship or on territory. In each historical period, a specific definition of the nation has prevailed. In the first few decades (1900-1950), nationalism as formulated by Sabino Arana was in the ascendant and, as a result, such a self-image of the nation tagged the *trikitixa* accordion as an outside, even impure instrument. In fact, the *trikitixa* accordion, unlike the *txistu* flute, did not go hand in hand with the national image that Arana's nationalism espoused. In short, it was an instrument from the outside and was hardly favoured by the church. Thus, it did not count as a national symbol. However, from 1950 onwards, in the very depths of Francoism, the earlier nationalism waned and the cultural nationalism that was propped up within the Basque language community gathered strength. This nationalism placed the Basque language community at the very center of the nation. From the 1960's onwards, moreover, in parallel with cultural nationalism, a kind of left-wing nationalism arose (e.g. ETA's revolutionary nationalism). All of these currents brought about a new kind of Basque imagery and, as a result of this collective imagery, the *trikitixa* accordion (on account of the characteristics that it represented, the fact it came from the city but was firmly rooted in the countryside, an instrument that was limited to the Basque language community, a liberator in social relations) became a symbol of national liberation.

In order to prove this hypothesis, this paper is divided into four sections. To start off, we shall base our work on Hobsbawn and Ranger's (2002 [1983]) *The Invention of Tradition*. In this way, the theoretical tools to analyze the phenomenon of *trikitixa* music from the perspective of invented tradition are presented. In the second section, the relationship between the nationalist movement at the turn of the 20th century and *trikitixa* music is analyzed. Following in the same vein, the third section analyzes the relationship between the cultural nationalism that gathered strength in the second half of the 20th century onward and *trikitixa* music. In the last section, the differences between both time periods are compared and the results thereof are presented. In order to answer the question asked at the beginning, *trikitixa* music was nationalized in order to construct a specific kind of national imagery whereby the process was led by the cultural nationalism that had gathered strength in the 1960's.

3 hitz gako:

Trikitixa – nazionalismoa – identitatea – tradizio asmatua

3 palabras claves:

Trikitixa music - nationalism - identity - invented tradition

Euskara Twitterren, zertaz eta zeinekin? – Euskarazko edukien analisia sare-sozialetan, gaiak identifikatuz eta harreman sareak erakutsiz.

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Identidad, lengua y nacionalismo.

Teknologia berriak geroz eta garrantzi handiagoa hartzen doazen garai honetan, harremantzeko moduetan ere eragina izaten ari dira. Geroz eta ohikoagoak bilakatzen ari dira sare sozialak, gizakion arteko harremantzeko moduei aukera berriak irekiz. Edonorekin, edozein momentutan, edozein tokitik konektatuta egoteko aukerak, harremantzeko modu hauen arrakastaren atzean daude, gazteen artean batez ere, eguneroko bizitzan normaltasunez txertatuz. Ikerketa soziala egiteko ere oso baliagarriak dira teknologia berri hauek, elkarrekintza sozialean oinarritutako datu kopuru haundiak eskuragarri daudelako modu publiko batean. Honez gain, euskara bezalako hizkuntza gutxitu batek garai berrietara moldatzeko daukan ahalmena ikusi nahi da lan honetan, sare-sozialetan daukan presentziaren bitartez. Honela, Twitter sare-sozialean euskal komunitatearen inguruko ikerketa burutu da, sare-sozialak informazio iturri garrantzitsu bat direla frogatuz. Era honetan, euskal txiolarien komunitatearen euskarazko 6 miloi txio baino gehiago lortu dira, ia 8000 erabiltzaile ezberdinetatik. Datu base erraldoi honetatik (Big Data), interpretagarria den informazioa ateratzea izango da asmoa, desegituratutako datu hauek ulergarri bihurtuz (Data Mining). Bi izango dira ikerketa honetan argitu nahiko diren inkognitak, euskaldunek zertaz hitz egiten duten eta norekin harremantzen diren. Alde batetik, euskal txiolariek ze gairen inguruan hitz egiten duten ezagutzea izango da lehendabiziko asmoa, komunitate honen gairik errepikatuenak zeintzuk diren argituz. Honetarako, lengoia naturalaren prozesamenduko teknikak (NLP) erabiliko dira, testuetatik informazioa ateratzeko. Beste aldetik, euskal txiolariek nola harremantzen diren ezagutzea izango da bigarren asmoa, egindako birtxioetan oinarrituta, komunitateak zehaztu eta hauetako pertsona garrantzitsuak identifikatuz.

