Bilingualism, identity, and citizenship in the Basque Country*

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This chapter deals with the current situation of bilingualism in Euskal Herria (the Basque Country), being brought about by a process to revive the Basque language and culture. This situation manifests itself differently in each of the Basque Country’s three political-administrative territories: the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) and the Charter Community of Navarre (Navarre) in Spain, and Iparralde (the Basque territories) in France, largely due to the different institutional language policies applied. Interdependence among different processes is shown: re-Basquization and bilingualization, ethnolinguistic identity (linguistic and cultural), acculturation strategies and the psychosocial construction of citizenship and Basque nationalism. The Basque case is of great interest because it presents a dynamic, changing scenario, ideal for studying all the questions raised. It also has far-reaching implications for language and identity in general and in particular in the Spanish-contact contexts. The Basque case highlights nicely the complex and multifarious nature of constructing, performing and negotiating identity at the societal and individual levels.

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1. Presenting the Basque case

Euskal Herria (the Basque Country)\(^2\) is a small region located in the vertex of the Atlantic Arc on both sides of the Pyrenees mountain range, divided between Spain and France. The seven historical territories or provinces that make up Euskal Herria (hereinafter referred to as Euskal Herria) are currently divided in the following way: (1) Hegoalde or the Southern Basque Country, in the Spanish State: Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa that constitute the Basque Autonomous Community (hereinafter referred to as the BAC) and the Charter Community of Navarre (hereinafter referred to as Navarre) and (2) Iparralde or the Northern Basque Country (hereinafter referred to as Iparralde) in the French State: Lapurdi, Behe Nafarroa and Zuberoa make up part of the département of the Pyrénées-Atlantiques (they do not constitute a single, separate administration in France, despite continual demands for the creation of a Basque département). This division largely explains the different situation presented by each of the three Basque political-administrative units, with respect to both bilingualism and Basque identity.

The BAC and Navarre are two of the 17 Autonomous Communities within Spain. They are among the most economically dynamic, most industrialized and most modern. This fact has undoubtedly facilitated the great efforts towards the normalization of the Basque language and culture that have been made over the past 25 years, especially in the BAC. By contrast, Iparralde (the Basque territories in the French State) has a more traditional economy, based internally and mainly on agriculture, stockbreeding and on tourism. It is precisely these territories where the decline of Euskara (the Basque language) still persists. The BAC, the most dynamic in the Basque language and culture normalization process, experienced high immigration rates from other Spanish regions, most significantly at the beginning of the 20th century and during the Franco era. As a result, roughly one third of the current population in the BAC (taking only the last three generations into consideration) is the result of this immigration (immigration in the other territories is recent). Notwithstanding, the BAC has been and continues to be the most dynamic community in the Basque language and culture normalization processes. The most important Basque city, Bilbao, located in the BAC, is also one

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1. In order to provide an overview of Euskal Herria, the Basque Country and of Euskara, the Basque language, during recent decades and today, some of the aspects that are going to be referred to in this introduction have already appeared in recently published papers (Azurmendi, Bachoc and Zabaleta 2001; Azurmendi and Martínez de Luna 2005, 2006; Gardner 2000).

2. Euskal Herria has a surface area of 20,664 km\(^2\) (the BAC 7,234 km\(^2\), Navarre 10,392 km\(^2\), and Iparralde 3,039 km\(^2\)) and (2) 2,900,856 inhabitants (2,082,587 in the BAC, 556,263 in Navarre, according to the 2001 census, and 262,440 in Iparralde, according to the 1991 census). So, we are dealing with one speech community and one small, but highly complex nation.
of the most important ones in the Atlantic Arc of the EU. This socioeconomic context is important, as it is one of the factors that explains the political-linguistic changes taking place.

Euskara is a linguistic isolate in Europe from a genealogical viewpoint, since it is not related to any other European language, and also from a typological viewpoint; it is one of the oldest languages in Europe and predates the arrival of the languages classified as Indo-European. Although its domain was considerably greater in early history than in recent history, it is a truly an autochthonous language in Europe. Perhaps because of all this, Euskal Herria means the Country of Euskara. In addition to its remarkable historical value (could or should it be regarded as the “heritage of humanity?”), it has a tremendous symbolic and pragmatic value for Basque citizens today. As a result, maintaining and defending Euskara is currently the subject of social and political debate and one of the main reasons behind the rallies and social movements widely supported in Euskal Herria. In other words, the interest, attitudes, symbolic as well as pragmatic motivations and ethnolinguistic identification are overwhelmingly in favor of Euskara, at least in the BAC territories, the epicenter of the Basque linguistic normalization process.

In order to understand not only the current situation of Euskara (and that of Euskal Herria in general), but also its recent evolution, it is necessary to distinguish between two main periods: (1) the pre-autonomous administrative one, which saw the emergence of many of the current Basque language loyalist groups that made the current revival of Euskara possible and (2) today’s autonomous administrative period, following the enactment of the new Spanish Constitution in 1978, the Statute of Autonomy for the BAC in 1979 and the Charter Statute of Navarre in 1980, which ushered in the change from repression to the recognition and revival of Basqueness and of Euskara (and of Catalan and Galician as well). Both Basque Communities (the BAC and Navarre) were to develop different linguistic and education policies in different ways and to different degrees in connection with bilingualism and Basque identity.

In the case of Iparralde in France (Ipar Euskal Herria, or the Northern Basque Country), the three Basque territories (Behe Nafarroa, Lapurdi and Zuberoa) have neither been officially recognized as of yet, nor constitute their own territorial unit despite constant demands, so they have no power for self-determination. The biggest change is taking place right now following the creation of the official Euskara-ren Erakunde Publikoa (Basque Language Board) in 2004, with the principal aim of facilitating the teaching of Euskara in the education system.

Two things have taken place concurrently during the autonomous administrative period in the BAC and Navarre, both of which will be taken into consideration in this chapter: (1) the activity of numerous Basque language loyalist movements and social organizations, which has expanded in a similar way throughout Euskal
Maria-Jose Azurmendi, Nekane Larrañaga and Jokin Apalategi

Herria and (2) the activity of different official institutions (e.g., Government and Parliament of the BAC and of Navarre) which extends across the various territories in different ways.

