Papers

The image of Euskadi abroad

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A Project to establish a communications network to link Euskal Herria with Basques around the World

Introduction

Revitalizing Basque communities overseas

The overseas Basque communities have been undergoing a revitalization process for the past several years.

It is true that there have been discouraging signs, such as a loss of strength in our public presence compared to previous decades, a decrease in the number of leaders with a solid Basquist background, dated cultural projects, and the economic and financial difficulties of the Basque centers.

However, the above are accompanied by signs of hope: new generations of committed leaders, multiplying Basque centers in some countries, innovative projects that recreate and renew our cultural repertoire, and the growth and multiplication of new audiences in the Americas, who seek to rediscover their family and cultural roots.

These signs help us to foresee new times, which will accompany and facilitate the maintenance of our collective identity. The full potential of the revitalization of the Basque centers and other forms of association is enormous if we are able to channel it and orient it towards the proper horizons.

Revitalization of Euskal Herria's interest in overseas Basques

In parallel to this new awakening is Euskal Herria's ever-increasing interest in strengthening ties with the millions of overseas Basques.

It seems that men and women from every Basque province are now becoming fully aware of the enormous number of cousins they have overseas.

This interest can be seen in the countless social, cultural, economic, political, and governmental institutions that try – not always successfully - to establish ties with Basque communities overseas.

The Basque government's drive to strengthen these relationships is indicative of its continuing commitment, particularly since the enactment of the Law on Relations with Basque Communities and Centers outside the Basque Autonomous Community, in 1994.

This World Congress is yet another milestone within this manifest commitment to maintain close ties between Basques on both sides of the ocean, and among different countries.

Creation of a minimum infrastructure to facilitate communication

The increase in exchanges and ties between persons, groups and organizations demanded an adequate technical and communications infrastructure. Thus, the urgent need to obtain suitable resources to improve and increase relations between overseas Basques and Euskal Herria was a concern at the Congresses of Basque Centers and in the Four-Year Plans.

The 1996 Plan acknowledged the need for "a qualitative jump in relations between Basque Institutions and Basque Communities abroad" and the existence of a "suitable situation for relaunching our joint activities and exploring new ways of inter-relating." For this purpose, one of the four priority areas of action considered was "the establishment of effective information and communications channels with Euskadi." The following commitment was established:

> The Basque Government agrees to substantially intensify the flow of information on Euskadi and its institutional, economic, cultural and social news. For this purpose, within six months, it shall define the most suitable elements and vehicles of communication for ensuring that Basque Communities abroad are sufficiently informed of what is happening in their Country of origin. Written and computer media seem, a priori, to be the best channels for such information. For this reason, every effort shall be made to join all Euskal Etxeak, Basque Institutions and Basque Centers to each other by means of a communications and computer network.

At the 1st American Congress of Basque Centers in 1997, the need to strengthen the infrastructure and initiatives on the Internet was also discussed.

Since then there has been remarkable progress, especially due to governmental support for the creation of a minimum computer infrastructure for the Euskal Etxeak. The purchase of computers and the growing use of email constituted an important step for overseas Basques and Euskal Herria.

Internet projects in Europe and the Americas were other important milestones that facilitated the increase in exchanges. Naturally, we believe that such projects should continue to grow and that they should be used to their fullest potential.

Also important are the Basque government's efforts with regard to the printed and digital publications that became a fundamental tool for reaching overseas Basques. However, we believe that these initiatives must be considerably reinforced in order to reach a much wider base of readers and users.

International Basque media, such as television and written publications on the Internet, are important vehicles for maintaining a steady exchange of information with Euskal Herria and for sharing our culture. On the other hand, each of them presents specific difficulties. For television, the problem has been broadcasting the signal through local cable companies overseas (especially in those countries where cable TV is not as developed). As far as periodicals on the Internet are concerned, the main barrier has been the audience's failure to consult the first-hand information provided from Euskal Herria: most overseas Basques tend to use only the local media in their countries of residence in order to remain informed.

There are few initiatives to integrate the different media in order to achieve comprehensive communication between Euskal Herria and the rest of the world, a process in which overseas Basques play a fundamental role. We believe that a window of opportunity exists that we must take advantage of right now.

Characteristics of the current communication between Euskal Herria and overseas Basques. Two challenges

Actors

Today, the communications links established between Euskal Herria and overseas Basques, in all their variations, reach a small number of actors if we consider the total number of descendants of Basques in the world and the total population of Euskal Herria. The small group we are referring to is limited to the Basque Government and other institutions and the leaders and members of Basque institutions around the world. (Basque television could be the only exception to this rule, due to its wide-spectrum range in the Americas.)

The current challenge is to establish a framework of multiple personal and organizational relationships between the greatest number of descendants of Basques around the world, the greatest number of people living in Euskal Herria, and all sorts of organizations on both sides of the ocean.

How this will be done

It is worth pointing out that there are many more relationships between overseas Basques and Euskal Herria than between the overseas Basques living in different countries.

Therefore, a second challenge would be to create multiple lateral relationships between the Basque communities in different countries.

In short, the two challenges that we believe must be addressed involve:

- Exponentially multiplying the number of actors participating in communications links, both in Euskal Herria and overseas.
- Strengthening lateral communication between overseas Basques living in different countries.

Increasing the number of participants and strengthening lateral ties would enrich the overall life of the worldwide Basque community and help to strengthen it.

Communities with close ties to Euskal Herria and to Basque associations from other countries would help us to recreate a worldwide Basque community.

Need for new communication

Today, at this first congress of the 21st century, we would like to consider the need for a new focus for communication, to open up a new stage in the lives and relationships between Basques living in different countries.

Our dream is an Euskal Herria and a worldwide Basque community joined by multiple solid, lasting ties, which facilitate an increase in personal, organizational, economic, social, cultural, and other relations.

We also dream of a worldwide community of Basques that facilitates the enrichment of exchanges with each of the persons and organizations in their respective countries, and through Euskal Herria.

In order to achieve this, we must leave behind the need for technology and communications media. We will consider this a given - basic, available, and obtainable.

The true challenge for a new communication is not technological in nature – though there are still gaps to be breached - but human. That is why we must think of communication as a vehicle, as a place where we can build aspirations of identity, personal realization, and global sociability; to conceive of communication in the terms necessary to fulfill the life aspirations of every Basque in the world, and every Basque organization on the planet.

We must use and integrate all available resources of every kind for a sociological purpose: the creation of a globally distributed Basque community with multiple forms.

Multiple Basque identity

At the opening of the 1999 Congress, William Douglass lucidly described the process of creating an identity with multiple forms, the so-called "hyphenated Basques": Basque-Argentines, Basque-Chileans, Basque-Americans, etc., and the need to maintain an ethnic pride for such identities "which in turn motivates future generations to feel like part of something historically important." As Douglass put it:

> It is the substance necessary for creating and maintaining a tradition that, supplemented by an orientation toward Mother Earth, can serve as a foundation for a future for the different diasporic Basque identities. In other words, without such substance to inform the future descendant of Basques from Buenos Aires of what it is to be Basque-Argentine rather than a generic Basque, I doubt that the Basque identity would last in Argentina. On the other hand, I believe that if my person is informed by both my Argentinism and my Basque-Argentinism, and by my generic Basquism as an interstitial cultural element, I have a configuration that can be powerful and motivational as part of my self-perception and actions, if not daily than at least sporadically.

In this sense, we believe that we must conceive of communication as a vehicle for the realization of these multiple forms of identity, which ensure future vitality for the Basque community around the world. For this same reason, any communication initiative should be addressed as an intercultural project: a Basque from Euskal Herria is not the same as a Basque-Argentine, a Basque-Venezuelan, a Basque-American or a Basque-Australian.

Personal realization and global sociability

We believe that between an "orientation towards Mother Earth," as Douglass put it, and the specific reality of each person in the worldwide Basque community, there is a space rich in possibilities for the revitalization of "Basqueness" as a constitutive element of individual vocation, professional relationships, recreation, the exchange of experiences, etc.

We must manage to articulate and link the specific life reality of each member of the Basque communities overseas to other realities in the global Basque community to allow for a fruitful and enriching exchange, which helps to provide identity-related resources.

Articulation and synergy

The keywords for a communication process of this type should be articulation and synergy. This will require effort and commitment from all Basque men and women from every Basque organization, no matter where they are located. Centralized processes will not work. The challenge is to meet these objectives through activities distributed all over the globe. How can this be done? Only if everyone receives something beneficial in this global exchange. It must be an exchange in which everyone wins.

We must establish a profuse framework of multiple and varied personal, group, social, economic, commercial, professional, academic, student, recreational, and other relationships between Basques, through a variety of means.

In this way, we will come to view communication as a reality that encompasses all activities within the Basque community, and not as a technical aspect of a particular relationship.

A privileged platform for articulation

Internet, as a reality that far exceeds the Web and email, is a privileged platform for the support of multiple initiatives that can give form to these considerations. Not only can it do so, it must. In the same speech quoted earlier, Douglass said that cyberspace will have a fundamental influence on the training of the Basques of the future, as the young, *"who will have the last word on whether or not the Basque identity will last"* are the protagonists of the new world that is forming, one of the media supporting this *"supermarket of identity products."* As Douglass said, *"Individuals are increasingly empowered by new technologies and depend less on collective efforts. It is not difficult to conceive of a future world in which each individual will be the architect (or not) or his or her own Basque identity and the expression thereof, sitting in front of the computer screen which allows him or her to access (or not) a whole series of ethnic stimulants."*

We must operate within this space so that any Basque (with or without a hyphen) can easily and satisfactorily learn Euskera, research his or her family tree, get to know his or her cousins in the Americas and Basque grandparents, learn about the history of his or her village or farm, establish ties with colleagues from the same profession, engage in commerce and establish business relationships with other Basques, maintain long-distance friendships...in short, live in relation to other Basques.

We must facilitate the resources needed so that this can occur, and we must make it happen. Resources that no one uses or knows about are worthless. We must therefore move away from an overall technological utopia: technology is useless without a design suitable for each user, and if it is not a vehicle for satisfactory experiences. Our creations must be valid alternatives in an interactive space of global competition. As Douglass said to conclude his speech: *"At stake is nothing less than the future of the Basque identity both here and worldwide, without forgetting the new Basque realities that will exist in cyberspace rather than in the geographical terms of Mother Earth and her diasporas."*

In order to meet the goals we have set, we must use the Internet as a privileged medium. However, in this new stage we must learn how to integrate the facilities provided by this paradigm with the potential of other media. We said earlier that the key words for this phase must be articulation and synergy; therefore, we believe that it is vital to establish relationships of cooperation between all existing communication initiatives: websites, radio, television, magazines, newspapers, email lists, personal relationships, exchange programs, etc. etc. etc.

We must get started today!

Right now we would like to get you excited about a collective project that seeks everyone's support and participation in order to satisfy and benefit everyone.

We want to create a place for articulating initiatives that would allow us to realize this dream of a new communication; we want to project these realities in order to provide Basques all over the world with multiple services and resources related to experiences and identity, to sustain close global ties between our community and the persons and organizations that belong to it.

For this purpose, we have set two main goals

1. To establish a platform to facilitate fluid communication between all organizations (and the people that belong to them) in Euskal Herria, from the worldwide Basque community and the "friends of the Basques," through the use of Internet technology and the integration of other media, based on the exchange of information, content and services (related to the world of Basque culture, society and economy), generated in a distributed manner with multiaudience characteristics.
2. To strengthen, through our communications platform and network of organizations and persons, the worldwide Basque community, which includes the Basques of Euskal Herria and overseas Basques and facilitates new ways of belonging and of gradual integration.

In addition, this international network of institutions and people can make it possible to consolidate positions and maintain issues on the public agenda in the areas of worldwide culture, society and politics, on the basis of independent proposals with pluralistic, democratic participation.

We hereby establish the following additional goals for this program

– To facilitate an increase in the flow of scientific, educational, artistic, social, work-related, commercial, business, financial and other information between Euskal Herria and overseas Basques and organizations from their countries of residence.

– To renew and update the view that overseas Basques hold of Euskal Herria, and promote a consensual, realistic public agenda.

How the project will be implemented

Eusko Ikaskuntza, through Euskomedia Fundazioa, agrees to take charge of project management and assign the human and technological resources needed to implement it as soon as the necessary financing is obtained.

We believe that goodwill is not enough. Management of this project will not depend on the goodwill of the parties; rather, it will be addressed as a professional management endeavor, in which the work will be oriented towards specific, measurable objectives. Operationally, the project will be directed by one person, accompanied by a small team composed of two persons (these three will be located in Euskal Herria, Argentina and the United States). This team will receive the necessary support from other technical operators for the purposes of strategy, negotiations, planning and program development, technological development, etc.

In addition, we hope to have a large (growing) number of collaborators on the distributed Euskal Etxeak network. We would particularly like to receive support and commitment from those attending this congress, especially the official representatives from the Federations. We would also appreciate special support and commitment from those participating in the Gaztemundu Program, whom we hope will commit their centers to active collaboration within the management renewal scheme they are now promoting.

The project shall be designed based on a prior, realistic evaluation of the organizational situation in Euskal Herria and among overseas Basques. The initiatives currently being pursued by the centers, the federations of Basque entities, government agencies and institutions currently acting within Euskal Herria, and the media shall provide a solid foundation from which our project can be launched.

Eusko Ikaskuntza therefore invites anyone wishing to commit to the development of this distributed virtual community to formalize an agreement involving rights and responsibilities, which will help us to actively cooperate and achieve success in the middle term. We believe that the primary objective should be to join the existing initiatives together, to avoid wasted effort and create synergy.

We shall establish immediate and progressive goals for social results and, in the middle and long term, economic results. During the first three-year stage, the project must operate through external financing and take the necessary steps to gradually become self-financing during the second stage.

Eusko Ikaskuntza shall accommodate all parties wishing to participate in the project. Should this be deemed necessary, a special entity could be created to direct it, which would be set up as a separate legal entity.

Designing on-line communities

Our purpose is to establish a framework for sociability with adequate technological mediation for the different types of Basques in the world: to design experiences. Responding to both social and individual needs will be the secret to our success.

Thus, our work will focus on applying the appropriate strategies to design on-line communities. There is sufficient academic literature and practical experience (both positive and negative) to consider while implementing our project. All initiatives for implementing applications and services must be based on a solid theoretical and practical foundation in order to reduce the margin of uncertainty and trial and error to a minimum.

The design of this on-line community will be based on a website featuring different content and services, which will be inter-related to projects taking place in the off-line world.

During the first stage, we will focus primarily on the following audiences, by age groups:

– Children (plus parents and grandparents).

– Teenagers.

– Youth.

– Young adults.

These audiences are the heaviest Internet users, are the most permeable for the work we intend to carry out, and are those who will ensure the future of the Basque community. During the second stage, we will attend to the specific needs of older adults.

It is worth pointing out that these audiences are closely inter-related. By providing content that is appealing to children, their parents become involved, and possibly their grandparents as well. Adolescents and youth share common tastes and problems that must be taken into account. Similarly, teenagers and young adults share a common world of representation, particularly where job-related and vocational issues are concerned.

We must set up initiatives that provide both direct and indirect benefits. In other words, some programs may only serve to increase traffic on a website containing useful content and services, without helping to achieve our ultimate objective, while others must be geared toward specific goals within our project.

Programs (content and services) that may be implemented during the first stage

Quality webmail service

A webmail service that would compete with (or surpass) the main global services, such as Hotmail and Yahoo. Heavy, extensive use of this service by Basque communities all over the world would help us to generate a feeling of belonging, and serve as a constant presence in different spheres through each user's personal correspondence.

Large Basque product shop

A shopping center for Basque products, containing the catalogs of any merchants wishing to reach overseas Basques (from both Euskal Herria and other countries). A minimum service agreement must be established for those wishing to join the virtual shop. This shop would be extremely appealing to overseas Basques.

News from Euskal Herria

Adequate integration of on-line news services, through email mailings, adapted to a variety of audiences. These services would include applications such as "news alarms" for news stories of greater global importance.

News from the Basque Centers

Comprehensive news from Basque centers all over the world, designed to reach the different audiences within the centers (leaders, dantzaris, students of Euskera, gourmets, those sharing different aspects of our culture, etc.)

Contact base for Basque community leaders

This base must facilitate contact with any Basque leader in the world. It must also serve as a basis for common projects between institutions. For this purpose, each leader's main areas of responsibility must be specified, particularly his or her experience with specific projects such as cooperation, education, Euskera, Internet, etc.

Common activity calendar

Establishing a shared calendar of events held at the Basque centers and the main events in Euskal Herria would be the first step towards a shared agenda for public issues.

On-line socializing for teenagers and young people

Such services will require a suitable analysis of the technological tools to be used. If used well, they could become a fundamental vehicle for maintaining permanent relations between teenagers and young people from all of the Basque centers and Euskal Herria (future leaders).

Content for teenagers and young people

An appropriate selection of content providers will be made to serve a global audience of teenagers and young people. Naturally, the content should be related to music, sports, tourism and relationships, among other topics.

Exchanges between children and schools

We will create a global experience exchange program among children from the Basque centers, schools from the reference community and schools from Euskal Herria. Such programs, of which very good examples exist around the world, can lead to highly enriching exchanges and lasting relationships between organizers, educators, teachers, parents, relatives and children.

Family search program

There is a huge effort (especially among the descendants of Basques not associated with Basque institutions abroad) to link Basque families from Euskal Herria to those overseas, and these ties have proven to be extremely enriching. Our idea is to join all of the existing initiatives at the Basque Centers, organizations in Euskal Herria, the media, websites, etc., in order to increase the scope of these efforts to search for roots in EH and for relatives in the Americas. Integration of the media from EH could be an important factor in multiplying our efforts through the convergence of different media: written publications, radio, television, Internet, bulletin boards and distribution lists for the Basque centers, etc. This program could be integrated into the onomastic and surname origin services provided by Euskaltzaindia.