In this era in which new technologies are more and more important, they are also affecting the way people interact. Social networks are more common every day, creating new ways of communicating between humans. Behind the success of such new ways, specially among young people who use them daily, there is the opportunity to connect to anyone, anytime, anywhere. They are also a usefull tool for social research, because there is a lot of public data available, based on social interaction. Appart from that, the aim of this research is to see the capacity to addapt to the new times of Basque, as a minor language, through the presence in social networks. This way, a research on the basque community of the social network Twitter has been carried out, proving that social networks are an important source of information. With that purpose there have been gathered over 6 million tweets from more than 8000 basque Twitter users. The intention is going to be to extract interpretable information from a huge data base (Big Data), making this unstructured information comprehensible (Data Mining). Two are going to be the questions that want to be cleared in this research, what do basque people talk about and who do they interact with. On the one hand, the first aim is going to be to get to know the topics about which basque Twitter users speak, clarifying what topics are repeated the most. In order to do that, Natural Language Processing (NLP) techniques are going to be used, in order to extract information from the texts. On the other hand, the second aim is going to be to learn what kind of relations do basque Twitter users have, based on the retweets they do, specifying the communities and selecting important people from those.

3 hitz gako:

Euskara, sare-sozialak, big-data

3 palabras claves:

Basque language, social networks, big data

ENTENDIENDO EL PASADO COMO UNA LUCHA ENTRE EL AVANCE Y

EL RETROCESO: Identidad, ideología y funciones anticipatorias de las representaciones sociales de historia en miembros de asociaciones de memoria histórica vizcaínas.

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Uno de los temas vigentes a debate en la esfera pública española, desde principios del siglo XXI, ha sido la denominada "memoria histórica". Este hecho social se podría definir como el debate sobre el pasado reciente del país y el efecto de este en la actualidad sociopolítica española. Los posicionamientos actuales frente a este fenómeno social se encuentran intrínsecamente asociados a diversos partidos políticos e ideologías. De esta manera, a día de hoy, nos encontramos frente a un fenómeno totalmente politizado; mientras que los partidos de la izquierda y partidos territorialistas defienden e intentan promover la recuperación de la memoria histórica, los partidos de la derecha intentan rehusarla, alegando que solo sirve para abrir "viejas heridas". Considerando el acto de recordar como una acción ejecutada en el presente, y dado a las características socio-políticas en las que está actualmente sumergida la interpretación del pasado reciente del país, el presente trabajo tiene como objetivo principal: conocer qué proyección de futuro construyen los miembros de asociaciones vecinales de memoria histórica vizcaínas, mediante sus representaciones sociales de la historia. Para complementar dicho análisis, a su vez, se analizará la identidad e ideología que construyen mediante estas representaciones sociales, conociendo así el receptor de esta proyección (identidad) y su justificación (ideología). Se ha elegido este colectivo debido a que Vizcaya fue un territorio que se opuso al bando sublevado durante la guerra civil, y posteriormente sufrió la represión franquista. Se realizarán 14 entrevistas narrativas a diferentes miembros de diversas asociaciones vecinales de memoria histórica teniendo en cuenta el género, la edad y la localidad de los participantes. Los resultados obtenidos por esta investigación arrojarán luz a la complejidad de este conflicto social, y aportará conocimiento para la posible resolución de esta. A su vez, se conseguirá dar voz a las personas que se preocupan por el pasado reciente.

One of the current topics in debate in the Spanish public sphere, since the beginning of the 21st century, has been the so-called "historical memory". This social fact could be defined as the debate about the recent past of the country and its effect on the current Spanish socio-political situation. Current positions on this social phenomenon are intrinsically associated with various political parties and ideologies. Nowadays, we are facing a totally politicized phenomenon; while the parties of the left and territorialist parties defend and try to promote the recovery of historical memory, the parties of the right try to refuse it, arguing that it only serves to open "old wounds". Considering the act of remembering as an action executed in the present, and given the socio-political characteristics in which the interpretation of the recent past of the country is currently submerged, the present work has as its main objective: to know what

future projection of the members of neighborhood associations of historical memory of Vizcaya, through their social representations of history. To complement this analysis, in turn, we will analyze the identity and ideology that they construct through these social representations, in order to clarify the receiver of this projection (identity) and its justification (ideology). This collective has been chosen because Vizcaya was a territory that opposed the rebellious side during the civil war, and later suffered Franco's repression. Fourteen narrative interviews will be made to different members of various neighborhood associations of historical memory taking into account the gender, age and location of the participants. The results obtained by this research will shed light on the complexity of this social conflict, and will provide knowledge for the possible resolution of this. At the same time, it will be possible to give a voice to people who care about the recent past.