1.1 Bilingualism, I: Language competence development

The most general data with respect to Euskara knowledge and competence throughout Euskal Herria between 1980 and 2001 show that active bilinguals have increased from 20% to approximately 30% and that there is an additional 20% of passive bilinguals. By region, much progress has been made in the BAC, little progress has been made in Navarre and in Iparralde the situation is one of continuing linguistic attrition/language loss.

Among the available research, special mention should be made of the Socio-linguistic Surveys of the Basque Country undertaken by the Government of the BAC (on occasions with the collaboration of institutions in Navarre and Iparralde) to study language competence, language transmission, language use and language attitudes throughout Euskal Herria (Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco, 2001). As far as the language situation is concerned, among the 16–24 age group in 2001 (1) active bilinguals accounted for 39.6% in Euskal Herria as a whole, with 48.5% in the BAC, (2) passive bilinguals accounted for 17.6% in Euskal Herria with 20.2% in the BAC and (3) the percentage of Spanish-speaking monolinguals had fallen to 42.8% in Euskal Herria and to 31.3% in the BAC (there are no Basque-speaking monolinguals). This increase in the number of Basque speakers is due mainly to the Basquization through the education system, Basquization of adults and the increase in the number of Basque speakers and co-mother tongue bilinguals (through intergenerational transmission, crucial from the point of view of the RLS –Reversing Language Shift– theory of Fishman, 1991).

Table 1 below shows how intergenerational transmission among active bilinguals (20% in 1991 and 30% in 2001) has evolved in the space of 10 years (Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco, 2001):

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Euskara as a first language (L1)</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>76.8</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>52.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both languages as L1 (co-mother tongue bilinguals)</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the BAC, the transmission of Euskara as a first language (L1) is very high and is on the increase and the L1 transmission of both languages (co-mother tongue bilinguals) is also on the increase. In Navarre, the L1 transmission of Euskara is also high and on the increase, but the transmission of both languages as L1s is showing a gradual decline. Conversely, in Iparralde, the L1 transmission of Euskara is falling sharply, whereas the L1 transmission of both languages is also increasing sharply.

As regards the Basquization of adults, the social organizations throughout Euskal Herria have joined forces with the official institutions in the BAC and the “Euskaltegiak” (Basquization centers for adults: public, private and officially approved private) to Basquize two types of inhabitants: (1) adults in general, (2) specific groups of inhabitants, mainly teachers in the pre-university education system (0–16 years) and employees in the public Administration (Government of the BAC, Provincial Administrations, Town Councils (Azkue et al. 2005)).

In regards to the education system, what stands out is teacher Basquization (Gardner 2000; Gardner et al. 2005), which is required to bring about the implementation of the different bilingual teaching Models in the BAC: Model-D (Euskara-medium with Spanish as a subject), Model-A (Spanish-medium with Euskara as a subject) and Model-B (bilingual). The Government of the BAC has facilitated this process through a sophisticated language-retraining program, but this is not the case in Navarre or in Iparralde. The Basquization process of the BAC’s education system is noteworthy. Within the span of 20 years, the percentage of Basque-speaking teachers rose from 5% in 1975 to approximately 80% in the public network and 65% in the private network in the 2005–2006 academic year. Thus, in 2002, it was possible to have 63% of the teachers qualified to teach in Euskara: 68.8% in the public schools network and 56.3% in the private schools network. The Ikastolak (Euskara-medium schools set up by Basque language loyalist groups during the Franco era in the 1960s) have always had a 100% Basque-speaking teaching staff.

In short, largely as a result of the different language policies applied, Basquization has been generally successful only in the BAC, limited in the case of Navarre and virtually non-existent in Iparralde.

1.2 Bilingualism, II: Basque in education

The education system is currently the main domain of social functioning for the Basquization and bilingualization of the inhabitants throughout Euskal Herria, principally in the BAC (Azurmendi et al. 2005b; Cenoz et al. 2006; Etxeberria 1999; EUSTAT 2004; Gardner 2000; Gardner et al. 2005; Grin et al. 1999; Luque 2004; Luque et al. 2004; Martínez de Luna et al. 2000).
The Ikastolak, which were set up during the Franco era at the end of the 1960s by Basque language loyalist organizations and which continue today, constitute an important precedent and reference for understanding the evolution and current situation of the Basquization of the education system. The number of students in these schools rose dramatically from a low of 596 students in the early 1960s to a high of 69,953 in 1981–1982. Bearing in mind the virtual semi-clandestine nature of their existence, made possible mainly by private, religious schools, their positive evolution is particularly noteworthy. The Ikastolak continued to grow after the installation of the autonomous administrations. In the BAC, in the 1992–1993 academic year, the Ikastolak stopped having their own school network since they were required either to join the public network, with 32% taking that option, or the private network, which 68% opted to do. This fact subsequently signified Basquization reinforcement in both the public and private sectors. This did not happen in Navarre or in Iparralde, where the Ikastolak continued to operate within their own school network.

In the case of the BAC, the Euskara Use Normalization Act (Ley de Normalización del Uso del Euskara, Parlamento Vasco 1982) established that the statutory education system (currently up to the age of 16) had to guarantee knowledge of the BAC’s two official languages throughout its territory. As a result, different bilingual teaching models were established throughout the school networks (public and private) from which parents could make a choice for their children and which still exist today: Model-D, Model-A and Model-B. Some figures are provided in Table 2 below:

These data show that the increase in the bilingual teaching models are most favorable towards Basquization, in particular Model-D (the one that really guarantees Basquization and Bilingualization), has been steady in the BAC, and this increase becomes sharper mainly in the early education levels. It is also clear that there are significant differences between the two education networks: (a) the main bilingual teaching models are Model-D in the public network and Model-B in the private network (mostly church-run schools) and (b) the minority bilingual education models are Model-A in the public network and Model-D in the private network. Interestingly, a special situation arises with respect to the school population of immigrant origin, which is educated almost exclusively in the public network. As most of these students are educated in Model-A, their chances of integration are thereby reduced.