Academic information and services for university students

We would like to integrate the Basque universities with academic distance learning services, summer courses, graduate and doctoral programs for overseas Basque university students. For distance learning, the use of the buildings and videoconferencing infrastructure at some Basque centers may be evaluated.

Eusko Ikaskuntza courses

Asmoz Fundazioa courses will be added to the distance learning services.

Basic courses in Basque culture

Eusko Ikaskuntza could establish, through Asmoz Fundazioa, introductory and basic courses in Basque culture at different levels, which could serve as an introductory stage for the Jakinet Basque Culture course.

Tourism projects

Tourism projects for young people from Euskal Herria and other countries will be set up. An exchange program could be considered, which could use the Euskal Etxeak network as a future hosteling network. Cultural and adventure tourism should be prioritized, rather than traditional tourism.

Language courses

The Basque center network could be used to set up programs offering courses in Spanish and English for foreigners, in collaboration with educational institutions.

Sports exchanges

An exchange service could be set up between sports clubs from the different countries in order to organize sports tours for Basque and non-Basque clubs.

Professional exchanges

Exchange programs will be established for young professionals.

Volunteer programs

Volunteer programs will be integrated in Latin America, in which members of the Basque community all over the world can participate.

Exchanges between overseas Basque leaders

Exchange programs will be established in order to enrich the leadership experiences of overseas Basques.

Business and commercial exchanges

These will be established through government agencies, Cooperation Institutes, Chambers of Commerce from Euskal Herria and overseas Basque and non-Basque entrepreneurs. This service should allow two-way exchanges for importing and exporting goods and services, research and development cooperation agreements, commercialization, etc.

Programs to preserve our heritage

We must create programs to promote awareness among all members of the Basque community of the importance of preserving our oral, written, photographic, documentary and bibliographic heritage. Eusko Ikaskuntza must provide advising and direct intervention for this purpose.

Links to Basque libraries

We must progressively integrate all databases from Basque libraries all over the world, in relation to the library system in Euskal Herria. We must reach agreements on the use of common cataloguing and com-

puterization criteria, in order to provide a service to the global Basque community. A service for lending bibliographical materials and exchanging repeat bibliographical materials could be set up.

League of Friends of the Basques

We must review the initiatives related to the recreation of a League of Friends of the Basques, as discussed during the previous congresses, in order to join those initiatives to the current project.

Technological platform

As mentioned earlier, the biggest challenge is not to create a technological platform, but to put the technology and resources to use in a way that allows us to meet the objectives we have established.

1. To establish a platform to facilitate fluid communication between all organizations (and the people that belong to them) in Euskal Herria, among overseas Basques and the "friends of the Basques," through the use of Internet technology and the integration of other media, based on the exchange of information, content and services (related to the world of Basque culture, society and economy), generated in a distributed manner with multiaudience characteristics.
2. To strengthen, through the communications platform and the network of organizations and persons, the worldwide Basque community, which includes the Basques of Euskal Herria and overseas Basques, and facilitates new ways of belonging and of gradual integration.

In order to accomplish this, we must reuse any existing resources suitable for our purposes, and create from scratch any that do not exist but can help us meet our objectives.

In any case, we assume the use of a hardware platform that will ensure solidity, effectiveness, interoperability and scalability.

User-Centered Design (UCD)

As mentioned, the development of technological applications for a multiple audience with intercultural characteristics is one of our greatest challenges. We must capture the interest of Basques all over the world in participating in a global community. A suitable User-Centered Design (UCD) will be vital as far as interfaces and application usability are concerned.

We must therefore consider the linguistic differences, not to mention the cognitive differences and customs of all of our audiences. Everything we create or share must have a suitable intercultural focus in every aspect of its design, taking into account that users from Gipuzkoa, Oregon and Río Gallegos are very different people, with different customs, ways of thinking, and knowledge.

For this reason, we must consult state-of-the-art academic studies on Usability, Interculturalism, Man-Machine Interaction, etc. in order to perform our work professionally using the dynamic standards arising from these studies. We could even conduct our own research in keeping with our own reality, especially considering that most of the academic literature in these disciplines comes from North America.

As far as language is concerned, we believe that all content should be originally generated in Spanish, English and Euskera. If translated, we would like for native speakers to be used as translators. For Spanish, a happy medium must be found to accommodate the Spanish spoken in the different countries, so that all users can read the content without difficulty or awkwardness.

Service quality

We would like to integrate within our project all existing cultural, social, economic, professional, and other services in keeping with our objectives.

In each case, we will ensure that each service provides adequate service quality, response times, economic value (if appropriate), etc.

Content quality

Any cultural content integrated within our project must meet the previously established quality standards in order to ensure the solidity of the final product.

Eusko Ikaskuntza will be responsible for establishing those standards, which will be reflected in the agreements with all participants.

Technical quality of the content

For content production, suitable standards will be established for all technical aspects of the on-line environment, which must be respected. These include: hypertextuality, hypermediality, indexing, titling, writing, writing links, etc.

Tentative plan of action

The activities to be carried out from the time the project is implemented should follow this tentative outline:

1st semester

This initial stage would include the effective design and implementation of some programs that would allow us to launch a high-impact site during the seventh month, to attract the attention of Basques overseas and in Euskal Herria.

During the design and implementation of the programs described, we would take the opportunity to formulate strategies for approaching and establishing permanent cooperation relationships with different entities of interest for the success of the project: the Basque Government (different agencies), Federations of Basque Centers, Basque Centers, overseas Basque leaders, miscellaneous Institutions in Euskal Herria, etc.

For this purpose, we will follow the process described in the project introduction: a cooperation scheme between our initiative and the participating organizations in which everyone obtains some benefit (albeit minimal).

Similarly, during this phase it will be fundamental to establish lasting personal relationships with key Basque leaders overseas, especially among the younger age groups, and particularly among the participants in all Gaztemundu programs since 1996.

For this purpose, personalized communication strategies will be implemented during this stage with multiple actors, which will help pave the way for the activities to be carried out after the site is launched. Everything sown during this stage will be an integral part of an overall communications strategy. During the early stages, it will be relatively centralized around the project management, in order to later create a multipolar flow of relationships.

Activity	Requirements	Main objectives to be met
- General planning.		
- Approval of the budget for the first year, as per the defined Plan.	- General planning.	
- Selecting and hiring staff.	- Budget.	- To design a highly motivated, professional, flexible executive staff, efficient in distributed teamwork.
- Design and implementation of the Webmail program.	- Defining the domain. - Negotiations with suppliers for the purchase of the Webmail module or agreement with the existing service. - Designing interfaces. - Arrangements to place the service on the Euskomedia platform.	- To obtain increasingly high traffic on the future site. - To obtain an identification for the Basque community through the chosen site. - To provide service excellence to hierarchize the project.
- Design of the marketing program for the Webmail service.		

Activity	Requirements	Main objectives to be met
- Design and implementation of the Basque Shop program.	- Negotiations and agreements with the minimum number of suppliers to ensure appealing stock in order to get traffic moving to the future site. - Establishing minimum service quality standards. - Defining the e-commerce module to be used, and integrating suppliers. - Interface design. - Arrangements to place the service on the Euskomedia platform.	- To obtain increasingly high traffic on the future site. - To attract young overseas Basques. - To generate a minimum amount of income.
- Design of the marketing program for the Basque Shop.	- Cooperation with suppliers.	
- Definition and implementation of the (structural) content platform for the future site.		- To obtain a versatile platform for generating, indexing, publishing and administering content, requiring no technical intervention. - To obtain a versatile visual administration platform for the future site, requiring no technical intervention. - To reduce the workload of the technical professionals. - To speed up the administration of the future site.
- Design and pilot development of the future site.	- Content platform.	- A quality website as far as: • visual design, • Information Architecture (AI), • usability, • functionality.
- Design and implementation of the Basque Institution Database program.	- Content platform. - Agreement with the Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities.	
- Design and implementation of the News from Euskal Herria and Content for Teenagers and Young People programs.	- Content platform. - Agreements with the media and several news providers. - Agreements with Basque sites for teenagers and young people. - Ad honorem collaborators to write and edit news stories.	- To obtain increasingly high traffic on the future site. - To transmit a modern image of Euskal Herria. - To use the information as a trigger for projects.
	- Content platform. - Agreements with Federations. - Agreements with specific Basque Centers. - Agreements with other Basque institutions. - Ad honorem collaborators to write and edit news stories.	- To obtain increasingly high traffic on the future site. - To transmit an active image of the Basque community. - To use the information as a foundation for initiatives.

Activity	Requirements	Main objectives to be met
- Design and implementation of the Common activity calendar program.	- Content platform. - Agreements with Basque Federations and Centers.	- To obtain increasingly high traffic on the future site. - To get the Basque Centers involved in the project. - To transmit an active image of the Basque community. - To lay the foundation for an increasingly common public agenda.
- Design and implementation of the Family search program.	- Agreement with the Iparralde Euskal-Argentine Association. - Agreements with Basque Federations and Centers. - Agreement with the Juan de Garay Basque-Argentine Foundation. - Agreement with EITB. Agreement with other media entities.	- To link families from Euskal Herria and overseas. - To obtain increasingly high traffic on the future site by reaching new audiences, traditionally not associated with the Basque community.
- Design and implementation of the On-line Services for Teenagers and Young People program.	- To be defined.	- To generate traffic among these audiences and win them over as site users. - To create areas for relationships.
- Design and implementation of the Chat with celebrities program.	- To purchase or develop a broadcasting-style multiuser chat module (one user addressing multiple users, with a mediator).	- To create a versatile tool, that can also be used in future activities on the site.
- Design and Production of basic content areas for the site: • On-line Eusko Ikaskuntza courses, • University courses.	- Cooperation with universities.	- To obtain increasingly high traffic on the future site. - To obtain a minimum amount of income.
- Implementation of strategies to obtain ad honorem collaborators among the overseas Basques.		
- Campaign to raise awareness of the project.	- Agreement with the Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities in order to use space in the Euskal Etxeak magazine. - Basic databases.	
- Implementation of marketing programs for the services.		
- Design of the campaign to launch the future site, which should include: • A press campaign both on- and off-line (and possibly an advertising campaign) in Euskal Herria and overseas. • A campaign addressing a selected group of high schools in Euskal Herria. • A calendar of chat events with Basque celebrities. • A special production agreement on various sites overseas and in Euskal Herria.		

– *2nd semester*

During the initial phase of this stage the site will be launched. From the time it is placed on-line, the existing services and content must be consolidated while others are created and launched.

Depending on traffic evaluations and the response from institutions and users, priorities will be defined throughout the second semester. The programs described below should be implemented during this period.

From the time the site is published, it will be vital to orient all strategies toward the creation of a network of lateral links between multiple actors, for which the site will simply act as a facilitator.

Activity	Requirements	Main objectives to be met
- Launching the site (7th month) with the following services and content: • Webmail. • Basque product shop. • Family search service. • News from Euskal Herria for different audiences. • Content for teenagers and young people. • On-line services for teenagers and young people. • News from the Basque centers. • Calendar of Basque activities around the world. • Academic information from EI and Universities. • Periodic chats with celebrities. • Basque institution database.	- All programs mentioned earlier.	- To achieve a high-impact launch with multiple services and content in order to catch the attention of a wide user base, primarily among overseas Basques and, as a secondary objective, in Euskal Herria.
- Design and implementation of the Basque Community Leader Database program.	- Cooperation with Basque Centers and the leaders of all participating institutions.	- To facilitate contact between leaders who do not know each other.
- Design and implementation of the Overseas Basque leader exchange program.		- To enrich their leadership experience. - To establish lateral ties among overseas Basques.
- Academic information and services for university students program.	- Cooperation with Basque universities.	- To appeal to the overseas Basque student audience through a useful service.
- Basic Courses in Basque Culture program.	- A design by Eusko Ikaskuntza.	- To provide a very necessary service to overseas Basque leaders, who will be very appreciative. - To generate a minimum amount of income.
- Design and implementation of the Exchange program between children and schools.	- External advising. - Agreements with Basque schools and Basque centers and schools overseas.	- To generate lateral ties between overseas Basques and EH. - To generate interactive, formative experiences within the family sphere. - To involve the Basque centers in what could be a highly successful activity.

– *3rd and 4th semesters*

At the beginning of this stage, an evaluation of all previous actions should be performed, with a detailed description of the relative success of each program. Based on this, a new plan will be designed.

This stage should be characterized by the strengthening of lateral relations between multiple actors among the overseas Basque communities and Euskal Herria.

During the 3rd and 4th semesters, the following programs should be implemented:

- Professional exchanges.
- Business and commercial exchanges.
- Sports exchanges.
- Volunteer programs.
- Programs to preserve our heritage.
- Programs to link Basque libraries.

– *5th and 6th semesters*

During this stage, the following programs should be implemented:

- Tourism projects.
- Language courses.
- League of Friends of the Basques.
- New programs directed at older adults.

The countries and nations without a State in the European Union

Luc Van Den Brande, Ex Minister President of Flanders and Ex President of AER (Asambly of European Regions)

Thank you very much ladies and gentlemen. I have first of all to say that I'm really pleased to be again in Euskadi. But honestly I have to say there is a great concern from my region, Flanders, Belgium, but in a personal way when I come back here in Euskadi I see you a little bit like home. You have to know that lots of your Euskadi compatriots are now in charge, in a series of activities in our region and I can give you one example. One of our leading ladies of the broadcasting and television national broadcasting is just one of the Basque Country, and another example just to give an idea that there is interaction between our regions, that the former of our education minister was also one of yours. So I mean I'm really pleased to be here again.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to give you some brief considerations about what was entitled "Nations without state or country". But, I have to say as evidence that there are so many things already said and written about identity. What is it in fact connected between nation building and nation expectation? For some people identity is an absolute point of reference, the decisive basis to approach a person, the society, its organization. We all know that this can lead to extreme nationalism and ethnic separatism, as evident. For others is a reference to identity of the leader what leads to absolute universalism, artificially, a common shape of society's unconscious is denied. And mind you, identity has many angles, historical, sociological, philological, cultural, only to mention the principal.

Is the existence of identity only the result of a scientific analysis or is it the consciousness that identity just exist? Other people assigned us with an identity. We as Flemish are speaking about the identity of the Basque people and I presume that it is also the case in an inverse way. So I have to underline that often the identity as a fact is not only a question of ourselves but others are giving a sign as written identity. But, on the other half, there is other conscious identity which is based on customs, common language, culture, history and proximity and, in my view, an identity is never exclusive and it is not homogenous. I think that it is good to analyse.

Identity implies openness to other people; identity has to do with tolerance, hospitality, respect for other people. The own identity ends where the identity of the others start or vice versa. Identity has to be penetrable and can be multi-levelled. Identity can never be used as a comparative idea, because comparing one identity with another has to be rejected, because this could lead us to an order, to something that is

better and something that is less good. This could lead to ultra nationalism which is contradiction with my personalistic vision, a human being as a person, carrier of universal values, called to positive freedom which leads him to responsibility in society shaped by him or her and the others.

This could lead us to the question of how communities are developing in the new modern times. In the course of the history many have wrestled with pain for physical space. In a global world the chances of development are no longer linked to physical limitations. The space of the mind doesn't know the same limitation. The same things could be said about the organisation of state itself. Some regions have the disposal of all the chances to be an independent nation -state. But how does this independency fit in with the new European space? The reinforcement of the opinion is only possible through what I am calling the re-verification of the state nationalism of the XIXth century. Re-verification. Regions in Europe have to start with the new basis, with a new space. In Europe some new core regions are developing which overstep the state borders in a natural way. New communities of interest and youth and common and causal interaction are coming into existence. Communities can only become dynamic if all the actors should take up responsibility and the decision should be taken at the most appropriate level.

In European space we have to stop the pyramidal, hierarchical approach which puts Europe above the Member States; the Member States above the regions; the regions above the cities and the local communities. And the contrary, we need a new concept of partnership between these entities. This is the real meaning of subsidiarity, which implies an approach from the bottom and not top down. Specific challenges and problems require specific solutions and appropriate organisation of the State. This applies also to the place of the regions in Europe. Democratic regionalism is not an aim in itself, but is an opportunity as far as it has an added value to make new things possible or to create new chances. Regional ethnic entities are more and more the carriers of development in a global world. This is only meaningful under four conditions: contribute to democratic strengthening, guarantee a better governance and providing services, strengthen a general access, participation and share of what we can call the societal capital and, four, provide the most sustainable quality of life.

Too long ago subsidiarity was narrowed between the division of tasks and competences between the different authorities, the so-called third account subsidiarity. More important is the second dimension of subsidiarity, the space that has to be assigned to the actors, to the civil society. The political, democratic, economical, social sustainable function is better fitted by a great social capital within the population. So the social capital is a form of general trust in other people, in organisations and institutions.

An autonomous region is the most appropriate entity to give an answer to the demands and expectations of the people. An autonomous region could be the guarantee of a policy closed by the people could be a bridge to the people and could guarantee what I call a reasonable democracy. Universally is in the heart of the European idea as well. It cannot lead to the lack of appreciation that people are participating in concrete circles of life. Subsidiarity means that authorities should support the development of the person in his or her circles of life. The institutional constrictions of a regional dynamic will override the seeming contradiction between globalization and regionalisation. As the interest of the European supranational flavour increases and more competences will be filled in at a European level the move to the recognition of regional and local structures will be more manifest. Armenia, Flanders, Euskadi, Catalonia, Scotland… they are all seen as nations without state, and, in my view, Belgium and other countries. It is not what I am calling an ethical choice, but it is in fact a conglomerate of situations, factual evolutions that we are bounded in one of our countries.

Region-states will be part of the European development and will give it basis to the union, based on the principle of unity in diversity. In my opinion it is not desirable to get one model for all the Member States because the construction of the state is different and linked to some traditions of governments. In this way we are making room for others. Cooperation is added value and will be also in the future of mutual interest.

I have to say also, here and today, that some are rather afraid of regionalism because it can be seen as a new form of particularism, as ethno nationalism in disguise. This extremely strong sense of universal arising from a fusion of the Judaic Christian position and the best elements of Greco-Roman civilizations has forged the soul of the European movement up to today. This universalism enables us to see a creation of the Single Market and of the EMU, as well as also of technical interventions for standardization and harmonisation in the broader perspective of the brotherhood of all European nations and of all Europeans.

