

Panel 1: Narratives in National Identity

Raúl Moreno Almendral: “Self-narratives, Experience and Memory in Nation-building: a Research Framework Proposal for National Identities”

This paper outlines some of the theoretical and methodological problems I am dealing with while conducting my PhD research about national identities from an individual perspective. My main concern is how individuals craft their national identities and how the experience they have during their lives, in many cases traumatic, affect this identity building.

As “imagined communities” nations are the outcome of complex social processes full of contentious matters that have influence but at the same time get influence from nation building. Group, time and space are the three basic pillars on which nations are imagined. The problem is that the traditional social science problem of inducing social structural conclusions from aggregations of particular and fragmented data leads to biases and misleading conclusions in how groupality, time and space perceptions work for creating identity and otherness.

My goal is using self-narratives as historical sources for an individual agency-based approach to nation-building, in order to make a reassessment of social and personal factors with a nation-from-below methodology, as well as to see how apparently non-national conflicts canalize individuals’ perceptions of nation and condition what role the nation has in their lives. In the first part of my paper I would resume criticism on traditional approaches, which treat nations as historical actors and legitimate objects of historical research. In the second part, I would bring out some ideas about how we can go beyond the current stalemate in top-bottom frameworks, and how we can deal with the specific problems of self-narratives as sources, such as personal interest, memory issues and cognitive bias.

Raúl Moreno Almendral is a Modern History PhD candidate at the University of Salamanca, Spain. He holds a University Teacher Program pre-doctorate grant (FPU), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Education. His thesis research consists in a comparative study (Spanish-British-French-Portuguese) of national identity creation processes drawing on personal experiences during the Age of Revolutions, c. 1780 – 1830. He is also interested in the theoretical and methodological issues of identity and in transnational history. He has published some articles and book reviews in peer-reviewed journals.

Antoinette Williams-Tutt: “Toward the Self and the Other: An Examination of National Identity in Two Quintessential Québécois Road Novels”

The articulation of Québécois identity has been informed by many historic, linguistic social and cultural factors, and Québec’s struggle to assert its national identity in both a political and literary sense is always in the face of two overwhelming linguistic majorities (English and Franco-French) with their own imposing literary traditions and values. The French language has consistently been a marker of national, cultural and civic belonging within the province throughout its double French and British colonial past and present, and thus Québec’s literature is necessarily implicated in the province’s national identity construction. With increasing criticism surrounding world literature and la littérature monde, questioning literary and geographic separations will inform Québec’s position in a larger North American Anglo-phone and global Franco-phone context.

Volkswagen Blues (1984, Jacques Poulin) and *Chercher le vent* (2001, Guillaume Vigneault), written nearly twenty years apart, embody important changes happening within Québec as it has opened itself to modernity and self-affirmation after the political, social and economic change of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s and 70s, and its failed national referendums of 1980 and 1995. The road novel as a genre of simultaneous self-discovery and escapism that follows the American model made famous by Jack Kerouac, wherein the protagonists embark on cross-countries journeys from east to west, retracing the mythical American appropriation of manifest destiny to assert self-sovereignty, while also seeking familial and self-reconciliation, provides an excellent lens through which we can trace the micronationalism in Québec’s identity narrative.

Antoinette Williams-Tutt is a doctoral candidate at the City University of New York Graduate Center interested in the manifestation and representation of Québécois identities in language and literature, specifically regarding migration, expatriation and bilingualism in certain Québécois texts and their English translations and French republications.

Martin Baxmeyer: “The Eternal Spain of Anarchy. National Identity and Nationalist Utopia in the Anarchist Literature of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)”

The relation between *state* and *nation* is complex, and has been much discussed in recent studies on nationalism and national identity. Nationalist movements do not necessarily have to identify with one or several established (or historical) states. They may even fight against them and profess what we may call a *stateless nationalism*, based on the idea of a nation that crosses political boundaries and seemingly “transcends” any given political order. In most cases, however, such movements in the end wish to establish a new nation-state, in which the promises of their nationalist utopia can be fulfilled. Such cases are well known.

But can there be any nationalist movement that rises not only against established states but against the idea of states altogether? Can there be a political movement that wishes to abolish state authority as well as eradicate national boundaries, but nevertheless constructs a national identity in its literature which then becomes the very basis of a nationalist utopia? Can there be, in short, a radically *anti-state nationalism*? The answer is: yes, there can.

The anarchist literature of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) is still an undiscovered treasure of Spanish Literature. The paper will discuss its nationalist concept of Spain and analyze in detail its construction of a national identity. It will show the conflicts between political ideology and cultural practice in Spanish Anarchism during the Civil War, and finally situate the new material within the currents of actual theoretical research about nationalism, using mainly the concept of nations as ethno-symbolic phenomena developed by Anthony D. Smith.

Dr Martin Baxmeyer is Associate Professor for Spanish and Latin American Literature at the University of Münster (Germany). He is author of the study: “Das ewige Spanien der Anarchie. Die anarchistische Literatur des Bürgerkriegs (1936-1939) und ihr Spanienbild”, Berlin (Tranvia) 2012 and has published widely about anarchist history, culture and literature in Spain [most recently published: “Mother Spain, we love you!?. Nationalism and Racism in the Anarchist Literature of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)”, in: Bert Altena, Constance Bantman (ed.), *Reassessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies*, London, New York (Routledge) 2014].

Panel 2: Evolución y futuro del nacionalismo en España y Rusia

Iñaki Zabaleta Imaz: Nación, identidad y escuela en la perspectiva del nacionalismo vasco

La cuestión educativa ha sido y es fundamental desde la perspectiva del nacionalismo vasco en tanto la escuela –en manos del Estado– fue percibida, ya en sus orígenes, como un arma de dominación cuyo objetivo era la españolización de los niños vascos y, por lo tanto, la descomposición de la identidad nacional vasca y, con ella, la desaparición de la auténtica patria de los vascos: Euskadi.

En esta ponencia, tomando como punto de partida la estatalización de la enseñanza –eje vertebral de estos dos últimos siglos–, se pondrá de manifiesto la función de la escuela en el proceso de confluencia entre Estado y Nación, escenario donde los intentos por dar cuerpo a una identidad comunitaria fundamentada en la cultura y el idioma cobran una importancia fundamental. En ese sentido, posteriormente trataremos de precisar los planteamientos del nacionalismo vasco frente a la actividad política del Estado en el terreno educativo, así como a evidenciar la importancia que para el nacionalismo vasco ha tenido y tiene el control del sistema educativo desde la perspectiva de la construcción nacional, donde se pone de manifiesto la importancia del euskara u la cultura vasca.

Iñaki Zabaleta Imaz, Licenciado en Filosofía y Ciencias de la Educación y Doctor en Pedagogía, es Profesor Titular de Universidad en la Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea y miembro del Departamento de Teoría e Historia de la Educación de la misma. Desarrolla su tarea docente en la Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias de la Educación en Donostia (San Sebastián), concretamente en los grados de Pedagogía y Educación Social como profesor de las asignaturas de Historia de la Educación e Historia de la Educación en el País Vasco. También ha sido profesor en los programas de Doctorado de Pedagogía y en la actualidad imparte clases en el Máster Universitario de Investigación en ámbitos socioeducativos. Respecto a tareas de gestión, entre otras funciones, ha desempeñado el cargo de Director del Departamento de Teoría e Historia de la Educación, ha sido Decano de la Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias de la Educación y miembro del Consejo de Gobierno de la Universidad del País Vasco /Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea. Ha participado en diferentes proyectos de investigación financiados por diversas instituciones, entre otras Gobierno Vasco, Euskaltzaindia (Academia de la Lengua Vasca), Universidad del País Vasco /Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia y Ministerio de Investigación, Desarrollo e Innovación del Gobierno de España y Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency de la Comisión Europea. Ha publicado diferentes artículos y libros, algunos de los cuales se citan a continuación: *Euskal nazionalismoa eta hezkuntza (1895-1923)*; *Nazioa eta hezkuntza-sistema espainiarraren sorreran*; “Nazionalismoa eta Hezkuntza Euskal Herrian”; “Euskal alfabetatzea eta herri mugimendua autonomiaren atarian”, etc. Por otra parte, también ha publicado diferentes trabajos en colaboración con otros investigadores: “The Construction of the Basque Fatherland: Religion, Nationalism and Education (1895-1931)”; “La formación profesional en Álava/Araba, 1936-1975”; “Euskal erbesteratzea, generoa, eta hezkuntza”; “Hezkuntza-eskubidearen eremuko Europa mailako azterketa erkatua”; “Movimiento popular y resistencia frente al sistema educativo franquista: las Ikastolas”.

Carles Jovaní Gil: “El pensamiento geopolítico ruso y la crisis de Ucrania. ¿Veleidades neoimperiales o mera estrategia de supervivencia?”

La cultura imperial rusa es producto de una ambigüedad psicológica que se remonta a los tiempos premodernos de los zares. El pueblo ruso nunca desarrolló una identidad que pudiera contenerse dentro de los límites modernos del estado-nación, lo que justificaría que el discurso nacionalista esté plagado de referencias irredentistas que sitúan a Eurasia como espacio privativo de influencia. En el escenario de Posguerra Fría son múltiples las escuelas de pensamiento que se batan por ganar capacidad de influencia sobre la *nomenklatura* moscovita. Cada una de ellas responde a una cosmovisión con una serie de valores y representaciones espaciales de la nación particulares. La trascendencia de este debate no es baladí, puesto que de su desenlace depende el diseño de un programa de política exterior en el que el antiguo espacio soviético ocupa un lugar preponderante. Partiendo de esta premisa, el presente estudio se propone escrutar los fundamentos, evolución y atributos de las principales Corrientes contemporáneas de pensamiento geopolítico ruso, haciendo especial énfasis en la valoración de la gestión del Kremlin en el episodio de conflictividad que azota Ucrania desde noviembre de 2013. Como se observará, el nacionalismo euraisanista se ha consagrado como *leitmotiv* en el discurso político ruso, si bien la evaluación en perspectiva del caso ucraniano revela que Moscú no ha implementado una política expansionist arbitraria, sino antes bien un “expansionismo defensivo” acentuado por un sentimiento de inferioridad e “inseguridad geográfica” enraizado en lo más profundo de la psique rusa.

Carles Jovaní Gil es estudiante de doctorado de la Universidad de Valencia en Derechos Humanos, Democracia y Justicia Internacional.

María Isabel Menéndez-Menéndez: “Identidad, estereotipos y nación en el cine actual: el caso de *Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis* y *Ocho apellidos vascos*”

Bienvenue chez les Ch’tis (Dany Bloom, 2008) ha sido la película más taquillera de la historia del cine francés. *Ocho apellidos vascos* (Emilio Martínez Lázaro, 2014) lo ha sido en el cine español. Ambas películas utilizan el humor y la parodia para abordar genéricamente la identidad y la rivalidad entre territorios. Las cintas hacen humor con los mitos nacionalistas y el choque cultural desde una desarticulación de lo trascendente, a costa de amplificar la brecha entre dos identidades. Así, la otredad entra en conflicto para concluir que son más las cosas que unen que las que separan, de ahí que ambos filmes se construyan como comedias blancas a partir del enfrentamiento de prejuicios territoriales. La película francesa aborda la tensión entre la tradición y la renovación a través de una oda a la Amistad mientras la Española despolitiza temas complejos, como la cuestión nacionalista vasca, en tiempos que se suponen de reconciliación. La existencia de una ciudadanía europea parece quedar en entredicho cuando observamos que las películas de más éxito en España y Francia utilizan lo local como paradigma identitario. En efecto, el uso del humor fácil, la calidez emocional y la estereotipia permite que sean accesibles a públicos internacionales. Sin embargo, casi todo su discurso es esencialmente nacional, moviéndose desde parámetros estrictamente localistas que permiten el retrato de la distancia cultural, por ejemplo mediante los enredos lingüísticos que únicamente pueden ser comprendidos en su totalidad por quienes conocen los códigos regionales tanto de Andalucía y el País Vasco en el caso de la película española como la Francia del norte y del sur para la cinta francesa.

María Isabel Menéndez-Menéndez es Doctora en Filosofía en Periodismo y experta en Estudios de las Mujeres, Femenistas y de Género. En la actualidad es Coordinadora del Grado en Comunicación Audiovisual en la Universidad de Burgos. Como docente imparte formación relacionada con la publicidad, los mitos en la sociedad de masas y el patrimonio inmaterial. Ha publicado casi un centenar de artículos, monografías y capítulos en obras colectivas y pertenece a varios grupos de investigación y de innovación docente. Los resultados de sus investigaciones se han publicado en revistas científicas como *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*; *Communication & Society / Comunicación y Sociedad*; *Revista de sociología*; *L’atalante*; *Revista de estudios cinematográficos* o *Historia y Comunicación Social* entre otras.

Panel 3: Dealing with the Past (I)

Rodrigo Vaz: “Pacto del Olvido’: the Elephant in the Room”

Memory is essential to post-conflict politics. The way one country deals (or not) with the memory of a past conflict will necessarily inflect the current of policy-making in that country. That is due to the fact that the way one looks at the memory inevitably builds a narrative of what happened.

This paper deals with the politics of memory in Spain. I first engage with the literature on different approaches to remembering (or forgetting) harm in a post-conflict society. The paper then moves to its case study, the Spanish Civil War and the Francoist Republic. Historical events such as the regime’s repression of local autonomies, state-built narratives regarding the atrocities of the civil war, and especially how the democratic regime chose to deal with the crimes of the Franco regime are highlighted. It must be said that the heavy emphasis in history is intended: Spanish history is full of intricacies that must be addressed in order to understand how Spain deals with its memory of the conflict. The ‘pacto del olvido’, the commitment imposed by the Spanish political elites after the fall of Franco’s regime (and even after 1981) deserve particular attention. ‘Pacto del olvido’ seems to perfectly fit the purposes of an amnesty defined by Booth (2001).

The politics of memory in Spain are then seen in the light of the literature cited. The paper concludes that the ‘pacto del olvido’ is not the correct approach to deal with the violence of the past. Not only victims deserved more, the ‘forgetfulness’ played and arguably keeps being a burden in Spanish history.

Rodrigo Vaz is a recent graduate of Political Science and International Relations at the Institute for Political Studies of the Catholic University of Portugal. He has participated in the annual Think Tank of the European

Youth Parliament and from 2012 to 2014 served at the International Association for Political Science Students as its Head of the Academic Department and Editor-in-Chief of *Politikon*. His academic research interests focus mainly on political transitions, Contemporary African and European Politics and History.

Marcin Galent: “Public Funerals and their Role in the Creation and Negotiation of Polish National Identity”

At the end of the 19th century collective identity among the Polish nobility was strong enough to maintain its difference and integrity despite the fact that they lost their own state nearly one hundred years earlier. The failure of consecutive uprisings against Russia, Prussia and Austria made the nobility realize that without spreading a sense of national identification among the lower strata of inhabitants residing on native Polish lands, they would never be able to mobilize mass support to win back their state. Since they had no possibility of stirring national feelings either through official institutions or through the press – as both were controlled to a great extent strictly by the alien governments – this task had to have a mainly cultural character. The process of creation of the ‘imagined community’ consisted, among others, in organizing mass public rituals performed on a large scale.

The most spectacular ones took place in the city of Krakow, the former Polish capital, where most of the Polish kings had been crowned and buried. In order to create a perception of unity between former political structures, represented by the kings, and the distinctive homogenic culture of the subjects, various public funerals were organized. To the existing tombs of Polish kings were added new ones, those of popular heroes who represented the hopes of the Polish peasantry, as well as those of the greatest Polish artists. The creation of such necropolises gave the notion of Polishness a new meaning, broad enough to create a base for new social ties independent of class identifications.

The symbolic potential of the city was exploited in 2010 once again. When a funeral of the late Polish president Lech Kaczynski, who died in a plane crash, was organised a big part of the Polish population protested against manipulative intentions of this act. Two visions of national identity collided: open and inclusionary one on the one hand and closed and exclusionary on the other.

Marcin Galent is assistant professor at the Institute of European Studies at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. He holds a PhD in sociology from Jagiellonian University and teaches courses in sociology, social anthropology, social and cultural aspects of European enlargement, nationalism and ethnicity and other subject fields. He has held fellowships at numerous universities including University of Oxford, University of Leuven and University of Osaka.

Michael Humphrey and Estela Valverde: “The Missing, Reburial and Cultural Identity in Europe: Exhumation Movements in Spain and Bosnia Herzegovina”

What Michael Mann calls ‘the dark side of democracy’, the ubiquitous founding ethnic violence narratives, remain at the centre of new ethnic projects in the new Europe. The political community is imagined as brought into existence on the basis of the shared experience of struggle and sacrifice. But unlike the old national violence narratives based on military victory the new ethnic violence narratives are usually based on being victims of nation-state projects. By definition movements for secession are challenges to historical subordination and submission. Ethnic conflicts and aspirations for independence in Europe destabilize the founding national narrative by identifying different victims and different violent events as historically significant. Challenges to dominant national narratives involve the ritual of exhumations and reburials, in both metaphorical and material senses. This paper explores the recent exhumations and reburials of missing/forgotten/invisible victims in both Spain and Bosnia Herzegovina to contest the meaning of violent political projects and to establish new identities and political communities. It contrasts the way the exhumation movements initially framed by ‘the rights of the families of the victims’ and state responsibility to investigate past human rights violations committed during the Spanish Civil War and Franco’s dictatorship has fragmented and been taken up by regionalist political projects. In Bosnia and Herzegovina exhumation was at the forefront of the transitional justice project for the former Yugoslavia. In this case the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia put the victims at the centre of justice as the basis for state-building and reconciliation in a new multi-ethnic state. What do these exhumation movements

reveal about the contemporary nature of political community in Europe? Will the recognition of ethnic victimhood through human rights mechanisms produce new stable political communities? Are these movements merely historical expressions of, and vehicles for, the reconfiguration of European identities and governance?

Professor Michael Humphrey, University of Sydney, researches large-scale social change and the governability of social life. This has been strongly framed by the impact of globalization on the relationship and connections between societies in the North and South. Key themes in his research have included international migration, refugees, multiculturalism, community, the city, war, terrorism, law, human rights and transnational governance. The major areas of his research have been: ‘Islam in the West’ and ‘Political Violence and Social Healing’.