In the case of Navarre, the Basque Language Act (Ley Foral del Vascuence, Parlamento de Navarra 1986) established three sociolinguistic zones: (1) Basque-speaking (with the lowest demographic weight), (2) Spanish-speaking and (3) mixed (this is the most important one, not only because it is the largest demographically, but also because it includes the capital, Pamplona/Iruñea). Different language policies are applied to each zone. Models D and A (similar to the same
Table 2. Distribution of students (in percentages) among the Bilingual Teaching Models in the BAC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BAC</th>
<th>Model-D Euskara-medium with Spanish as a subject</th>
<th>Model-B Bilingual</th>
<th>Model-A Spanish-medium with Euskara as a subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982–83</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>77.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002–03</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>22.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004–05 (3–5 age group)</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004–05 Primary Education (6–11 age group)</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004–05 Secondary Education (12–16 age group)</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004–05 Public network Primary Education 51.0% of all students</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004–05 Private network Primary Education 49.0% of all students</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005–06 Immigration in the last 10 years (from Latin America, Africa and Eastern Europe)</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>49.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bilingual teaching Models as in the BAC) exist in the Basque-speaking and mixed zones while Model-G (Spanish-medium teaching only) is the imposed model in the Spanish-speaking zone. Table 3 below provides some general data.

These data indicate that an increase in the Basquization of education has taken place mainly during the early schooling levels, but to a considerably lesser extent than in the BAC. Furthermore, there are huge differences among the school networks. For example, in the public sector three teaching models exist, although Model-G predominates. In the private/parochial sector Model-G clearly predominates with the exception of the Ikastolak, where Model-D is the only choice.
Table 3. Distribution of students (in percentages) among the Bilingual Teaching Models in NAVARRE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAVARRE</th>
<th>Model-D Euskara-medium with Spanish as a subject</th>
<th>Model-A Spanish-medium with Euskara as a subject</th>
<th>Model-G Spanish-medium teaching only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988–89 Pre-statutory and primary education (3–11 years)</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>81.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004–05 Pre-statutory and primary education (3–11 years)</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>45.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004–05 Basque-speaking sociolinguistic zone</td>
<td>86.3</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004–05 Mixed sociolinguistic zone</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>44.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004–05 Spanish-speaking sociolinguistic zone</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005–06 Public network pre-statutory and statutory education (3–16 years) 61.70% of all students</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005–06 Private network pre-statutory and statutory education (3–16 years) 30.67% of all the students</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>78.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005–06 Ikastola pre-statutory and statutory education (3–16 years) 7.63% of all the students</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In Iparralde, it is a very different situation since the institutionalization of the different bilingual teaching models in education is something starting to take place only now under the auspices of the Euskararen Erakunde Publikoa (Basque Language Board) set up in 2004. Using the same Models as in the BAC, the situation of Iparralde during the 2003–2004 academic year is schematized in Table 4 below:

### Table 4. Distribution of students (in percentages) among the Bilingual Teaching Models in IPARRALDE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPARRALDE 2003–04</th>
<th>Model-D Euskara-medium with French as a subject</th>
<th>Model-B Bilingual</th>
<th>Model-A French-medium with Euskara as a subject</th>
<th>Model-G French-medium teaching only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-statutory and primary education (2–11 years)</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>72.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education (12–16 years)</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>82.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public network Pre-statutory and Primary (2–11 years) 70% of all the students</td>
<td>16.15</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private network Pre-statutory and primary (2–11 years) 27% of all the students</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ikastola Pre-statutory and primary (2–11 years) 3% of all the students</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Somewhat differently from the two previous cases reviewed, these data show that the Basquization process of education is very weak and slow, although it is principally manifested in early levels. Another sharp difference is the fact that only the situation in the public and private networks is very similar, with the exception of the Ikastolak (which comprise only 3% of schools).

In view of the importance of the education system, it is prudent to discuss an evaluation of the Basquization process. In the case of the BAC, we can draw from internal and external evaluations. In 2005, an external evaluation was made as part
of a large European Union (EU) educational analysis. The report showed that the average level of knowledge in the BAC is similar to or higher (in certain subjects) than that obtained in Spain as a whole and that what is obtained through Model-D is also similar to or higher than the average for the BAC. The internal evaluation has been taking place from the start, and very early on it was pointed out that the different bilingual teaching models made very different results possible, which is to say that active bilingualism was only guaranteed by Model-D and facilitated by Model-B. These results explain the social debate going on in the BAC right now surrounding the Bilingual Teaching Models. Different proposals have been put forward like that of introducing one single, multilingual model that would guarantee not only widespread Basquization and bilingualization as well as widespread Englishization, but also widespread social cohesion and equality of opportunities.

One of the current challenges facing the Basque education system (and the non-Basque one, also facing Spain, France and the EU in general) is how to guarantee a good knowledge of English in a statutory way, in addition to an intermediate level in another optional foreign language by the end of statutory education (at the age of 16). As far as the introduction of English is concerned, there have been a variety of experiences, the most prominent being the one conducted by the Ikastolak mainly in the BAC with the introduction of English at the age of 4 in 1990. This experience of the Ikastolak has been evaluated favorably, since their students end up with a level of competence in English recognized as equivalent to the international “FCE-Cambridge First Certificate” qualification. Thus, the Ikastolak have shown that not only widespread Basquization and bilingualization are possible through Model-D schooling, but also widespread Englishization simultaneously, offering an education model that goes beyond bilingualism to clear multilingualism following EU directives (Garagorri 1998; Cenoz et al. 2000, 2006).

All this progress in Basquization in education in the phases prior to university has had repercussions on university education itself. Once again, the situation differs greatly among the various Basque territories and among the different universities. The most interesting example is that offered by the University of the Basque Country (Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea – UPV/EHU), which is the BAC’s public university and the most important one in Euskal Herria (in terms of the number of courses and students). It is the only one in which two teaching tracks – one in Euskara and on in Spanish – have been established. Of the 50,000 students in the UPV/EHU that took the University Entrance Exams during the 2004–2005 academic year, 50.07% took the exams in Euskara and 49.93% took them in Spanish. This number indicates a growing demand being made by students for a University education in Euskara. Available teaching offered in Euskara, at least as far as the compulsory subjects are concerned, is about 80%, but it is low with respect to the optional subjects, made possible by the increase in bilingual
teaching staff (roughly 30% of the overall faculty). Today this university is also increasing multilingual offerings, principally in English, and is thus joining the growing EU trends in this respect.