Beyond this, Europeans broached the EC as the initial step to a world wide quarter. The impact of this voluntary movement of the actual process of Europeanization and globalisation that is taking place should not

be underestimated. It is often said that developments such as internet give rise to increasing individualism. This does not have to be the case. In the cosmopolitan sense is also seen as someone who is in the centre of a number of different circles. She or he often has family responsibilities, lives in a pleasant or less pleasant home or environment may or may not be a member of a club is threatened by unemployment or is actually in line for promotion. These are real people who live and die in a particular area, in a particular culture and in a particular political system. And it is only when it is actually good to live in these circles that these real people will have opportunity and the desire to become Europeans and world citizens.

For me subsidiarity means precisely that the government organizes itself in such a way that it provides maximum support for the development of people in their own circles. Of the centuries of continuous centralization, subsidiarity therefore in practice usually means that we must bring our politics closer to the people and in this context I attach particular importance to the policy level of regions and also of local, municipal decision making. However, many of the current challenges such as the promotion of welfare and employment will have to be tackled on a larger scale. The regions increasingly present themselves, and I think that is right, as the most suitable level of government for establishing specific action programs in relation to this, within the guidelines mapped out for this purpose at European level.

After all the regions can adopt policies tailored to the needs of their population and their economy, policies which take into account their specific social, economic needs and values. Therefore regionalism interpreted in this way has nothing to do with particularism. In fact there is a respect for the individual; actually it makes it easier to work towards the creation of general objectives for the whole of our communities and also for Europe.

In a remarkable brilliant speech of the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher, she mentioned and I quote "Europe will be stronger precisely because it contains France as France, Spain as Spain, England as England, each with each own customs, traditions and identity. It would be madness to try and force them into a sort of European identity", end of quotation. Thatcher evokes the picture of the Nation – State which only exists and always will exist, which can wholly depend on the loyalty of its subjects, the loyalty of its subjects and which has to take other Nation-states into consideration, only in so far as these are equally strong or stronger. This picture, ladies and gentlemen, has now completely changed. There are global institutions such as the IMF (*International Monetary Fund) to which even the most self-sufficient states must submit, more specifically in Europe powers are increasingly divided between tri-level of government: the Union, the Member State and the federated states regions. Moreover, development and expertise are less and less restricted by geographical walls. Thatcher's followers call their point of view a realistic one and reject the utopian view of the European federalists who aim for a sort of United States of Europe.

In my opinion, neither of those two approaches is sufficiently realistic to make the European project a feasible one. However, neither of these two approaches is sufficiently utopian, if I may be permitted to use this term, to make it a really inspiring project. Real influence and power certainly have been partly transferred to serve the national institutions, such as the European institutions, but ours are also increasingly falling into the hand of federated states and other sorts of regions by an internal process of federalisation and regionalisation.

When I refer to the Europe border regions this concerns the role of different regions and of the European federated states in new European countries, which also involves the Union and the Member States. I strongly oppose the approach to the Europe of the regions as another Europe, an amalgam of insignificant, scrabbling mini-states and shoulder states which has absolutely nothing to do with the real true Europe of the European Commission, Council States, Seven Meetings and so on…

The federated state regions exist, exist in another Europe and will become increasingly important .A realistic unification strategy cannot and should not turn this new reality into an abstract concept. At the same time I'm convinced that the federated states, regions have the right vitality. Sometimes the European Union is too large to tackle a number of problems adequately and with respect for the diversity in Europe. For their part, the Member States are often both too large and too small to be able to tackle the great challenges of our life, increasingly we are evolving towards a European Union which is not based on hierarchy, but on a community of interest in which these policy levels work together on a basis of equality. And this is the right idea of sharing sovereignty.

It is my conviction that in one state area it is possible to share the sovereignty between populations and cultures inside this country in plural, in different ways. So, it is important that we have to think in terms of equality, of achieving jointly agreed objectives, jointly agreed. It is a process to try, work and to live together but in freedom decided after discussion. So achieving jointly agreed objectives in different fields, so many

fields, essential fields for our population, the field of the environment, employment, agriculture, education, culture, economic development, research and development, national security and foreign security. In my view the real aims of European unification lie in the field of cooperation and equal partnership inside the nation-states of today. Regions, federated states and autonomous communities reflect democracy, cultural diversity and social-economic development in Europe. Flanders and Wallonia are striving examples of this, as are the German as are the Austrian level and as are the Spanish regions and the autonomous communities and gradually the Italian regions.

They all wish to achieve their own political projects with democratically elected organisations based on a particular culture and historical identity. In this sort of Europe regions like we are, autonomous communities like we are will increasingly emerge to, and I have to underline it, will increasingly emerge to save guard democratic policies, which are close to the people and to determine the type of economic and employment policy on a manageable scale. Region-states have to search the added value of nation-states and it is in this term that we have to search for more quality of society and more quality of life.

The modern slogan, the globally agreed one is not a theoretical axiom; it is a reality which calls for responsible government and this in the European space, but, at the same time, in our own spaces of our nation-states. A few years ago we launched the concept of the Europe of cultures, as a necessary addition to the mainly economic process of integration in the European Union. After all there is a fear that unification of Europe will produce a European culture which would result in a process of alienation rather than a process of identification. For this reason we reject every form of cultural uniformity. It is the diversity which must be reinforced at development.

I describe the cultural region as a regional entity with a cultural identity with its own possibilities for economic survival and development and with its own powers, which are exercised by democratically elected institutions. These can be either states or federated states. We are convinced that the strengthening cultural diversity in the European Union will also benefit economic strength and democratic aspects. The moment for this has come. Discussions on the future of the European Union are in full swing and the debate is certainly of great importance also for the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which are being admitted as members of the European Union.

In the Europe of cultures that we envisage every cultural region will have the opportunity to be itself, not only as regards its policy on culture and cultural spheres but also in regard to all the economic sectors which are culturally sensitive. This Europe of cultures of which we can dream and which we are working towards respects the language of each cultural region, of course. However, at the same time, this Europe of cultures should also be a meeting place where culture regions can come together to learn, to value each other and to develop towards a dynamic unity from the bottom (to the) top.

Ladies and gentlemen, my good friends, I have also to make reference to the important discussion we had last month in the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. And as Member of the Council of Europe I was not only very interested but involved in an interesting item which is linked to developments in many regions, autonomous regions, of the Europe of the day. The question was about the positive experience of autonomous regions as a source of inspiration for conflict resolution in Europe. And I just want to make some references to our debate we had in Strasbourg last month. And what I was saying is that I agree with what it is mentioned in the report and also what was mentioned in the draft resolution, that old and renewed tensions can very often be traced to be captured between the principle of indivisibility of states and the principle of identity.

So I am convinced that we have to be very clear and that we have to discuss about the right approach that indivisibility and national "identity of nation state" is not, in the contrary (in contradiction with) of regional autonomy and that the principles of indivisibility of the country, of nation-states in Europe is compatible to the principles of regional autonomy. And I can just confirm you that the resolution is voted at the Council of Europe by which this compatibility between indivisibility of nation-states, on the one hand, but regional autonomy over all spheres of competences of responsibility is of course very important.

Another point that was stressed, that is what I refer to as the sharing of sovereignty but also new ways of asymmetric territorial organisation and the acceptance and the trial to go to different and varied degrees of autonomy.

So like I was saying just a few minutes ago I am not in favour of one and unique model for all regional autonomy developments in our countries, but I think that we have to be honest, and when we accept the compatibility the indivisibility, on the one hand, and the autonomous policy on the other; that we have to accept common principles on regional autonomy. It is not the same as working with one and unique model.

And common principles and regional autonomy, they refer to respect of the rule of law, because the rule of law cannot be a lone responsibility of national states. Two, guarantee fundamental rights and freedoms. Three, devolution given after a democratic debate, after negotiations. I think that when we speak about negotiations we have to think about equal partners who are around the table and they can negotiate and to see which way they can be associates after negotiations. And, of course, democratic elections.

Each Member State has to be creative on societal evolutions .And, in this way, I believe we have to combine the ideas of cultural autonomy, territorial autonomy and political autonomy. In this way, regional autonomy is not risk but a real opportunity also for nation-states. The real question is to know at which decision making level the best answers can be given to the expectations of the populations, like they are saying this in German what is the most "*Bürger Nähe*" (* en alemán "Proximidad al ciudadano"); *Quel est la proximité réel oú les gens sentent qu'il y a des opportunités pour solutionner les choses* .

So, in this way, the approach is nothing hierarchical, but a cooperative approach. An approach of partnership is important. And as we know in modern states, in modern states, we see that there is new direction of what we call multi – levelled governments and government. It is important to know that there will be more and more interference between the decision making levels on so many items that also in the old nation state concept of the XIXth century, speaking about new national state concepts, regional federated states we have to go to multi-levelled government in the benefit of the population, so it has as a consequence that of course regional autonomy is not a possibility but it is a necessity.

So the question, ladies and gentlemen, is to know: is regionalism a new stimulus for the benefit of our population and for a right unification of Europe? I believe that this question must be answered affirmatively. After all the regions can serve as a bridge between the world which Europeans live in and the main policy areas which are mapped out at the level of the Member States and increasingly at European level. The regions can help to map out this policy frameworks to prevent them from being completely divorced from the reality in the field. The regions can also better these policy frameworks in a very concrete way, by means of action programs which take into account the specific needs and requirements of their people and their companies. If Europe is to become a closer Unity, and I sincerely believe this, the regions will serve as a binding agent. But it has its consequence, that the Union Member States are also the go-betweens between the region-states and the Union. It is a duty of the national states to give opportunities and to give access directly to the decision making of the autonomous regions in the different Member States. And it is very clear that autonomous regions have to play a more visible role in European decision making, not only in advisory boards but also directly in decision making European Councils , as it is foreseen in the principles of the Maastricht Treaty. And it is just, in fact, a question of will of the national Member States actually to give this opportunity and a visible role. And I think that because the inner policy is of course I have to say to this audience, you that are here the representatives in the Basque different communities all over the world, that it is important for autonomic regions to make cooperation not only with other regions but also with other countries as we can do in Belgium due to our state before 1993.

So nation-states have to give opportunities to region-states for self-development, not in confrontation but in cooperation and association. And in this way, my good friend José María Muñoa, I have to thank you and all of you for, in fact, the conviction you have that by democratic approach, in benefit of the population as you are the best comparable for the Basque country all over European levels. And I also can testify this that I was really pleased to give too short, but I am convinced too long after a long night and a hard day yesterday, that I tried to give you some of my opinions, some of my reflections, because I am believing in common goals of common policies… Thank you very much!

The Armenian Diaspora today: Lobby, Politics, and Identity

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Introduction

This essay is intended to provide a detailed overview of the contemporary Armenian diaspora. It is written for non-specialists interested in the Armenian experience. The article focuses on Armenian communities and organisations in the "established" or "western" diaspora, comprising of North and South America, Europe, the Middle East and Australia. Examples are drawn from various countries, most notably the USA. The diaspora in the post-Soviet space, concentrated in Russia, is mentioned but not discussed at length. While numerically very significant, the dynamics of this newly emerging community are quite different from what we have come to associate with the Armenian diaspora. The post-Soviet diaspora requires a separate study of its own.

The paper is divided into five parts: historical background, diasporan institutions (the longest section), financial arrangements, main challenges, and homeland activities toward the diaspora.

Historical background

It is impossible to understand Armenian identity and politics without examining the role of the diaspora. Deprived of a state of their own during much of the past millennium, Armenians have managed to culturally survive and flourish largely due to diasporan efforts. Armenians continued to live under occupation in their homeland until the WWI Genocide, but for centuries the diaspora played a crucial role in the preservation, evolution and strengthening of ethno-religious identity. Never a mere extension of the homeland, the Armenian diaspora has been – and still is – one of the pillars of the nation. The homeland-diaspora duality is a central characteristic of the Armenians. This duality has at times been complimentary, it has often been fraught with tension, but it has generally played a positive role in the very survival of the nation.

The roots of the Armenian people go back to the second millennium BC. The first recorded reference to them as a distinct group called "Armenian" appears in 520 BC in Persia. Armenians converted to Christianity sometime between 301 and 314. A century later, they created their own unique alphabet and began to produce literature in the Armenian language. By the sixth century, the Armenian Apostolic Church had

become an independent self-governing establishment, a distinct branch of Christianity, and a truly ethno-national institution.

A large Armenian diaspora began to emerge in the eleventh century as the last Armenian kingdom in historic Armenia fell. Many Armenians fled the onslaught of the Turkic and Mongol invasions and the subsequent destruction of their homeland. Some went north, across the Black Sea, to what is now Crimea and then Eastern Europe, establishing many colonies. Others went west, into the Byzantine domains, where they assimilated. Some princely families who left Armenia travelled south, to the shores of the Mediterranean where they established the diasporan kingdom of Cilicia (1199-1375). When the latter collapsed, Armenians lost independent statehood until 1918. Again, some Armenians, particularly the peasants and the Church, remained in the region. Others, such as ruling families tied to the crusaders, migrated to European domains. A few converted to Islam and assimilated into the ruling elite of Mamluk Egypt. The story of the Armenian people is the story of that segment of the population that did not assimilate into other cultures or religions and steadfastly maintained its unique identity. That part of the population that remained in the homeland, in Anatolia and the Armenian Plateau, lived under the suzerainty of the Ottoman, Persian, and Russian Empires. The other part that lived outside of Armenia and maintained its identity became the diaspora – either within or outside of these empires.

By the nineteenth century, another clear duality had emerged within the Armenian people – that of an East/West divide corresponding to the imperial divisions that ran through historic Armenia. Russian or Eastern Armenia and Ottoman or Western Armenia began to develop on different linguistic, cultural and political trajectories. They developed different (but mutually comprehensible) dialects, different types of literature, and different political approaches or outlooks. Nevertheless, Armenian collective consciousness remained relatively cohesive due to the unifying role of the Armenian Church and its classic literary culture, the nationalist agenda of newly emergent political parties, as well as the overall subjective sense of belonging to one nation. Eventually, when the entire Armenian population living in its historic lands in the Ottoman Armenia was eliminated during the 1915-1918 Genocide, the East/West duality came to overlap, almost entirely, with the homeland/diaspora duality. That is to say, the survivors of the Genocide from Western Armenia constituted the overwhelming majority of the diaspora, while Russian Armenia first became independent (1918-1920), and then one of the Soviet Socialist Republics within the USSR (until 1991).

Throughout centuries of turmoil, destruction, and persecution in Armenia – many wars were fought between the Persian, Ottoman and Russian empires in and over Armenia – Armenians in the diaspora kept the flame of cultural production burning. For example, the first Armenian book was published in Venice in 1511 or 1512, and the first specifically Armenian printing press was established in the same city in 1565. The Bible was printed in Armenian for the first time in Amsterdam in 1666. An Armenian play was written and staged in Lvov, Poland (now Lviv, Ukraine) in 1668. And, significantly, the first modern Armenian political tracts were published in Madras, India, between 1772 and 1789 by the printing press of a rich Armenian merchant. Such activities, in addition to the building of churches, schools and the provision of social services in diasporan communities, were financed by wealthy Armenian international merchants and later industrialists (living outside of Armenia). Such individuals sponsored cultural production either through direct donations or by giving money to the Church which in turn channelled the funds into various identity-maintaining projects (manuscript production, publishing, schools, travelling priest-intellectuals, church renovations and maintenance) in Armenia and the diaspora. One crucial intellectual centre was the numerically small but culturally very significant Catholic brotherhood called Mkhitarist. These monks, based in Venice 1717 onwards, were instrumental in the Armenian "national revival" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They not only collected and saved ancient manuscripts, but they wrote and published significant new works, including seminal history texts and dictionaries. A good part of their finances came from wealthy Armenians.

By the end of the nineteenth century, centres of intellectual and political learning and activism shifted to other diasporan communities, closer to Armenia. Tiflis/Tbilisi in Georgia, within the Russian empire, and Constantinople/Istanbul in the Ottoman empire became the respective centres or "capitals" of Eastern and Western Armenians. With the European advent of modern nationalism, these became hubs of political activism – ranging from conservative reformism to radical revolutionary fervour. The three main Armenian political parties (which are still with us today) were founded around this time in Geneva (1887), Tbilisi (1890), and Alexandria, Egypt (1908). Two of the parties were socialist-revolutionary organisations, the third espoused a liberal democratic ideology. All were active in various diasporan communities, including the USA and Europe, as well as in Armenia. They all focused on either liberating Armenia or instituting fun-

damental reforms to protect the Armenian population against Ottoman, and at times Russian, persecution and over-taxation. These parties and their satellite organisations became the main diasporan institutions, along with the Church, in the twentieth century.

As is obvious, Armenians have had a long history of dispersion. But the nature of diaspora is such that its focal points shift from one location to another. Some communities assimilate or decline and new ones emerge or acquire significance. Such changes occur due to developments within the homeland (e.g. persecution leading to exodus), within diaspora communities (e.g. rate of assimilation and level of organisation), within host states (e.g. immigration or minority laws), and within international relations (e.g. wars). The "founding event" or the "defining moment" of the modern twentieth and twenty-first century Armenian diaspora is the WWI Genocide. One to one-and-a-half million Armenians were killed in the Ottoman Empire between 1915 and 1918 in systematic state-organised massacres implemented by the Young Turk regime. Armenians were thus eliminated from all of historic Armenia under Ottoman rule. Of the approximately two million Armenians in the empire in 1914, 70,000 had remained in Turkey by 1923, mostly in Istanbul. Only a small portion of the historic homeland survived (about one-fifth), the part that was under Russian control. Most of the genocide survivors – a few hundred thousand people – found themselves as refugees in Middle Eastern territories outside of Ottoman control, a number of them ended up in Soviet Armenia, some managed to flee to Greece and France, and a few eventually made it to the United States (communities in the USA increased in size and significance mid-1960s onwards due to Armenian immigration from the Middle Eastern communities).