Associate Professor Estela Valverde is Head of the Department of International Studies and Head of Spanish and Latin American Studies at Macquarie University, Australia. Her career has centred around the development and implementation of Spanish and Latin American programs and interpreting and translation courses in different universities. The promotion of languages other than English in Australia has been one of her passions. That prompted her to direct three important governmental research projects and inspired her to fund the Language for Export Research Centre. She has promoted international academic exchanges and has herself been a Visiting Fellow in the Instituto de Historia y Pensamiento Argentino (Universidad Nacional de Tucumán, Argentina), the Escuela de Traducción at Universidad de Granada (Spain); the Centre for Lebanese Studies at Oxford University and the Leuven Institute of Criminology at the Leuven Catholic University. Her language acquisition research has focused on the development of innovative teaching materials which has recently focused on computer-assisted language acquisition and online learning. Her multidisciplinary research has centred around the exploration of issues related to history, memory and politics; ethnic, gender and national identities; social movements, transitional justice, re-democratisation and human rights.

Panel 4: Legal and Political Approaches to Contested Identities

Eneritz Zabaleta: “Territory and Identity: the Evolution of the Basque Institutional Claim in France”

Historically, the claim for a specific institution for the Basque lands of France (Lapurdi, Behe Nafarroa, Zuberoa) has often been analysed as an exclusively identity based claim. Even if some social and economic actors such as the *Chambre de commerce et d'Industrie* of Bayonne took a stand to demand for an institution based on economic arguments since the XIXth century, it is true that during a long time, the institutional claim was brought by Basque nationalist movements. These movements proposed very diverse institutional proposals, often highly disconnected from the unitary form of the French State.

The evolution of the territorial organisation of the French State in the 1980's contributed to the evolution of the Basque institutional claim. The first major step was made in conjunction with the François Mitterrand's presidential promise to create a Basque department (*département*). In the continuity of the broken promise, a large social and political movement regained the claim, contributing to change the institutional claim from an identity based one to a territorial demand.

This evolution has known an important development with the current territorial reform in France. Since 2011 a major debate is in progress, which resulted in a large demand for a “specific collectivity” for the Basque country (*Collectivité territoriale à statut particulier - CTSP*). The pluralism of the actors asking for this CTSP and the process that originated it show the evolution from an identity based to a territory based claim.

Indeed, the claim for a specific Basque “collectivity” resulted from a vast prospective work initiated by social, cultural and economic actors of the territory. This work gathered a large political support, from the Basque nationalist parties to the French classical Republican parties. This paper offers an analysis of the evolution of this claim, putting it in the perspective of the current French territorial reform introduced by the reform of the law *Notre* currently in debate at the French Parliament (adoption expected in June 2015).

Eneritz Zabaleta is currently a Ph.D. student in public law in the *Université de Pau et des pays de l'Adour*. His subject is the legal status of the Basque language in comparative law (France and Spain).

Johana Echezarraga Aldamiz-Echebarria: “The Accommodation of Secessionist Movements in the European Union: A Legal and Political Approach”

Nationalist movements pursuing secession or self-determination within the European Union (EU) have been brought back to the public debate with the referendum calls from Scotland and Catalonia. These nations have requested higher levels of sovereignty “within Europe”, showing they are determined to remain in the EU and feel encouraged by the belief that democratic Europe is supportive of the regions. Hence, today these once considered domestic conflicts cannot be understood without their European dimension.

Consequently, this paper will comparatively examine the legal and political aspects of the EU’s membership impact on the right to secede from a liberal state, looking at the possible solutions opened in the EU arena for claims originated within its borders. In particular, this paper will look at whether EU enables or dismisses secession from a Member State, and thus clarify, if an accession process should be started from scratch as per external enlargements, or whether an eventual ‘internal enlargement’ is possible and subsequently the EU should have a role regarding the accommodation of secessionist movements.

For these purposes, it will be explored what are the European constitutional issues and political variables that shape the constitutional interpretations of the EU legal system. It will aim to provide a more accurate expression of the consequences of secession, for which emerging meanings of the subsidiarity principle and EU citizenship will be explored.

Ultimately, it will comprise a general EU level reflection on the consequences of secession and the possibilities opened in the European arena to better accommodate minority nations with self-government desires.

Johana Echezarraga Aldamiz-Echebarria is a PhD candidate in the University of Liverpool.

Iñigo Urrutia and Iñaki Lasagabaster: “The Democratic Principle, Secession and Self-Determination in the Practice of International Law: Lessons Learned”

To date unilateral secession has been a widely debated category by the international community. The most recent rulings of the International Court of Justice and the democratic processes seeking for the independence in some regions inside the European Union as Scotland, Catalonia or the Basque Country present us a new scenario and new challenges to the international and EU law. In the Kosovo Advisory Opinion the International Court of Justice turned its answer on the legality of the declaration of independence of Kosovo on whether or not international law prohibits declarations of independence, without ever examining whether an entity seeking secession is entitled with a positive right to secede and if so, under which circumstances. If there is no prohibition of secession in international law and the respect for the territorial integrity is a binding principle only for states, how does the principle of self-determination operate? The basic issue can be summarized as whether or not we are facing a new course in the interpretation of certain classical categories of international law: the principle of territorial integrity, statehood, sovereignty, recognition and the right to self-determination. In this paper the presenters will deal with both the formal and the material challenges the Basque political community faces in its path towards sovereignty, thereby including a summary of the state of the art of secession in International Law paying particular attention to the scope of the principle of territorial integrity, as well as a proposal, based on the Spanish constitutional Law and on the Basque legislative powers tending towards organizing a public consultation in order to decide the political future of the Basque people and its relations with the Spanish State that would serve also to consolidate the Basque democracy.

Iñigo Urrutia, graduated in Law in 1989 from the University of Deusto, Bilbao, Master on Public Law in 1998, and Ph Doctor in Law, with honors in 2004 by the University of the Basque Country, awarded Magna Cum Laude and Extraordinary prize 2004. Since 1998 he has been appointed associate professor of Administrative Law at the University of the Basque Country and in 2011 also Secretary General of the Campus of Biscay of the University of the Basque Country, a position that he still holds today. Author of nine books, one of which has been published by the Council of Europe, and over fifty articles on Fundamental Rights, Constitutional and Administrative law, EU Law, Cultural and Linguistic Diversity, International, European and domestic standards of protection of minorities and languages; accommodation of ethnic and linguistic diversity and self-determination and secession. With regard to the subject of the paper he has published the article entitled "Territorial Integrity and Self-Determination: The Approach of the International Court of Justice in the Advisory Opinion on Kosovo" in *Revista d'Estudis Autònomic i Federals* No 16, 2012, also the chapter entitled "Derecho de autodeterminación y creación de nuevos Estados europeos a partir de la Opinión Consultiva de la Corte Internacional de Justicia sobre Kosovo" in the book *Forum Dret a Decidir* edited by the Institute for Autonomic Studies (Institut d'Estudis Autònomic), Barcelona, 2014.

Iñaki Lasagabaster, professor of Administrative Law at the University of the Basque Country is the Director of the Department of Administrative Law, Constitutional Law and Philosophy of the Law of the University of the Basque Country at the Campus of Biscay. His areas of special competence are Fundamental Rights, Constitutional Law, Environmental Law and Public Policies. He is the editor of the article-by-article Commentary on the European Convention of Human Rights published by Aranzadi-Thomson Reuters, and over a hundred of articles on different legal topics.

Panel 5: La Cuestión Nacional en la Transición Española

Gema Pérez Herrera: "Los significados del término 'nacionalidades' en los actores políticos de la transición española"

Durante el debate constitucional y las negociaciones que precedieron a la Constitución de 1978 en España, la redacción del artículo 2 (en el que se garantizaba el derecho a la autonomía de las nacionalidades y regiones de España) así como el título VIII (que configuraba la nueva organización territorial de España), ocasionaron un encendido debate sobre la identidad de la nación española y sus nacionalidades. Gran parte del debate se polarizó en torno al término nacionalidades, sobre la conveniencia o no de uso, así como a las implicaciones que tenía a la hora de comprender el futuro sistema de organización autonómica. Lo cierto es que los distintos actores políticos del momento empleaban los términos nación, nacionalidades y regiones autonómicas con significados diferentes.

Presentamos las evidencias de esos significados en tres de su principales actores: los nacionalistas catalanes, los nacionalistas vascos y los políticos de Unión de Centro Democrático, el entonces partido en el Gobierno de España, especialmente nos centraremos en el ponente constitucional de UCD, José Pedro Pérez-Llorca, que después sería Ministro de Presidencia durante la negociación de los Estatutos de autonomía del País Vasco y Cataluña (verano de 1979).

Nos apoyamos en documentación original, en su mayor parte inédita, para esclarecer un asunto ya tratado por la historiografía y que sigue siendo motivo de debate, tanto histórico como político, en nuestros días.

Gema Pérez Herrera (Ourense 1988), Licenciada en Historia y Periodismo (2012) por la Universidad de Navarra donde actualmente esta cursando estudios de doctorado en Historia Política de la Transición Española. El tema de su tesis, dirigida por el Catedrático de Historia Contemporánea Pablo Pérez López, es la Trayectoria Política de José Pedro Pérez-Llorca, ponente Constitucional en 1978 y Ministro en varios gobiernos de UCD, partido que lideró la Transición a la democracia en España. Pertenezca al Grupo de Investigación en Historia Reciente de la Universidad (<http://www.unav.edu/web/facultad-de-filosofia-y->

[letras/gihre](#)), en el que colabora en las líneas de investigación de Transición Española, Estudios sobre la Mujer y Cine e Historia.

Virginia Martín Jiménez and Itziar Reguero Sanz: “Una España plural y europea: la conformación de una nueva identidad nacional a través de la televisión (1976-1979)”

La presente comunicación busca analizar cómo desde la *pequeña pantalla* se trató de conformar una nueva identidad nacional de la España en Transición a la democracia durante los denominados años del consenso (1976-1979). Un nuevo concepto de nación, entendida como plural y europea, alejada del imaginario franquista y cuya construcción y sedimentación pasaba por difundir a través de la televisión esa nueva imagen de una cambiante España democrática.

Televisión Española (TVE), en el periodo democratizador, tuvo una gran importancia histórica y social. Estudios científicos previos consideran que fue una herramienta determinante en el desarrollo del cambio democrático en España y en la consecución de la socialización del mismo, tesis cimentada en varias razones: la televisión era un medio de comunicación que estaba en pleno crecimiento y contaba cada vez con una audiencia más elevada; por otra parte, gozaba del monopolio a nivel nacional en su ámbito mediático y se trataba de una televisión pública, al servicio del Estado.

Partiendo de la relevancia de este medio, el objetivo principal de este trabajo es estudiar el discurso que elaboró Televisión Española con el fin de promover una identidad nacional al margen de la dominante durante los casi cuarenta años de régimen franquista, donde primaba un riguroso centralismo y una tendencia al aislamiento. Para llevar a cabo esta investigación se ha analizado el programa *Informe Semanal*, el espacio más longevo de la historia de televisión en España: comenzó en 1973 y sigue vigente en nuestros días. En concreto, aquellas emisiones que giraron en torno a la cuestión nacional/regional y europea.

Virginia Martín Jiménez es Doctora por la Universidad de Valladolid (UVa_España) con Doctorado Europeo y Premio Extraordinario de Doctorado. Asimismo, es Licenciada en Historia, Periodismo - en ambos casos por la UVa - y Ciencias Políticas y Sociología por la UNED. Es profesora de Periodismo en la Universidad de Valladolid y forma parte del equipo docente del Máster en Investigación de la Comunicación como Agente Histórico-Social (UVa). Sus investigaciones se centran en los siguientes campos de estudio: Opinión Pública y Comunicación política, Medios de comunicación y creación de identidades e Historia y medios de comunicación. Sus trabajos han sido recogidos en revistas indexadas de impacto como *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, *International Journal of Iberian Studies*, *Estudios del Mensaje periodístico* o *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social* y es autora de la obra *Televisión Española y la Transición democrática: la comunicación política del Cambio* (2013).

Itziar Reguero Sanz es Investigadora Predoctoral del Departamento de Historia Moderna, Contemporánea, de América, Periodismo, Comunicación Audiovisual y Publicidad de la Universidad de Valladolid (España_UVa). Tiene formación universitaria en Periodismo y es Premio Extraordinario en el Máster en Investigación de la Comunicación como Agente Histórico Social, ambas titulaciones obtenidas en la UVa. Desde 2014, la doctoranda cuenta con una Beca de Formación del Personal Universitario concedida por el MECD para la realización de su Tesis Doctoral, dirigida por el Dr. José Vidal Pelaz López y la Dra. Virginia Martín Jiménez, cuya temática es la opinión pública española ante el proceso autonómico que se llevó a cabo entre 1977 y 1983. A su vez, Reguero es miembro del Proyecto de Innovación Docente, coordinado por la Dra. Martín Jiménez, “Enseñanza en Igualdad e Inclusión de Género”. Sus líneas de investigación se centran en la Historia de los medios de comunicación, el papel de los *mass media* en la formación del Estado Autonómico en la Transición y las relaciones de poder se establecen entre políticos y medios, así como su posterior influencia en la sociedad.

Leyre Arrieta Alberdi: “Reivindicación de derechos históricos y autogobierno: El PNV en la Transición Española (1975-1980)”

El objetivo de esta comunicación es presentar el análisis del discurso político elaborado por el Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV, corriente moderada del nacionalismo vasco) en los años de la Transición española (1975-1980). Dicho discurso demandaba al gobierno español la reparación de los derechos históricos del pueblo vasco, que se consideraba habían sido usurpados en el pasado. Esa reivindicación de un pasado de “autogobierno” y de relaciones cordiales con España, permitía al PNV, por un lado, reforzar el sentimiento identitario del pueblo vasco y, por otro, justificar su participación en la nueva etapa democrática, que se abría en España tras cuarenta años de dictadura.

El PNV reescribió la crónica histórica del pueblo vasco con el objetivo de explicar la existencia, desde tiempos inmemoriales, de una identidad propia y distinta a la española, y de una alto grado de soberanía respecto a España. En otras palabras, en aquel momento de cambio y de oportunidad que suponía la apertura democrática, era necesario “recuperar” la historia de ese pueblo milenario y actualizarla. Dicha narrativa dotaba de continuidad al discurso del PNV y, consecuentemente, legitimaba su proyecto político: la consecución del autogobierno.

Para abordar esta problemática, además de la abundante bibliografía especializada sobre el nacionalismo vasco moderado, se ha recurrido a los planteamientos programáticos y a la propaganda electoral del PNV, así como a la prensa de esos cinco años.

Leyre Arrieta Alberdi es Doctora en Historia Contemporánea y profesora titular de Historia Contemporánea en la Universidad de Deusto. Ha investigado temas relacionados con nacionalismo vasco, exilio y europeísmo, con la historia de medios de comunicación, y con símbolos del nacionalismo vasco. Es autora –sola o en colaboración– de más de una decena de libros, entre los que destacan *Diputación y Modernización. Gipuzkoa 1940-1975* (2003), *Ekinez egina. La política educativa a través de sus textos* (2005), *Estación Europa. La política europeísta del PNV en el exilio (1945-1977)* (2007), *La historia de Radio Euskadi (Guerra, Resistencia, Exilio, Democracia)* (2009), *Fondo Gobierno de Euzkadi (1936-1979): Historia y Contenido* (2011) y *Diccionario ilustrado de símbolos del nacionalismo vasco* (2012). Asimismo, ha publicado numerosos artículos relativos principalmente a Europa y al exilio vasco. Ha participado en numerosos congresos nacionales e internacionales y ha sido miembro de comités científicos y organizadores de varios congresos internacionales. Desde 2008 participa en proyectos de investigación liderados por profesores de la EHU/UPV en la que colaboran también investigadores de otras universidades españolas e internacionales.

Panel 6: Non-violent Separatism

Emmanuel Dalle Mulle: “Rise of Separatism or Successful Separatist Parties?”

This paper aims at questioning the view, widespread in academic and non-academic circles, that separatism in Western Europe has been on the rise in recent decades. Using data concerning three European regions in which separatist parties have recently been very successful electorally – Catalonia, Flanders and Scotland – it shows that only in the first one this has gone along with a radicalization of people’s demands for independence and, event there, this is a very recent trend, tracing back to the 2009-2010 period. It thus argues that separatism, meant as popular demand for full external self-determination among a range of constitutional options, should be kept distinguished from the electoral success of separatist parties. It further suggests that to explain the success of separatist parties when there is no substantial popular radicalisation, one has to look at the specific strategies pursued by these parties. It eventually identifies two major strategies pursued by separatist movements across the three regions: the use of an instrumental argument for independence, whereby this is seen as a means to improve welfare and democracy rather than an end in itself; and a gradualist approach, according to which independence is not an event, but a process that can be achieved in stages through an ever greater devolution of powers.

Emmanuel Dalle Mulle is a PhD candidate in International History and Politics at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, where he is working on a thesis entitled ‘The Nationalism of the Rich: Discourses and Strategies of Separatist Parties in Padania, Catalonia, Scotland and Flanders’. He has held visiting research positions at the Vrije Universiteit Brussels, the London School of Economics and Boston University.

Erik Vanderheyden: “Ethical Nationalism: Public Policy and National Identity in Nationalist Discourse in Catalonia, Scotland and Flanders”

This study explores the shift from traditional sub-state nationalism based on concerns over language, culture and representation to a form of *ethical nationalism* which focuses on preferences concerning the provision of collective public and social goods. The concept of ethical nationalism is based on the notion that the nation and its identity are under threat because the national unit lacks the political power to implement the population’s ideas on what they owe their co-nationals. These ethical considerations on rights and responsibilities can be seen as informing people’s views on issues such as social welfare, education, health care and taxation. After all, the fact that traditional national concerns over language, culture and representation have mostly been assuaged by constitutional reform begs the question, what elements of their national identity today’s nationalists claim to be under threat? Or in Gellnerian terms, which elements of the national unit do sub-state nationalist parties claim to be insufficiently congruent with the political unit? This study will analyse nationalist discourse based primarily on election manifestos of nationalist parties in Catalonia, Scotland and Flanders with the aim of gauging the presence of nationalist arguments based on the ethical distinctiveness of the nation linked to specific policy preferences and requirements.

Erik Vanderheyden hails from Flanders in Belgium and holds a BA from the Catholic University of Leuven and an MA in International Relations from National Chengchi University in Taipei. His is currently writing his PhD on nationalist discourse in Catalonia, Scotland and Flanders at the University of Leipzig’s Graduate School for Global and Area Studies (in Germany). An earlier version of the article in question has been submitted to the NTU Political Science Review.