1.3 Bilingualism, III: Basque use development

The real objective of the Euskara normalization process, through the widespread bilingualization of the population, is to bring about normal, widespread Euskara use, not only for the BAC’s official institutions but for the whole of Euskal Herria. So the biggest advances, once again, will be taking place in the BAC. Again, the available bibliography on the subject is broad and touches on many interrelated issues.

Data on Euskara use in Euskal Herria, as far as the 15+ age group is concerned (Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco 2001), offer a typology, according to domains of use, important from the theoretical viewpoint of the RLS model (Reversing Language Shift) put forward by Fishman (1991, 2001) and allows us to see emerging patterns in language choice in particular social environments. In general, the proportion of Basque-speakers using mainly Euskara is small, although it is growing steadily. In 2001, the greatest use was in the BAC: the biggest proportion was with children (23%), in banks and with municipal services (20%); 18% used it with friends and the smallest proportion with the State Administration (7%). This small proportion of majority Euskara use is due to different reasons, such as psycholinguistic reasons of the degree of competence in the two official languages and sociolinguistic reasons since social use norms entail the use of Euskara in cases in which all the interlocutors are Basque speakers, a situation that is not yet very widespread. Thus, the greater, growing proportion of Euskara use exists by territory (in the BAC), by age (among the youngest) and by domain of use (in the closest relationships, such as with family and friends).

In Euskal Herria as a whole, adolescents (13–14 years) (Martinez de Luna et al. 2000) display greater Euskara use than the older age groups, although this use continues to be less than their Spanish or French use, even among those schooled in Model-D. There could be an explanation for this because use would depend on a few interrelated factors. Firstly, individual aspects are relevant due to the possibility of lower competence in Euskara coupled with insufficient motivation for using it in some individuals. Also, the social structure of Euskara is of great importance, whereby its normalization and dissemination depend crucially on power mechanisms and the degree of institutionalization of spheres of Euskara use, when the latter facilitate genuine Euskara use. Related to this is the general and specific prestige of Euskara in certain spheres, which also facilitates genuine Euskara use. It should be noted that 48% of the 13 to 14-year-old adolescents surveyed from Euskal Herria as a whole are Basque speakers. In this population, the biggest
differences in Euskara use depend on the bilingual teaching models followed in education, and are linked to the internal and external contexts of the schools. 72% of those taught in Model-D use mostly Euskara at school and 50% of them use it outside school. Those taught in Model-A do not use Euskara in most situation while 31% of those taught in Model-B use mostly Euskara at school and 15% do so outside school.

There is a piece of research based on direct observation of genuine Euskara use in the street throughout Euskal Herria and repeated every four years by the Soziolinguistika Klusterra (BAT Soziolinguistika Aldizkaria 43, 2002); it is regarded as a barometer for gauging the advances being made in spontaneous Euskara use. The results indicate that the increase in Basque use in mundane encounters is constant in the case of the BAC, is maintained in the case of Navarre and is falling in the case of Iparralde, a result that is consistent with all data discussed thus far. Some of the figures for 2001 indicate the following situation: (1) by territory: (a) throughout Euskal Herria the average proportion of use is 13.5%, (b) in the BAC it reaches 16.1% (although in the most Basque-speaking territory, Gipuzkoa, it reaches 29.9%), (c) in Navarre it is 6.7%, (d) in Iparralde it is 5.8%; (2) by age, it is the youngest population that uses Euskara to the greatest extent: (a) throughout Euskal Herria: 19% of children, 13.6% of teenagers, and 11.3% of adults (because the increase in Basque speakers tends to take place at increasingly earlier ages); (b) among children: the proportion of use in the BAC is 23.5% (which in the case of Gipuzkoa reaches 43.7%), in Navarre it is 8.7% and in Iparralde 5.2%; (3) the presence of children leads to greater Euskara use: (a) when children are present, 25.1% (in Gipuzkoa 40%), (b) without children present, 11.5% (in Gipuzkoa 19.1%). This is consistent with the results of other pieces of research, which indicate that the adult population encourages children's Euskara use considerably more than its own.

On the other hand, there are Euskara uses not directly linked to communicative interaction. For example, uses connected with the linguistic landscape (street and road signs) or with the publication/production of books, magazines, music and videos.

2. **Bilingualism and ethnolinguistic identity**

The history of Basquization and bilingualization expounded above is largely explained by the great loyalty towards Euskara and Basque matters in general, which can be studied in very different ways. For example, one can take the perspective of the psychosocial processes which have accompanied its history. One of the psychosocial processes much studied in the Basque context has been the favorable/unfavorable attitudes frequently linked to motivations (integrative/instrumental/
etc.) towards Euskara, Basque speakers and language promotion. In general, the attitudes tend to be more favorable in the BAC and in Iparralde than in Navarre. By age, the youngest are either the most favorable or the most indifferent. In terms of language competence, the greater the Euskara competence the more favorable one's attitude towards its maintenance and dissemination, but the attitudes of Spanish or French monolinguals are also broadly favorable as well. Identity has also been widely studied as well. Identification is studied in a complex way, such as national identification, Basqueness in general or the complex configuration of Basque identity, with different components emerging, such as language, culture, national feeling and territoriality. This relates to the degree of conflict, opposition, separation and integration around the Basque/Spanish or French axis, particularly with respect to language and culture, which cannot be disassociated from bilingualism. The bibliography available with respect to this is extensive, primarily as far as the BAC is concerned, and covers not only the institutions (since the 1980s), but also social initiative (since the 1970s). Once again the difficulty is deciding what to choose for this chapter.