Genocide survivors and their descendants became the core of the established Armenian diaspora as we know it today. The geographic location of the diaspora eventually shifted to the western hemisphere, via the Middle East. Sociologically, it was a different type of a diaspora too – no longer of intellectuals, merchants and labourers, but of survivors of genocide who had been expelled from their homeland. By the 1950s, the collective identity of this diaspora began to reflect the permanence of exilic existence; the homeland was physically and irrevocably lost. Eventually, economic hardships were overcome, many diasporan individuals and communities became prosperous, and the desire to return to the "lost lands" all but disappeared, except in rhetoric. But the Genocide, its denial by the perpetrators, and lack of recognition by the international community, remained – and continues to remain – at the centre of the collective identity of the modern Armenian diaspora, of its politics, and of its community activism.

Since Soviet Armenia's independence in 1991, a significant new Armenian diaspora has emerged in Russia, numbering close to two million people (this figure was half a million prior to the collapse of the USSR). These Armenians are mostly concentrated in southern Russia (Krasdnodar region) and Moscow. Primarily a labour and trade diaspora at this point, these men and women left post-Soviet Armenia due to economic hardships and the effects of the war with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh. Armenians in Russia have began to organise community centres, language schools, cultural associations, and the like. Some Armenian churches or structures from the pre-Soviet era (e.g. in Moscow and St. Petersburg) are being renovated and reopened. There is a pan-Russian Armenian organisation called Union of Armenians in Russia, various local community associations, but no diasporan political parties, and very limited, if any, organised lobbying efforts. Community leaders do protest, often timidly, when Armenians are attacked and threatened by Russian racism. This Armenian diaspora is quite different from its "Western" post-Genocide counterpart – not only historically, culturally, and organisationally, but also in its very relationship with Armenia. Russian Armenians are directly connected to the current Armenian Republic through intimate and direct family connections, economic links, common popular culture and dialect. Moreover, both the diaspora in Russia and independent Armenia exist within the specific context of post-Soviet realities and habits. Perhaps, in one or two generations, communities in the Russian Federation – numerically the largest Armenian diaspora at this point – will evolve along similar lines as the more established diaspora elsewhere. This will happen when a clear diasporan consciousness emerges, with corresponding autonomous civil society institutions.

There are Armenian diaspora communities in over 50 countries (while individual Armenians live in some 40 additional countries). The communities range from remnants of once significant Armenian centres in India and Ethiopia, to the constrained but important community in Turkey, to the major "root" communities in Lebanon, Syria and Iran, to Armenians in Europe, South America, and finally to the current "capital" of the Armenian diaspora: the United States, particularly, Boston/New York and the Los Angeles areas. The following is a guesstimate of the Armenian population worldwide (it is impossible to calculate exact figures for most diasporan communities):

Country	2003 population	Percent of total	1988 population	Percent of total
Armenia	2,000,000	28.8	3,100,000	47.6
Russia	2,000,000	28.8	530,000	8.1
United States	1,000,000	13.3	650,000	10.0
Georgia	320,000	4.4	440,000	6.8
France	300,000	4.2	250,000	3.8
Ukraine	150,000	2.1	55,000	0.8
Iran	100,000	1.4	100,000	1.5
Lebanon	100,000	1.4	120,000	1.8
Syria	70,000	1.0	80,000	1.2
Argentina	70,000	1.0	40,000	0.6
Azerbaijan and NK	70,000	1.0	400,000	6.1
Turkey	60,000	0.8	70,000	1.1
Canada	50,000	0.7	30,000	0.5
Bulgaria	50,000	0.7	10,000	0.2
Australia	40,000	0.5	20,000	0.3
United Kingdom	20,000	0.3	15,000	0.2
Other	800,000	11.1	600,000	9.2
Totals	7,200,000	100.0	6,510,000	100.0

Of the seven or so million Armenians today in the world, nearly 30% live in the homeland. Roughly 23% live in the West (this figure was 1% in 1914), about 38% in formerly Soviet countries, and 7% in the Middle East.

The Armenians I will focus on for the rest of the presentation constitute what I term the "established" diaspora – that is, Armenians living in the Americas, particularly in the USA and Canada; in Western Europe, mainly in France, Greece, and Britain; in the Middle East, namely Lebanon, Syria, and the Gulf states; and finally in Australia. All of these communities have the Genocide as their "founding event," they have important similarities organisationally, as well as connected patterns of migration. Clearly, they do not make up the entire diaspora but approximately 35-40% of it, but they do represent the diaspora most people think of when they hear the term "Armenian diaspora." It is that segment of the diasporan population that is clearly organised, mobilised, vocal, moneyed and generally effective. It also is the diaspora that is most relevant to the Basque experience.

Diasporan institutions

The established diaspora has three characteristics which affect its institutional set up.

First, it is divided into two overall camps. These divisions come from the 1920s, emanating from the diaspora's relationship with Soviet Armenia – i.e. the acceptance or rejection of Soviet rule as legitimate. Since the mid-1970s, the antagonism between the two sides has subsided considerably, but the division remains. It is institutionalised in the very structure of the diaspora. Hence, there are two sets of mutually exclusive political organisations, church establishments, cultural associations, activities, and even two sets of understanding of certain events in history. In the last two decades, other "neutral" organisations have arisen outside of this two-sphere paradigm, but they generally supplement rather than replace the overall division within the diaspora. Of course, the degree of division differs from community to community, and from generation to generation, but it still is operative in a defining manner. Despite the fact that, on the whole, there currently is less antipathy between the two sides in the diaspora, and between Armenia and certain segments of the diaspora, there is still no pan-diasporan – or pan-national – institutional or ideological unity.

Second, the established diaspora, with its roots in Ottoman Armenia, has an ambiguous relationship with the current Republic of Armenian, which is that remnant of the historic homeland that was part of Russian

Armenia. No matter how often the rulers of the republic claim that independent Armenia is the homeland for all Armenians, the "real" homeland for this diaspora remains the "lost lands" in eastern Turkey – the territories of its ancestors. These pre-1915 Armenian regions are at the centre of its collective imagination, of its historical memory. Independent Armenia is certainly accepted as a homeland, the metaphoric land of metaphoric ancestors. It is the lone country seen as "ours." But somehow it is not viewed as the complete and only homeland; it does not include the ancestral villages of most diasporans, and it is culturally and linguistically different (the Armenian language is divided into two dialects: the Eastern variant is used in Armenia and the Western variant in most of the established diaspora, except Iran). There is, clearly, an irredentist element in the diasporan imagination, although it is no longer manifested in political action. The last tangible gesture emanating from such irredentism was the short-lived Armenian terrorist movement against Turkish targets between 1975 and 1985. For contemporary Armenians, the question "where is my homeland" does not have a clear-cut answer. The ambiguity is at the heart of problematic Armenia-diaspora relations and impacts the institutionalisation of these relations.

Third, a new hybrid identity is emerging in certain "post-modern" segments of the Armenian diaspora, particularly in the West, which is distinctly cosmopolitan and multi-national. Consequently, the above mentioned ambiguity is complicated further: for a hybrid diaspora Armenian, the homeland can alternately refer to, or simultaneously be, the host-land (the country in which he or she lives), the home-land (the ancestral village), the homeland (the current independent republic), or the diaspora condition itself as home-land (the idea of cosmopolitan living). For such a diasporan, national identity does not emanate from a specific "kin" state (i.e. Armenia), or from ancestral territories; and it is not entirely rooted in the host country. It is, rather, suspended in between these points, embodying the tension and duality of identity characteristic of diasporan existence. Such diasporan consciousness does not entail permanent physical return to the homeland (especially when the homeland feels culturally and socially "foreign"), but only spiritual or virtual return, coupled with the occasional touristic visit or temporary volunteer work. The established diaspora is both drawn to and repelled by post-Soviet independent Armenia. There is some emotional, personal and institutional tie to it, but it is selective and irregular. Such diasporans insist on maintaining their identity as Armenian and American, or French, or whatever. Despite such diversity and ambiguity, we can still speak of an Armenian diaspora because these communities abroad have a sense of connectedness to the homeland, to other Armenians around the world, and a commitment to Armenian issues – be they political, cultural, historical, humanitarian, or socio-economic. There might not be much in common between a good part of this diaspora and the homeland, but there nevertheless is some sense of attachment and even responsibility. In short, the idea of the homeland is neither exclusively reduced to the country in which a diasporan lives – otherwise he or she will not be a diasporan – nor is it confined to the "land of origin." The Genocide and its recognition remain central issues for a typical diasporan Armenian, but he or she would also be concerned about the situation in current Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, as well as Armenians around the world. Most of all, such an individual will be concerned about the maintenance of Armenian identity and consciousness – in whatever form – in the diaspora. Moreover, Armenians in the "post-modern" segment of the diaspora reject the Soviet-inspired notion that the diaspora is of secondary importance as compared with the homeland – i.e. a mere appendix to the Armenian state, unable to survive without it. They would see diasporan existence as legitimate as living in the homeland. These men and women of a younger generation do not generally work through existing traditional diasporan organisations. They reject old-style divisive politics and institutions. By-passing these, they establish and operate through a different organisational plane, much more in tune with western norms than traditional community structures and thinking.

With this general (and rather abstract) analysis as background, I now turn to more a specific discussion of Armenian diasporan institutions.

The Church

Often, the first structure built in a newly emerging diasporan community is an Armenian Apostolic Church. The national Church symbolises much more than religion: culture, history, faith and identity are infused within its unique tradition. Hence secularised and even atheist Armenians would support the Apostolic Church. The Church is institutionally (but not theologically) divided into two overall branches reflecting the historical and political division within the diaspora. Hence, there are two church heads, called Catholicos; one sits in Armenia, the other in Lebanon (the Catholicosate in Armenia, established in the fourth century, is the older and more senior Seat). There were antagonistic relations between the two branches in the 1930s to the mid-1980s period, particularly during the Cold War. Currently, relations are much more

cordial, but the administrative separation, overlapping with jurisdictional division, remains. When a new congregation is established, it is affiliated with only one of the two jurisdictions of the Church.

In a typical diasporan community of more than a few hundred people, there would be an Armenian Apostolic Church, with its own priest, and a church council comprised of laymen who administer it. Next to (or attached to) the church there would be a cultural/social centre. In larger communities, the complex could also include an Armenian school – or the school would be on a separate site in the neighbourhood. Of course, as the size of the community increases, the number of churches, schools, clubs, etc. would increase as well. There are currently over 100 Armenian churches within the USA alone.

Church services are largely attended by older people, particularly women. The mass is in classical Armenian, but the sermon in either modern Armenian or, in rare cases, in the local language (e.g. English in the USA). As more and more people lose Armenian language skills in the diaspora, understanding church services becomes a problem, particularly for the young. Nevertheless, most priests in the diaspora try very hard to reach out to the young, organising Sunday classes, speaking to the youth, and presenting the Church as a central element of Armenian identity. Where there is an Armenian school, students are often required to attend mass, at least on special occasions.

While the overwhelming majority of Armenians are members of the Apostolic Church (at least nominally), there is a minority of Armenian Catholics and Evangelicals (Protestants), about ten percent, who are significant for their religious and cultural production. These communities establish their own churches (where the numbers warrant) affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church and the Evangelical tradition respectively. Generally, Armenian Catholics and Protestants have cordial relations with the Apostolic Church. Although Catholics and Protestants de-link Apostolic identity from national identity, they emphasise the Christian element of Armenianness and the importance of maintaining ethno-cultural identity.

Being Armenian means being formally Christian (despite one's actual belief). In popular imagination, it is inconceivable to be, for example, a Muslim Armenian.

Traditional Diasporan Political Parties and their Umbrella Organisations

As mentioned earlier, Armenian political parties date from the late nineteenth century. These parties became the main organisers and leaders of the diaspora after the Genocide and the Sovietisation of Russian Armenia. As one scholar put it, they functioned as governments-of-exile. There are three main parties: the dominant Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF), or Dashnaks; the Social Democratic Hnchakian Party (SDHP); and the Armenian Democratic Liberals (ADL). The political division within the diaspora was caused, and is maintained, by these parties. One side is led by the ARF, the other side is a coalition of all the non-ARF forces, spearheaded by the ADL and SDHP. The parties do not publicise their membership numbers. One figure that is cited as the worldwide membership (excluding Armenia) of the ARF, the largest party, is around 7,000; a similar figure comprises its membership within Armenia. These are not mass organisations but function in the tradition of "vanguard" parties. Their supporters number more than their actual members.

Each of these parties has its corresponding umbrella organisations, and, where the church division is institutionalised, is in association with only one side of it. For example, in a mid-sized community like Watertown, USA, or Montreal, Canada, there are two cultural associations, one affiliated with the ARF (Hamazkain), the other with SDHP and ADL (Nor Seround or Tekeyan). It is the same thing with church affiliation, with sports clubs, youth associations, ladies auxiliary organisations, etc. Community activities reflect this duality as well: from the staging of plays, seminars, public events, publications, and even lobbying (where the latter is relevant). Each side has its own elite, its own social dances, stages its commemorative events, celebrates Armenian holidays and historic days (which might be different from one side to the other). The intellectuals of each sector establish links with likeminded intellectuals in Armenia, sponsoring their visits to that sector of the diaspora. Of course, there are a few exceptions and the occasional collaboration between the two sides on some issues of common concern (particularly in the commemoration of the Genocide on April 24). But in communities from Lebanon to Los Angeles, this basic dynamic – the structural duality of the established diaspora – permeates Armenian life, with notable local variations (for example, in the United Kingdom the church division is not an issue, and in Los Angeles there is a large segment of the diaspora which functions outside of these umbrella organisations).

Ideological disagreements and antagonisms between these parties a century ago, and their differing attitudes towards Soviet Armenia, led to the partition within the diaspora. In the early twenty-first century such divisions might not make sense, but they continue because they are institutionalised; they also have conflicting and politicised views of the recent Armenian past. Moreover, the ideological divide within the

diaspora was reinforced to some degree in the 1990s due to the antagonism between the ARF and the Armenian government.

Finally, I should once again point out that the above description is of the established Armenian diaspora in the West and the Middle East. It does not apply to the emerging diaspora in Russia and the former Soviet republics. And it does not apply to Armenians in Turkey, where there are no diasporan political parties.

The "New" Organisations

In the past twenty-five years or so the political parties and their affiliates have lost their relative monopoly on the organised life of the diaspora. A number of new organisations, often in response to local needs, have emerged which consciously reject or by-pass the traditional parties. Most of these organisations and their members reflect changes of identity in the diaspora. Instead of being traditional, they are professional; instead of being preoccupied with politics, they emphasise culture, identity, learning, and social interaction; instead of seeing the diaspora as a temporary stop en route to the homeland, they feel "at home" in it. And when they do establish contact with Armenia, they do so directly, without the mediation of the traditional community leadership.

Despite the fact that certain elements within the old-style parties and affiliated organisations have also modernised or established professional off-shoots (especially with respect to lobbying), their control over the diaspora as a whole has certainly been reduced. Much activity takes place outside of their sphere of influence (again, with notable differences from one community to the next). However, the political leadership of the traditional parties is not under serious threat. Most new organisations do not have the same political motivations, pan-national nature, discipline, membership loyalty and centralisation. They are significant collectively, but individually they do not pose a threat to the political parties. This, however, does not mean that the traditional parties support or cooperate with organisations they cannot control.

There are scores of diaspora-based Armenian associations that would fit into the "new" category. Some are comprised of a few individuals, others control multi-million dollar budgets. I certainly cannot mention all of these organisations, but will cite a few illustrative examples. These can be grouped into seven categories. Many organisations overlap the categories as they engage in various activities, doing "a bit of everything" – from charitable work to social events, from educational seminars to lobbying, from networking to supporting Armenia. My categorisation of them is based on their main set of activities.

1) *Social Groups*. These associations are primarily concerned with bringing Armenians together in informal settings so that they interact with one another – e.g. dances, concerts, social outings, etc. For example, a small group of young men and women formed the Red Blue and Orange social club in London (www.rbo.co.uk) with the expressed desire to party together outside of the structured and politicised confines of the established community bodies. The Armenian Gay and Lesbian Association (www.gayarmeniansny.freeserve.com), in North America and Europe, caters to a segment of the community that is almost always ostracised. There are specifically Armenian dating services on line (www.armeniandatingservice.com). And, of course, almost all Armenian community centres organise various social events for all segments of their constituency. For all of these groups, the aim is for Armenians to socialise with one another, to forge friendships, and hopefully to maintain an identity somewhat distinct from the societal mainstream.

2) *Charitable Organisations*. The largest Armenian philanthropic organisation, the Armenian General Benevolent Union (www.agbu.org), has an endowment of over 300 million US dollars, and international assets over 230 million dollars. Headquartered in NY, with branches in 22 countries, the AGBU funds Armenian projects throughout the diaspora and Armenia. It supports schools globally, it funds the American University of Armenia, as well as social services for the needy, old people's homes, health clinics, publications, etc. It has programmes for young professionals in the USA, grants student scholarships, and it maintains soup kitchens for the poor in Armenia. The AGBU is not a new organisation as far as its founding date goes (1906). It was once very close to the ADL, and steeped in traditional community dynamics. But, in the past couple of decades, the AGBU has managed to assert its independence, modernise, and attract many professionals and young Armenians. That is why I put it in the "new" category. It is a successful example of a traditional organisation managing, on the whole, to modernise and make itself relevant to a new generation of Armenians, particularly at its headquarters in NY (even though some of its branches remain quite steeped in old-style community operations).

   There are various other charitable Armenian diasporan foundations, ranging from locally based support groups to organisations with a more international mandate. None come close to the AGBU in terms of

size and significance (their funds tend to be less than 10 million US dollars). As the Armenian diaspora has gained affluence, charities that provide social assistance have waned. Instead, new philanthropic organisations have emerged that cater to the cultural needs and cosmopolitan identity of diasporans. For example, the London-based Manoukian Foundation focuses on promoting the arts in the diaspora, and student exchanges from Armenia (they sponsor young professionals from Armenia to study at prestigious western universities such as Cambridge and Harvard). Similarly, the Cafesjian Family Foundation based in Minnesota promotes various diasporan cultural and educational activities while emphasising business development in Armenia.