3 hitz gako:

3 palabras claves:

representaciones sociales de la historia, memoria histórica española, proyección de futuro.

Social representations of history, Spanish historical memory, proyect to future

Navarrismo y la cultura popular: el caso de la jota navarra

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Identidad, lengua y nacionalismo.

Komunikazioaren laburpena (euskara/gaztelaniaz eta ingelesez). 300 hitz.
Resumen en de la comunicación (castellano/euskera e inglés). 300 palabras.

El navarrismo es una ideología identitaria que nace a finales del siglo XIX, en el contexto de los debates sobre la cuestión foral y que, después de la Guerra Civil, se convertirá en la cultura política hegemónica en Navarra hasta finales la década de los años sesenta. Su tesis fundamental es la siguiente. Navarra es una comunidad singular, dotada de un régimen jurídico propio pero dentro de España (una idea compartida con otras culturas políticas como el liberalismo o el socialismo) desde posiciones historicistas, un discurso jurídico como fundamento de un orden social y moral (Fueros) y el tradicionalismo como referente normativo. A lo largo de su existencia, el navarrismo intentó de crear una cultura popular *ad hoc*, resignificando costumbres populares o directamente inventando otras nuevas con dispar suerte. Un ejemplo lo tenemos en la jota navarra.

El objetivo de esta ponencia es analizar la obra de autores cuyos trabajos tuvieron una gran difusión en su momento en la sociedad navarra. Más concretamente, el estudio de los textos dedicados a la jota navarra nos permite identificar tanto los elementos fundamentales como las tensiones que se produjeron dentro de los círculos intelectuales, sociales y políticos navarristas en relación al proceso de configuración de “lo navarro”. En ese escenario está por un lado, la obra del jesuita Valeriano Ordoñez (la jota como la expresión popular que representa la esencia más pura y auténtica de Navarra) y por el otro, encontramos textos elaborados por escritores como José María Iribarren que, desde la literatura costumbrista o la etnografía, intentaron modernizar la iconosfera navarrista para adaptarla a los cambios sociales que vivió la sociedad navarra a partir de los años sesenta del pasado siglo.

Navarrismo is an identity ideology that was born in the late nineteenth century, in the context of debates on the question about the *Cuestión Foral* and that, after the Civil War, will become the hegemonic political culture in Navarra until the end of the sixties. His fundamental thesis is the following. Navarra is a unique community, endowed with its own legal system but within Spain (an idea shared with other political cultures such as liberalism or socialism) from historicist positions, a legal discourse as the foundation of a social and moral order (Fueros) and traditionalism as a normative frameworks. In this process, the *navarrismo* tried to create an *ad hoc* popular culture, reinterpreting popular customs or inventing new ones with different results. We have an example in the jota Navarra.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the work of authors whose works were widely disseminated at the time in Navarra. More specifically, the study of the texts dedicated to the *Jota Navarra* allows us to identify the fundamental elements and the tensions that occurred within the intellectual, social and political circles *navarristas* in relation to the process of configuration of “*lo navarro*”. In this scenario is on the one hand, the work of the Jesuit Valeriano Ordoñez (the jota as the popular expression that represents the purest and

most authentic essence of Navarra) and on the other hand, we find texts from authors such as José María Iribarren who, from the literature of custom and manners or ethnography, tried to modernize *navarrista's* iconsphere in order to adapt it to the social changes that Navarra experienced since the sixties of the last century.

3 hitz gako:

3 palabras claves:

Cultura popular, cultura política, Navarra

Autodeterminazioa VS erabakitze eskubidea. Zentro-periferia gatazka euskal lurraldeetan

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Laburpena:

Azken urteetan zentro-periferia ardatzak aldaketa sakona ari du izaten; logika nazional-esenzialistatik sakontze demokratikoaren logikara pasatzen ari da. Nazio-proiektuen konfrontaziotik proiektu demokratikoen konfrontaziorako aldaketa ematen ari da. Tartean, gutxi ikertutako fenomeno bat agertzen zaigu: erabakitze eskubidea; zeinarekin burujabetzaren aldeko eskakizunak paradigma nazionalistik demokratikaren paradigmatara igaro diren. Hortaz, subjektua naziotik demosaren borondate demokratikora pasa da.

Terminologia berri honen (erabakitze eskubidearen kontzeptuaren) jatorria ez dago batere argi: Euskal Herrian kokatu ohi bada ere, Katalunian gorpuztu da edukiaren aldetik. Alta, Quebeceko (1980ko eta 1995ko galdeketa zein *Clarity Act*) eta Kosovoko aurrekariak (bereziki, Nazioarteko Justizia Gortearen iritzi kontsultiboa Kosovoko aldebakarreko independentzia aitopenen aurrean) eduki teoriko handia eskaintzen dute kolonizazio prozesuetatik at ematen diren autodeterminazio prozesuei dagokienez.