From the beginning of the autonomous administrative period, the Government of the BAC looked into the objective social situation regarding Euskara (knowledge, use, transmission, etc.) and the subjective one (attitudes, interest, motivation, national feeling, identity, etc.), both in the BAC as well as throughout Euskal Herria. For example, in 1991 (Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco 1995), a study demonstrated that 64% of the 16 and older regarded itself as Basque while only 24% did not. In response to the question, “How do you regard yourself, between Basque and Spanish?” there were differences by territory. In the BAC, 35% responded that they regarded themselves as Basque, 11% more Basque than Spanish, 28% Basque and Spanish in equal measure, 4% more Spanish than Basque and 16% Spanish. In Navarre, in response to the question “Do you regard yourself as Basque?” 34% said they did, 13% said they did partly and 51% said they did not; this did not mean that they regarded themselves as Spanish, but rather that they mostly considered themselves to be “Navarrese.” In Iparralde, in response to the question “Do you feel Basque or French?” 13% said they felt Basque, 6% more Basque than French, 29% Basque and French in equal measure, 11% more French than Basque and 35% French. Regarding the conditions for feeling Basque, throughout Euskal Herria the most important distinction for Basque speakers and active bilinguals was “to speak in Euskara,” while that of “having been born in the Basque Country” was the most important factor for passive bilinguals and monolingual Spanish speakers. For 56% of the people surveyed the most important reason for learning Euskara was “because it is our language” a reason more identitary than instrumental. As far as interest in promoting Euskara was concerned, 91% of those who regarded themselves as Basque were in favor, whereas 48% of those who
did not regard themselves as Basque were against it (they regarded themselves as either Spanish or French).

Since 1996, the Government of the BAC has periodically conducted research into Basque youth (15–29 years, in order to monitor its evolution closely) with respect to different aspects, including Basque identity. In general, the results of a survey conducted in 2003 (Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco 2004) show that among the most important conditions for a person to regard him- or herself as Basque are feeling Basque (69%), living and working in the Basque Country (40%), having been born in the Basque Country (32%), speaking Euskara (only 18%), being of Basque descent (10%) and voting for a Basque nationalist political party (1%).

As far as the BAC is concerned, there are numerous pieces of research dealing with identity conducted by social initiative, which is generally conducted by university researchers mainly from sociolinguistic and psychosocial perspectives. This research gives similar results that are consistent with each other, even though very different methodologies have been followed. Our own research has been carried out mainly on university students, because, among other reasons, they constitute a young population (with respect to the future) and an educated one (with respect to future social leadership). This research has emphasized the study of identity on the basis of the hypothesis that it is principally a psychosocial process, both the cause and consequence at the same time of the remaining intergroup, psychosocial processes (linked to cognition, motivation or affectivity). Identity is the defining process of people and groups in their interpersonal and intergroup relations. For this reason, identity construction, performance and negotiation are directly linked to interpersonal and intergroup behavior in relation to the situation of contact languages and cultures. We have followed a complex tradition of study (Azurmendi 2000) through which we examine ethnic and national identity vis-à-vis sociology and sociolinguistics (Conversi 2004; Erize 2001; Fishman 1989, 1999; García et al. 2006; Hornberger et al. 2006), as social identity type in social psychology (Abrams et al. 1990; Lorenzi-Cioldi et al. 1996; Tajfel 1978; Tajfel et al. 1986), as well as ethnolinguistic identity in the social psychology of language (Hecht et al. 2001; Giles 1977; Giles et al. 1987; Gudykunst et al. 1990; Sachdev et al. 2001).

As an example of a study into the complex configuration of Basque identity, the following four components were singled out (Azurmendi et al. 2003c): (1) linguistic (Euskara, Spanish, both languages or bilingual), (2) cultural (provincial, of the autonomous community, Basque, Spanish, European), (3) national (Basque, Spanish, Basque-Spanish or bicultural) and (4) territorial (municipality, province, autonomous community –BAC–, Euskal Herria, Spain, Europe). Some of the results display the following identity typology (dimensions in the factorial analysis), incorporating the four identitary components under consideration: (1) Basque identity (accounting for 27.4% of variance), which shows itself to be knowledgeable
about the culture of Euskal Herria and participates in it, (2) European-Spanish identity (accounting for 18.1% of variance), which shows itself to be knowledgeable about Spanish and European cultures and participates in them, (3) Spanish identity (accounting for 8.3% of variance), which is in contradiction with and in conflict with the situations of Basque speaker and bilingual in the language component and which shows itself to be knowledgeable about Spanish culture and participates in it and (4) localist identity, incorporating only the territorial and cultural components on the municipal, provincial, and autonomous community levels (accounting for 7.9% of variance). Among these 4 identity types, the Spanish and European-Spanish identities correlate positively with each other (together accounting for 26.4% of variance), so they can be regarded as one single identity type. The Basque and Spanish identities appear orthogonally, in other words, as separate identitary worlds, except with respect to the language component, since those who identify themselves as Spanish correlate positively with the Spanish-speaking situation but negatively with the Basque-speaking and bilingual situations. The localist identity appears as separate and neutral with respect to the main Basque/Spanish identitary axis. On the other hand, no integrative Basque-Spanish identity type is obtained, so that the Basque and Spanish identities continue to manifest themselves as separate from each other, although in conflict as far as Euskara is concerned. Moreover, identification with Europeanness does not function as a supracategorical goal from which to be able to overcome the conflict between the Basque and Spanish identity types (Bourhis et al. 1996). On the other hand, relative identity intensity is different: stronger in Basque identity and weaker in Spanish identity. These identity types display the following discrete psychosociolinguistic profiles:

I. Basque identity: (1) according to sociodemographic characteristics: residing in the more Basque-speaking territories (Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia), residing in municipalities with considerable presence of Basque speakers (in any case exceeding 20%), children of natives and natives, students at both the public and private universities (University of the Basque Country and the Jesuit-run University of Deusto, respectively), (2) according to sociolinguistic features: (in the case of both the subjects and their parents) having Euskara, or Euskara and Spanish (co-mother tongue bilinguals) as a first language, having been schooled in Model-D (Basque-medium with Spanish as a subject) or Model-B (bilingual), having chosen to respond to the questionnaire in Euskara, having high linguistic competence in Euskara and (3) according to psychosocial features: displaying a positive attitude towards Euskara as well as towards Basque speakers.

II. Spanish identity: (1) according to sociodemographic characteristics: residing in the less Basque-speaking provinces (Araba, and Bizkaia), residing in
municipalities with a minimal presence of Basque speakers (generally less than 20%), natives are children of parents of whom either one or both are immigrants, students at both the public and private universities, (2) according to sociolinguistic characteristics: (in the case of both the subjects and their parents) having Spanish as the first language, having been schooled in Model-A (Spanish-medium with Basque as a subject), having opted to respond to the questionnaire in Spanish, having low linguistic competence in Euskara and (3) according to psychosocial characteristics: displaying a negative attitude towards Euskara, but a positive one towards Basque speakers.