Carsten Humlebæk: “Nation-building or Nation-demolition? Territorial and Political Constructions of Regional and National Identities in Spain since 1978”

The preferences regarding the territorial organization of the State are changing these years in Spain and so are the accompanying discourses of legitimacy. A majority of Catalans now regards Catalonia to be a nation and a majority of them would prefer that nation to be independent even though this obviously collides with the current constitutional set-up. But this was not the case in 1979 when Catalan politicians elaborated the first Autonomy Statute and the inhabitants of Catalonia voted it, but why is that so and exactly how did this change come about? How were the claims legitimized vis-à-vis the population to make it adhere to the new preferences? Which arguments were used? These years the tensions caused by this kind of changes are spearheaded by Catalonia, but many Basque nationalists have an equally troubled relationship with the Spanish nation and the changes in identification patterns and legitimacy claims related to sovereignty are not even limited to those two regions.

This study pretends to investigate precisely this intersection between politics and collective identities studying how these changes of preferences and identification patterns were legitimized through arguments by political elites and how these discourses changed over time. The paper is part of a larger EU-financed research project that will investigate these dynamics in a representative selection of Spanish regions, but in the paper I shall concentrate on the development in the Valencian region. The disputed Catalan reform process of 2005-06 has already been the object of extensive analysis that will constitute a point of comparison with the Valencian case, which is interesting precisely for its complex relationship with Catalan nationalism. How did the Valencian political elites relate to this tension over time and how did they argue for their claims? Which kind of collective identity did they defend and did the position change over time from reform wave to reform wave?

The parliamentary debates directly related to territorial and identitarian questions will be analyzed through the application of codification protocol of the discourses. Using the political parties as the fundamental independent variable the paper will concentrate on the definitions of the identities in the present both at regional and state-level,

the future identity-related demands and the arguments used to legitimize these positions as the fundamental dependent variables. Furthermore, the development over time between the original Statute and the latest reforms of these dynamics will be an important dimension. The paper will present the Valencian case in its context of the tension between Catalan demands for asymmetrical settlements and the general demands of symmetrization and will show that the dynamics involved in these processes of change are very complex.

Carsten Humlebæk is Associate Professor of Spanish Cultural and Social Analysis in the Department of International Business Communication at the Copenhagen Business School, Denmark. He is particularly interested in the discourse on the Spanish nation since Franco and how it has changed over time and in politics of memory in Spain in the 20th century. His theoretical research focus is thus on history of memory, theories of nationalism, theories of (collective) memory, and theories of culture. On the empirical level my interests focus on Spanish nationalism, Spanish contemporary history, political, economic and social issues in contemporary Spain, and Spain's relationship with the rest of Europe and the rest of the world.

Panel 7: Violence, Ethnicity, and Migration

Hussein Solomon: “Exploring the Nexus between Terrorism, Identity and Insurgency in Africa”

The terrorist threat is growing on the African continent with an estimated three terrorist attacks per day. At the same time current counter-terrorism approaches are not working since they simply see the emergence of Boko Haram in Nigeria, Ansar Dine in Mali and Al Shabaab in Somalia as part of a wider global jihad. What this paper argues is that these movements are primarily driven by local considerations regarding their respective ethnic identity and the need to create their own homeland. The paper will demonstrate that Boko Haram is primarily a Hausa-Fulani movement seeking to restore the borders of the old Songhai Empire. In the case of Ansar Dine in Mali, it remains primarily an ethnic Tuareg movement seeking to establish a Tuareg homeland – Azawad. In Somalia, Rahanweyn clan fighters comprise 70 percent of the Al Shabaab militant movement. What is driving each of these movements is the sense of economic and political marginalization of the Hausa-Fulani, the Tuareg and the Rahanweyn respectively. Until counter-terrorism strategies is informed by these considerations of identity and the politics concerned engage in more inclusive concepts of citizenship, violence will continue to plague these countries.

Professor Hussein Solomon is a Senior Professor in the Department of Political Science. His research takes him to all corners of the world. These interests include conflict and conflict resolution in Africa, South African Foreign Policy, international relations theory, religious fundamentalism and population movements in the developing world. But, he also sits on the board of trustees of All Africa Women for Peace, and is a captain in the Reserve Force of the South African Air Force. He served in many high-profile positions in organisations, universities and institutions in South Africa and abroad. Currently he is a visiting fellow at the MacKinder Programme for the Study of Long-Wave Events at the London School of Economics and Political Science; deputy chair of the Pugwash Conferences on Science in World Affairs (South African chapter); member of the security council of the Gerson Lehrman group of companies; on the international steering committee of Global Action to Prevent War; research associate of the Centre for Defence Studies, University of Zimbabwe; and a research associate of the SA Institute for International Affairs.

Abdoulaye Gueye: “Race and National Identity: When Black Citizens Test the French Nationhood”

The hegemonic premise of the abstract citizen that has long marked the French nation is facing a significant challenge. To the great displeasure of lawmakers and intellectuals, black French organizations are promoting the idea of a plural citizen rooted in the French nation yet retaining a racial/ethnic identity: hence, their claim for a national census including race and ethnicity as variables.

This paper's main goal is to assay the extent of the contribution of black French organizations to the emergence of an alternative tale of nationhood, and pinpoint the endogenous factors and political developments feeding their tale. The paper's theoretical framework binds two key propositions: the degeneration of French nationality, and the transformation within the black French citizenry. It argues that:

a) The French Revolution's premise of an abstract citizen is being superseded by the organic conception of nationality championed by a (far) right-wing ideology pervading both policies and intellectual narratives, and weakening the *jus soli* principle. However, a liberal ideal is also being ushered in as the European Union expands and promotes its race directive and minority languages charter via a conceptualization of the national as phenotypically embodied and culturally multi-positioned.

b) The intellectualization of black French readies them to decipher, and build upon, the assault on the Revolution's tale of nationhood and its foundational premise of an abstract citizen, seen by blacks as concealing the racial specificity of their own disadvantages in an ailing society.

Abdoulaye Gueye is full professor at the School of sociological and anthropological studies at the University of Ottawa. He is the author of two books, and more than 50 articles and book chapters, as well as the editor of three volumes. His works have appeared in journals including *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East*, *DuBois Review*, *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, *Esprit*, and *The British Journal of Canadian Studies*.

Wan-Ying Yang: "Are Taiwan Nationalists against Chinese Immigrants?"

In Taiwan, nationalism disputes stem from Taiwan's complicated historical and political relationship with China. Nationalism as the critical political cleavage in Taiwan is like a tug of war across the Taiwan Strait. This study presents a contextualized analysis of Taiwan's national-identity issues. I will first review the historical developments of two types of nationalism in Taiwan, Taiwanese nationalism (pro-independence) versus Chinese nationalism (pro-unification), and discuss their implications as they surfaced at different times. I focus particularly on revealing the contexts and the conditions under which current nationalism is constructed in Taiwan, arguing that national identity is presented in various forms based upon different Taiwan-China relationships.

Next, I will deliberate on how different types of nationalism discourse developed in Taiwan are closely associated with varied attitudes toward Chinese migrants in Taiwan. Chinese spouses as migrant groups in Taiwan challenge the core ethnic composition and the borderline of national community in Taiwan. Past studies indicated that Taiwan nationalists were often associated with negative attitudes toward Chinese migrants. This study, however, argues that even for the strongest Taiwan identifiers, their attitudes toward Chinese migrants are deeply affected by their perceptions of who is qualified to be the nation members and what constituted the substances of their national identities. For those who tend to stress the ethnic, historical and culture substances of their national identity, they are more likely to oppose Chinese migrants. By contrast, for those who tend to stress the civic, political, and institutional contents of their national identity, they are more likely to hold tolerant attitudes toward Chinese migrants. This study will apply the Taiwan Social Change Survey: National Identity Module 2013 dataset, to further classify the types of nationalists based on people's identified subjects and contents and explore the relationship between Taiwan nationalism and anti-Chinese-migrants. In short, I intend to show that Taiwanese nationalists are not always hostile to Chinese migrants, whereas Chinese nationalists are not always accommodating to Chinese migrants.

Professor Wan-Ying Yang is currently the Chair of the Department of Political Science in the National Chengchi University, Taiwan. Major in identity and gender politics, democratization theory and comparative politics. Writing many articles on the subjects of identity and gender politics published in Taiwan's indexed Journals.

Panel 8: Nacionalismo en España

Alfonso Bermúdez Mombiela: “La Guerra de Marruecos en la construcción del nacionalismo español”

En los diversos estudios sobre el nacionalismo español son escasas las referencias a los conflictos coloniales en los que España se vio envuelta a principios del siglo XX. Sin embargo, la guerra de Marruecos fue uno de los episodios capitales que marcaron y movilizaron a la población Española, además de configurar la mentalidad y prácticas de los militares africanistas que posteriormente aplicarían lo aprendido en África en la Península Ibérica en 1936.

La presente comunicación tiene como objetivo reflexionar sobre el proceso de creación del sentimiento de identidad nacional a través del impacto de la guerra de Marruecos (entre 1906 y 1927) en la sociedad Española, atendiendo tanto al ejército como a la población civil. Para ello se analizará por un lado la influencia de esta guerra en la brutalización de los militares africanistas, lo cual ha sido estudiado por autores como Sebastian Balfour, y por otro se estudiará la opinión pública y conciencia colectiva con respecto a las campañas marroquíes, cuyas consecuencias pudieron ser motivo tanto de unión como de desunión hacia el sentimiento de la nación, especialmente en determinadas regiones.

Serán objeto de estudio el discurso patriótico desplegado por los medios de comunicación conservadores, católicos y militares (como *ABC*, *El Debate* o *La Correspondencia Militar*), las protestas y manifestaciones antibélicas, estudiadas por autores como Andréé Bachoud, y la literature, tanto de contemporáneos como Ramón J. Sender, Arturo Barea o José Díaz-Fernández como de autores actuales como Luis Miguel Francisco o Manuel Leguineche, cuyas obras nos ayudan a comprender el verdadero drama que esta Guerra supuso para la sociedad Española.

Alfonso Bermúdez Mombiela (Zaragoza, 1992) es graduado en Historia por la Universidad de Zaragoza (con una estancia durante el curso 2012-2013 en el Trinity College de Dublín) y estudiante de Máster en Historia Contemporánea en la misma universidad, en cuyo Departamento de Historia Moderna y Contemporánea ha sido Becario de Colaboración. Ha participado como comunicante en los congresos *Posguerras, 75 Aniversario del final de la Guerra Civil Española*, el *IX Congreso de Historia Local de Aragón. Culturas políticas de la contemporaneidad* y el *XII Congreso de Historia Contemporánea* de la Asociación de Historia Contemporánea, además de participar como organizador de una mesa taller sobre colonialismos en el V Encuentro de Jóvenes Investigadores en Historia Contemporánea. Su línea de investigación se centra en las repercusiones de la guerra de Marruecos en la sociedad Española durante el primer cuarto del siglo XX.

Pablo Ortiz Barquero: “Aproximación al nacionalismo extremeño: bases ideológicas y manifestaciones”

Tras el final de la dictadura franquista, y en torno al proceso de construcción y desarrollo del Estado de las Autonomías, se produce en España una etapa de efervescencia en la que emerge una gran diversidad de reivindicaciones político-territoriales, caracterizadas por una acusada heterogeneidad en cuanto a trayectoria, naturaleza y repertorios de movilización sociopolítica. En este escenario, que algunos autores han venido a denominar de “concurrency múltiple etnoterritorial”, destacan posturas nacionalistas minoritarias (entendiendo por minoritarias el hecho de que no hayan logrado alcanzar influencia notable en la vida política, regional o estatal): una realidad político-social heterogénea escasamente estudiada y que entendemos goza de gran interés.

Dentro de estas posturas nacionalistas minoritarias (y de forma paralela al desarrollo de planteamientos similares en Andalucía, Canarias, Asturias o Aragón), nos encontramos con el nacionalismo extremeño. Así pues, a finales de los años 70 – y claramente diferenciado de la corriente regionalista- el nacionalismo extremeño aparece como una corriente netamente progresista que asume el papel de Extremadura como realidad socio-histórica

independiente, haciendo suya la demanda de la autodeterminación. En su seno podemos señalar dos vías claramente diferenciadas: una representada por el Partido Socialista Popular de Extremadura, de raíces socialdemócratas y postulados moderados; y otra representada por el Bloque Popular de Extremadura y el Bloque Extremeño Revolucionario, con unos planteamientos de corte revolucionario.

Incapaz de hacer llegar su discurso a una base social amplia y de articular una alternativa política estable, el nacionalismo extremeño se agota a finales de la década de los 80. Muchos son, sin embargo, los interrogantes que se plantean: ¿qué condiciones posibilitaron su surgimiento?, ¿qué factores impidieron a esta corriente consolidarse en el escenario político de la región?, ¿cuál es la concepción identitaria de Extremadura que nutre sus postulados?, ¿qué similitudes guarda el nacionalismo extremeño con otros planteamientos nacionalistas minoritarios?

Pablo Ortiz Barquero: Doble Grado de Ciencias Políticas y de la Administración y Sociología. Universidad Pablo de Olavide (Sevilla). Becario de Iniciación a la Investigación en el Departamento de Sociología, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales. Universidad Pablo de Olavide (2015). Temas de interés: violencia política, nacionalismos, procesos de pacificación, movimientos sociales, estudios urbanos, acción colectiva y teoría política.

Isidoro Moreno: “Andalucía: una nación no reconocida”

Con una extensión similar a la de Portugal y mayor que varios estados europeos, Andalucía fue definida por el más famoso filósofo español, José Ortega y Gasset, como “el pueblo más viejo del Mediterráneo” y “de todas las regiones españolas, la que tiene una cultura más radicalmente suya”. En 1870 se creó la Sociedad Antropológica de Sevilla, a semejanza de las de New York y Londres, luego la sociedad El Folk-Lore Andaluz y un grupo de intelectuales llevó a cabo lo que hace tiempo denominé el *primer descubrimiento consciente de la etnicidad andaluza*: un acercamiento con pretensión de cientificidad a la identidad cultural del pueblo andaluz. Desde la segunda década del siglo XX y hasta la guerra civil se desarrolló un importante movimiento primero regionalista y luego decididamente nacionalista que, acogiendo al principio de las nacionalidades, reivindicó una Andalucía Libre. Su principal líder e ideólogo, Blas Infante, fue asesinado en los primeros días de la guerra civil, acusado de “revolucionario” y de “creador de un partido andalucista”. En los años finales de la dictadura franquista y durante la llamada transición política, la reivindicación de autogobierno estuvo estrechamente ligada a la lucha por la democracia, la tierra y el trabajo. Las masivas manifestaciones del 4 de diciembre de 1977 y la movilización popular en el referéndum autonómico del 28 de febrero de 1980 demostraron que además de su identidad histórica y su identidad cultural, el pueblo andaluz también reafirmaba su identidad política. Desde entonces, la conciencia andalucista ha estado sujeta a una desactivación desde las propias instituciones autonómicas, ocupadas siempre por un Partido Socialista que tiene el nacionalismo de estado español como uno de sus pilares fundamentales.

Tras treinta y cinco años de “autonomía”, Andalucía es hoy más dependiente en lo económico, más subalterna en lo político y más degradada en lo cultural de lo que era a finales de la década de los setenta. Y aunque en el artículo primero del vigente Estatuto de Autonomía se la define como “nacionalidad histórica” y en el preámbulo se hace referencia a su “realidad nacional”, sigue siendo tratada como una simple región –en realidad como una colonia interna-, mientras que gran parte de su pueblo sufre un alto nivel de alienación y desde las otras naciones sin estado apenas si se la considera como la nación que realmente es. En la ponencia se analizarán los factores catalizadores y de bloqueo de la conciencia andalucista y de su expresión política, y el papel de Andalucía en la actual crisis de la Segunda Restauración Borbónica y del modelo político construido tras el final de la dictadura. En la confrontación actual, Andalucía puede desnivelar la balanza a favor de la aspiración de los pueblos-naciones del Estado Español de ver reconocidos su derecho a decidir libremente sus instituciones o a favor de las fuerzas que insisten en el dogma de la “unidad indisoluble de la nación española” si es utilizada, en contra de sus propios intereses y de las otras nacionalidades ibéricas, como punta de lanza del nacionalismo de estado españolista.

Isidoro Moreno es catedrático de Antropología Social y Profesor Emérito de la Universidad de Sevilla, en la que da clases desde 1967 tras haber sido estudiante en la misma. Es director responsable del grupo de investigación GEISA (Grupo para el Estudio de las Identidades Socioculturales, Andalucía) compuesto

actualmente por 17 profesores universitarios y otros investigadores. Ha sido durante doce años director del Departamento de Antropología, presidente de la Asociación Andaluza de Antropología y presidente de la FAAEE (Federación de Asociaciones de Antropología del Estado Español). Dirige actualmente la *Revista Andaluza de Antropología*.

Sus estudios, centrados principalmente en Andalucía y en América Latina, se enmarcan en los paradigmas de la glocalización y de la matriz estructural identitaria y están centrados en el análisis de las lógicas culturales, las identidades étnicas y nacionales, los movimientos sociales, las migraciones, y el nivel simbólico de las identidades colectivas, especialmente las expresiones y rituales de reproducción identitaria, habiendo dirigido proyectos en equipo sobre temas en dichas líneas.

Es autor o coautor de más de treinta libros y un gran número de artículos en revistas de ciencias sociales. Entre aquellos destacan *Propiedad, clases sociales y hermandades en la Baja Andalucía*, *Los cuadros del mestizaje americano*, *Andalucía: Identidad y cultura*, *La Semana Santa de Sevilla: conformación, mixtificación y significaciones*, *Antropología de los Pueblos de España* (coeditor), *La globalización y Andalucía: entre el Mercado y la Identidad*, *La identidad cultural de Andalucía: aproximaciones, mixtificaciones, negacionismo y evidencias* y *Expresiones culturales andaluzas* (coautor). También ha realizado documentales audiovisuales y colabora regularmente en la prensa andaluza con artículos de análisis y crítica social y política.

Ha sido profesor visitante en varias universidades latinoamericanas y europeas, pertenece al consejo editor de diversas revistas en ciencias sociales y posee varios galardones en reconocimiento a su trayectoria, entre ellos el Premio Andalucía de Investigación 2001, el Premio Demo-Etno-Antropológico Giuseppe Pitré, y el Premio Fama de la Universidad de Sevilla.