3) *Homeland Support Organisations*. Sending humanitarian aid to Armenia has become the operative paradigm for diasporans since 1988. As the Armenian economy collapsed, living standards dropped dramatically and the social safety net disappeared. The first blow came with the December 1988 earthquake when at least 25,000 people died in northern Armenia and the country's second largest city was devastated, leaving over half a million people homeless. Then came the hardships caused by the war with Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh (1991-1994) and the related economic blockade, augmented by the general post-Soviet economic collapse throughout the former USSR. Suddenly, the relationship between aid provider and aid recipient was reversed. Whereas until the late 1980s Soviet Armenians saw their country – the homeland – as the provider of cultural (especially educational and occasionally material) assistance to an allegedly "weak" and "disappearing" diaspora, it was the diaspora that had to come to the homeland's material rescue after 1988. This was initially a traumatic blow to the self-image of Armenians in the republic, but eventually most came to terms with the reality of a generally affluent diaspora that was helping to sustain the homeland. The diaspora too was at first shocked and confused about the sudden changes in Armenia. Nevertheless, the earthquake and subsequent hardships mobilised and galvanised the diaspora. Its attention was refocused on existing Armenia rather than the abstract historic homeland.

   After 1988, established diasporan organisations – political and philanthropic – began to orient a lot of their activities (and budgets) toward Armenia. At the same time, new organisations were also established with the sole purpose of helping the country. After the Soviet regime collapsed, the republic was open to direct and unmediated contact from abroad. Old and new agencies began to operate within the country. Examples of the former include the Armenian Relief Society (www.ars1910.org) and the Armenian Missionary Association of America, an Evangelical body (www.amaainc.org). Some of the small organisations which appeal to the diasporan young include:

   – Land and Culture (www.lcousa.org) – it sends dozens of young diaspora Armenians to Armenia for a few months to help rebuild historic sites (e.g. churches) and current community structures.
   – Armenian Volunteer Corps (www.armenianvolunteer.org) – it is similar to Land and Culture insofar as it places young diasporans in Armenia to assist local groups and agencies, but its focus is more on professional support (e.g. advice to youth centres, media, educational facilities); volunteers go to Armenia for a year at a time. So far, approximately fifty diasporans from the USA, UK, Canada and Australia have participated.
   – Armenia Tree Project (www.armeniatree.org) specialises in planting trees to combat deforestation and environmental problems.

   On the other side of the spectrum, the Lincy Foundation – established by the American-Armenian billionaire Kirk Kirkorian – has granted over 150 million US dollars to Armenia over the past four years. Most of the money is earmarked for road and infrastructure building in the country, with some of the funds going to cultural projects. In addition, Lincy Foundation has implemented a 100 million dollar Entrepreneurial Lending Programme in Armenia; it gives low interest loans to small and medium size businesses in the country to encourage economic development. The Foundation also gives relatively small donations (usually less than $50,000) to diasporan-based Armenian institutions: to churches, lobbying organisations, community centres and the like. It also contributed one million dollars to earthquake relief in Turkey.

   Another major homeland support organisation is the pan-national Hayastan All-Armenian Fund (www.himnadram.org), established in 1992 by the Armenian government for the sole purpose of fundraising in the diaspora for the benefit of Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. In 2002, its board of Trustees was comprised of 33 prominent Armenians (including the President of Armenia, heads of the Church, businessmen, and community leaders), 21 of them from the diaspora. It funds primarily infrastructure projects – e.g. the road between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, the gas pipeline between Iran and Armenia, irrigation systems, and reconstruction in the earthquake zone. Between 1992 and 2001, the

Fund collected 75.5 million dollars, all but 8 million of it from the diaspora (39 million from the USA, 6.4 from Argentina, 5.6 from France). In Europe, notably France, Aznavour pour l'Arménie played a crucial role in meeting social welfare needs in Armenia during the worst of times in the early 1990s. The United Armenia Fund played a similar role in the USA.

In addition to the above organised and formal endeavours to assist Armenia, private remittances to the republic from the diaspora (e.g. family to family transfers) account for a significant sum – most of it coming from the diaspora in Russia. According to one study, such proceeds add up to 8-9% of Armenia's GDP per year, with 15% of the households in the republic receiving regular private transfers. This would add up to over 170 million dollars per year (Armenia's GDP was estimated to be 2.1 billion dollars in 2001). In 1997, a figure of 300 million dollars was mentioned to me by Armenian Central Bank officials as the sum of private funds coming into the country on a yearly basis. As a point of comparison, it is worth keeping in mind that the entire state budget income for Armenia in 2001 was 350 million dollars (its expenditure being about 100 million dollars more).

According to a study commissioned by the first Armenia-diaspora conference (September 1999), 14 of the larger diasporan philanthropic organisations were responsible for sending over 630 million dollars worth of aid to Armenia between 1989 and 1999, mostly in goods collected from non-Armenian sources. According to the same study, there are at least 50 large and small diasporan organisations involved in philanthropic activities in Armenia (www.armeniadiaspora.com/conference99/ humanitarian.html).

4) *Academic/Research Institutes and Schools.* Diasporan academic activity centres around the 16 endowed university chairs or lectureships in the USA (in the disciplines of history, language, literature or political science), the half a dozen or so Armenian studies professorships in Europe, and the numerous university-based Armenian research centres around the world, including the Fresno based Society for Armenian Studies. There is an Armenian university in Lebanon, called Haigazian (www.haigazian.edu.lb). Notable hubs of Armenian academic learning in the diaspora are found in Paris, Oxford/London, Venice, Bologna, Los Angeles, Harvard/Boston, Columbia/NY, Ann Arbor/Detroit, not to mention smaller centres from Iran to Germany to Argentina. Moreover, various mainstream universities have Armenian student societies which organise educational and social activities. Often, individual academics (and sometimes students) play a role in advancing Armenian studies and research in the university they teach (or learn) in.

In addition to university-based establishments, there are various private research institutes in the diaspora. A major research library, the Nubarian, is maintained by the AGBU in Paris. The Zoryan Institute of Toronto and Boston (www.zoryaninstitute.org) makes important contributions to genocide research and publication, as well as to diaspora studies, including the initial support for the trend-setting Diaspora journal. The newly established Armenian Institute of London (www.armenianinstitute.org) seeks to specifically address the cultural and learning needs of diasporans through lectures, seminars, workshops and publications; its aim is to make the rich Armenian historical heritage relevant to modern diasporan realities. The largest number of such research centres is found in the USA; to mention just a few: the National Association for Armenian Studies and Research (Boston), the Krikor and Clara Zohrab Information Center (NY), and the Armenian Museum and Library (Watertown, MA).

A good part of the social science academic work done in the diaspora focuses on the Genocide, ancient Armenian history, language and literature; there is some interest in current international relations, specifically with respect to the region around Armenia, and some work on the current diaspora. Despite linguistic barriers, there is some cooperation between Armenia and the diaspora in the academic sphere. Relations are warm in the hard sciences, but there is significant antipathy in the social sciences and history because of differing interpretations and approaches.

In terms of community education for children, there are various Armenian day schools (primary and/or high school level) in many larger diasporan communities. Such schools are not necessarily "new" institutions as they are very much part of the diaspora establishment. But they are key factors in the maintenance of identity in the diaspora. The number of schools to population ratio is much higher in the Middle East than in Europe and North America. For example, in Lebanon, with 100,000 Armenians, there are 30 Armenian day schools. The number is the same, 30, in the United States where the diaspora is nearly 10 times larger (most of the schools are in the Los Angeles Area where Armenians number in the hundreds of thousands). There are three Armenian schools in Egypt, serving a community of 3000, while Toronto, with 20,000 Armenians has the same number of schools. Other examples include (and this is by no means a comprehensive survey): 27 day schools in Syria, 19 in Turkey, 6 in France, 4 in Greece. There are also such schools in Iran, Argentina, Australia, Cyprus, India, etc. In addition, there are

innumerable Saturday or Sunday day schools that teach the language and some history to children in many Armenian communities; they are particularly popular in the West. For instance, these number at least 72 in the United States, and 21 in Canada. Wherever more than a few hundred Armenians settle, they mobilise to establish the "trinity" of Armenian diasporan institutions: a church, a club, and a school. But, despite the existence of Armenian schools, only a minority of diasporan children attend these institutions – except in places like Tehran and Beirut where the community is geographically concentrated in specific neighbourhoods.

5) *Specific Issue Organisations*. Three types of organisations fall in this category: professional, single concern associations, and compatriotic unions. Organisations in the first category include Armenian Engineers and Scientists of America (www.aesa.org), Armenian Jewellers' Association (www.aja.am), the Armenian Bar Association of lawyers (www.armenianbar.org), and the Armenian Medical International Committee, a body of doctors and other health workers (www.amic.ca). Single concern associations include the Armenian International Women's Association (www.aiwa-net.org) and the Armenian Chamber of Commerce (www.armenianchamber.com). All of these societies, primarily based in North America, provide networks for social and professional interaction among diasporans. Some organise conferences and seminars, others, such as the Women's Association, give small scholarships to students. They might also establish links with Armenia, and channel some assistance to the republic. The Jewellers' Association is particularly active in linking diasporan businesses with Armenia, a major diamond processing country.

   Compatriotic unions bring together Armenians from a specific ancestral region, irrespective of their current location or profession. The unions are based on a common cultural bond specific to a region. The two most notable ones are: the Organization of Istanbul Armenians (www.oia.net), with branches in communities outside of Istanbul where there are Armenians from Turkey; and the Kessab Educational Association (www.kessab.com). The Armenian village of Kessab, founded in the diaspora some 700 years ago, still survives in northern Syria and has a loyal diaspora of its own. The Association based in Los Angeles publishes a yearly directory of "Kessabtsis" around the world, with their contact details, and the latest news from individuals. It also has a cultural centre in Los Angeles.

6) *Lobbying Organisations*. The Armenian lobby takes many shapes and forms. In a broad or loose definition of lobbying, it includes many individuals and organisations who promote, often indirectly and in an uncoordinated manner, Armenian issues in the non-Armenian settings they live or work in. From writing letters to political representatives and newspapers, to advocating investment in Armenia or Armenian businesses. This form of unstructured "lobbying" is often effective, and helps to create the image that Armenians are "everywhere." But it lacks formal political clout.

   The formal Armenian lobby, primarily concentrated in Washington, DC, is composed of a small group of very effective individuals integrated into the political processes of the host society. There are two main Armenian lobby organisations in the United States: the Armenian Assembly of America (AAA, www.aaainc.org) and the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA, www.anca.org). Both organisations actively network with congressmen/women, senators and their staffs. They provide ideas, research material, position papers, and other assistance to the offices of politicians, and help the Armenian Caucus in the House of Representatives (established in 1995). On occasion, trips by various politicians to Armenia are facilitated by the lobby. The ANCA and AAA also help out with the placement of Armenian interns in Washington. The lobby, or individuals connected with the lobby, fundraise for the electoral campaigns of politicians sympathetic to Armenian concerns, and promote the image of such individuals. At election times, advocacy organisations publish lists of candidates they endorse and urge the community to vote for these candidates based on their positive stand on issues dear to the Armenians (this endorsement is particularly important where there is a large concentrated Armenian community such as the Los Angeles Area). However, the lobby is not partisan with respect to political parties – i.e. it works both with Democrats and Republicans, each of which has Armenian groups within them. Outside of the political sphere, the lobby monitors the media's coverage of Armenian issues, puts out press releases, and provides information to media outlets.

   Of course, to be effective, lobbying organisations have to mobilise the wider Armenian community to put pressure on their political representatives by calling their offices, writing letters, sending e-mails and faxes, and attending rallies. For instance, the lobby provides "model" letters to be sent (highlighting the key issues to be mentioned) along with the list and contact details of politicians involved with decisions affecting Armenians. An example is illustrative: the day before the House Judiciary Committee was to vote on Resolution 193 commemorating the 15th anniversary of the U.S. implementation of the

Genocide Convention, the ANCA sent an "action alert" to thousands of Armenians by e-mail urging them to call the offices of key members of the Committee. The names and telephone numbers of the committee members were provided, as well as a sample phone script. One line in it said: "only by learning the lessons of the Holocaust, Armenian Genocide, and other past genocides we will be able to help prevent genocide in the future." The alert also contained background information about the resolution, what Armenians should do (i.e. call, forward the e-mail to others, watch the live internet Webcast of the Committee sitting). The Armenians backed the resolution because it specifically mentioned the Armenian Genocide. Such a resolution –even a simple commemorative statement– goes through various committee stages until it reaches the Congress floor. At each stage, a flurry of lobbying activity takes place to keep the reference to the Armenians in the resolution. The Turkish lobby and the Turkish embassy work hard to strike out any reference to an Armenian Genocide. In this case, the resolution, with its reference to the Genocide, passed the committee on 21 May 2003.

There are four main lobbying issues for Armenians. The first one is the recognition of the events of 1915-1918 as genocide. If there is one political issue that binds all Armenians together, it is Genocide recognition. Almost every year, the Washington lobby tries to get the House of Representatives to vote on a resolution that uses the word genocide in reference to Ottoman actions against the Armenians during WWI. So far, this has not happened due to strategic calculations between United States and Turkey. Throughout the world, some 15 other legislatures – including the French and European parliaments – have passed such resolutions due to the efforts of the Armenian lobby. The second issue is support for Nagorno-Karabakh and its acceptance as a legitimate political entity. Related to this are matters concerning Turkey's blockade of Armenia (i.e. keeping its borders with Armenia closed), and punitive measures against Azerbaijan. The Armenian lobby succeeded in keeping Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act in effect until 2001. Section 907 barred the US from granting government to government aid to Azerbaijan because of the latter's aggression against Armenia. Passed in 1992 when Armenia was on the verge of collapse, the resolution was nevertheless maintained despite the fact that the military tide had turned around, and Armenia had won the war in 1994. Every year there was a "battle of the lobbies" in Washington over 907 but Armenians prevailed until political dynamics drastically changed due to September 11. The third lobbying issue is US financial aid to Armenia. Each fiscal year, the Armenian lobby urges the US Congress to increase its aid to Armenia, and to give direct assistance to Nagorno-Karabakh. Consequently, Armenia and Karabakh receive close to 100 million dollars worth of assistance from the US government per year – Armenia since the early 1990s, Karabakh since 1997 (10-15 million dollars). Finally, local Armenian concerns– legislation concerning schools, community centres, government grants, etc. – constitute the fourth issue in Armenian lobbying.

The two main lobby organisations in the USA, the Armenian Assembly (AAA) and the Armenian National Committee of America (ANCA), generally cooperate with one another, and coordinate their activities to some degree. But there are also some important differences between them. The ANCA is affiliated with the Dashnak party (ARF); it is a much more grass roots oriented organisation, with 45 chapters in 25 US states. It is also part of the worldwide network of Armenian National Committees. It has chapters in scores of countries. For instance, the ANC branch in France, called Comité de Defense de la Cause Armenienne (www.cdca.asso.fr), is at the forefront of lobbying efforts in Europe, particularly in Paris. There is a similar organisation in Brussels, The European Armenian Federation for Justice and Democracy, active at the EU level. The European lobby links Turkey's recognition of the Genocide with its accession to the EU. A good part of ANCA's funding comes from small-scale individual donations. It is also active in giving guidance to local community leaders in ways of dealing with their local media and politicians. By contrast, the Armenian Assembly, the richer of the two organisations, gets most of its money from wealthy benefactors. It is less concerned with grassroots, and almost exclusively concentrates on advocacy in the USA (it has branches in Washington, Los Angeles, Boston and New York, as well as representative offices in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh). The Assembly was behind the establishment of a sister organisation, the Armenian National Institute (www.armenian-genocide.org) which concentrates on research and analysis – being a semi-academic, semi-advocacy agency. AAA's latest grand project is the founding of the Armenian Genocide Museum and Memorial in Washington, DC. The AAA is generally closer to the government of Armenia, although, it should be emphasised, none of these advocacy organisations are – or can be – controlled by the Armenian republic.

I have concentrated on lobbying activities and organisations in the USA. Washington is, by far, the most significant centre of organised and persistent Armenian advocacy. Of course, not all countries in the world are open to such kind of lobbying. In Iran and Lebanon, for example, Armenian concerns are addressed through the Armenian representatives in the parliaments of these countries; these legislatures

have a fixed number of seats for Armenian deputies. In the United Kingdom, the Campaign for the Recognition of the Armenian Genocide focuses on only one issue (www.24april.org). And in other EU countries such as France, Greece and Sweden, the lobby straddles both national and EU politics.

A final word on the effectiveness of lobbies in general. Advocacy succeeds when: a) lobbyists adapt to the specific political structure of the "host" country. In this respect, the US political process is more amenable to ethnic lobbies (largely because of Congress's role in influencing foreign policy decisions); b) The "cause" the lobbying group pursues does not, in general, contradict the accepted national interests of the host state; c) The lobby mobilises its community to support its activities; and d) the advocacy groups work in alliances with other lobbies with similar interests – for example, Armenians working with the Greek lobby in Washington, and with Kurds in Europe. Interestingly, despite a common interest in genocide issues, the Jewish and Armenian lobbies in the USA do not usually collaborate because of Israel's strategic alliance with Turkey.

7) *Media.* A diasporan media is absolutely crucial in the successful maintenance of a sense of connectedness. In the past, diaspora-based newspapers and journals provided the medium of such communication. This is now being replaced by web-based methods of communications. Traditional newspapers, in Armenian, are still being published: there is one daily in the United States, one in France, two in Istanbul, two in Lebanon and one in Iran. More common are weekly newspapers, there are 11 of these in the USA (in both English and Armenian), two in Canada, and so on. In addition, countless newsletters are published by various communities and organisations, either in Armenian, bilingually, or in the language of the country in which they appear. There are also a few Armenian academic journals and many news or culture magazines published in English, French, Spanish, and other languages. Clearly, the language of publication in the diaspora is shifting from Armenian to other languages, predominantly English. Middle Eastern communities retain the highest rate of Armenian speakers and readers.