Therefore, the contact languages, Euskara and Spanish, function as an important component in the social or group identification process, and also as the main component in the complex configuration of Basque and Spanish identities from the relational or intergroup point of view.

Arratibel et al. (2001) have demonstrated that the factors that have a bearing on adult Basquization, in the processes not only of learning but also of use, are sociolinguistic and psychosocial factors in equal measure and that the sociolinguistic factors refer mainly to the presence of Basque speakers. They have also demonstrated that among the psychosocial factors, Basque ethnolinguistic identity comes to bear on both processes, in motivation for learning and also in attitudes towards use. In other words, ethnolinguistic identity once again occupies a central position in the problems of bilingualism in cases of languages and speech groups in contact, as in the Basque case, and functions simultaneously in relation to bilingualism as a predictor as well as a result.

3. Bilingualism, ethnolinguistic identity and psychosocial construction of citizenship

At present, one of the problems of great interest in the social sciences is that of citizenship, both in connection with the traditional interethnic contact situation in the EU (Azurmendi et al. 2003a, 2003b; Nelde et al. 1996) as well as in Spain and in the BAC (Azurmendi et al. 1998a, 2003a). This relates to the emergent interethnic contact situation, due in large part to the importance of the recent, intense immigration into the BAC (Azurmendi et al. 2005a; Etxepetelu et al. 2006; Larrañaga et al. 2005; Ruiz et al. 2005) through legislation to allow immigrants access to host-country nationality through intergroup psychosocial processes (opinions, attitudes, identities, etc.), mainly through the ‘acculturation theory’ (Berry 2005; Berry et al. 1992; Bourhis et al. 1997; Sabatier et al. 1996). In view of its importance in connection with bilingualism and ethnolinguistic identity, we are going to show
some of the results obtained in the Basque context in the BAC (this aspect has not been studied much in Navarre and not at all in Iparralde).

Twenty years after the passing of the Spanish Constitution (1977) and the Statutes of Autonomy (1978 to 1980), research was conducted involving university students in Spain's bilingual Autonomous Communities (Basque Country, Catalonia, Galicia, Navarre and Valencia) to find out what influence the new situation involving the revival of autonomous community languages and cultures had had on ethnolinguistic identity (linguistic and cultural) as well as on the psychosocial construction of citizenship in the different bilingual contexts (Azurmendi et al. 1998a). In order to see the evolution, ethnolinguistic identity among university students was studied once again 10 years later (1995–2004), this time in the BAC (Azurmendi et al. 2005a). The results indicate that the identity types obtained can be plotted along an identitary continuum, the poles of which would be occupied by extreme Basque or Spanish ethnolinguistic identities and the central section of which would be occupied by integrative bilingual-bicultural, or Basque-Spanish identity. Within the space of 10 years, the results show the following evolution in the BAC: (1) the Basque identity prototype has gone from being 16.6% to 18.9%, (2) the Spanish identity prototype, from 6% to 4.7% and (3) the bilingual-bicultural, or Basque-Spanish integrative identity prototype, has gone from 12% to 37.7%, which points to the main trend in the evolution. Table 5 summarizes several factorial dimensions or citizenship types among university students in the BAC (Table 5).

These results indicate that four main dimensions or types of access to Basque citizenship emerge among university students in the BAC (because these four alone account for 61.4% of the variance), and that these turn out to be similar in intensity even though the cultural citizenship dimension is the predominant one.

University students adhere mainly to cultural citizenship (mean=5.1, on a scale of 7 points), then to ethno-civic and civic citizenships (mean=4.2) and finally to political-ethnic citizenship (mean=3.2). This indicates that university students are not in favor of creating intergroup barriers between the two linguistic-cultural contact groups (Basque and Spanish) by means of characteristics that cannot be acquired, but prefer to emphasize the characteristics that can be acquired. This is mainly the case among those who identify themselves as Basques (linguistically and culturally). These results coincide with those of other research (Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco, 2005), in which young people (15–29 years) prefer conditions such as (a) the will to be Basque or feel Basque (63%) and to live and work in the Basque Country (52%), conditions that are on the increase and (b) the condition of speaking Euskara (10%) which is gradually decreasing (in apparent contradiction); both are conditions that can be acquired.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors (or dimensions)</th>
<th>CULTURAL 19% of variance</th>
<th>ETHNO-CIVIC 15% of variance</th>
<th>POLITICAL-ETHNIC 14% of variance</th>
<th>CIVIC 13.4% of variance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowing and defending Basque culture</td>
<td>.847</td>
<td>.134</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in Basque culture</td>
<td>.811</td>
<td>.170</td>
<td>.185</td>
<td>.097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supporting Basque cultural and ethnic diversity</td>
<td>.561</td>
<td>-.012</td>
<td>-.204</td>
<td>.331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in the Basque Country's association movements</td>
<td>.497</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>.396</td>
<td>.381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having Basque forebears</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>.742</td>
<td>.368</td>
<td>.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having been born and brought up in the Basque Country</td>
<td>.176</td>
<td>.712</td>
<td>-.024</td>
<td>.248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living and working in the Basque Country</td>
<td>-.033</td>
<td>.586</td>
<td>-.159</td>
<td>.478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a surname of Basque origin</td>
<td>.042</td>
<td>.572</td>
<td>.520</td>
<td>.063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowing and speaking the Basque language</td>
<td>.547</td>
<td>.569</td>
<td>.145</td>
<td>-.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being a political party sympathizer</td>
<td>-.047</td>
<td>.074</td>
<td>.732</td>
<td>.251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being in favour of the Basque Country's sovereignty</td>
<td>.398</td>
<td>.098</td>
<td>.645</td>
<td>.175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having Euskara as the first acquired language</td>
<td>.400</td>
<td>.453</td>
<td>.531</td>
<td>-.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being a voter in general and regional elections</td>
<td>-.047</td>
<td>.144</td>
<td>.245</td>
<td>.730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respecting and complying with the Basque Country's laws</td>
<td>.359</td>
<td>.116</td>
<td>.126</td>
<td>.719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhering to the Basque Country's democratic values</td>
<td>.387</td>
<td>.178</td>
<td>.296</td>
<td>.558</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the point of view of ethnolinguistic identity more specifically, there are significant differences among those who identity themselves as Basque and those who identify themselves as Basque-Spanish (Azurmendi et al. 2005a; Larrañaga et al. 2005).