Panel 9: Basque Nationalism

Nick Hutcheon: “Anything but Spanish: Sub-state Identities in the Southern Basque Country”

The Moreno Question has shown that plural identities are the norm in Western European stateless nations. In the Southern Basque Country (Araba, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Nafarroa), quantitative research that uses the question continues to show that most people identify to varying degrees as Basque and Spanish. But does that tell the whole story? This paper shows that it does not by presenting data collected through in-depth interviews conducted with Basque nationalists in the Southern Basque Country who are first and second generation immigrants originating from various regions of the Spanish state. The data reveals that there are multiple forms of plural identity combining numerous sub-state national and regional categories that are obscured by the limited options offered to respondents of the Moreno Question. This paper gives examples of those identities and discusses what they mean, in personal and political terms, to those who hold them.

Nick Hutcheon graduated from Edinburgh University in 2006 with an Honours Degree in Spanish and Italian. In 2009 he graduated from the same university with an MSc in Nationalism Studies. Currently, under the supervision of Dr Angel Smith and Dr Gregorio Alonso at the University of Leeds, he is completing his PhD thesis, entitled “*Basques are born wherever they want*”: a qualitative study of intra-state immigrants in Basque-nationalist movements.

Sonia Andolz-Rodríguez: “The Absence of Violence as a Source for a New Basque Identity. Possible Effects of ETA’s Disarmament and Dissolution”

In 2011, fifty years after its creation, the armed group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) announced a “permanent, general and verifiable” ceasefire in its violent fight for the independence of the Basque Country (Spain).

Traditionally, Basque society had been ideologically segregated and politically highly divided. ETA and the pro-independence movement had gained wide support in some areas, especially rural ones, while so-called Spanish nationalism was more obvious in big cities. Elections did not give a clearer picture of the ideological map as some sectors had migrated to other areas in Spain and others were thought to vote under fear. Thus, a common Basque identity, grouping together all Basque citizens, seemed hard to achieve. In parallel, the so-called Procés Català (Catalan process) unites an important percentage of Catalans under one same goal: a self-determination referendum in 2015. This process is already impacting on Catalan identity by merging class structures and changing social hierarchies. However, Catalan and Basque contexts differ deeply and traditional gaps between political positions in both contested areas have different roots. While the *objective* components of Basque identity have been broadly analysed, nothing has yet been said about a possible transformation of that identity through peace. Will peace bring a merge of positions and bring a new ethnic/national feeling in the Basque Country? This research will analyse the effects that the end of violence has on the Basque group identity and its cohesion towards a possible sovereignty. Is peace – or the absence of violence – making a change in the Basques’ minds, their identities and attitudes? Is there room for a new Basque identity based on wider, flexible and more cohesive elements?

Sonia Andolz-Rodríguez is a Researcher and Lecturer in Human Security, Conflicts, Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Universidad Pontificia de Comillas and the Universidad Nebrija.

Adriano Cirulli: “Independence: How and When? Reframing Discourses and Strategies in Current Basque Nationalism”

In October 2011, the Basque pro-independence armed group *Euskadi Ta Askatasuna* (Basque Country and Freedom), announced the historical definitive end of its armed activities. This announcement opened a new political scenario in the Basque Country, characterized by an increased social and political relevance of the quest for more self-government, or even independence. The increasing trend of pro-independence stances has been strengthened, by a more effective cooperation between nationalist forces after the end of violence, as well as by the general crisis of the Spanish *Estado de las Autonomías*, and by the development of self-determination processes and movements in other European countries. Paradoxically, despite this increased relevance of pro-independence attitudes, actually independence is not a crucial issue in current Basque political agenda. Due to various interacting issues at stake— such as the stalemate in the peace process, the territorial uneven rootedness of Basque nationalism, or the ideological differences between radicals and moderates within nationalist field – independence represents a long-term political aim, also for radical nationalists. The paper intends to describe and disentangle the complex reality of current Basque pro-independence movement, providing an analysis of the discourses and strategies characterizing the main Basque nationalist social and political actors, in relation to social and political changes taking place at Basque, Spanish and international level.

Adriano Cirulli, Ph.D, teaching assistant of Territorial Sociology and Cultural Anthropology at the International Telematic University Uninettuno (Italy). From 2011 to 2014, he was Director of the Basque Language and Culture Department, Upter, Rome (Italy). He has published the book *L'ascia e il serpente. L'ETA e il nazionalismo basco dopo la lotta armata*, Rome, DataneWS, 2012, and articles on Basque and Spanish politics; edited the Special Issue 2.2010 on “Ethnoterritorial Movements and Conflicts” of the Italian Journal *Partecipazione e Conflitto* (with Daniele Conversi). He is editor of the Italian interdisciplinary journal on nationalism studies *Nazioni e Regioni – Studi e Ricerche sulla comunità immaginata*.

Panel 10: Nationalism in Spain

Klaus-Jürgen Nagel: “Catalonia’s Commitment to European Integration and the Independentist turn of Catalan Nationalism”

To be European (and in favor of European integration) has always been a core value of Catalan nationalism. Until very recently, mainstream Catalanism struggled for more autonomy. At the same time, Catalan governments

consistently advocated a “Europe of the Regions”, where Catalonia might find its place, even without statehood. But after the perceived failure of the new statute of autonomy in 2010, Catalan nationalism is struggling for putting independence on the ballots, even looking for European support for this claim. However, official reactions of the EU authorities have not been very positive so far. This situation suggests questions our paper pretends to address. How are the reactions by EU authorities perceived by Catalan nationalists, and are they changing their standpoint on European integration in consequence? After a short introduction on the Catalanist turn from autonomy (“Europe of the Regions”) toward sovereignty (“independence in Europe”), we will describe briefly the reactions of European authorities to the claim for a referendum. Against this background, we analyze the standpoints on European integration hold by the extra-parliamentarian national movement (particularly ANC), the main traditional nationalist parties (CiU and ERC), and the growing critiques against the EU (in particular CUP). We will dedicate the last section to the institutional changes in Catalonia’s European and Foreign Policy. The last European elections and the upcoming campaigns of this year as well as the institutional reforms the current Catalan government is pursuing will help us to decide whether Catalan nationalism is going to maintain, abandon, modify or intensify its traditional commitment to European integration.

Klaus-Jürgen Nagel is Associate Professor of Political and Social Sciences at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona. His research interests include political theory (nationalism, federalism) and comparative politics (nationalist parties and movements, European Integration). He has also worked on Catalan history (national movement, working class movement, history of the wine sector). He studied social sciences and history at the universities of Münster and Bielefeld and obtained his Staatsexamen in 1981 (in both history and social sciences) and his doctoral degree in 1989 (in philosophy). Before he changed to Pompeu Fabra University, Nagel had worked at Universität Bielefeld (history department) and Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main (social sciences department).

Richard Gow: “Spanish Military Nationalism in the Collapse of the Bourbon Restoration and the Advent of the Primo de Rivera Dictatorship”

Recent historiography of Spain’s Bourbon Restoration (1874-1931) has served to nuance the thesis of weak nationalisation first proposed by Juan Linz in the 1970s. Taking a comparative approach to other European nations, historians like José Álvarez Junco and Alejandro Quiroga have argued that the Spanish experience cannot be regarded as unique. Instead it should be viewed a ‘middle-of-the-road’ case, with its own peculiarities and challenges, just as those of its European neighbours. Arguments of Spanish exceptionalism in this regard, as in the historiography of other European nations, like Germany and Italy, for example, are no longer fully convincing. This question is fundamentally tied to the study of militarism and authoritarian dictatorship in Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which have also been framed in terms of national exceptionalism, particularly in relation to Germany, though also in the case of Spain. In line with this, the origins, successes and failures of the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), which brought the Restoration to a close, particularly in its role in promoting Spanish nationalism, have also been considered in a new light, with established concepts like those of ‘civic religion’ and the process of ‘nationalising the masses’ being layered on to the study of this period in Spanish history. This contribution seeks to examine the role of the Spanish military as a tool of national integration in the twentieth century, with a particular focus on the post-First World War and Primo de Rivera periods. It will further consider its role in the emergence of a modern, right-wing nationalism in Spain, which continued to develop as the dictatorship collapsed and the 1930s dawned.

Richard Gow is in the second year of an Irish Research Council-funded PhD in the Department of Hispanic Studies, Trinity College Dublin. His research concerns the intellectual currents present in the Spanish military at the time of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship. It considers how the Spanish Army promoted a form of ‘dual modernity’ that in its simultaneous reverence for the past and desire to lead ‘national regeneration’ dominated the discourse of the dictatorship and of elements of the political right into the 1930s. He holds an M Phil in European Studies from Trinity College Dublin. His dissertation examined the roles of ‘nation’ and ‘social justice’ in the discourse of José Antonio Primo de Rivera and the Falange Española, 1933-1936.

Gorka Etxebarria: ‘Flagging the Nation in the Basque Country: “the Flags War”’

Since 2013, Basque office of the Spanish government has reported dozens of town councils for not flagging the Spanish flag. It could be seen as a recent episode of “the flags war”, which caused clashed and wounded policemen and demonstrators until 2000s, in yearly protests against the legal requirement to flag the Spanish flag in every council. Main historiographical approaches to Basque nationalism have been based on the “ethnic/civic nationalism” dichotomy, characterizing “Basque radical nationalism” as an “uncivil community” that would act against “the society”. Although we accept the big impact of ETA’s violence, we think those approaches could be understood as a form of “projecting theory of nationalism” (category quoted by Michael Billig). We think they explain Basque nationalism as “the others” (the nationalists) issue. However, since 1979 Basque autonomous institutions have been developed. Therefore, during 1980s and 1990s Basque nationalist parties (conservative PNV and leftist HB) were the main parties. We think Billig’s “banal nationalism” concept would be useful in the Basque context – like Cramerer has suggested for Catalonia – where not only autonomous institutions but also Basque nationalist parties and an extended sort of agents would reproduce the Basque nation banally in the day-to-day. Our proposal is to analyse the Basque national issue as a “rivalry between two alternative nations”. Through the “flags war” we will consider how “banal” things (flags or weather maps) are a matter of rivalry (often with violence) between different agents, which, in fact, seek to ensure the banality of their own nation.

Gorka Etxebarria is a PhD student at the Universidad del País Vasco (EHU). His research interests include: History, Cultural Studies, Gender Studies, Nations and nationalism, History of Socialism, History of Identity, and Urban History.

Panel 11: Romania, Moldova and Yugoslavia: Past and Present

Luminita Ignat-Coman: “Nation-Building and Identity: The Integration of Transylvania into Romania after 1918”

Transylvania shares similarities with other regions of Europe, such as Catalonia or the Basque Country, mainly due to its ethnic and cultural diversity. Given the differences that set this region apart from the rest of Romania, the homogeneous symbolic space and centralized state are still debated within the public sphere. For example, the plans for regional autonomy based on ethnic criteria, proposed by representatives of the Hungarian community, have stirred many debates and much controversy. My paper will explore the historical foundations of the current situation by analyzing the construction of the Romanian national state established in 1918. It will investigate the complex and sinuous process of administrative integration and cultural homogenization initiated by the national political elite, which targeted the integration of both the province and ethnic minorities whose number grew considerably. The first part of the paper will focus on the emergence of the nationalist discourse before 1918, whose main arguments were ethnic unity and cultural affinities. The second and largest part of the paper will investigate the strategies (administrative centralization, cultural and legislative unification) employed by the Romanian political elite to integrate Transylvania and to shape a homogeneous national identity, as well as the “regionalist response” to the excessive centralizing tendencies. The article is a case study that reveals similarities and differences of the Romanian case in comparison to other states, and discusses the historical roots of the present situation when Transylvania is part of Romania and the European Union. The analysis has the potential to bring relevant arguments to the (heated) debates at political level.

Luminița Ignat-Coman is a postdoctoral researcher at Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania. She majored in history at the same university and obtained my PhD degree in 2009. Her main research area is identity in the modern and contemporary eras. The study of nationalism and ethnicity, of symbolic geographies and imagology are additional interest areas.

Alexandra Ionescu and Sorina Soare: “Pulling Together Romanians: Post-2007 Relation between Citizenship and Nationhood”

Nationalism has been a major issue in the early days of post-communism in Romania. A nostalgic nationalism together with a xenophobic nationalism largely occupied the discourses of both mainstream and national-populist parties and political personalities for over a decade. On the one side, the ‘nostalgic’ interpretation of nationalism looked upon the interwar period as a moment of glory of the Romanian culture and, as such, a model for providing solutions to the by-effects of the post-communist transition. Keen to the uniqueness of the Romanian nation, the other camp alternatively aimed to withstand external and internal threats echoing the moral and ethical struggle between the national community and a wide range of internal/external menaces (economic/political oligarchies, international organizations, religious communities, etc.). In parallel with the process of EU integration, both interpretation of the Romanian nation have been voluntarily downgraded in favor of a strategic allegiance to EU identities and values. In the post-enlargement period, the Romanian politics operated a rapid synthesis between the early 90s nostalgic nationalism and the xenophobic discourses. The myth of Great Romania became a consensual project although the relation between nationhood and citizenship remained rather blurred. On this ground, the aim of this chapter is to highlight the struggle between nationhood and citizenship in the last decade Romania and to study to what extent specific policies have actually been introduced. The starting point is that nationalism primarily should be studied as a political idea. The argument is developed through an empirical analysis of the various policies developed since 2007 starting from the constitutional definition of the state to the conditions for acquiring citizenship, minority rights, etc. Hence, the core question is how the EU integration modified in any respect the relation between citizenship and nationhood underlying the policies developed since 2007 with respect to the Republic of Moldova?

Alexandra Ionescu is associate Professor with the Department of Political Science of the University of Bucharest. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the Institut d’Études Politiques de Paris and a PhD in Philosophy from the University of Bucharest. Her major topics of interest are party politics, state and institutional reforms and democratization processes. She is the author of *Du Parti-État à l’État des partis. Changer de régime politique en Roumanie*, Romanian Academy Press, Bucharest, 2009.)

Sorina Soare is lecturer of Comparative Politics at the University of Florence. She holds a PhD in political science from the Université libre de Bruxelles and has previously studied political science at the University of Bucharest. Before coming to Florence, she taught at the Central European University, University of Bucharest, and University of Palermo. She works in the area of comparative politics and her research interests include political parties, the democratic governance and national-populism. She is co-editor of *Contemporary Populism: A Controversial Concept and Its Diverse Forms*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013.

Roxana Adina Humă: “Redefining the Moldovan Nation”

The literature on Moldovan nationalism portrays it as divided in between two main identity discourses, Romanianism and Moldovanism. Yet, this focus on a historical perspective and the Moldovan language has shadowed the issue of alternative discourses of national identity. In this context, the purpose of this paper is to analyse ‘middle ground’ constructions of national identity, discuss their nature and relationship with Moldovanism and Romanianism. I argue that their success is dependent on their retextualisation of relevant element of the two main discourses. Meanwhile, they are also threatened by the radical dichotomy between Romanianism and Moldovanism and their dominance of the Moldovan discursive scene. This is achieved using data collected in my fieldwork in the summer of 2012 and a post-structuralist approach to national identity.

I analyse two main alternative constructions of national identity. The first is novelist Ion Druta’s conceptualisation of the *mioritic* nation. He weaves a representation of the Moldovan nation around the ballad Miorita, as a central

myth, and Christian Orthodox religion. Similarly, the PPCD's construction brings together the representation of the Moldovan geographical space and the importance of Moldovan religion and folklore. In contrast to these constructions, political parties such as the Democrats have attempted to articulate a civic national identity discourse. Additionally, they have also argued for the Moldovans' Europeanness and uniting the whole nation around Moldova's European aspirations.

Roxana Adina Humă is a PhD researcher at the University of Plymouth. She has studied at 'Babeş-Bolyai' University, Romania, and at Nottingham Trent University, UK, and is trained in both politics and international relations. Stemming from this experience, in her current research she takes a post-structuralist multi-disciplinary approach researching the relationship between national identity discourses and Moldovan representations of foreign affairs.

Dejan Jovanović: "Why some Identities Fail? The Case of Yugoslavia"

Although there are many different ways to conceptualize the nation, it is indubitably a community with strong sense of shared identity. How exactly this identity comes into being, and how it relates to nation-*state*, is still an interesting research question. Some authors, most notable among them Hobsbawm (2012), argue that role of the state in formation of national identity is very important, perhaps crucial. Modern state, since its earliest forms, has had all the mechanisms needed to promote the sense of common origin as well as common destiny, essential ingredients for nation-building. The more efficient the state, the tighter its control over school system and the media, it would seem, the easier task of nation-building should be.

That said, it is very puzzling why the Yugoslav state in all of its incarnations – as a monarchy (1918-1945) and as a socialist federation (1945-1991) has utterly failed to build a strong Yugoslav national identity. During all of its existence, it had a strong government that exercised control over communication, school curricula, and virtually all aspects of the public sphere. Moreover, unlike in some other multinational states, its population already spoke similar languages and shared similar historical experiences.

This paper aims to examine the reasons why construction of Yugoslav national identity had failed. Lessons from this failure could be useful for other attempts of identity building, including European identity.

Dejan Jovanović is a PhD student at University of Belgrade – Faculty of Political Science. His current research interests include national political history and thought.

Panel 12: Culture and Identity

Harald Flohr: "On the Value of an Open Cultural Nationalism, and the Inherent Role of National Symbols and Sports"

This paper on the societal effects of sports (specifically but not exclusively Rugby Union) and national symbols (primarily national anthems) endeavours to analyse the role played by large sporting events in the (re)creation of a national identity and channelling nationalism in a non-aggressive and even inclusive way.

The varied and changing notion of 'nationalism' in different national and historical contexts is often overshadowed by the frequent occurrence of lingering or open aggression towards the 'other' or seclusion or propagation of a notion of supremacy based on a national (or sub-national) identity. At its best, sports (in the form of international events like world cups or Olympic Games) can transcend this level and celebrate unity in diversity. Taking this and the inclusive sport of Rugby as a starting point, the role of national anthems and their performance for the

expression or even creation of a national (or minority) identity will be explored and the possible positive effects of such a moderate cultural manifestation of nationalism especially in a modern European and global context addressed.