Hainbat autoreren arabera autodeterminazio eskubidetik erabakitze eskubidera ematen den aldaketa diskurtsiboa baino ez da, mugimendu nazionalisten erabaki taktiko bat, alegia. Ikerketa honekin, eta euskal kasuaren azterketa eginez, ikusiko dugu nola paradigma aldaketa baten aurrean gauden, sakoneko ondorioak dituen bai lurraldetasunean, zein identitatean eta burujabetzaren kontzeptuan, hau da, nazionalismoaren inguruko ikasketen ardatz nagusietan.

Horrela, mugimendu nazionalista burujabetzaren aldeko mugimendu bilakatu eta eskari berriak zein gizarte mugimenduekin aliantzak errazten dira. Zentro-periferia ardatza nazio-gatazka irudikatzen, eremu sozialean garatzen diren bestelako gatazkak irudikatze baliagarri bilakatzen da, subalternitatearen teoretatik influentzia nabarmena jasoz.

Paradigma berri honek Lipsetek eta Rokkanek planteatutako "zentro-periferia" kontzeptua iraultzen du. Zentro-periferiaren azterketa politika zientziaren ikerkuntzaren erdigunean kokatu izan da; teoria feministatik zentro-periferia nazionalistik zentro-periferia sinbolikora igarotzen da: eremu sozialaren erdigunean kokatzen diren subjektu pribilegiatuetatik margenetan dauden subjektu subalternotara. Eraldaketa honek artikulazio berriak ahalbidetu ditu. Artikulazio hau, ordea, ez da eskakizun baten hegemonizaziotik ematen: erabakitze eskubideak ez ditu beste eskakizunak barnebiltzen. Beste eskakizun batzuekin batu egiten da "agenda erradikal" bat sortuz, demokratizazioari begira.

Nola eragiten du paradigmaren aldaketak gizarte mugimenduen artikulazioan? Nola txertatzen dira eskakizun ezberdinak demokraziaren erradikalizazioaren logikan? Zeintzuk dira balizko estrategiak? Hauek dira, finean, ikerketa honekin erantzun nahi ditugun galderak.

Abstract:

Lately the centre-peripheral cleavage is undergoing a deep transformation, from a national-essentialist logic to another based on democratic deepening. Nation-project crashes are being changed by crashes between democratic projects. Meanwhile, a not very researched phenomenon emerges: the right to decide, through which the demands for increased sovereignty has been based not on the national paradigm, but in the paradigm of radical democracy. Thus, the subject of the right has passed over to the democratic will.

The origin of this new terminology (the concept of the right to decide) is not very clear: even if it is usually located on the Basque Country, it is in Catalonia where the concept has been theoretically constructed. However, the precedents of Quebec (the referenda of 1980 and 1995 and the *Clarity Act*) and Kosovo (International Court of Justice's advisory opinion on Kosovo's declaration of independence, especially) offer great theoretical content to those processes of self-determination outside of situations of decolonisation.

There are those authors who argue that the change from self-determination to the right to decide is only a discursive one, a tactic decision of the nationalist movements. With this research, and analyzing the case of the Basque Country, we are going to see that we are in front of a paradigm change, which has deep consequences on territoriality, identity and the concept of sovereignty. That is to say that it has deep consequences on the main cleavages of the nationalism studies.

In such a context, the nationalist movements are becoming movements in favour of sovereignty, making easier the apition of new demands and alliances with social movements. Centre-peripheral cleavage passes from representing the national conflict to being useful for representing other kinds of conflicts that happen in the social field (being influenced by the theories of subalternity).

This new paradigm shakes up the centre-peripheral concept developed by Lipset and Rokkan. The centre-peripheral cleavage has been located in the center of the research on Political Science; with the feminist theories, that national centre-periphery evolves to a symbolic centre-periphery: from those privileged subjects located on the centre of the social field to the subaltern subjects located on the periphery. This transformation has allowed for new forms of articulation. This articulation, however, is not based on the process of turning a demand hegemonic: the right to decide does not embrace all the other demands. It joins with other demands creating a "radical agenda", seeking democratization.

How does the paradigm change affect on the articulation of the social movements? How are different demands incorporated in the logic of the deepening democracy? Which are the possible strategies? These are, in short, the questions that must be answered with this research

3 hitz gako:
3 palabras
claves:

Burujabetza; nazionalismoa; gizarte mugimenduak
Sovereignty; nationalism; social movements