Table 6. Differences among those who identify themselves as Basque or Basque-Spanish. University students in the BAC, in 2005 (M, on a scale of 7 points)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Basque identity</th>
<th>Basque-Spanish identity</th>
<th>Differences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowing and speaking Euskara</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>F=43.11 1.643 p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowing Basque culture and defending it</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>F=82.92 1.643 p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in Basque culture</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>F=56.68 1.641 p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhering to the Basque Country’s democratic values</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>F=20.96 1.638 p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having Euskara as a first language</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>F=41.50 1.643 p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being in favor of the Basque Country’s sovereignty</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>F=45.8 1.641 p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participating in the Basque Country’s association movements</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>F=1081 1.622 p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living and working in the Basque Country</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>F=5.89 1.644 p&lt;.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being a voter in general and autonomous community elections</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>F=8.35 1.641 p&lt;.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results show that the differences between the two identity types were not very significant in the remaining citizenship components studied.

Nevertheless, it is also important to consider the psychosocial construction of citizenship in the new emerging contact situations resulting from the growing immigration throughout the EU in general, and in particular the BAC—where the number of immigrants has increased from 15,000 (1.5% of the population) in 1998 to 73,000 (5% of the population) in 2005 (EUSTAT 2005). Applying the ‘Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM)’ of Bourhis et al. (1997), the following intergroup strategies and attitudes are distinguished on axes of integration, assimilation,
segregation, exclusion and individualism for the host community. For the immigrant community, conversely, they are distinguished on the basis of integration, assimilation, separation, anomie as well as individualism. Table 7 below shows the results obtained in the domains studied of employment, culture and marriage, with respect to immigrants unfavorably evaluated (Moroccans); in other words, in the most difficult conditions (Larrañaga et al. 2005).

Table 7. Acculturation Strategies in the Host Community (university students in the BAC), with respect to Immigrants (Moroccans), in 2005 (M, on a scale of 7 points)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Individualism</th>
<th>Integration</th>
<th>Assimilation</th>
<th>Segregation</th>
<th>Exclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>EMPLOYMENT</strong></td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CULTURE</strong></td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MARRIAGE</strong></td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In general, these results show that the acculturation strategies towards Moroccan immigrants are fairly positive, since in the three domains studied, individualism (interpersonal relationships) and integration (among intergroup relations) predominate with fairly high scores. Nevertheless, as far as the cultural domain is concerned, the predominant strategy is the intergroup one of segregation (that of maintaining distance) so that this emerges as the most difficult and problematic interrelation domain. Interestingly, the biggest differences appear in the cultural and marriage domains, in which the groups of Basque identity and also the Basque-speaking or bilingual group are more in favor of integration (an intergroup strategy, perhaps as a measure to protect the Basque language and culture, in a subordinate, minority situation in the BAC itself). Conversely, the Spanish identity group, as well as the non-Basque-speaking, or monolingual Spanish linguistic group, are more in favor of individualism (interpersonal strategy), thus confirming the interdependence between ethnolinguistic identity and acculturation strategies (Azurmendi et al. 1996).

In short, in the Basque context, at least in the BAC, a positive interdependence emerges between bilingualism, ethnolinguistic identity (both linguistic and cultural) and acculturation attitudes or strategies. In general, there is a predominance of those interdependencies that tend towards Basque-Spanish integration and towards integration (intergroup) and/or individualization (interpersonal) towards immigration (with respect to the emerging contacts situation). In other words, it appears that future perspectives could be broadly favorable from the point of view of harmonious intergroup relationships, as long as the revival and development of the Basque language and culture are guaranteed.
4. Conclusions

Some of the relatively firm reflections emerging from all these results could be as follows:

I. The case of Basque is of particular interest with respect to the problems of the situation of contact languages and speech communities and also in relation to bilingualism and identity, due to its tremendous complexity in the EU context especially. The reason is that, among other aspects, it reveals the importance of the positive concurrence between the institutions and the Basque language loyalist movements and social organizations when both are clearly in favor of the revival of their own minority language, as in the case of the BAC (Apalategi 1999; Azurmendi 1998; Intxausti 1998).

II. In the revival and re-normalization processes of minority languages, as in the case of Euskara, there is concurrence and interdependence among numerous aspects. In general, and in a very condensed way, the following could be regarded as the principal ones: (1) the most objective aspects; namely, political, social, economic, sociolinguistic, educational, etc., in the early stages of these processes, still relevant today in Navarre and Iparralde and (2) also of the more subjective aspects, primarily the psychosocial ones, which include ethnolinguistic identity (Azurmendi 1997). This chapter has presented some of the most widely studied aspects and most consistent results in the case of Basque.

III. It is also necessary to highlight the importance acquired by education from the earliest age, when one is most malleable to Basquization, because it affects the whole population. In the case of the BAC, the success of the Ikastolak is due to a number of circumstances coming together. It can be seen during its long experience that (1) the bilingual teaching Model-D (Euskara-medium schooling with Spanish as a subject) is the most suitable for Basquization, bilingualization and even multilingualization through Englishization and (2) it starts schooling from a very early age (2 or 3), so that the start of Basquization of children at such an early age is explained not only from the point of view of learning (as a second language) but also from that of acquisition (as a first language), more by psycholinguistic rather than psychosocial reasons; in other words, through the easiest, fastest and most thorough way possible.

IV. Equally, it is necessary to highlight once again the importance of the concurrence of a whole range of factors in the processes of Basquization referred to above. For example, one must acknowledge the influence of several factors that are not mutually exclusive and are deterministic, such as need and volition vs. obligation and choice, instrumental motivation (mainly labor) vs. integrative motivation (for the most part participation in Basque culture), as
well as current and future prospects, current satisfaction and what is expected for the future.