Salient points will include the role of sports in the creation of some national anthems, their performance in historic situations and the effects thereof with special reference to Ireland, the value (and danger) of cultural nationalism and mass events, the important role of different traditions and demographics of sports or cultural groups and the conclusion that there is as much to be gained from embracing the variety of identities in a united, tolerant and inclusive manner as the opposite type of nationalism is detrimental to any society.

Harald Flohr studied Celtic Languages, History and Philosophy at the Universities of Bonn, Germany, and NUI Maynooth. He is currently a PhD candidate in Linguistics at the University of Cambridge (Jesus College), working on historical linguistics and sociolinguistics in Irish. He has previously published on language contact, cultural effects of the Irish Famine and presented on the performance of national anthems at Rugby games at the ‘International Congress on Anthems and Songs as Symbols of Collective Identity in Comparative Perspective’ in Bilbao / Victoria-Gasteiz in 2014.

Jim O’Brien: “Football, Myth Making and Identity in Catalonia and the Basque Country: FC Barcelona and Athletic Bilbao”

Since the game’s genesis in the industrial heartlands of Catalonia and the Basque Country in the late nineteenth century, football has played a pivotal role in the construction and representation of alternative nationalisms and identities in Spain’s dissident regions. The two major clubs of these regions, FC Barcelona and Athletic Bilbao, have been critical in articulating political and cultural cleavages of Catalan and Basque ethnicity. In doing so, they have created potent myths and metaphors to define the oscillating centre – region tensions at the core of contested notions of nationhood underpinning Spanish political culture.

This paper has two main themes. Firstly, it considers the development of the folklore, symbols and iconography of football in Catalonia and The Basque Country from the reassertion of Spain’s historic communities in the 1890s to the game’s expansion in the 1920s. Both FC Barcelona and Athletic Bilbao played seminal roles in the construction of distinctive national identities as counterpoints to the centralism of Madrid. The capacity of both clubs to symbolise aspirational movements for regional autonomy is assessed through the myths and legends created by the game’s emergent iconography. Secondly, the paper examines the role of heritage, myth and folklore as focal points of ethnicity in contemporary campaigns for independence in Catalonia and the Basque Country since the economic meltdown of 2008. Legacies of the past are rebranded and reframed to manufacture powerful rituals and symbols of regional identity. The study uses critical literature, interviews and archive material to evaluate the enduring potential of football’s mass appeal in representing the complexities of Spanish identity.

Jim O’Brien is Senior Lecturer in Journalism and Sports Journalism in the Faculty of Creative Industries at Southampton Solent University, where he co-ordinates the Academic Programme in Sports Journalism. He has held teaching, research and professional posts in The United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Greece and The United States. His research interests have included Political Communication and Sport and Political/Cultural Studies. In recent years, he has written and published extensively on Spanish football, and its relationship with the history, politics and culture of Spain including publications on Governance in Spanish Club Football, the Spanish national team and political identity, and Football, Politics and Ethnicity in the Basque Country. He is currently in the process of completing a major study entitled *From La Furia to La Roja: Football, Politics and Culture in Spain* to be published by Intellect Books.

Mariann Vaczi: “The body politic of Catalan Cultural Performances: Football, Human Towers *Castells*, and the *Sardana* Dance”

Spain is facing the greatest challenge in the post-Franco era to the nation’s constitutional unity. According to the central statistical agency Centro de Estudios de Opinión, back in 2005 less than 15% of Catalans were in favor of their independence. In contrast, in November 2014 almost two million Catalans voted for independence at a non-binding referendum. What now makes Catalans, who were content being part of Spain a few years ago, vehemently push for independence? This article rests on the anthropological premise that cultural performances are instrumental for the construction of national identities and the embodiment of nationalist desires. I propose here that, historically, the deployment of cultural performances like football, *castells* and *sardana* as Catalan national symbols has reflected Catalans’ changing attitude toward Spain. First, I will trace the choice of football, *castells* and *sardana* as symbols of Catalonia’s past and present nationalism. Second, I will explore the social-historical meanings of these cultural performances, and the way those meanings have been deployed in the service of Catalan nation building and nationalist movements. Third, I will address the dilemmas Catalan cultural performances like football, *castells*, and the *sardana* dance face once they enter the frameworks of ethno-national, ideological symbolization. I conclude that the study of cultural performances as contested ideological terrains gives us unique ethnographic insight into the schismogenic tendencies of European states for integration and disintegration.

Mariann Vaczi (University of Nevada, Reno) is a social anthropologist focusing on the social, cultural and political dimensions of cultural performances, indigenous games and modern sports. She is author of the monograph *Soccer, Culture and Society in Spain: An Ethnography of Basque Fandom* (Routledge, 2015). She has variously published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, the *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, and *Sport in Society*. She is editor of *Playing Fields: Power, Practice and Passion in Sport* (Center for Basque Studies Press, 2014), which features some of the most established specialists in the anthropology, sociology and history of sport.

Clinton D. Young: “Local Color as National Identity: Rural Spain on the Musical Stage, 1901-1926”

An examination of Spanish popular theatre in the early twentieth century demonstrates that national and local identities did not develop in opposition to one another, as is often assumed in the historical literature on the development of the nation-state. At the turn of the twentieth century, one of the few popular mediums that presented nationalism as a unifying force in Spain was the lyric theatre genre of zarzuela. The most popular works depicted Spain as modern and increasingly urbanized country. But following 1898 an increasing number of impresarios began producing zarzuelas that were set in rural Spain. Rural zarzuelas focused on the idea that local identities (the so-called *patria chica*) maintained an uncorrupted and essential vision of the Spanish nation at a time of rapid social and political change. Gerónimo Giménez’s *La tempranica* depicted Andalusian Gypsies as repositories of essential values against the corruption of the city; Ruperto Chapí’s *La puñao de rosas* demonstrated the resilience of religious values in the countryside. José Serrano’s *Los de Aragón* demonstrated how only folk music could save Spain from the encroachment of foreign traditions. Even works like Jesús Guridi’s *El caserío*, which were set in regions with competing identities like the Basque Country, made the case that Spain’s regions were the true repository of national identity and Spanish values. Spanish theatrical audiences watched a world in which a kaleidoscope of regional identities were assumed to be the core of a traditional and eternal Spain. The resilience of the nation in Spain sprang from the interplay between local and national identities.

Dr. Clinton D. Young received his Ph.D. in History from the University of California, San Diego in 2006. He is currently employed at the University of Arkansas at Monticello and will be promoted to Associate Professor of History at the end of the 2015 Spring Semester. A specialist in the history of modern Europe and modern Spain, his research focuses on the links between nationalism and music. His book *Music Theatre and Popular Nationalism in Spain, 1880-1930* will be published by Louisiana State University Press in the autumn of 2015; it examines how the popular music theatre genre of zarzuela helped to develop a popular sense of national identity in Spain in the absence of state-sponsored nationalist projects and why popular nationalism was ineffective at uniting the country in the early years of the twentieth century. He has also published “Why Did Spain Fail to Develop Nationalist Opera?” in the *Bulletin of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies* 38:1 (2013) and is currently at work on an article re-evaluating the history of Wagnerism in Spain. He has been a Fulbright Scholar to Spain, and he is currently the

Program Director for the 2015 annual meeting of the Association for Spanish and Portuguese Historical Studies.

Panel 13: The Dynamics of Nationalist Evolution in Contemporary Spain

The session will begin with the presentation of a project (ES/J007854/1) funded by the Economic and Social Research Council of the UK: Nationalisms in Spain.

The recent emphasis placed by several mainstream nationalist parties in Europe on sovereignty objectives invites analysis of the drivers behind this phenomenon. Their evolution is characterized by a complex set of dynamics that influences their options when faced with strategic decisions over participation in an existing state and/or challenging it by pressing for statehood. Spain constitutes a major laboratory for studying such dynamics owing to a diverse range of nationally oriented parties. The experiences of the Basque Country and Catalonia show the continued relevance of centre-periphery cleavages, especially when aggravated by European and global pressures and constraints, but party positioning between accommodation and sovereignty politics is influenced too by changing relationships between Basque and Catalan nationalist elites and civil societies and between mainstream nationalist parties and their direct competitors within party systems.

Richard Gillespie: “Pro-European, Pro-Sovereignty Parties and EU Negativity: How European Considerations Affect Nationalist Agendas”

The negativity with which European Union officials have responded to demands for independence in Catalonia and Scotland has presented pro-sovereignty nationalist parties with a second layer of governmental resistance to their efforts to modify the status quo. While nationalist leaders have tended to play down the cautionary advice emanating from officials and some European premiers and have sought refuge in the legal and procedural uncertainties surrounding any future vote for independence, they have found themselves in the uncomfortable position of being committed Europeans in regions noted for enthusiasm for the European project and indeed relying on the EU for the realization of their ultimate objectives, yet finding their future steps potentially being countered and frustrated by the EU.

This raises a new question about how nationalist parties themselves see themselves in this apparently unsympathetic European context and whether this has been an influence upon their own behaviour. Has the evolution of the EU, contrary to the impression given by media coverage, in fact been creating conditions in which their territorial demands have been facilitated or stimulated in some way? Alternatively, have frustrations for nationalist parties at the EU level been a factor that has encouraged them to demand sovereignty, albeit still within a pro-European perspective? This paper compares the outlooks of Basque and Catalan pro-sovereignty parties on the European dimension to their ambitions to consider whether elite European political negativity has had an impact of party agendas and if so, in what ways.

Professor Richard Gillespie holds the established Chair of Politics at the University of Liverpool and previously held posts at the Universities of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Oxford, Warwick and Portsmouth. He is co-director of the Europe and the World Centre at Liverpool. He founded and edited the journal *Mediterranean Politics*, published by Routledge, and has authored many publications in English and Spanish. His book on the Montonero guerrilla movement became a best-seller in Argentina.

Caroline Gray: “The Role of the EU in the Development of Substate Fiscal Autonomy: Obstacle or Opportunity? The Case of the Basque Region in Spain”

Through a study of the development of the fiscal autonomy model in the Basque region in Spain, this paper asks: What opportunities and obstacles does the EU framework pose to the development of fiscal autonomy verging on

sovereignty in a region within a wider member state? The Basque region provides an interesting case study in this regard since it is currently one of only two regions (the other being neighbouring Navarre) within an EU member state with nearly full fiscal autonomy. As such it can also offer important lessons for other countries in Europe and in particular the UK as it starts to devolve greater fiscal powers to Scotland.

The trajectory taken by the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) since the 1990s to secure proper understanding and recognition at EU level of the Basque fiscal autonomy model and to address how to adapt it to the evolving EU context has been fraught with difficulties in both Spain and Europe. While Basque nationalists seek to develop the model to give the region almost the same fiscal powers as an EU member state, Spanish governments see it as remaining more subordinate to Spanish legislation and representation. As Europe edges towards closer fiscal integration, some Basque nationalists suggest greater equality in fiscal relations between the Basque region and central Spanish government could serve as a model for fiscal harmonisation at EU level between member states. This study analyses the implications of the EU context and framework for the feasibility or otherwise of such proposals. It suggests that in this area as in others, the primarily member state centric nature of the EU – cemented after the idea of a ‘Europe of the Regions’ conceived of in the 1990s had largely been disappointed – seriously problematises attempts to give substate regions or nations greater fiscal powers and prominence alongside their state counterparts.

Caroline Gray is currently a PhD candidate and co-researcher within the Nationalism in Spain project based at Liverpool University, funded by the UK Economic and Social Research Council. Her work investigates the impact of the fiscal decentralisation models in Spain on the Basque and Catalan nationalist movements. Previously, she spent three years (2010-2012) covering the financial crisis in Spain for both government and private sector clients, first as a Political and Economic Officer at the British Embassy in Madrid and subsequently as head of Spanish coverage at a fixed income intelligence service (Debtwire) within the Financial Times Group.

Panel 14: La Nación en América Latina

Gilberto López y Rivas: “Etnomarxismo y cuestión étnico-nacional en América Latina”

En este trabajo incursiono en los orígenes y planteamientos claves del Etnomarxismo, como corriente de pensamiento crítico en el ámbito de la antropología que incorpora la etnicidad en el análisis de las contradicciones interclasistas de contextos coloniales y nacionales como los que se observan en la compleja realidad pluricultural de América Latina. Se especifican los componentes de la cuestión nacional en tiempos de la mundialización neoliberal del capitalismo en procesos nacionalitarios que buscan disolver los vínculos nación-burguesía, hacia una entidad de nuevo tipo: popular, multiétnica, pluralista y democrática. Destaco el papel de los pueblos indígenas en la forja de ese nuevo tipo de nación, la nación-pueblo, y critico las herencias eurocéntricas del marxismo en organizaciones políticas que sobre enfatizan el papel de la clase obrera y asumen posiciones economicistas.

Dr. Gilberto Lopez y Rivas, antropólogo, ensayista y político mexicano, es profesor-investigador del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, doctor en Antropología por la Universidad de Utah, de los Estados Unidos, maestro en Ciencias Antropológicas por la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) y la Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (ENAH), miembro del Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (SNI), e investigador titular del Centro Regional INAH-Morelos, en Cuernavaca. Ha tenido una activa vida política, en la cual se destacan su participación en el movimiento estudiantil de 1968 y su elección como Jefe del Gobierno del Distrito Federal en la Delegación Tlalpan, en el período 2000-2003. Integró la Comisión de Concordia y Pacificación (Cocopa) y se ha desempeñado como diputado federal de la LIV y LVII Legislaturas del Congreso de la Unión. En 1987 se le otorgó la Medalla Roque Dalton. Participó en la Cruzada Nacional de Alfabetización (1980) y asesoró al Gobierno de Nicaragua en Cuestión Indígena y Autonomía de 1980 a 1990. Es articulista de *La Jornada*, es miembro del consejo editorial de la revista *Contexto Latinoamericano* de la editorial Ocean Sur y publica sistemáticamente en periódicos y revistas especializadas. Es autor y editor de múltiples libros.

Alicia Castellanos Guerrero: “Lo nacional desde la perspectiva de los pueblos indígenas en México”

En esta ponencia analizo las especificidades y la dinámica del discurso y las prácticas de los pueblos indígenas en América Latina, particularmente en México, con relación a su lugar en la nación y en el contexto de crisis del modelo de Estado-nación. Busco mostrar que en la región latinoamericana, estos pueblos son actores y sujetos sociales que expresan una conciencia nacional *sui generis*, capaz de contribuir, sea en defensa de su soberanía territorial y/o en la refundación o construcción de una nación con un lugar digno para todos. Esto es, sus formas de organización social y “autogobierno”, sus estrategias de defensa y lucha para construir una nueva nación, recuperan valores universales, pero de una universalidad que reconoce la diferencia y los derechos de todos, lo cual, implica nuevas definiciones y enfoques en torno a los procesos nacionalitarios y a los valores en los que éstos se han sustentado desde la Ilustración, esto es, la igualdad, la fraternidad, la libertad, la justicia y paz, la tolerancia y reconocimiento de la diferencia, etc. Así, pretendo contrapuntar identidad y conciencia nacional y el sentido de estos valores “universales”, desde el discurso y las políticas del Estado y de los pueblos indígenas, particularmente a partir de las prácticas autonómicas y de proyección nacional.

Alicia Castellanos Guerrero es Profesora-Investigadora Titular de Nivel “C” del Departamento de Antropología de la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana – Iztapalapa desde el año 1979. Es miembro del Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (SNI) Nivel II y integrante del Cuerpo Académico de *Procesos identitarios*. Su área de Investigación es *relaciones económicas*. Es socia activa del Colegio de Etnólogos y Antropólogos Sociales AC (CEAS). Maestría en Etnología por la Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia (ENAH) y la UNAM. Doctorada en Ciencias Sociales con especialidad en Antropología, por la Universidad Iberoamericana (UIA) con estudios de Doctorado en Austin, Texas. Sus principales líneas temáticas tienen que ver con las relaciones interétnicas, el racismo, las autonomías, turismo y alteridad, migraciones internas e internacionales.

Panel 15: Escocia y Cataluña ¿Ganando fuerza?

Jon Azkune Torres: “Evolución del nacionalismo escocés: 1998-2015”

Mediante la presente comunicación se quiere analizar la evolución del nacionalismo escocés y su capacidad para transitar desde los márgenes del sistema político a la consecución de la centralidad en el mismo.

El planteamiento analítico pivotará sobre las piezas desarrolladas por Piotr Sztompka en el análisis del devenir social. De esta manera observaremos la interacción entre el ambiente natural, el ambiente de la conciencia, las estructuras, los agentes y la mediación que realiza la acción colectiva entre estas dos últimas variables.

Se otorgará mayor relevancia a las estructuras y a la acción colectiva. Para las estructuras se empleará el enfoque de Tilly sobre tipos de estados (débil/fuerte) y su capacidad (alta/baja) teniendo como referencia la evolución del Estado Británico. En lo que respecta a la acción colectiva, se seguirá el esquema propuesto por la agenda clásica sobre los movimientos sociales. De esta forma, se aplicarán las siguientes variables al caso del SNP: la estructura de oportunidad política (en su dimensión estática y dinámica), las estructuras organizativas, la creación de marcos y los repertorios de acción.

Mediante este planteamiento teórico observaremos entre otras cosas, la importancia del establecimiento del Parlamento y el Gobierno escocés tras el proceso de devolución abierto por el Gobierno de Tony Blair, los alineamientos inestables dentro del Partido Laborista, el referéndum de independencia, el fortalecimiento organizativo del SNP o el refuerzo del discurso del nacionalismo escocés.

Jon Azkune Torres es licenciado en Derecho (Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea 2011) y en Ciencias Políticas (Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea 2013). Máster en

“Nacionalismo Vasco en el Siglo XXI” (Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea 2012) en el que obtuve el premio especial de fin de máster. He participado en el Programa Erasmus (KULeuven 2009-2010) y Séneca (Universitat de Barcelona 2010-2011). Investigador de la Cátedra de Estudios Internacionales-Nazioarteko Ikasketen Katedra entre Enero y Diciembre de 2013. Actualmente soy becario Pre-Doctoral del Departamento de Ciencia Política de la Universidad del País Vasco y disfruto de una beca de investigación otorgada por la misma universidad. Entre septiembre y diciembre de 2014 he realizado una estancia de investigación en la Universidad de Edimburgo.