   But the most effective current medium of communication in the Armenian diaspora is the internet. The internet's virtual community reinforces diasporan connectedness as it provides a very effective medium of communication between individuals with a common sense of belonging, no matter where they are located. Armenian websites provide everything from current news, historical information, real estate ads, business links, chat rooms, dating services, cooking tips, language instruction, maps, church information, travel in Armenia, Armenian fonts to download, books to purchase, humour, famous Armenians, etc.

   The most powerful online news source is the truly remarkable Groong Armenian News Network (http://groong.usc.edu). Any item of note that appears electronically in English that mentions the Armenians ends up on Groong, thanks to its powerful search engines that comb global news agency postings. Items are also sent specifically to Groong to be posted (occasionally French and Spanish items appear as well). Current news from Armenia, academic articles, press releases, event notices, lecture summaries, speeches, economic statistics, sports, book reviews, literary criticism, community news, and so forth, all end up on it. One can find items on Groong ranging from a review of Margaret Atwood's latest novel (because it mention in passing the Armenian Genocide), or the Nut Museum in the USA because its director happens to be Armenian, to the details of the elections in Armenia, or the work of the lobby in Washington, or attacks on Armenians in Russia. Groong covers regional politics as well, posting Armenia-related news from Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran, Georgia, Russia, the Middle East, and various diasporan communities. It also contains special analytical pieces written for it. It is a non-commercial service (i.e. it does not post anything that is for sale or has a fee attached to it); it is non-partisan in its politics, and it is a free service. It has approximately 2400 subscribers who receive the news by e-mail (averaging about 60 items per day) in over 90 countries. In addition, its website receives hundreds of thousands of hits per month, with 440,000 articles being read on line. Groong is administered by a handful of volunteers, operating out of California. In the past ten years, it has become one of the most significant information sources on Armenian issues, an indispensable research tool, as well as the medium that connects Armenians throughout the world. It is frequently used by intellectuals, researchers, opinion shapers and decision makers – in short, the diaspora's elite. It also has non-Armenian subscribers such as Armenia desk officers in various foreign ministries and news outlets.

Conclusion

Until the 1980s, the organised life of the Armenian diaspora was dominated by the traditional community parties and their umbrella organisations. There was a "neutral" segment of the diaspora which was outside

of this socio-political space, but it was not too significant. Since the late 1980s –i.e. since the emergence of the nationalist movement in Armenia, the earthquake, and the country's subsequent independence from the USSR in 1991– a plethora of new Armenian diaspora organisations have emerged. Homeland developments or crises had a galvanizing affect on the diaspora. Sudden changes in Armenia put the country on the mental and emotional map of diasporans who had taken the existence of the Soviet republic for granted. Consequently, there was a renewed interest in "Armenianness" in general. Moreover, the discourse of multiculturalism in western countries made ethnic identity and activism much more acceptable than before.

To be sure, the traditional organisations remain, but they are no longer as dominant. Diasporans outside of their sphere of influence – mostly the professionals and the young – have established their own institutions, organise their own activities, and set up links directly with Armenia without the mediation of the old-style structures. Some traditional organisations, or parts thereof, have managed to modernise as well, to continue attracting the young, and to remain meaningful for the hybrid diaspora Armenians with their unique "post-modern" identity. Of course, this is a broad generalisation of an overall process that is taking shape primarily in North America, Europe, Australia and Latin America. The Middle Eastern Armenian communities remain very much within the mould of old-style diaspora structures– although even in these cases there are some dynamics of change. The post-Soviet diaspora in the former USSR and Eastern Europe is in a different situation altogether.

Various organisations in this vibrant diasporan civil society sometimes cooperate with one another; at other times they compete. They often duplicate each other's work as they engage in similar activities for their own constituencies within any given community. The structural set up of these organisations are different – from the centralisation of decision making in the political parties to the open and consensus-based mode of operation in the smaller independent organisations. Each institution has its own by-laws, mode of operation, budget (often not publicised to outsiders), and organisational culture. A few elect their leaders; most are run by a self-appointed elite. The activities they engage in are obvious from the analysis above: from commemorative public events to homeland support and lobbying.

The Armenian diaspora faces various challenges which I will discuss below in a separate section. But, overall, it is a fairly successful diaspora in its activism and persistence. There are two institutional factors, I believe, for its success. The first is the lack of diasporan unity. This view counters the prevailing Armenian wisdom which calls for unity (something that Armenians have rarely possessed). The fact that there is no one overall organisation that unites the diverse elements of the diaspora ensures the survival of the whole. Unity entails centralisation, sameness, and control by one or two centres. Such dynamics would be detrimental to diasporan existence, which, by definition, is diverse, reflecting local identities and realities. Such adaptation is crucial to a diaspora's long term survival. Moreover, a decentralised diaspora means that when one part of it is under threat, or one organisation is in decline, other parts or institutions could survive independently. Many Armenian communities in diaspora have declined and disappeared; but the diaspora as a whole survives, shifting its centre from one location to another, precisely because its decentralisation allows for this to happen. This is not to say that enhanced coordination between organisations and communities would not be beneficial. The Armenian diaspora could certainly coordinate its activities better and increase its collaborative efforts. But it does not need organisational unity. As long as a sense of Armenianness, however defined, and a sense of responsibility to the nation as a whole survives in individuals around the world, the Armenian diaspora will exist and it will continue to be active.

The second factor behind the success of the diaspora is the fact that its organisations are largely autonomous from the Armenian homeland. Diasporan parties, their umbrella organisations, almost all diaspora institutions and centres, its media, and so on, are independent of the state of Armenia. To be sure, there are links, sometimes close ones, a strong commitment toward one another, and indirect ways of putting pressure on each other. But the Armenian government has never been able to impose its will on the diaspora, and vice versa. There are no formal structures through which this can be done. For instance, when there were antagonistic relations between one segment of the diaspora and the homeland government between 1992 and 1998, many Armenians in the diaspora denounced the homeland regime, and were in turn denounced by the government. They were criticised by others for lack of support and unity. But such diversity of opinion and position is healthy for both the diaspora and the homeland (even though in this instance some of the attacks, in both directions, went much beyond constructive or even "civilised" opposition, degenerating into destructive vehemence, hatred, and violence in Armenia).

Under present circumstances it is materially easier for the diaspora to ignore the Armenian government, than for the government to ignore the diaspora with its financial clout and lobbying influence. Psychologically, the relationship is probably the reverse.

Diasporan finances

Armenians are generally viewed as a rich diaspora. Of course, not everyone in the community is well off; but it is true that Armenians have come a long way since the 1920s when, in the USA for example, they were commonly referred to as the "starving Armenians." As the predominantly refugee community of the past settled in host societies, some worked in factories, others in the skilled trades, and a good number engaged in commerce, opening businesses and factories (many Armenians went into the carpet and jewellery business). In very few communities, such as Fresno (California) and Anjar (Lebanon) they engaged in farming. Out of these activities, a few individuals generated much wealth, while the majority earned a comfortable living. These two groups were, and still are, the main financiers of the Armenian diaspora which functions on the principle of self-taxation and voluntary contribution (be it monetary or in-kind). The two main sources of income are: small but consistent donations by general members of the community, and large endowments and gifts given by the few rich. A third source of income in some communities is grants from local government or private funding agencies.

An average member of the Armenian diaspora –i.e. someone who is involved in community affairs– pays church dues, membership dues to the organisations he or she belongs to, attends various fundraising events such as community dances (with admission charges). Small amounts are also generated from the sale of artefacts (many imported from Armenia), books, flags, CDs and the like. One way that local lobbying committees raise funds in North America is adding a "tax" on the admission price to community events (hence the price on a ticket would say, for example, "50 dollars, including the 5% tax for the Armenian Cause"). Moreover, when any given community embarks on a major project such as the building of a new centre, church or school, social events are organised (e.g. dinner parties) at which individuals make public pledges to donate money – from a hundred dollars to hundreds of thousands of dollars (or whatever other currency). In addition to financial contributions many diasporans also donate free labour and volunteer time to ensure the running of community centres and organisations.

Rich Armenians use fundraising occasions to demonstrate their wealth and generosity – getting community recognition in response. This is the second source of income for the community: large donations from wealthy benefactors. Individuals or families who give sizable funds often have the local school, or a hall in the community centre, named after them. Others give money to churches. Some set up endowments with specific aims, while a few regularly donate to their favourite organisation on a regular basis to make its functioning possible – for instance the Armenian Assembly of America in Washington operates due to the generosity of a small handful of individuals. As does the Zoryan Institute. Such donations are not necessarily confined to a wealthy benefactor's own community; individuals based in one country also assist, on occasion, Armenian churches and foundations in other countries (e.g. Armenians in the USA or the Persian Gulf donate money to the Armenian Catholicosate – i.e. Church headquarters – in Lebanon). Conversely, funds are also donated to local non-Armenian charities. This tradition of wealthy Armenians sustaining a global diasporan community goes back centuries. Just as Armenian merchants in India in the 1700s donated funds to establish Armenian schools and printing presses in their own communities and in Europe and Armenia, and wealthy amiras established over 30 schools in Istanbul in the 1800s, Armenian businessmen in the USA and Europe are now engaged in similar philanthropic activities. The specific projects and the direction of the capital flow might have changed, but the practice of voluntary contribution and self-"taxation" has not.

I should also briefly mention a third source of income, usually limited to capital expenditures and specific to certain states which have government programmes or private grant-making agencies that encourage multicultural activity. In counties like Canada, for example, various levels of government support ethnic community activities by giving grants to build cultural centres. In Europe, the EU gives grants for specific projects which promote minority cultures. Armenian organisations apply for such grants and if successful implement their programmes. Local governments too give grants to organisations that provide social and cultural services to their constituencies.

These are the main methods through which the Armenian diaspora supports itself financially. It clearly is a self-sustaining diaspora, with no overall financial coordination, no common fund that needs to be divided between independent organisations, and no financial contribution from the homeland. On the contrary, as mentioned in the previous section, the diaspora is heavily engaged in fundraising for Armenia. Some of the funds collected in the community activities just described are earmarked for homeland assistance. Plus, specific events are organised: telethons, the sponsorship of visits by homeland intellectuals and politicians, particular programmes to send expert volunteers to Armenia, special flights taking goods such as medicines to Armenia, etc.

However, there recently has been a noticeable decline in such activities and the amount of money collected for the homeland. Armenia-focussed fundraising prevailed from 1988 to the mid- to late-1990s, but the diaspora is currently suffering from donor fatigue and disillusion with the government of Armenia. This is coupled with the realisation that the diaspora cannot ignore its own wants and still remain viable. Hence, some backtracking has taken place from the predominant focus on Armenia to diasporan needs (leading in turn to resentment in Armenia that diasporans "are not doing enough"). This does not mean diasporans have stopped supporting Armenia, but the pace has somewhat lessened.

Main challenges facing the diaspora

The Armenian diaspora, despite its overall success, does face a number of important challenges. First among these is a problem that besets most diasporas: how to maintain identity outside of the homeland. The fact of the matter is that community activism, fundraising, lobbying, and all the other goings-on mentioned above, are confined to a minority within the diaspora. Most Armenians are either passively or sporadically involved with community affairs, or opt out altogether and eventually assimilate. Hence, the first challenge for the Armenian diaspora, and indeed most other diasporas, is how to prevent, or at least slow down, assimilation and maintain activism. In short, how to keep the young connected to the community.

Part of the answer lies in the modernization and professionalisation of community structures. This often includes, much to the chagrin of many, the loss of language as more and more activities take place in the language of host societies. Schools try to combat this trend, and succeed for a tiny minority, but the overall tendency in the West is the further erosion of the ancestral language. Another part of the answer comes from the very redefinition of what it means to be Armenian. "Objective" characteristics such as language, religion, knowledge of history are giving way to "symbolic Armenianness" based on hybrid identities, a sense of history, and new ways of identifying with the collective – e.g. popular music rather than poetry, food rather than organisational membership, parties rather than lectures, secular commitment rather than church attendance. Some segments within the diaspora are certainly responding to these changes and reorienting at least some of their activities in non-traditional directions that appeal to the young. For example, one of the advocacy organisations in the USA, the Armenian National Committee, helped to stage a benefit concert in the Los Angeles area not with traditional Armenian bands, but with "System of a Down," a heavy metal US rock group whose members are of Armenian background. System of a Down is not an "ethnic band" – far from it; it is popular with American teenagers and heavy metal fans. Nevertheless, one of its songs is about the Genocide.

A more specific "problem" from the perspective of traditionalists is mixed marriages. In some US communities, the rate of mixed marriages is above 80 percent. There is a constant effort by many Armenian parents and community leaders to have their children marry other Armenians.

A second set of problems is related to the breaking down of ideological, institutional and cultural walls between different segments of the diaspora, and between the diaspora as a whole and the homeland. Since the late 1980s, the traditional divisions within the various parties and their followers in the diaspora are decreasing (largely due to activities by professionals outside of these spheres). There is some interaction, but not enough collaboration. Similarly, the Soviet barrier between the homeland and important parts of the diaspora has vanished, but the cultural-psychological wall remains – albeit with some cracks. Armenia-diaspora relations are not yet, on the whole, institutionalised; they remain ad hoc, and generally dependent on political impulses. It is hoped that if in the future the constitutional ban on dual citizenship is lifted (a promise made by President Kocharian), the relationship will improve. It is clear that the diaspora does not – and should not – have a direct say in the running of the Armenian republic by its government, and vice versa; but there is a need to build better and permanent consultative relations between the two segments of the nation. I will elaborate on such issues further in the next section. Suffice it to mention here that for most diasporans the homeland remains a distant entity. It is a real challenge to make the metaphoric land of distant forefathers relevant to the lives of contemporary diasporans. It is telling that very few diasporans moved to Armenia after independence (in the hundreds). Even volunteering in the homeland for short periods of time appeals to a very limited number of young people (as well as being a generally expensive proposition) – although those who do visit Armenia come back with much closer emotional and personal links with the homeland. Perhaps, if Armenia's economic and political situation improves considerably in the future more Armenians might move there, but for the time being there is much more emigration than immigration. Touristic visits to Armenia are limited as well.

Another challenging issue in homeland-diaspora relations is the linguistic divide. In addition to the Eastern Armenian-Western Armenian dialect division (with its orthographic differences, pronunciation and some

vocabulary variations), there is the problem of connecting a non-Armenian speaking diaspora to the homeland. Language "unification" – namely, the elimination of spelling differences – is a thorny and emotive issue. As is the role of the Armenian language in general in the maintenance of national identity. Even modest attempts such as the design of a common computer keyboard layout is problematic because of the inherent duality in the Armenian vernacular. Many Armenians have started using the Latin alphabet in e-mail communications, or stopped writing personal correspondence in Armenian altogether – practices that are convenient but further undermine the use of the language and its alphabet.

The fourth set of diasporan challenges are specific to each community, and relates to the connections of that sector of the diaspora to its host society and state. Not all countries cherish multiculturalism to the same extent, and some see minorities (and their wealth) as a problem. The well-being of a diaspora is dependent on the good will of the "host" government, its policies, as well as on regional politics and ideologies. For example, Armenian diasporan communities in some Middle Eastern countries suffered under the prevailing Arab nationalism of the 1950s to 1970s. The Iranian revolution of 1979 caused much disruption and difficulty for the Armenians, as did the Lebanese civil war. Conditions remain problematic in Turkey. In North America and Europe there are different types of challenges that relate to asylum policies, inter-ethnic relations, social problems "imported" from mainstream society for which a traditional community is not prepared (drug use, gang culture, etc.), and the economic sustainability of diasporan life in smaller communities.

At the root of many diasporan challenges, particularly when related to identity, lies a philosophical difference regarding how to best maintain identity. One argument centres around a "narrow" definition of what constitutes an Armenian (i.e. those who have certain attributes like knowledge of the language), and tries to preserve this by withdrawing into itself, erecting cultural and psychological barriers between the community and the "outside" world, and ghettoising identity. This essentially conservative approach is countered by the more open philosophy of redefining Armenianness in a direction that is inclusive and fluid. On this view, the diaspora has to work within host society's system (rather than withdraw from it), establish alliances with other minority groups, and keep the boundaries between the diaspora and wider culture open. From this perspective, hybrid identities must be celebrated rather than shunned as they enrich Armenian culture rather than "dilute" it. These two philosophies exist within the Armenian diaspora. Broadly speaking, they overlap both with the generational divide and the geographic divide between diasporas in the East and the West. The philosophies are not, as of yet, politicised or crystallised into any kind of ideological movements, but they are reflected in the mode of operations of various organisations. Harnessing the inherent tension in these two approaches so that the two sides remain "in conversation" with one another is a challenge.

Homeland activities

So far I have concentrated on diasporan attitudes, organisation and activities. Obviously, this is only one half of the equation. Armenia's policies toward the diaspora must be analysed as well, albeit more briefly since the focus of this presentation is on the diaspora. Since 1988, Armenia-diaspora relations have gone through four stages:

1) 1988-1991 – the period when the two entities reluctantly embraced one another.
2) 1991-1992 – the short-lived stage after independence when there was a brief "honeymoon."
3) 1992-1998 – the years of schism and serious conflict.
4) 1998-present – the reconciliation stage and beginning of closer relations.

I have written about these stages in greater detail elsewhere. Here, I would just like to mention a few issues regarding the fourth phase, the contemporary situation.

In order to repair Armenia-diaspora relations, the government of the new President of Armenia, Robert Kocharian (elected in early 1998), decided to host a major Armenia-diaspora conference. So far two such conferences have taken place, both on the initiative of the leadership in Armenia. There is no law or stipulation that such conferences must be organised. They have been ad hoc initiatives.