However, there are other types of reflections that are less clear and difficult to interpret when an attempt is made to evaluate them globally, positively or negatively, both in terms of the results obtained (like those presented in this chapter) and in terms of the processes followed to achieve the said results. In other words, the degree of ambiguity is great, because although what has been achieved and the way in which it has been achieved is considerable in the BAC, the fear that the Irish model (widespread competence in Irish, but minimal use or none whatsoever) could be repeated in Euskal Herria is also considerable. So, a number of questions are being debated right now, mainly in the BAC, such as: will simply maintaining the current normalization process in the BAC suffice in order to meet the Basquization and bilingualism objectives? And, if so, will it be enough to promote a repetition of the model followed in the BAC for Navarre and Iparralde? In the event that the introduction of changes in the processes being followed in the BAC should be deemed necessary more questions arise: what kind of changes should be implemented? How far-reaching should they be? How should they be carried out? Who should take the leading role? What degree of consensus is needed?

Furthermore, there are other aspects of the process that are even more difficult to evaluate and in which the degree of uncertainty (typical nowadays) is high. We are referring to current general challenges in the context of the developed West in which Euskal Herria is located and participates. For example, what is to become of the language itself, Euskara, in light of its contact with Spanish and French, and even with English? These challenges frequently appear full of paradoxes and apparent contradictions (typical of current postmodernism). For example:

V. The globalization/anti-globalization debate (Castells 2003), in which localism shows itself to not only be possible, but also shows that it could in addition constitute the means and level of integration of the universal and the particular, the general and the personal, etc., with respect to languages and identity (James 1997): “the global and the specific are now more commonly found together, as partial (rather than exclusive) identities, because they each contribute to different social, emotional and cognitive needs that are co-present in the same individuals and societies…” (Fishman 1999: 450). This can be applied to languages by promoting multilingualism and multilinguality (García et al. 2006), as in today’s EU. In this respect, as far as the languages in the Basque context are concerned, the multilingualism option is being increasingly requested, an option in which Euskara could respond to the most quotidian social needs (family, friends, work, social services, autonomous community administration, mass media, shared between the
two languages, etc.). In connection with ethnolinguistic democracy in the EU context, Fishman says: “only the speakers of unquestioned international ‘super languages’ can pretend to be totally effective in modern life while remaining monolingual. Thus, clearly, those who start off weakest are required to protest the most vigorously at three levels, in order to (a) secure ethnolinguistic democracy in intra-communal affairs, (b) engage in the minimally adequate corpus planning required by local government and new media and (c) attain access to national and international roles in their intergroup lives. The price they have to pay is a considerable one, not because it is difficult for individuals to learn several languages, but because it is difficult for societies to maintain several languages simultaneously, …” (García et al. 2006: 2002–2003). This would lead us to redefine diglossia (Fishman 2002, in García et al. 2006 and in Hornberger et al. 2006).

VI. The primordialism/constructivism debate (Fishman 2004), or ethnicism/culturalism, traditionalism/futurism, stubbornness/openness, objectivism/subjectivism, inside subjectivism/outside objectivism, etc., appears in the literature on occasions as dichotomies of opposition (Conversi 2004), on others as compatible dichotomies and in integration (García et al. 2006). In the Basque case, the two aspects are useful, and at the same time exist to a certain degree, so they could prove to be positively interdependent between them and not necessarily negatively interdependent (Apalategi 2003; Azurmendi and Martinez de Luna 2005). For example, many of those who go furthest in demanding Euskara as the principal characteristic of Basqueness, are also those who achieve the greatest degrees of bilingualization and multilingualization.

VII. The debate over the distinction between different types of power and the means for exercising it: political and social, material and symbolic, objective and subjective, etc. All this distinction is important, because each type of power makes use of certain means and has specific consequences. Symbolic power can be especially important because it relates to the prestige that favors voluntary adherence and because it stems from deep, anthropological consequences that are difficult to change (Bourdieu 1994). In the Basque case, as far as the contact languages are concerned, this type of power, too, has been and is also in the hands of Spain and France in favor of Spanish and French; nevertheless, Euskara’s increase in prestige and Basqueness in general has led to an increase in its symbolic power.

VIII. It is interesting to know how Basque nationalism is viewed and interpreted from outside through explicit references to the Basque case, like those that appear in the recent publication edited by Conversi (2004). For example, in connection with modernization and modernism: “my own research
suggests that the impact produced by industrialization and modernization was perhaps the most relevant factor in the rise of anti-state nationalism in Spain” (2004: 9); with ethnicity and nationality: “the prime requisite is subjective and consists of the self-identification of people with a group. To this might be added a clarification regarding whether a people demands the possession of a sovereign political state of its own, such as the Basques, or whether the group merely wishes to preserve an existent recognized status within a nation-state of which it is a member, e.g., the Puerto Ricans or Catalans” (2004: 263). Also of interest are the specific references that Brubaker (2004) makes to the Basque case, for example in connection with ethnic and nationalist violence: “The Basque-Catalan comparison is a natural one in this respect… Waldman (1985, 1989) compares the violent ethnic conflicts in the Basque region and Northern Ireland to the (largely) non-violent conflicts in Catalonia and Quebec, and explains the transition from non-violent nationalism protest to violent conflict in the former cases in terms of the loss of middle-class control over the nationalist movement” (2004: 101).

IX. Continuing the debate on nationalism, it is also important to know how Basque nationalism is seen and interpreted from inside and to compare the two views, external and internal, to see how far they coincide. Basque nationalism is complex because it incorporates apparently contradictory aspects: primordialism and constructionism, objective characteristics like Euskara and subjective ones like culturalist and civic (not ethnicist) Basque identity. For example, from the political point of view, demands of differing degrees coexist, although through procedures like the free decision or self-determination of Basque citizenry and through new ways of functioning of social movements, mainly in the BAC (Apalategi 1999). Euskara has occupied and continues to occupy a central position, although it is diminishing among Basque youth, who are more concerned today about problems like unemployment and housing than about language questions (Eusko Jaurlaritza/Gobierno Vasco 2005).

In this respect, the Basque case is of great interest in the context of the EU, because today it presents a dynamic, changing scenario, full of contradictions and new proposals that are difficult to interpret, yet ideal for studying all the questions raised from a position of uncertainty as challenges for the future. It also has farther reaching implications for language and identity in general and in particular in the Spanish-contact contexts. The Basque case highlights nicely the complex and multifarious nature of constructing, performing and negotiating identity at the societal and individual levels.
References