Javier Antón Merino: “Nacionalismo y secesionismo en Escocia y Cataluña. Un análisis del ciclo vital y el cambio identitario y de valores”

Partiendo de la teoría de la participación política y el ciclo vital, en este estudio pretendo analizar como varía el apoyo al secesionismo en Escocia y Cataluña según los años y la etapa vital en la que los individuos se encuentran. La teoría del ciclo vital pone de manifiesto que los jóvenes participan de manera diferente al resto de ciudadanos, pero adquieren características y comportamientos políticos propios al contexto social y político en el que se han socializado y formado. Hoy en día el apoyo a la opción secesionismo en Cataluña es mucho mayor dentro de este segmento de edad. Por el contrario, los jóvenes escoceses muestran pautas de apoyo al independentismo que no parecen distinguirse mucho del resto de la población y la evidencia apunta a que son los mayores los que se comportan de forma diferente al resto con una marcada defensa a seguir formando parte de Gran Bretaña. En este artículo pretendo describir de manera comparada las diferencias intergeneracionales del apoyo al independentismo en Escocia y Cataluña y posteriormente analizar datos de varias encuestas e institutos demoscópicos de Europa, Reino Unido y España, para observar si existe un cambio de valores general en la sociedad catalana y escocesa y si el perfil de secesionista en Escocia y Cataluña es diferente ahora con respecto al de hace treinta años. Finalmente trataré de explicar porqué se han dado y se dan cambios en el apoyo al secesionismo en estos dos casos de estudio de unas generaciones a otras.

Javier Antón Merino es Licenciado en Ciencias Políticas y de la Administración por la Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM) y posee el Máster Oficial en Democracia y Gobierno con especialidad en Política Comparada, por la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (UAM). Durante el transcurso de su licenciatura pudo disfrutar de una estancia en la Universidad de Liubliana (Eslovenia) como estudiante de intercambio por el programa Erasmus y fue Becario de Colaboración del departamento de Ciencias Políticas y de la Administración II de la UCM. Posteriormente estudió un año en Dundee (Reino Unido) y volvió a Madrid para realizar el Máster Oficial en Democracia y Gobierno de la UAM, donde consiguió una beca para trabajar en el European Policy Centre (EPC). Al acabar el Máster, Javier Antón Merino comenzó a trabajar para Metroscopia, instituto privado de estudios sociales, sondeos políticos y estimación electoral. Actualmente es doctorando por el Programa de Doctorado en Derecho, Gobierno y Políticas Públicas de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid con un Proyecto, dirigido por la profesora Ayudante-Doctor Fabiola Mota y el Profesor de Investigación del CSIC Luis Moreno, que versa sobre el nacionalismo y el secesionismo en Escocia y Cataluña.

Marta Requejo Fraile, Ana María Velasco Molpeceres, Itziar Reguero Sanz: “Ilustrando el independentismo: El humor gráfico sobre Escocia y Cataluña en la prensa española (septiembre de 2014)”

En este último año, el debate sobre el modelo territorial es una de las cuestiones clave que Europa tiene que afrontar. Por ello, la celebración consecutiva de consultas nacionalistas en Escocia y Cataluña ha causado gran impacto en la opinión pública europea, nutrida por la cobertura de los *mass media*. En vista de la repercusión causada por la publicación de humor gráfico *Charlie Hebdo*, hemos considerado como fuente primordial de este estudio las viñetas publicadas en las cuatro cabeceras de mayor tirada de España.

Así, el objeto de esta investigación es examinar los usos interesados del paralelismo entre el caso escocés y el catalán en los discursos de *El País*, *El Mundo*, *ABC* y *La Vanguardia* durante los tres días previos y el del resultado del referéndum por la independencia de Escocia. Dada la proximidad temporal de los acontecimientos,

esta comunicación supone un paso más en el estudio de los nacionalismos en Europa y abre una línea de investigación pionera en el análisis de los usos del espacio satírico para la construcción de la opinión pública.

Además, consideramos el presente estudio de especial relevancia en este Congreso Internacional por la capacidad que tienen las imágenes para superar las fronteras idiomáticas y, de ese modo, generar un debate supranacional.

Marta Requejo Fraile: Licenciada en Periodismo por la Universidad de Valladolid (UVa) en 2012 y Máster en Investigación de la Comunicación como Agente Histórico Social por la misma institución en 2013. Actualmente, Marta Requejo Fraile es Investigadora Predoctoral del Departamento de Filosofía de la UVa donde realiza su tesis sobre la construcción mediática del proceso de paz en el País Vasco dirigida por el Dr. José Manuel Chillón con una beca de Formación del Profesorado Universitario del Ministerio de Educación Cultura y Deporte español, concedida en 2014. Además, es miembro del Grupo de Investigación Reconocido: “Ciencia y Arte en Filosofía”. Su principal línea de investigación es la comunicación en procesos de paz y conflictos desde una perspectiva deontológica y ética; aspecto este último que ha centrado su participación en cursos y congresos durante los últimos años.

Ana María Velasco Molpeceres: Ana María Velasco Molpeceres es periodista e historiadora del arte. Ha realizado el máster de Investigación de la Comunicación como Agente Histórico Social de la Universidad de Valladolid donde su Trabajo Fin de Máster, dirigido por el catedrático de historia contemporánea el doctor Celso Almuíña, sobre las primeras revistas de moda en España durante el siglo XIX fue calificado con la máxima nota, obteniendo además matrícula de honor. También ha cursado el primer nivel del curso de especialista en Estética e Historia de la Cinematografía de la Cátedra de Cine de la Universidad de Valladolid y actualmente está realizando su tesis doctoral, dirigida por el profesor titular y doctor en historia contemporánea José-Vidal Pelaz López, en la Universidad de Valladolid sobre la mujer, la moda y el cambio social en el paso del franquismo a la democracia. Asimismo, es miembro del Grupo de Innovación Docente, coordinado por la doctora Virginia Martín Jiménez, “Enseñanza en Igualdad e Inclusión de Género”. Su campo de investigación se centra en la historia de la moda y de la mujer, especialmente en la edad contemporánea, así como en la historia del cine y del arte, donde ha estudiado la labor de artistas alemanes como Leni Riefenstahl, Hans Holbein y Alberto Durero.

Itziar Reguero Sanz: Itziar Reguero Sanz es Investigadora Predoctoral del Departamento de Historia Moderna, Contemporánea, de América, Periodismo, Comunicación Audiovisual y Publicidad de la Universidad de Valladolid. Tiene formación universitaria en Periodismo y es Premio Extraordinario en el Máster en Investigación de la Comunicación como Agente Histórico Social, ambas titulaciones obtenidas en la UVa. Desde 2014, la doctoranda cuenta con una Beca de Formación del Personal Universitario concedida por el MECD para la realización de su Tesis Doctoral, dirigida por el Dr. José Vidal Pelaz López y la Dra. Virginia Martín Jiménez, cuya temática es la opinión pública española ante el proceso autonómico que se llevó a cabo entre 1977 y 1983. A su vez, Reguero es miembro del Grupo de Innovación Docente: “Enseñanza en Igualdad e Inclusión de Género”. Sus líneas de investigación se centran en la Historia de los medios de comunicación, el papel de los mass media en la formación del Estado Autonómico en la Transición y las relaciones de poder que se establecen entre políticos y medios, así como su posterior influencia en la sociedad.

Panel 16: Dealing with the Past (II)

Michaela Marková: “Embracing the Threatening Other: Reconciliation and Conflict Transformation in Northern Ireland”

In his reflection upon current political assassinations, 'The Charlie Hebdo Attack And What It Reveals About Society,' Zygmunt Bauman asserts that given the ongoing diasporisation of the world, people are, more than ever, forced to learn how to deal with the 'all-too-real' inter-personal differences. Indeed, the once 'distant' stranger has become the next-door neighbour whose close proximity threatens one's habitual, and thus seemingly secure, mode of being. The dynamics of the Northern Irish conflict, too, has been affected by the series of the now infamous binaries embodying the 'us' and the 'threatening other' politics. Despite the end of the violent phase of the Troubles

and continuous reconciliatory efforts, it has been argued that antagonistic opposition continues to determine a state of affairs in the region. In fact, some have claimed that this antagonism is entrenched within the new political dispensation and that Northern Irish society has thus never been more polarised than it is now.

The paper addresses the Troubles and its aftermath to identify the factors that have negatively affected the peace process and post conflict reconciliation. It argues that to secure sustainability of peace and to overcome the assumed impasse, it is necessary to change the habitual modes of being and embrace 'the other', however uncomfortable and unnerving such a process might seem. While the paper draws predominantly on the analysis of post-ceasefire and post-1998 Agreement Northern Irish fiction, it is also based on research findings concerning cultural, socio-political, urban, and feminist perspectives of the said problematic.

Michaela Marková took an M.Phil. in Anglo-Irish literature at the School of English in Trinity College Dublin, where she has recently finished her PhD. Her research has been on politics of reconciliation in contemporary Northern Irish fiction. She is the co-editor of *Politics of Irish Writing: A Collection of Essays* (2010), of *Boundary Crossings* (2012), and of *Tradition and Modernity* (2014). Since 2006, she has taught on a variety of subjects at the Irish Studies Workshop, an intensive academic course on Irish literature and culture organised by Charles University Prague and Palacký University Olomouc and supported by the Department of Foreign Affairs, Ireland. She has also worked as a Teaching assistant at School of English, Trinity College in Dublin.

Michal Vašečka: “The Educational System and Non-Reconciliation in Slovak-Hungarian Relations”

This paper analyses reasons for non-reconciliation between Hungarians and Slovaks and the author argues why Slovakia and Hungary systematically portray and construct each other as an enemy and they serve as an ideal “other” in a so-called national discourse. It is suggested that more than two decades after the political and societal changes of 1989 previous conflicts between Hungary and Slovakia are far from being reconciled - they are just settled. Historical resentments persist on both sides and although there were numerous institutional and non-institutional, formal and informal, grass-root as well as professional attempts to reach reconciliation between Slovakia and Hungary - it never materialized into a consistent movement or bilateral institution.

The author analyses various structural reasons of non-reconciliation in Slovak - Hungarian relations – ethnicised views of history; memory of grievances and consequently lack of empathy toward the others; negative stereotypes about each other; attitudes toward each other influenced by various types of forgetting and historical amnesia (structural amnesia, repressive erasure, prescriptive forgetting, forgetting that is constitutive in the formation of a new identity, forgetting as annulment, and forgetting as humiliated silence); and history textbooks used in both countries since 1918. The paper highlights the importance of the education system in changes of value orientation of young people in both countries and shows how schools both in Slovakia and Hungary do not play an important role in the education toward mutual acceptance and toward reconciliation of a mutually problematic past.

It is suggested that processes of reconciliation will not take place unless ethnically defined nations of Central Europe change into political ones, unless there is an overreaching demand for non-ethnicized policies and politics, and unless major reforms in the education system take place. The author concludes that unless Slovakia and Hungary change the system of education and history textbooks, the process of reconciliation will follow the wrong track and will lead to a deadlock in Slovak - Hungarian relations.

Dr Michal Vasecka, PhD., Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Czech Republic.

Dr Claire Campbell: “A critical review of the literature on Inter-Group Forgiveness”

Traditionally, research on forgiveness has been focused on the individual and interpersonal levels (e.g. McCollough, Pargament, & Thoresten, 2000). More recently, psychologists have begun to investigate forgiveness as an intergroup process. Intergroup forgiveness is particularly salient to the contexts of conflict, peace and

reconciliation between social groups, in which it is not individuals but groups, societies or nations that must be considered. Research has indicated that intergroup forgiveness may serve as a means to break self-perpetuating cycles of violence and retaliation that are inherent to conflict and to facilitate cooperation and reconciliation among groups (e.g. Noor, Brown, Gonzalez, Manzi, & Lewis, 2008; Neto, Da Conceicao Pinto, 2007). However, intergroup forgiveness is not without its challenges, for example, both the victims and those engaged in conflict can be hostile to the idea of forgiveness (McLernon et al, 2004). Social identity had emerged as central to understanding the factors that facilitate and inhibit intergroup forgiveness of the outgroup (see Van Tongeren, Burnette, O'Boyle, Worthington, & Forsyth, 2013; Noor et al, 2008) and also to the forgiveness of the ingroup (Wohl & Branscombe, 2006). The current paper will present a critical review of the literature on intergroup forgiveness, with a particular emphasis on how it related to identity and nationhood. It will also address both the positive and negative consequences of intergroup forgiveness and identify future directions for research in this area.

Dr Claire Campbell is a social psychologist. Her main interests lie within the field of intergroup relations and social cognition. She completed her doctoral work at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, investigated the utility of the Implicit Relational Assessment Procedure (IRAP) as a measure of implicit attitudes. She worked then as a post-doctoral research with Prof Mark Levine (University of Exeter), on a large EPSRC funded project investigating how shared social identification impacts on bystander intervention in violent emergencies in a naturalistic setting as well as in an Immersive Virtual Environment (IVE; also known as virtual reality). Dr Campbell went on to a lectureship at Edge Hill University for two years before joining Ulster University in 2012.

Panel 17: The impact of the EU on National Identity

Yaqoub Bouaynaya: Legislation, Myth and Governmentality: is *jus sanguinis* Citizenship in Ireland Indicative of a Harmonisation of European Legislation en-route for Supranational Governance?

This paper considers the evolution and maintenance of nationalism in relation to the development of the postcolonial Irish nation-state within the context of supranational governance and the EU. In doing so, a critique of the rationale behind the 2004 Citizenship Referendum in Ireland is posited.

Specifically, it posits that the shift in Ireland towards *jus sanguinis* citizenship may be interpreted as an indication of a regressive self-understanding. Contradictorily to what is referred to as a liberalizing trend amongst other European nations over the past two decades, Ireland, through the constitutional amendment on citizenship, would seem to be taking regressive steps towards defining nationhood, where perceptions of Irishness conceived from essentialist notions within members of the group are based on theoretically inaccurate and superficial notions of intrinsic inheritance.

The contention being, if *jus sanguinis* citizenship is interpreted as a relic of colonial subordination/otherness, it would seem contrary to the aspirations of a socio-democratic state but representative of developments of supranational governance. In juxtaposition, the technocratic nation-state exploits citizenship and identity constructs to create hierarchies, which produce inequitable civic relations amongst the internal population. To provide further justification for deducing such a shift as reminiscent of anachronistic colonial rationale, it is theorized that the change in emphasis towards *jus sanguinis* citizenship relies on subject constitution through governmentality.

To conclude, the process of exclusionary nation building in Ireland is achieved by formal mechanisms of governmentality through the inscribing or scripting of subjects, operating synchronously with, transnational capitalism that is expedited by supranational governance.

Yaqoub Bouaynaya is a Ph.D. candidate In Trinity College Dublin. His research explores perceived Irishness and to what extent identity in Ireland is reconstructed within the continuum of liquid modernity. The methodology takes a multiphase approach that seeks to explore individuals' perceived sense of identity,

either in stability or flux, by exposure to variations of Irishness through the viewing of an innovative multimedia production. An identity theory is posited whereby explicit contradictions exist between individuals' reliance on deep-rooted notions of Irishness as inherent, in contrast to, individuals' awareness and contemporary understanding of identity as being constructed through social experience. It is envisaged that the reflexive social investigation being conducted will reveal findings that substantiate/reject such theory.

Dr Anthony Soares and Dr Brendan O'Keeffe: "Bordering on European Cohesion: Cooperation and conflict on the border of Ireland-Northern Ireland and Spain-Portugal"

The proposed paper will offer a comparative analysis of the structures intended to facilitate cross-border cooperation between Ireland and Northern Ireland, and Spain and Portugal, and address the question of whether they contribute to the goal of European cohesion and of a collective "European identity". The island of Ireland is frequently used as a positive exemplar of the benefits of cross-border cooperation but, as this paper will show, despite the existence of significant North-South institutional arrangements, it continues to lag behind in the adoption of forms of cross-border governance in operation on the border between Portugal and Spain, including between Northern Portugal and Galicia. In doing so it will address the following questions:

Does the existence of Eurocities, European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation (EGTCs) or Euroregions on the Spanish-Portuguese border indicate a greater willingness to "pull together" towards European cohesion than on the border between Ireland and Northern Ireland where no such systems of cross-border governance exist? Is the legacy of the conflict in Northern Ireland still an inhibitor to advancing European cohesion through cross-border cooperation? What "nationalisms" are involved at these borders, and to what extent do they complement or clash with a "European identity"?

Dr Anthony Soares is the Research & Policy Manager at the Centre for Cross Border Studies, based in Armagh. His role includes the development and advocacy of policies at regional, national and European levels that support sustainable cross-border and transnational cooperation. Previously, Anthony was the Director and founder of the Postcolonial Research Forum at Queen's University Belfast, where he was also the coordinator of the BA in Spanish & Portuguese Studies.

Dr. Brendan O'Keeffe lectures in Geography at Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick. His specialist areas include governance, area-based initiatives and rural development. He has extensive experience as a practitioner in community development, and has worked with civil society and local government bodies in a number of countries.

Britta Busse and Jochen Tholen: "National or European Identity? Young People Caught between Two Chairs"

In recent years, the EURO crisis has revealed that the vast institutional and bureaucratic expansion of the European Union has been viewed by some citizens as a threat – not only to their national identity but also to their autonomy and self-determination. Therefore, the EURO crisis has gone beyond the boundaries of the economy and serves as a catalyst for a social and political gap between national and European identities. However, some theorists (e.g. Risse, 2010) argue that having a European identity does not necessarily lead to the neglect of national identity. According to this approach, a European identity could be understood in civil terms rather than in ethnic ones-where values like tolerance, peace and democracy serve as identity markers for Europeans. A European identity which has been internalised in this way would not compete with a national identity, but rather supplement it. Moreover, within social and cultural processes, changing opportunity structures can lead to new saliences and new focal points of identity formation. It remains an open question if the underlying mechanisms for this process will lead to a multi-layered identity under all conditions and in every cultural context (e.g. in Catalonia/Spain/Europe as well as in Germany/Europe).

Given these promising theories, we explore which positions and opinions young people (16-25 years old) in Germany display with respect to (or not) developing a European identity, as they have been growing up in these ever expanding European structures. For the analyses we use quantitative (N=934) as well as qualitative (in-depth interviews and ethnographic case studies) data drawn from a largescale EU project (MYPLACE). From the point of view of our young respondents, we highlight which institutional processes could foster the development of a European identity and which structures interfere with this.