The First Armenia-Diaspora Conference

The first conference was held in Yerevan on 22-23 September 1999. Some 1200 representatives from 57 countries attended the Conference – even though the official list only contained 655 names. A fixed number of invitations were sent to various diasporan communities – from one to the Ethiopian and Suda-

nese Armenian community, to 140 to the USA, 140 to Russia, and so forth. A fixed number of invitations were given to specific organisations as well. The communities and the organisations themselves decided who should participate as their representatives. In some communities this was done rather easily, in others, the selection process led to many acrimonious and bitter arguments between various organisations and individuals, especially over who was to speak on behalf of the community (for five minutes) at the Conference. The delegate selection process was such that the silent majority of diasporans – those who are not involved in community organisations – were not properly represented. The delegates themselves had to pay for their travel to Armenia and their stay in the country. The overwhelming majority of the delegates were middle aged (or older) men. Of all the speakers at the Conference (close to 100), only three or four were women.

In addition to the community and organisation representatives, there were six committees comprised of experts (mostly from the diaspora) who had prepared reports and presented them at the Conference: Institutional Linkages (exploring different institutional possibilities to connect Armenia and the diaspora); Humanitarian Aid (the role of the diaspora in this); Identity and Culture (differences and similarities between the two parts of the nation); Information Technology and Communications (examining the technological and media possibilities of connecting Armenia and the diaspora); Advocacy (lobbying efforts); and Economic Development (investing in Armenia – the main concern of the government). Keynote speeches were given by the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister (Vazgen Sargsian), both Heads of the Church, the President of Nagorno-Karabakh, representatives of the main political parties, important intellectuals, and representatives of each of the diasporan communities (all 57 of them!). There was very little discussion time.

A multitude of ideas and proposals were raised at the Conference. For instance, the President announced a series of concrete programmes to increase economic and cultural cooperation between Armenia and the diaspora: the creation of a development agency which would actively incorporate diaspora Armenians in the republic's economy, along with specialised business organisations such as jewellers' and doctors' associations; the establishment of a permanent youth centre where diasporan children could come and spend their holidays; the regular organisation of pan-Armenian sports games and cultural festivals; and the making of a "unified" information field through satellite communications and the formation of a pan-national television channel.

Among other promises made, the Prime Minister pledged to combat corruption, and to set up an Armenian Development Agency for external and internal investors. This agency would provide all businessmen, especially those from the diaspora, administrative assistance and consulting services.

Many other promises were made by the leadership in Armenia. Diasporan leaders were generally quite content with what they heard, and offered co-operation and support. There were high expectations on both sides. However, hopes were dashed when Prime Minister Vazgen Sargsian, along with seven other politicians, was assassinated in the National Assembly on 27 October 1999, a month after the Conference. Armenia plunged into political turmoil which lasted for almost a year. As power struggles consumed the political agenda in Armenia, promises, projects and the conference itself were forgotten. Only a year later could the government once again start paying attention to diaspora relations and investment in Armenia.

The Yerevan administration has managed to implement some of the promises made during the Conference. Limited progress has been made in the economic and social sectors, but no structural changes have been implemented which would bridge, institutionally, the gap between Armenia and the diaspora. Programmes put into operation include:

– A web page administered by the Foreign Ministry devoted to Armenia-diaspora issues (www.armeniadiaspora.com).
– The linking of some schools in Armenia to the internet and to diasporan schools.
– The broadcasting of Armenian television signals and programmes to some diasporan communities abroad.
– The establishment of a youth camp for diasporan visitors.
– The organisation of pan-Armenian sports tournaments (Armenian "Olympic" games).
– A month long training course for Armenian teachers from the diaspora (organised by the Ministry of Education).
– Virtual "chat rooms" with prominent Armenians of the republic.

– Most importantly, the set up of the Armenian Development Agency (www.ossada.am). In operation since 1999, the Agency assists diasporans investing in Armenia. It operates a "One Stop Shop" which provides services such as visa arrangements, airport pick-up and local transport, meeting rooms, assistance with banking and licensing, consultation on local tax laws or regulations. It sets up meetings with local businessmen and government officials for potential diasporan investors – i.e. it seeks to match foreign investors with local partners as well as government agencies. How well the Agency is working is not yet clear, but a start has been made. Interestingly, one of the reasons cited by the agency as to why foreigners should invest in the country – in addition to liberal tax laws, political stability and so forth – is the fact that Armenia has a "worldwide diaspora."

On the whole, the first Armenia-diaspora conference was a huge symbolic success. The ideas of being a "fresh start" and of national unity (expressed through the slogan "One Nation, One Fatherland") permeated throughout. Practically the entire national elite – both from the republic and the diaspora – participated. It is impossible to know if the conference would have actually had a greater impact on improving Armenia-diaspora relations if it were not for the October 27 assassinations and the ensuing political turmoil.

The Second Armenia-Diaspora Conference

At the end of the first Conference it was made clear that the government will organise another conference the following year. This could not be done due to domestic problems, but the Foreign Ministry eventually announced that the second Armenia-diaspora conference was to take place on 27-28 May 2002 in Armenia.

The second conference was open to anyone who wished to attend. All one had to do was to register online (there was a voluntary registration fee of fifty dollars). Consequently, close to 2,500 people attended, the largest number of delegates being from Armenia. Of the 2,334 pre-registrations, 999 were from Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh (937 and 62 respectively), 229 from Russia, 148 from Georgia. 262 people had registered from the Americas (196 from the USA and 59 from Canada). Registrations from Middle Eastern countries added up to 319 (including 142 from Iran). Europe (east and west) accounted for 221 registrations (including 57 from Greece, 52 from France, and 22 from the UK). There were 38 registration without a specified country, and 16 from outside of the regions mentioned above. In total, delegates from 47 countries (plus Nagorno-Karabakh and Abkhazia) had pre-registered. The majority who attended the conference were from Armenia and other ex-USSR countries; they included a cross-section of intellectuals and ultra-nationalists, community leaders, businessmen and people with humanitarian micro projects seeking donations. The number of the attendees far exceeded the expectations of the organisers, leading to some chaotic scenes.

The second conference was structured somewhat differently from the first. As before, it took place over a period of two days, and it opened and ended with plenary sessions and speeches by the President, the Catholicoi, representatives of the main diasporan organisations and political parties, etc. But there were no presentations from each of the communities. Rather, the conference was to centre around four "thematic sessions" – working groups which were to discuss specific topics, projects, and come up with concrete recommendations. More specifically, the titles of the four thematic sessions were:

1) Political Relations: Armenia-Diaspora Organisational and Structural Issues.
2) Information and Media.
3) Economic and Social Development.
4) Education, Culture, and Science.

Each of these two-hour panels met four times in the two days. They were mostly chaired by government officials. Each session was comprised of different panellists (four to six people). They were a mixture of diasporans and Armenians from the republic who were invited by the Foreign Ministry to give short presentations (about 7-10 minutes).

These panel discussions were to be the core of the conference. However, they were the greatest disappointment of the entire event because there was a fundamental lack of co-ordination in the presentations. Most panelists simply presented their views without addressing concrete and tangible problems (as the organisers had hoped). Presentations rarely fitted with one another. Moreover, the discussion period was often monopolised by an audience of local Armenians who used the opportunity to air their frustrations, and to put forth (often implausible) ideas. What were envisioned to be small group discussions often became 200-people or so meetings that included shouting matches and random expression of views. The

agenda was fantastically ambitious and broad – to the point that any meaningful content was lost. On the whole, passionate discussions of little relevance replaced the systematic analysis of practical proposals and concrete steps.

In the final plenary, the conference adopted seven specific proposals for projects to be implemented jointly by Armenia and the diaspora. These included, the computerisation of schools in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh, the creation of a Centre for Genocide Studies, a Diaspora Museum, a virtual Armenian Studies university, a regional health centre in Yerevan, a scheme to support Armenian university students, and the formation of a Committee on Curriculum which will provide educators a forum to discuss various approaches for teaching Armenian language, culture and history.

A few weeks after the Conference, the Armenian Foreign Ministry announced that it was initiating the establishment of specific commissions – which would include representatives from the "major international Armenian organizations" (i.e. diaspora organisations) – dealing with each of the four major thematic area of the conference mentioned above. The ultimate success of the Conference, and the evolution of closer Armenia-diaspora relations, will depend on the work of these commissions – if they are indeed established in more than a nominal fashion, and if they produce institutionalised mechanisms linking the republic and the diaspora. How this will be done, and on what principles, is still an open question.

The two Armenia-diaspora conferences were successes at the symbolic level. They were wonderful "shows" of unity, but without major outcomes affecting the structure of the relationship between the republic and communities abroad. While many diverse ideas and principles on various issues were expressed at the conferences, there was an overall shortage of realistic programmes, suggestions of how to construct a workable partnership, and how to implement and institutionalise change. The primary focus of the Armenian government is on the economic resources (investment potential) of the diaspora. The government has taken the initiative to establish bodies such as the Business Development Agency, to organise pan-national events in Armenia, and to broadcast Armenian television abroad. On the diaspora side, Armenians abroad have themselves not developed any adequate mechanisms that would institutionalise or regulate on a pan-diasporan level their links with Armenia.

From the perspective of the Armenian government, the most important theme of the conferences – indeed the rationale behind their accommodating policy toward the diaspora – was (and is) the economic argument. Investing in Armenia was the main message the government conveyed at both conferences, and all other themes were secondary to this imperative. In fact, a number of business-related activities outside of the formal schedule, but within the framework, of the conferences were organised during the days of both gatherings. For example, at the second conference the following events took place: a Made in Armenia Expo; a business seminar familiarising diasporans about businesses opportunities in Armenia; an Open House at the Armenian Development Agency; the creation of a Trade Network; and finally a tour of certain Armenian businesses.

Armenian authorities see the diaspora as a huge source of investment and financial input. They are, therefore, pursuing policies which will encourage such investment, be it in the form of large-scale industry or micro-level projects and tourism. Neither President Kocharian, nor other high ranking officials, hide this position. In fact, in his closing statement at the second conference Kocharian called for "investment, investment, and more investment." Humanitarian aid, it is argued, is no longer enough; Armenia requires massive investment to help the economy and improve social conditions. Turning to the diaspora combines business calculations with emotive reasons to direct capital to the homeland. The late Prime Minister Vazgen Sargsian's speech at the first conference is a brilliant example of this combination. He affirmed that "The government realistically accepts that the invested capital does not have a sense of national belonging, even if it is in the hands of investors with Armenian origin. Co-operation with the fatherland has to be economically profitable." And yet, a few minutes earlier, he was drawing on the emotional arguments: "the economic development of Armenia today is as important as victory in the [Nagorno-Karabakh] war was yesterday. Our battle has moved from the field of blood and heroism, to the economic field. Hence, our strategy must change too; from assistance… to substantive co-operation."

It is believed that such a mixture of the profit motive with national attachment could yield increased investment in Armenia. In fact, almost all diaspora businessmen who do invest in Armenia do so as a result of this mix. They certainly see through the rhetoric of the government, and are fully cognisant of the difficulties of doing business in the country, of the corruption, of the lack of a fair and developed legal framework, and of the high level of risk involved. But they still do invest and tolerate some losses because Armenia is the homeland. The Republic of Armenia has not yet succeeded in convincing the diaspora to shift its focus from sending humanitarian aid to investing in the homeland, while ensuring that the diaspora does not meddle

too much in the internal affairs of the country – particularly in its politics. The government sees the diaspora as one of its long term economic pillars. To date, this strategy has only been partially successful, and some government officials express disappointment with the volume of investment.

Conclusion

Diasporas have become important elements in contemporary global politics. The term is certainly used more commonly, and much more broadly. For example, one even hears of an "EU diaspora" now! In the contemporary environment of globalisation, nations with a long history of diaspora such as the Armenians and the Basques are in a unique position to contribute to ongoing debates on diaspora, and to learn from each others" experiences. Of course, there are many similarities and differences between the Armenians and the Basques. For instance, Armenia is a country in need, seeking assistance and investment from the diaspora, while the Basque Country is part of the richest "club" in the world, the EU, and is in a position to support its diasporan communities. Nevertheless, both peoples face similar challenges: from maintaining identity in diaspora to institutional linkages between the homeland and communities abroad.

A central issue in any diaspora-homeland relationship is the role of one in the affairs of the other. Related to this is the question of who represents the diaspora – especially the silent majority within it? On a wider plane we need to ask, who constitutes the polity and the cultural space of a nation? Where are the boundaries of the collective? Who is "in" and who is "out"? Where is the line between input and meddling? There never are clear answers to these questions for nations with diasporas; rather ongoing debates, "negotiations," and most often tension. Channelling the homeland-diaspora tension in a positive direction is the ultimate challenge. After all, the creative energy of people like the Basques and the Armenians often stems from this tension.

The Armenian case is further complicated by the very ambiguity of the notion of "homeland." The Armenian established diaspora (outside of the post-Soviet space) exists, on the whole, as a separate entity from the current republic. It has many links, but it certainly is not an extension of the country. To demonstrate the point at a personal level, I will quote a passage from a private e-mail I recently received from a friend, a diaspora-born professional woman in her late 20s, who had just visited Armenia for two weeks for the first time:

> It's strange, I loved the country of my ancestors, but unlike many diasporans who have moved to Armenia, I feel rootless. Maybe it's because I could not grasp some of the Eastern Armenian words – makes me realise how the Armenian language is such an important part of our culture, or maybe I need to visit Armenia a few more times, or maybe I'm just happy to feel rootless, and be an Armenian of the world!

This ambiguity regarding rootedness in a specific territory is at the very heart of modern Armenian diasporan identity. It is based on a sense of belonging to an ethnic culture, to an Armenian identity, and yet it remains "rootless," without a meaningful connection to Armenia. Most contemporary diasporans are more attached to Armenian history, to the unique church, culture, language and alphabet than to a specific state or territory. In short, they are "Armenians of the world."

It is a remarkable historical feat that Armenians have survived for so long despite occupation, imperial rule, wars, genocide, persecution, statelessness, and exile. The diaspora itself has played a key role in this survival. Sometimes it has provided material aid, other times political leadership and cultural production. Perhaps the impetus for the survival of the Armenians comes from their very deep historical roots as a (persecuted) collective deprived of an independent state and hence constantly feeling either the insecurities of a diasporan existence or the precariousness of existence in an occupied homeland. Having an identity at the edge, that is, being on the threshold of disappearance, is a powerful incentive not to do so. This remains a dominant theme in Armenian thinking. Further Reading and Electronic Sources.

The Irish Diaspora, yesterday and today

Patrick O'Sullivan, University of Bradford

Introduction

Let me begin by saying how very pleased I was to receive the invitation to attend the third World Congress of Basque Collectivities. In the 1990s I edited and published a series of books, the six volumes of The Irish World Wide.[1] In the first volume, published in 1992, on the very first page, in the very first paragraph of my General Introduction, I asked: "How are we to study the Irish migrations, and their consequences? And how are we to share our experiences, and our understanding, with others?"[2]

The invitation to the Basque World Congress is, for me, an opportunity to share – and to learn. And, I hope, an opportunity to be useful to the Congress. In my paper for the Congress today I will not venture into laborious compare and contrast exercises – perhaps such points will arise in discussion. But I think I can say that other diasporas are intrigued by this continuing Basque experiment, the World Congress every four years. Of special interest is the fact that you are required by law to hold this Congress – Article 13 of

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[1] Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., The Irish World Wide, published by Leicester University Press, London.. The 6 volumes of the series were

1. Patterns of Migration, 1992
2. The Irish in the New Communities, 1992
3. The Creative Migrant, 1994
4. Irish Women and Irish Migration, 1995
5. Religion and Identity, 1996
6. The Meaning of the Famine, 1997

When reference is made to these volumes, below, the title is given briefly as IWW1, and so on. There is a full outline of the series on my web site, www.irishdiaspora.net.

[2] Patrick O'Sullivan, 'General Introduction to the series', IWW1, p. xiii.

Law 8/1994 of May 27, as I understand it. When I shared this knowledge with a representative of the government of the Republic of Ireland did I see a look of alarm and horror flash across the guarded face?[3]

Let me tell you a little bit about what I do. After an earlier career in the probation service and in social work – specialising in problems around drug misuse – I am not now active in political or in social policy affairs. I have, for the past decades been able to concentrate on writing and on research. My main area of activity is the study of the Irish Diaspora. As well as my own writing and research I run a number of services for Irish Diaspora scholars throughout the world – these include the Irish-Diaspora list, our email discussion forum. These services I see as of especial use to more isolated scholars– and amongst those isolated scholars I would include myself.

If I say that most of what I do is research on research, that might sound dry and not interesting. All I can say is that I find it very interesting. And I think it is one of the ways that people like me are useful in the world, and might be useful to this Congress – that we can stand back, take a wider, longer view, and report on wider patterns. My approach to the study of the Irish Diaspora is, and always has been, inter-disciplinary, scholarly, world-wide and comparative. I, and others, have written about this elsewhere. But let me list, briefly, my reasons for taking this approach.

No one academic disciple is going to tell us everything we want to know about the Irish Diaspora. The academic disciplines have their own agendas, shaped by forces outside our control – they may well not be interested in matters of great interest to us. The study of the Irish Diaspora may well then be simply be a sub-department of the study and practice of life - when it comes to living our lives we are all, whether we like it or not, practitioners of the inter-disciplinary approach.

You will find that the formal academics are sometimes critical of what we do, and sometimes they are critical for good reasons – I will return to this point. Our approach to our work must be scholarly, and methodologically sound. But, at the same time, because our study is world wide and comparative we are wary of statements about "the Irish" based on experiences in only one country. We can see that such statements often arise out of political and academic traditions within that one country – ways of seeing and describing 'the immigrant' perhaps.