Dr Britta Busse holds a master degree in sociology. From 2008-2012 she worked as a research assistant and lecturer at the department for social science research methods at the University of Kassel and the Darmstadt University of Technology (project funded by the German Research Foundation: “Experimental Mobile Phone Panel”). Since March 2012: Research assistant at the Institute Labour and Economy, University of Bremen (projects funded by the EU: “MYPLACE”, “MYWEB” and “SAHWA”)

Dr Jochen Tholen is research director at the Institute Labour and Economy, at the University of Bremen, Germany. He holds master degrees in economy and sociology and his research areas are labour relations, management and related studies with a focus on Europe and transition countries. He is project leader for the EU projects “MYPLACE”, “MYWEB” and “SAHWA” for the Bremen team.

Panel 18: National Identity in Times of Crisis

Dora Papadopoulou: “The Meaning of Nationalism in a Time of Crisis: the Case of Greece”

The meaning of ideologies in the periods of crisis takes a different meaning not only for the countries but also for the people/citizens. The special economic and social conditions shape different approaches sometimes without a logical or moral explanation. Societies under such occasions are formed with distinctive “guidelines” depending on how ready the agents of those societies are to react under the pressure of a crisis. The political arena changes and Nationalism becomes an important (?) power in Europe. In the case of Greece we should probably distinguish between the meaning of “national” referring to a person/citizen and the connotation of “national” as political party. The conditions in this country played an important role in the route of nationalism both as an ideology and as a representative political party. From the moment that represents an important part of a society means that citizens discover a way to express themselves. Probably those citizens felt a lack of protection from their society and tried consciously or unconsciously to find a connection with their political society. The main purpose of this paper is to follow the route of Nationalism in Greece and to answer between others the following questions: Is this kind of Nationalism in Greece a consequence of different conjunctures? Was it always part of Greek society? Is it comparable with the route of Nationalism in France? Will it also be resilient in Greece or is it only an instrument or an experiment? Did Nationalism in Greece pull apart or pull together the society?

Dora Papadopoulou is working at the moment for Forschungsinstitut für Philosophie in Hannover. She was Visiting Assistant Professor at Democritus University of Thrace and Adjunct Lecturer at TEI of Western Macedonia in Greece. She studied Philosophy, Social Sciences and Political Sciences at University in Crete. During her PhD (her PhD thesis was about “Deliberation Democracy and ‘Diskurs’: A comparison between Habermas and Rawls” with Prof. Otfried Hoeffe in Tuebingen) she was invited as Researcher in London School of Economics and after that she was invited as Research Post-doctoral Scholar in New School under the surveillance of Nancy Fraser. She was awarded with scholarship during her studies both from Alexander S. Public Benefit Foundation and State Scholarships Foundation of Greece (IKY). She is Member of various Associations and she has participated in many international conferences. Her publications are about deliberation, e-participation, e-governance, gender studies and political communication. Areas of her specialization are: Social and Political Theory, Political Philosophy, Political Sociology, Feminist Theories, Theories of Public Sphere, Theory 19th and 20th century, European Thought, Applied Ethics.

Anthony Buckley: “Beyond Beautiful – Why Citizens are Comparatively Happier, More Prosperous, More Peaceful and More Democratically Engaged in Smaller States”

Half of all sovereign states in the world have a population of 6.2m (World Bank, 2014). The mainstream literature in most academic disciplines has chosen, by accident or design, to neglect the unique determinants of small state growth and development (Armstrong and Read, 2003; Read, 2014). These are extraordinary omissions when the collective evidence on the performance of smaller states on a wide range of economic, political, cultural and social indices is considered. Apart from the disproportionate representation that small states enjoy in the World Bank’s Upper-Middle and High Income categories, many small states also feature in the higher reaches of the World Bank’s Human Development Indicators (HDI) (Read, 2014). Indeed, smaller developed states, particularly northern European ones, dominate the top rankings in the more specific development indices such as those in Knowledge economy, peace, contribution to the planet, wellbeing and globalisation. The evidence is suggesting that there is something unique about the growth and development model of the smaller state.

Indeed, smaller states possess levels of social capital which positively impact on the quality of governance, allowing for proactive and inclusive policy formulation and execution. Successful small sovereign states have accepted that history and geography is not necessarily destiny as they exploit the strategic flexibility afforded by small size (Breznitz & Zimmerman, 2008; Baldacchino & Bertram, 2009). The inferences drawn from the current body of evidence, particularly the worldwide governance indicators (World Bank, 2014) and the work of Rodrik (2008) Acemoglu *et al.* (2012), for example, is that good governance and institutional quality are important factors driving the smaller states’ high performance, thereby helping the smaller state to compensate for its small size, insularity and peripherality. Other salient factors differentiating between the performance of smaller states (and under-performing larger states) is the greater separation of the governed from the government (Kohr, 1957), the lower levels of exposure in larger states to global economic changes and the opportunity for small states to benefit from ‘free riding’ on defence spending (Read, 2014). Politicians, policy makers and citizens in larger states, autonomous regions and sub-national jurisdictions should take cognisance of the significance of the data ‘hidden in plain view’ (Tobin and Dobbard, 2011).

Dr Anthony Paul Buckley is Assistant Head, School of Marketing, College of Business, at the Dublin Institute of Technology. Tony holds a PhD in Management from Lancaster University (UK) a Postgraduate Certificate in Learning and Teaching from DIT, an MBS in International Marketing from UCD and an MA and BSC in Management from Trinity College Dublin. In addition to his role as Course Director on the MSc in Business and Entrepreneurship, Tony teaches on a number of Executive Education Programmes, including the MSc in Technology Management, the MSc in Product Management and the MSc in International Business Development as well as the Enterprise Sustainability on the MBA programme in recognition of his interest in the scholarship of teaching. Tony was awarded the College of Business Teaching Fellowship Award for 2013/4 to research entrepreneurship learning outcomes. His research interests are in the area of indigenous entrepreneurship and the theory of growth and development of indigenous firms in small(er) states – with particular emphasis on policy-related issues. Tony was recently awarded the Best Paper Award at the 11th Annual European Evaluation Society Conference. He also presented a paper (Policy stream) at the World Entrepreneurship Conference (ICSB) in 2014. Before entering academia full-time in 2006, Tony worked in senior leadership positions with the Glen Dimplex Group, Nissan, Meteor Mobile and in the US with the Irish Trade Board.

Jill Dixon: “The Push and Pull of Sub-State Government Policies and Practice. How Different is the Generalitat of Catalonia from Other Autonomous Governments of Spain and Why is this the Case?”

Many have argued the case for the ‘hecho diferencial catalán’ – recognition of an inherent difference between Catalonia and the rest of Spain, based on a distinct political identity with its roots in its own history, language, culture and institutions. This paper explores whether the way in which the sub-state organ of Government in Catalonia – the Generalitat – is distinct, in its policies and practices, from other Autonomous Governments of Spain. This exploration seeks to determine some of the reasons – the pull and the push factors – for any similarities or differences. The paper’s opening section will cover a brief contextualisation of the concept of sub-

state identity and of the traditions and recent developments in public administration as they pertain to today's Spain. It then sets out a range of 'push' factors – forces which could explain why the Generalitat might be expected to be distinct. Using a comparative case study of the Generalitat of Catalonia and the Junta of Andalusia, the paper will reflect on evidence gathered from field work undertaken in Autumn 2014 of these institutions' policies, practices and budgetary priorities, focusing on the similarities and differences between the two. It will also consider the impact of administrative traditions, political cultures and the national contemporary constitutional context – forces which can be described as 'pull' factors, which may tend to promote greater homogeneity amongst sub-state governments. The paper concludes by applying these findings to the specific case of the response of the Generalitat and other sub-state governments to the current economic crisis.

Jill Dixon is a PhD candidate at Northumbria University, scheduled to submit her thesis in 2016. Prior to commencing her current studies, she pursued a career in local government in the North East of England in a succession of policy and strategy posts, culminating in the position of Chief Executive of Northumberland County Council. Her thesis combines an interest in Spanish history and politics, Spanish language skills and experience of strategic management in the public sector.

Panel 19: El desafío de la identidad nacional en España

Sergio Sánchez Collantes: “Las propuestas del federalismo histórico para articular España: un legado constitucional para repensar los nacionalismos actuales”

Antes de que los nacionalismos periféricos se afianzaran como movimientos políticos organizados, en España el republicanismo federal había logrado movilizar a importantes sectores de la población con un discurso que, sin renunciar a la defensa de singularidades regionales como la lengua o las costumbres propias, antepuso la reivindicación de libertades y derechos entonces muy avanzados, para construir mediante pactos un horizonte federativo que a largo plazo no tenía por qué detenerse en la Península Ibérica y encerraba claras aspiraciones europeístas. En la década de 1880, aquel Partido Republicano Federal, liderado por Francisco Pi y Margall, hizo un llamamiento a todas las regiones españolas para que redactasen y votasen unos proyectos constitucionales muy particulares: los que habrían de regirlas como Estados el día en que se volviese a proclamar la República. Se continuó trabajando en esos borradores prácticamente hasta 1914. Se trató de una experiencia en la que sólo participaron los federales, pero el camino seguido, desde la elección de representantes para las asambleas regionales hasta el envío de delegados a una asamblea nacional, era lo más parecido a un proceso constituyente democrático —aunque extraparlamentario—. De modo que esos documentos constitucionales revisten gran significación tanto por su contenido como por las circunstancias que rodearon su aparición.

Sugerimos una ponencia que, examinando comparativamente determinados aspectos de esos proyectos de constitución, ayude a repensar los nacionalismos actuales a la luz de una cultura política como la republicana federal, que en España se distinguió por la defensa de aunar esfuerzos para la construcción de una nación de nacionalidades de abajo arriba, mediante pactos que reconocían la diversidad y autonomía de unas partes en las que la soberanía, la identidad y los sentimientos nacionales no dividían ni separaban. *¿Pulling Together or Pulling Apart?* Los federales se decantaron claramente por la primera opción introduciendo una diferencia entre la nación, que se correspondía con la federación (España), y las nacionalidades (Estados regionales que se federan). Pero había sobre todo un objetivo común de progresar juntos, lo cual suponía priorizar la ciudadanía basada en derechos y en el bienestar a los esencialismos y ciertas singularidades que, en cualquier caso, quedaban perfectamente amparadas dentro de un marco común.

Sergio Sánchez Collantes (Gijón, 1979) es Doctor en Historia con por la Universidad de Oviedo y, desde 2014, Profesor Ayudante en el Área de Historia Contemporánea de la Universidad de Burgos. Anteriormente trabajó como docente e investigador en la Universidad de La Rioja y en la de Oviedo, donde fue becario FPU del Ministerio de Educación. Sus principales líneas de trabajo se inscriben dentro de la historia política, social y cultural. La mayor parte de sus investigaciones se han centrado en el republicanismo y la tradición democrática en el periodo contemporáneo. Los resultados de esa labor se hallan recogidos en diversas publicaciones, como los libros *Demócratas de antaño* (Trea, 2007), *Sediciosos y*

románticos (Zahorí, 2011) y *El Azote de la plebe* (Zahorí, 2014). Asimismo, ha codirigido la obra *La escarapela tricolor* (KRK, 2008) y realizado el estudio preliminar del *Proyecto de Constitución Federal del Estado Asturiano* (Trea, 2009). Autor de numerosos artículos en revistas científicas y monografías colectivas, también ha participado en varios proyectos de investigación financiados por instituciones públicas y privadas. Su actividad ha sido distinguida con los premios Juan Uría (2012) y Rosario de Acuña (2011 y 2013). Paralelamente, es columnista del periódico *El Comercio* de Gijón, y colaborador de las revistas *Atlántica XXII* e *Historia y Vida*, tras haberlo sido de la desaparecida *BBC Historia* (edición española de *BBC History*). Actualmente forma parte del Grupo de Investigación en Historia Sociocultural GRUHSOC (Univ. Oviedo) y del Grupo Consolidado Investigaciones Históricas Andaluzas HUM-331 (Univ. Málaga).

Ferran Archilés Cardona: “Los límites del reconocimiento de la diversidad nacional: España y la ausencia de plurinacionalidad (1978-2015)”

Con la aprobación de la Constitución de 1978 se puso en marcha en España el llamado “Estado de las Autonomías”, basado en un modelo de descentralización política. Sin embargo ni en la Constitución ni en los años posteriores se ha avanzado hacia un modelo abiertamente federal para España. Además, el reconocimiento de la plurinacionalidad no está tampoco presente. Esta propuesta de paper plantea estudiar los límites del reconocimiento de la diversidad nacional en España. Paradójicamente, la descentralización política no se ha acompañado de ninguna forma de fomento ni apoyo a las culturas en lengua no española en la esfera pública nacional. Por otra parte se propone explorar la aparición de una nueva y exitosa forma de “nacionalismo banal” español que ha reinventado ciertos símbolos (como la selección nacional de fútbol). Todo ello dibuja un complejo escenario en el que las demandas de transformación impulsadas desde Cataluña y Euskadi encuentran un fuerte rechazo e incompreensión desde el resto de España.

Ferran Archilés Cardona, Doctor en Historia Contemporánea por la Universitat de Valencia (UVEG), es profesor Ayudante en el Departament d’Historia Contemporánea de la UVEG. Ha realizado estancias de investigación en la London School of Economics y en la Université Paris VIII-Saint Dennis. Ha dedicado sus trabajos de investigación al estudio de la identidad nacional española y del nacionalismo, así como al estudio de las identidades regionales, con especial atención al caso de Valencia y a la teoría e historiografía del nacionalismo.

Joan Romero, Joaquín Martín Cubas, Margarita Soler y José María Vidal: “Reconstruyendo puentes: naciones y estado en la España actual”

La transición a la democracia en la España de 1978 constituyó un éxito sin precedentes. El conjunto de pactos entonces alcanzados están en la base de la estabilidad, el desarrollo institucional y el progreso socioeconómico de nuestro país. Pero hay un ámbito, el del reconocimiento del hecho plurinacional, que se pensó cerrado y superado con el advenimiento del Estado Autonómico. Hoy este viejo problema ha vuelto a manifestarse como nuestro mayor desafío colectivo: la equivocada o interesada confusión entre Estado y nación no ha ocultado la existencia real de sentimientos nacionales plurales. La sentencia del Tribunal Constitucional de 2010 sobre el Estatuto de Cataluña se ha revelado como un punto de inflexión que ha roto puentes importantes en el proceso de integración de los sentimientos nacionales en un proyecto de Estado constitucional. Desde Cataluña, no solo sus élites políticas sino también una amplia base social, ya no es que propongan como antaño una nueva posición dentro del Estado, sino que se han embarcado en un proceso de secesión. Sostenemos, sin embargo, que no ha sido la Constitución sino la práctica política, al persistir en la idea orteguiana de *vertebrar* un Estado *nacional*, la que ha cerrado los caminos hacia una idea más afectiva de entender la España plurinacional. Entendemos que la política de nuevo, el pacto y el consenso, deben servir para recomponer los puentes de integración en un proyecto común, el de un Estado español, europeo y plurinacional.

Joan Romero, Catedrático de Geografía Humana y hasta enero de 2008 Director del Instituto Interuniversitario de Desarrollo Local en la Universidad de Valencia, es uno de los impulsores del *Manifiesto Construyendo una España federal* y miembro de “Federalistas en red”. Es autor de *España inacabada* (PUV, 2006) y *Geopolítica y gobierno del territorio en España* (Tirant Lo Blanch, 2009).

Joaquín Martín Cubas es profesor de Ciencia Política y de la Administración en la Universidad de Valencia. Entre sus publicaciones: *Democracia y Tribunal Constitucional*, *Democracia e Internet*, *El nacimiento del Estatuto valenciano*, o *Las políticas públicas de integración ciudadana*. Miembro investigador del Instituto interuniversitario de Desarrollo Local.

Margarita Soler Sánchez es profesora de Derecho Constitucional. Directora del Departamento de Derecho Constitucional, Ciencia Política y de la Administración de la Universitat de València. Entre sus publicaciones: *Campañas electorales y democracia en España*, *Las instituciones políticas de la Comunitat Valenciana* o *La transición política en la Comunidad Valenciana*.

José M^a Vidal es profesor titular de Derecho Constitucional de la Universitat de València. Entre otros cargos ha sido Director General de Cooperación Autónoma (MAP) y Director del Centro de Nuevas Estrategias de Gobernanza Pública (INAP). Entre sus publicaciones: *Vertebrando España. El Estado Autonomico* (2009); o “*El salto (a la necesaria eficiencia) federal*”.

Panel 20: Language and Self-expression in Identity Formation

Kathryn Hannum: “Geographies of Language Subordination in Galicia, Spain”

Language has been demonstrated to be a key factor in national identity. Minority language communities around the world sense an impending crisis of identity the face of social competition, political indifference, and global homogenization. This paper seeks to investigate patters of disparity between official Galician linguistic laws and actual language usage in both urban and rural settings. The success of linguistic normalization hinges upon several important legislative acts passed after the Spanish constitutional referendum and democratic shift in 1978. All administration within the region has changed from Castilian to Galician, and roughly half of all compulsory education is taught in Galician. The implementation of these linguistic normalizations has had mixed results among the general public, as the reputation of the Galician language as a poor, rural tongue persists. This paper analyzes legislation regarding Galician normalization since 1978 alongside spoken language trends over the same period. It then compares urban and rural venues, and incorporates first hand experiences of Galicians into the analysis. Analyzing the effects of standardization of Galician within Galicia will help to better understand the nationalization movement within the region, of which language is a key component.

Kathryn Hannum is a Geography student earning her Masters degree at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio. Her research focus is sociolinguistics and nationalism in Galicia Spain. She lived in Galicia and worked for the Spanish Ministry of Education for one year after completing her B.A. in Geography from San Jose State, CA in 2011.

Mark Hau: “Becoming Catalan through Speech: Narrative Cultivations of Self among Catalan Nationalists”

This paper aims to provide a novel perspective on how Catalan national identity is subject to social construction through active choices, technologies of the self, and daily acts of cultivation rather than existing as a predetermined, passively assigned ethnic category. Drawing on ethnographic data gathered among activists of the separatist, left-wing party *Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya*, I analyse how contemporary Catalan ethnic identity construction is performed and embodied through daily communicative practice and shared narratives. The terminology of ethical self-transformation, earlier primarily used in the study of religious behavior, helps to unpack these narrative constructions of identity as performed by nationalist, Catalan actors.

In Catalan politics, tensions between Catalan and Spanish identities unfold in disputes over topics ranging from licence plates to flag flying and school reforms. As national senses of belonging become inextricably linked with

realpolitik, political constructions of ‘the good life’ increasingly take Catalan independence and Catalan national identity as a starting point, linking the political and the moral. Catalan nationalist activists attempt to align personal and communal narratives by discursively equating a Catalan ‘ideal self’ with morally correct behavior, contrasting ‘Catalan virtues’ with ‘Spanish vices’. A further analysis of the link between the moral and the political in Catalan nationalist narratives illuminate new facets of contemporary Catalan identity formation.

Mark Hau is a PhD candidate in European Studies at Aarhus University, researching the interplay between national and European identities and stateless nationalism in Scotland and Catalonia. He holds an MSc. in Social Anthropology from the University of Copenhagen and has done fieldwork in Barcelona among members of the Catalan party Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya.

Mandie Iveson: “Online Nationalism: Contrasting Gendered Narratives of Nation Building Using New Media”

Since the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008, Catalonia's independence progress has been steadily accelerating. There has been a rise in secessionism through grass roots social movements and a resurgence of national identity. The two main pro-independence civic organisations, *Assemblea Nacional de Catalunya (ANC)* and *Òmnium Cultural* have been pivotal in the organisation of several pro-independence demonstrations over the last five years and have used the internet to promote these events and facilitate collective action among Catalan citizens. The latest campaign was the long anticipated public ‘referendum’ on independence held in November 2014. Given that the leaders of both *ANC* and *Òmnium* are women, it is interesting to examine the effects of this campaign from a gendered viewpoint.

The power of the internet to facilitate mobilisation of a large number of people is now well established and the two groups used social media sites to promote and consolidate Catalan national sentiment and motivate participation in the consultation. The final campaign ‘push’ was a video entitled ‘*Votaré per tu*’ (I will vote for you) which depicts Catalan personalities dedicating their vote to well-known figures from Catalan history.

This paper presents preliminary findings of data collected from comments related to the video posted on Facebook and YouTube in the week leading up to the popular consultation on independence. Drawing on theory of gender, nationhood and women’s role in constructing nations (Yuval Davis), I will examine their presence (or absence) on these websites. Using corpus and critical discourse analysis, I will explore contrasting narratives of nation building and examine the role women play in defining and constructing a Catalan national identity.

Mandie Iveson is a first year AHRC TECHNE funded PhD student in the Department of Media, Culture and Language at the University of Roehampton. She holds a BA in English Language and Linguistics, also from Roehampton and an MSc in Social Research Methods from the London School of Economics. Her research centres on the role of Catalan in identity formation as a nation-building tool focusing on three generations of women in Catalonia.

Panel 21: Nacionalismo Vasco y Catalán

Lucas Álvarez Canga: “El papel de España en el nacionalismo catalán”

El nacionalismo catalán ha experimentado un renovado auge en los últimos tiempos. Éste nuevo empuje se ha producido sobre todo desde 2012, tras la sentencia negativa del Tribunal Constitucional sobre el Estatuto de Autonomía de Cataluña de 2006 en 2010 y tras el rechazo por parte del gobierno a un nuevo pacto fiscal para Cataluña en 2012. Desde entonces, el nacionalismo catalán se ha venido articulando, entre otros motivos, en torno a las acciones que son consideradas como dirigidas contra la identidad catalana, así como a la política y a la economía, por parte de España.

¿Ha sido el papel de España decisivo en este resurgir del nacionalismo? Frente a autores clásicos del nacionalismo, como Anderson o Miller, que sitúan entre los requisitos para la existencia de éste un sentimiento de comunidad entre la población afectada, en este caso parece que ocurre de una manera distinta: parte de la desafección con España. Analizaremos los argumentos que han fomentado este movimiento que atañen a la relación entre España y Cataluña para mostrar el importante papel que ha jugado la primera. Para ello, nos basaremos, sobre todo, en el diario catalán *La Vanguardia*.

Lucas Álvarez Canga es licenciado en Filosofía y Máster en Historia y Análisis Sociocultural por la Universidad de Oviedo. Actualmente doctorando de la Universidad de Oviedo del Departamento de Filosofía. Autor de ‘Un Marco para la Comprensión de los Diferentes Enemigos en el Siglo XVIII y sus Relaciones’, en la revista *RUHM*.

Onintza Odriozola Irizar and Zuriñe Rodríguez Lara: “Las mujeres en ETA: del discurso de género a las prácticas políticas feministas”

El nacionalismo vasco revolucionario transformó el discurso de género dominante en el nacionalismo vasco. El primer nacionalismo vasco consideraba la raza el elemento indiscutible de pertenencia a la nación y delimitaba las funciones de las mujeres como portadoras biológicas, culturales y simbólicas de la colectividad (Yuval-Davis, 1997; Dutch, 2012). El desarrollo de un nacionalismo de izquierdas en los años 50 y 60 introdujo nuevos elementos en los que basar dicha pertenencia, tales como la etnia, la lengua o la propia voluntad de sus miembros. Ese cambio conceptual se materializó en un contexto internacional de procesos de emancipación que fomentaron la autodenominación de ETA como movimiento revolucionario socialista. A su vez, estos procesos junto con el estallido en estos años de las luchas feministas por la emancipación de las mujeres, trajeron consigo un cambio en el discurso y práctica de las mujeres dentro del movimiento nacionalista. Cambio que se visibilizó en diferentes funciones de roles dentro del movimiento.

Centrándonos exclusivamente en las mujeres que participaron dentro de ETA como sujetas activas, esta comunicación pretende contestar a ciertas preguntas tales como: ¿hasta qué punto el cambio de discurso se traspasó a las prácticas políticas de las mujeres de ETA? ¿Fue el discurso el que motivó un cambio en los roles o el contrario? ¿Hasta que punto las prácticas fueron por delante o por detrás del cambio de discurso? ¿En qué espacio de la vida y activismo diario se pudo ver este cambio de discurso? Y ¿nuevos discurso y práctica supusieron para las mujeres de ETA mayores cotas de emancipación?

Mediante este working paper pretendemos ver las diferencias y similitudes entre el discurso y la práctica de las mujeres que participaron en ETA. Para ello, por un lado, a través del análisis de contenido, analizaremos la evolución del concepto de género y los factores que determinan las transiciones del mismo dentro del discurso de ETA. Por otro lado, a través de la biografías políticas con mujeres activistas de ETA, veremos cómo se traspasa el discurso a la práctica.

Onintza Odriozola Irizar es profesora en el Departamento de Magisterio de la Universidad del País Vasco-Euskal Herriko Unibersitatea. Licenciada en Historia en la Universidad de Deusto. Doctorada en el Departamento de Sociología de al UPV-EHU. Miembra del Grupo de Investigación Consolidado Parte Hartuz Ufi EMAN, eje Nacionalismos e Identidad Nacional.

Zuriñe Rodríguez Lara es investigadora pre-doctoral del Gobierno Vasco en el Departamento de Ciencia Política y de la Administración de la Universidad del País Vasco-Euskal Herriko Unibersitatea. Licenciada en Humanidades: Comunicación por la Universidad de Deusto y Máster en Gobernanza y Estudios políticos por la UPV-EHU. Miembra del Grupo de Investigación Consolidado Parte Hartuz Ufi EMAN, eje Modelos de democracia y feminismos.

Iker Iraola: “¿Quién es parte de la nación? El sujeto en el discurso del nacionalismo vasco sobre la inmigración”

Los nacionalismos, al definir la nación, concretan al mismo tiempo quién forma parte de dicha nación. En ese proceso es especialmente relevante el discurso que el nacionalismo construye sobre la inmigración. En esta

comunicación, analizaremos las diferentes formas con las que el nacionalismo vasco ha definido, y define, quién es ciudadano de la nación, y para ello haremos referencia al discurso sobre la inmigración.

El nacionalismo vasco ha tenido, desde sus orígenes, una relación problemática con la cuestión migratoria. Así, el nacionalismo vasco surgió en el contexto de una importante inmigración intraestatal española al País Vasco. Este primer nacionalismo definió la nación de tal forma que los inmigrantes y muchos de los habitantes del territorio quedaban fuera la misma. Más adelante, en los 60-70 y en el contexto de la dictadura franquista, el nacionalismo vasco se renovó, con la influencia del marxismo y la izquierda. Paradójicamente, esta renovación se dio junto a una gran inmigración desde el territorio del que ese nacionalismo se quería separar. Pero en este caso, el nacionalismo vasco pasó a buscar la adhesión del inmigrante a su movimiento. Esta evolución creó las bases del discurso que, hoy en día, desarrolla el nacionalismo vasco sobre la inmigración.

Con la entrada del siglo XXI, una nueva inmigración llegó al País Vasco, y dio paso a un nuevo discurso por parte del nacionalismo vasco, tanto sobre la propia inmigración, como sobre quién es vasco/a. En esta comunicación, por lo tanto, trataremos la evolución de las formas de ver, por parte del nacionalismo vasco, quién conforma la nación. Asimismo, nos centraremos en las nuevas perspectivas que, al respecto, se dan por parte de este nacionalismo.

Iker Iraola es doctor (PhD) en Sociología por la Universidad del País Vasco (UPV/EHU), donde es profesor en el Departamento de Sociología y Trabajo Social. Sus líneas de investigación son el nacionalismo vasco, la relación entre nacionalismo e inmigración, y la construcción de los discursos sociopolíticos.

Mikel Saratxo: “Análisis DAFO de la decisión de ETA de abandonar la lucha armada. Amenazas y oportunidades para un Nuevo modelo de nacionalismo en el País Vasco”

El 20 de octubre de 2011 la organización independentista vasca ETA anunció que ponía fin a la actividad armada que había venido empleando desde principios de la década de los 60. Tal decisión no fue la consecuencia de ningún proceso de negociación con el Estado español sino que fue el resultado final de una reflexión interna realizada unilateralmente por ETA. Esa decisión, que a nuestro parecer, ha marcado un punto de inflexión en el desarrollo estratégico del nacionalismo vasco, estuvo influenciada por diversos factores, tales como: la fuerte presión policial ejercida por parte del Estado español y el estado francés contra sus miembros, la corroboración de la ilegalización de la Izquierda Abertzale por parte del Tribunal de Estrasburgo en 2009 o la percepción por parte de ETA del agotamiento de las principales vías estratégicas empleadas hasta entonces, la negociación con los Estados y la creación de un Frente Nacional vasco, entre otros.

Mediante esta comunicación pretendemos representar mediante un análisis DAFO los principales factores que llevaron a ETA a tomar la decisión de abandonar la lucha armada; analizando las debilidades and fortalezas internas así como las amenazas y oportunidades externas más influyentes en dicha decisión, la cual indudablemente ha favorecido el desarrollo de un nuevo plantamiento nacionalista en el caso vasco, pasando éste de ofrecer un planteamiento político de base étnica a establecer la voluntad política de los ciudadanos vascos como factor determinante de ese “nuevo nacionalismo”.

Mikel Saratxo es licenciado en Ciencias Políticas y de la Administración (Universidad del País Vasco, UPV-EHU). Realizó un master de investigación sobre “Nacionalismos en el siglo XXI” (UPV-EHU) obteniendo la mención al mayor expediente de su promoción. Es miembro del grupo de investigación Parte Hartuz de la UPV-EHU, financiado por el Gobierno Vasco. Ha publicado varios artículos en revistas científicas, generalmente sobre la evolución del nacionalismo vasco. Actualmente está elaborando su tesis doctoral.

Panel 22: Debates on National Identity in Contemporary Europe

Thomas Jeffrey Miley: “Why is there no Ethnic Nationalism in Bavaria? An Exercise in Contra Factual Explanation”

The recent upsurge of nationalist mobilization and the return of regionalism have received a lot of attention. Little research has been devoted to situations without out regional-nationalist movements despite the presence of many of the factors which have been demonstrated to accompany the success of the contemporary nationalist movements.

Our proposed paper will analyze such a situation in a comparative perspective. Though similar to Catalonia in many ways, there is no movement in Bavaria for independence from Germany. Why did potentially powerful underlying economic and socio-cultural bases facilitate the emergence of a salient ethno-national cleavage in one case but not in the other?

Our explanation will focus on dynamics and opportunities located in the political arena. In Catalonia, the regional-nationalist movement managed to take advantage of political opportunities provided in the critical juncture of the transition to democracy to gain hegemony in regional-level party politics, the regional-controlled educational system, and the regional administrative apparatus. The working of Germany’s federal system, by contrast, provides excellent political opportunities and room for manoeuvring for the regional elite in Bavaria and its constituency.

Thomas Jeffrey Miley is Lecturer of Political Sociology in the Department of Sociology at Cambridge. He received his B.A. from U.C.L.A. (1995) and his PhD. from Yale University (2004). He has lectured at Yale University, Wesleyan University, and Saint Louis University (Madrid); and he has been a Garcia-Pelayo Research Fellow at the Center for Political and Constitutional Studies in Madrid. His research interests include comparative nationalisms, language politics, the politics of migration, religion and politics, regime types, and democratic theory. Recent publications of his include: “Democratic Representation and the National Question in Catalan and Basque Politics” (*International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, October 2013); “Blocked Articulation and Nationalist Hegemony in Catalonia” (*Regional and Federal Studies*, Volume 23, Issue 1 (2013): 7-26; and “‘Linguistic Immersion’ and Political Conflict in Contemporary Catalonia,” *European Journal of Language Policy*, Number 1 (Spring 2013) (with Roberto Garvía).

Tim Nieguth: “PEGIDA and German National Identity”

In late 2014 and early 2015, thousands of Germans took part in weekly protest marches, centred on the city of Dresden, to express their fundamental discontent with the state of German politics. The chief sources of discontent were a sense of alienation from government and the political elites, concerns over immigration, and fears about Islam. This last issue figured prominently in the very name of the group that organized the weekly protests – the *Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident* (PEGIDA). For the first few months of its existence, PEGIDA grew rapidly. By mid-January, its Dresden demonstrations counted 25,000 participants. However, just a few weeks later, PEGIDA had almost completely disintegrated. Its leader had been forced to step down in January over allegations of racism; shortly afterwards, many members of PEGIDA’s organizing committee quit the group altogether. The number of participants at PEGIDA demonstrations dropped precipitously, to roughly 2,000 in early February. Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to dismiss PEGIDA as an ephemeral or insignificant phenomenon. Analyzing the political rhetoric of, and about, PEGIDA can offer crucial insights into the dynamics of contemporary German nationalism, in particular contests over the ethnic closure of the nation. In addition, and just as importantly, investigating public responses to the PEGIDA movement can shed light on the interaction between elite and non-elite forms of nationalism, as well as on Otherization processes within majority groups (rather than between majority and minority groups).

Tim Nieguth is Associate Professor of Political Science at Laurentian University’s Barrie campus. His research interests centre on nationalism, secession, representative democracy, and everyday culture.

Andreas Tornaritis: “The Ethnic Conflict that Led to the 1974 Turkish Invasion and the de facto Partition of Cyprus”

This main focus of this paper will be on the role played by nationalism and ethnicity in the Cyprus conflict. Ethnicity and ethnic groups are increasingly relevant to the study of domestic and international politics, as Said puts it, ‘we have entered the age of ethnicity in international politics... the early phase of a new era in world history... an era of ethnic challenges to world order and security’. Ethnicity has been an increasingly significant factor in state-building since the emergence of the modern secular territorial state. ‘Contemporary ethnicity is highly conscious, political and (possesses) new modes of interest, articulation and conflict, which nevertheless also retain its quality of sacredness. Ethnic groups are simultaneously both primordial and modern ... politicisation of the primordial bonds armed the ethnic group to survive under the exigencies of modern conditions’ (Joseph J, 1997). Cyprus plays host to three examples of nationalist movement. First, European nationalism which is based on the assumption that groups of people with a common language, will form a nation independent of existing sovereignties and jurisdictions. Second, anti-colonial nationalism defines colonialism or post-colonial imperialism as its common enemy, and was highly influential among both Greek and Turkish Cypriots following World War II. Finally, a third form of nationalism does not aim to create new state boundaries or transfer sovereignties; but rather, to relocate power and resources within a state.

Andreas Tornaritis is a PhD candidate (Global Political Economy) in the School of Sociology, Politics and International Studies in the University of Bristol.

Patricia Ferraz de Matos: “Specific Knowledge, General Discourse: the Discussion on the Originality of the Portuguese People”

All over Europe, in the second half of the 19th century, physical anthropological and archaeological studies, but also the studies on folklore and ethnology, were often associated with the search for an understanding of the origins, the history and the nations’ specific traits. The study of the origins of the Portuguese, focused on the concept of nation, has caught the interest of many authors. The main focus was not autonomy, but rather the diagnosis of the decadence and the affirmation of an identity, considering the context of the time, where the socially and economically stronger European powers restrained the country and its colonies. In that ethno-genealogical project, Portuguese anthropology was bound to the theories of other areas, such as history or archaeology. Some authors sought explanations based on the characteristics of ethnic groups that may have been the ancestors of the Portuguese, such as the Celts or the Lusitanians, the Arabs or other invading peoples. Others considered that the nation, without an individualised ethnic base, may have resulted from political will and institutions, and not from “race” as a national type. However, one of the strongest theories was the ethno-genealogical narrative involving the Lusitanians. The debate that sought to justify the antiquity and originality of the Portuguese people could also count on the contribution of ethnic psychology and the analysis of historic and geographic factors.

Patrícia Ferraz de Matos is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences (ICS) of the University of Lisbon (UL) and works in the project entitled "Tramas da ciência: Um olhar antropológico sobre as redes constitutivas da construção do conhecimento científico" ("The weavings of science: an anthropological view on the networks underlying the forging of scientific knowledge"). She obtained her University Degree in Anthropology (1997) at the University of Coimbra's Faculty of Science and Technology (<http://www.uc.pt/fectuc>). Then she obtained her Master's Degree in Social Sciences (2005) and her Ph.D. in Social and Cultural Anthropology (2012) at the ICS - UL. Her Ph.D. thesis is entitled "Mendes Correia e a Escola de Antropologia do Porto: Contribuição para o estudo das relações entre antropologia, nacionalismo e colonialismo" (2012) ("Mendes Correia and the Porto School of Anthropology: Contribution towards the study of the relationships between anthropology, nationalism and colonialism"). This thesis aimed at: 1. contributing to a better understanding of the production of anthropological knowledge in Portugal; 2. knowing the wider scientific history in which this production is integrated; 3. understanding speech and political practices in successive regimes - from the Monarchy to the *Estado Novo*; 4. increasing global knowledge on the articulation between anthropology, nationalism and colonialism.