Let me give an example, which involves a comparison. There are at two wonderful books, Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles,* first published in 1985, and Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia,* first published in 1987.[4] In Miller's book the Irish in the United States are a depressed bunch, restricted by their Irish, peasant, Catholic culture. In O'Farrell's book the Irish are the "key dynamic factor" in the development of Australian democracy and culture. It would be extremely fanciful to develop some elaborate theory of difference or selection – did the depressed Irish go to the USA whilst the dynamic Irish went to Australia? No, the difference lies within the differing academic and political traditions of the two countries. Behind Kerby Miller's book is an approach to ethnic history in the USA that is ultimately guided by Chicago School sociology, perhaps by Weber's Protestant Ethic thesis, and perhaps by Frederick Jackson Turner's Frontier Thesis.

Ireland: History and Population

We must begin with geography. Off the north-western edge of Europe there is a little archipelago, made up of two big islands and a scattering of smaller islands. Looking at the two big islands… One island, Britain, is larger than the other island, Ireland – and Britain stands between Ireland and the European mainland. The history of this archipelago is shaped by this geographical relationship – in particular by the expansions and contractions of the power of England, the nation state which developed in the south-eastern part of the larger island, centred on the city of London.

The shaping of the history of Ireland by this relationship is complex. The conquest of Ireland was completed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the majority of the Irish were supporters of perhaps the least successful dynasty in British history, the Stuarts. By the end of the seventeenth century most Irish land was in Protestant, usually incomer, hands. Throughout the eighteenth century England controlled

[3] In fairness the Irish experience of such gatherings has not been a happy one. See Gerard Keown, "The Irish Race Conference, 1922, reconsidered", Irish Historical Studies, XXXII, 127, May 2001, pp365-376.

[4] Kerby A. Miller, Emigrants and exiles : Ireland and the Irish exodus to North America, Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 1985; Patrick O'Farrell, The Irish in Australia, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana 1986 (there is now a new 2000 edition).

Ireland, but – as it were – at one remove, through appointed officials and through a Protestant Irish Parliament in Dublin. After an unsuccessful Irish insurrection in 1798, and in fear of the French Revolution, the English government decided to rule Ireland more directly. In January 1801 there came into being the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland – with Irish representation, still entirely Protestant, in a united Parliament in London. Throughout the nineteenth century the slow march of democracy gradually changed power relationships – the most significant even, perhaps, was what was called "Catholic Emancipation" in 1829, which allowed Catholics into the United Kingdom Parliament.

We seem to still live in a world much shaped by nineteenth century thinking. Thus in Ireland matters of religion, class, ownership of land and access to land, and what we would now call 'ethnicity' but was then thought of in terms of "race" – but "race" with a specific Malthusian, and Darwinian spin – all became intertwined.

This was demonstrated most graphically in the Great Famine of 1845-50, when because of a fungal disease, the potato crop repeatedly failed. As the population of Ireland grew a very large number of people had become dependent on the potato as their chief foodstuff. It is estimated that about one million people died, and about one million people emigrated. I have spent much time in the English government and the English elite archives of the period – I have made a special study of famine prevention policy within the wider British empire.[5] I do have to say that the English archives do make for hard reading – as, again and again, we are presented with what purports to be economic theory but is, in fact, theology. I should mention here two books by very fine scholars, Peter Gray and Christopher Morash.[6]

The Great Famine was not the only cause of Irish migration – emigration had been increasing greatly in the hundred years before the Famine. In fact, when you get down into the fine detail of the individual and family stories of the Irish famine refugees, you often find that the Irish were travelling in an attempt to reach other family members, who had left Ireland well before the Famine catastrophe – in the hope that the Irish outside Ireland would care for them. Or at least care for the children. But the Famine did define the relationship between the Irish Diaspora, especially the Irish in the USA, and the British Empire. The Great Famine was a subsistence disaster in a part of the United Kingdom, the richest country in the world.

Just to pause, and show the ways in which the academic discipline of history becomes a contested area. I have mentioned Peter Gray who, when he was doing his research on the Irish Famine, was based in Cambridge, England – and his advisors there saw his work as simply a normal development of the Cambridge approach to economic history. Meanwhile, another young scholar, in Ireland, was advised to not study the Irish Famine – because to do so would be to buy bullets for the IRA.[7] I think it right to report that of the six volumes of my series, The Irish World Wide, it was Volume 6, The Meaning of the Famine, that was the hardest to bring together.

Certainly the historiography is shaped by the complexities of the English/Irish relationship – the English historiography of England's relationship with Ireland is coloured by accusations of Irish ingratitude and disloyalty. The Irish historiography of the relationship is coloured by a sense of grievance – this is very much history as the servant of the national plan, and has sometimes left Irish historians and historians of Ireland vulnerable to the accusation that they are partial and unprofessional.

As the nineteenth century progressed, and as democracy progressed, there were English government attempts to find solutions to the "Irish Question". The most notable of these attempts was a series of Land Acts which eventually transferred the ownership of farms to their tenants – creating the nation of small, proprietor farmers that was Ireland throughout the twentieth century. Ireland is then perhaps unusual and fortunate amongst former "colonial" states in that it came to independence with the land problem more or less solved.

Throughout the later part of the nineteenth century Irish nationalists became more powerful, organised and vocal – but divided. Constitutional nationalists worked within the British system towards what was called "Home Rule", a degree of independence perhaps within the United Kingdom and within the British Empire – and, as the histories of Canada, Australia and New Zealand have shown, there was a route

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[5] Patrick O'Sullivan and Richard Lucking, 'The Famine world-wide: the Irish Famine and the development of famine policy and famine theory', in IWW6, The Meaning of the Famine.

[6] See, Peter Gray, Famine, Land and Politics: British Government and Irish Society, 1843–50, Irish Academic Press, Dublin, 1999; Christopher Morash, Writing the Irish Famine, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995

[7] Christine Kinealy, This great calamity : the Irish famine 1845-52, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 1994.

forward here. Other groups, seeking an independent Republic, were prepared to use organised violence for political ends. When all progress was put on hold by the start of the Great War, World War I, these groups staged a symbolic insurrection, Easter 1916. The British military, in no mood to be subtle in the midst of a world war, court-martialed and shot the ringleaders.

In the 1918 elections, at the end of the Great War, Irish nationalists won 73 out of the 105 Parliamentary seats in Ireland. This majority did not take its seats, but formed a secret, Irish Parliament, the Dáil. After a guerrilla war – which the Irish call the War of Independence, and which the English never mention – and after tortuous negotiations, an Irish delegation in London in 1921 agreed to a Treaty, which, in 1922, gave Ireland partial independence but which fractured the island. The mainly Protestant, "Unionist" north-east of Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom. The Irish nationalist then fragmented into pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty groups, fought a brief but nasty civil war which the pro-Treaty side won. The consequences of all this are still with us today, with the partitioned island, Catholic Nationalists trapped on the wrong side of an international boundary, and Protestant Unionists fearful and embattled.

Throughout the decades before 1922 the Irish nationalist view was that the high rate of emigration from Ireland was in itself evidence of British mis-rule. In support of this they could, and did, point to the Famine disaster. Some took a harsh view of the emigrants themselves – "Emigration is desertion," wrote the Irish nationalist Mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney. MacSwiney, arrested by the British, was to die on hunger strike in Brixton Prison, London, in 1920.[8]

From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards we have good census results for the island of Ireland. The figures after 1922 are, like the island, fragmented – and often when figures are given it is not clear whether or not what is being referred to is the independent, southern part of the island, the Irish Free State (called, after 1948, the Republic of Ireland), or the entire island.

The population of the island of Ireland in 1841was over 8 million. It can be assumed that the population rose steadily until the start of the Famine disaster in 1845. When the population was counted again, in 1851, it stood at 6.5 million. By 1911 the population was down to less than 4.5 million. David Fitzpatrick has estimated that between 1801 and 1921 at least eight million people emigrated from Ireland: "Ireland under the Union was a land which most people wanted to leave."[9]

After independence Irish people continued to emigrate, and the population of Ireland continued to decline. The population of the Republic of Ireland in 2002 was 3.2 million. The population of Northern Ireland in 2001 was 1.6 million. So that the population of the entire island of Ireland is now about 4.8 million.

Of the estimated 3 million Irish citizens living abroad, 1.2 million were actually born in Ireland. Two-thirds of the 3 million, about 1 million, are in Britain, 500,000 in the USA, 250,000 in Australia, 75,000 in Canada, 40,000 in New Zealand, and 35,000 in South Africa. A further 40,000 are in EU countries other than Britain.

Let me deal now with two figures which you will see bandied about – it is said that in the USA "44 million" people "claim Irish ancestry". It is also suggested that there are an estimated "70 million Irish" people of Irish heritage or descent throughout the world. It is one of the oddities of this business that we have not been able to discover who first constructed these figures and who first distributed them. Looking at the first figure – the "44 million" people of Irish ancestry in the USA – we think this figure must come from the 1980 US Census sampling where, with a bit of double counting and hi-jacking – like including all the "Black Irish", the "Scotch-Irish", and so on – and by rounding up, you can get to maybe 40 million. Who identified themselves as having some sort of Irish heritage. There is a lot of debate as to quite what that might mean… My favourite grandparent was Irish...?

Looking at the most recent figures… In the 2000 USA census, 33.1 million people said they were of Irish ancestry. The number of USA residents who were actually born in Ireland was 202,000.

There is a further difficulty. We do have some good survey work from the 1970s which suggests that over 50 per cent of Americans who defined themselves as some sort of "Irish" were Protestant, not Catholic. Yet the term "Irish-American" has become synonymous, inside the USA and outside, with a commitment to Catholicism and with a commitment to the cause of Irish nationalism, as variously defined over the years. What we have here, then, is a quarrel over the ownership of the word "Irish".

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[8] See Francis J. Costello, Enduring the Most: the Life of Terence MacSwiney, Brandon, Dingle, 1995.

[9] Fitzpatrick, p. 1.

Moving away from that inflated, "44 million" figure, my colleague, Marion Casey in New York, has said "…in fact the active Irish American community was much smaller. At its core were 200,000 Irish-born residents, just over half of whom resided in five key metropolitan areas: Boston, Chicago, San Francisco-Oakland, Washington, D.C. and vicinity, and New York City-Long Island."

The easiest way to see what is going on is to type those two phrases, '44 million Irish' and '70 million Irish' into a web search engine. Basically those figures are used by entrepreneurs of one sort of another who vaguely hope that there is something here to be commercially exploited. Indeed, given the massive amount of Irish emigration over the past two centuries, the estimate of 70 million people of Irish ancestry world-wide might not be unrealistic. But, whatever the entrepreneurs might hope, this is not a unitary market.

The independent Irish state has twice looked, formally, at the "problem" of emigration. The Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems was established in 1948, and its Report was published in 1954.[10] More recently we have seen Ireland and the Irish Abroad, the Report of the Task Force on Emigration, published in 2002.

A little bit of theory…

Let us have a little bit of theory. We are now in mainland Europe, and we need not be scared of theory.

At first sight the "literature" of the Irish Diaspora looks massive – by "literature" I mean the material about the Irish Diaspora both from academic and from popularising sources. But there are notable gaps and imbalances in this material. As we have seen, material about the Irish in the USA tends to dominate. The migrant Irish in the twentieth century have been far less well studied that the migrant Irish in the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century the destination of choice for the majority of the migrant Irish was the USA –in the twentieth century far more Irish went to Britain. And of course it is the twentieth century– and the twenty-first century - that most interests this Congress.

We can demonstrate one aspect of this imbalance by comparing the historiographies of the Irish in two "world cities", New York and London. The historiography of the Irish in New York is so great that it needs a book of its own to simply list it – this is the excellent bibliography by Ann Shea and Marion Casey.[11] The historiography of the Irish in London can be listed in one paragraph. I know this, because I have recently done it.[12] Behind the work of Shea and Casey, and behind the development of the marvellous volume, the Bayor & Meagher, The New York Irish, is the New York Irish History Roundtable, which has, since 1984, quietly supported and developed the study of the Irish in New York.[13] We have nothing like that in London.

Another imbalance is the gender imbalance. The literature of the Irish Diaspora is notably slanted towards the study of men and towards the representation of migration as a male activity. In fact, for very significant periods the majority of Irish migrants were women – Bronwen Walter has suggested that throughout the twentieth century there were only two periods, the duration of World War I and the duration of World War II, when women did NOT form the majority of Irish migrants.

We have very few "diaspora studies" –studies that look at the Irish in more than one place, or in some sort of comparative context.

Let us look at some of the reasons for all this.

The "Irish" in world culture

There is a problem which I do not labour in my own published works. Yet the size of the problem cannot be over-stated – for there is the distinct possibility that the nature of this problem will distort everything we do. Perhaps the most interesting statement of the problem was made by the nineteenth century Irish

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[10] Report of the Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems, Stationary Office, Dublin 1954. This is now a very rare document. See the discussion in Enda Delaney, Demography, State and Society: Irish Migration to Britain, 1921-1971, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2000, and Pauric Travers, "'There was nothing for me there": Irish female migration, 1922-71, in Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., Irish Women and Irish Migration, IWW4.

[11] Ann M. Shea & Marion R. Casey, The Irish Experience in New York City: A Select Bibliography, New York Irish History Roundtable, New York, 1995.

[12] Patrick O'Sullivan & Craig A. Bailey, 'London & the Union: Ireland's Capital, Ireland's Colony', in Bruce Stewart, ed., Hearts and Minds: Irish Culture and Society under the Act of Union, Colin Smythe, Gerrards Cross, 2002.

[13] Ronald H. Bayor & Timothy J. Meagher, The New York Irish, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996.

activist and polemicist, John Mitchel. Mitchel's Jail Journal, published in 1854, begins, "England has been left in possession not only of the Soil of Ireland with all that grows and lives thereon, to her own use, but in possession of the world's ear also. She may pour into it what tale she will: and all mankind will believe her."[14]

Throughout much of its modern history the island of Ireland has been a part of the British Empire, an entity which (in its various manifestations) demanded loyalty from its subjects and which defined disloyalty as treason. One 'grand narrative' of Irish history sees that history as reaching its culmination in 1922, with the formation of an independent Irish state on (part of) the island of Ireland. Archbishop Mannix, the Irish-born, Irish nationalist, and the influential leader of Australian Catholicism at the time of World War I, said in 1916: "Our loyalty is freely questioned. The answer is that Irishmen are as loyal to the empire to which, fortunately or unfortunately, they belong, as self-respecting people could be under the circumstances…"[15]

We can ask, in what fashion does awareness of the words "Ireland" and "Irish" enter the consciousness of the world in our own time? It is certainly through news coverage of the over thirty years of conflict in Northern Ireland, that portion of the island of Ireland which remains part of the United Kingdom. In any case, those centuries of conflict, reinforced by the recent decades of conflict, have left a strange legacy, a cumulative English discourse of "the Irish", which portrays the Irish as both quaint and dangerous.

There are many dangers here for the scholar of Ireland and the scholar of the Irish Diaspora. Many of our sources for the history of the Irish are English, or are shaped by English perceptions of the 'Irish Question'.

John Mitchel spoke of "England" having "the world's ear". Over the centuries a long procession of commentators have visited Ireland, visitors from England or from other parts of the world, with good will or ill will.[16] Sometimes these will be very significant figures within English culture or literature, like Edmund Spenser, Arthur Young or Thomas Carlyle. Non-English visitors will usually be guests of England, or guests of English landowners, and already have perceptions shaped by English sources. From the eighteenth century onward there is usually the background suggestion that England, with its powerful economy and dispossessed peasantry, is the norm or the ideal. It is intriguing how often we are offered essentially psychological explanations of the woes of Ireland – analysis of the 'personality' of the peasant. Because these texts tend to be readily available they have long been a major source within Irish historiography.

It will be recognised that the point being made here is very like that made by Edward Said in Orientalism – a point which Said has himself acknowledged.[17] But the difficulty of applying a straightforward 'post-colonial' approach to the history of Ireland are obvious – since the Irish (like many of the small nations of Europe) are victims, accomplices and beneficiaries of British and other European imperialisms.

Sometimes, of course, these foreign commentators on Ireland are just plain wrong. The liberal German, Moritz Julius Bonn describes his meeting with Michael Davitt, whom he describes as a fanatic with "burning eyes" who had lost an arm in a bomb outrage.[18] In fact, Michael Davitt lost his right arm at the age of 11 in 1857. He was a child worker in a textile mill in Lancashire, England - mill machinery crushed his arm.[19] So, in interpreting the empty sleeve, what was a narrative of the maimed, migrant child becomes evidence of Irish violence and irrationality.

Thus the world reads "Irishness". I have corresponded with my friend and colleague in Brazil, Laura Izarra, about our shared enjoyment of the writings of Borges. I have collected notes on mentions of the Irish in the works of Borges – I have written an unpublished essay on Borges and the Irish. The essay is unpublished

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[14] John Mitchel, Jail Journal, Sphere Books, London, 1983, p. xvii. The original text was written from 1848 onwards, when Mitchel was transported to Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania) for "treason-felony".

[15] Quoted in Patrick O'Farrell, The Irish in Australia, UNSW Press, 3rd edition, 2000, p. 269.

[16] The essential guide is David Cairns and Shaun Richards, Writing Ireland: Colonialism, nationalism and culture, Manchester University Press, 1988.

[17] Edward W. Said, Orientalism, Penguin, London, 1995 - original edition 1978. For Said on Ireland see his Nationalism, colonialism and literature -Yeats and decolonization, Field Day, Derry, 1988. And see the discussion in Kavita Philip, 'Race, Class and Imperial Politics of Ethnography in India, Ireland and London, 1850-1910', in Irish Studies Review, Volume 10, Number 3, December 2002

[18] Moritz Julius Bonn, Wandering Scholar, Cohen & West, London, 1949.

[19] As a young man Davitt had been a member of the Fenians in England, he had served a lengthy prison sentence, and, on release, he had – with extraordinary selflessness – thrown his weight behind the figurehead leader of Irish parliamentary nationalism, Charles Parnell. The standard study of Davitt's early life is T.W. Moody, Davitt and Irish revolution 1846-82, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1982. See also the more recent Carla King, Michael Davitt, Dundalgan Press, Dundalk, 1999.

because it seems to me not worth the bother of publishing – for "the Irishman" in Borges is entirely mediated through Borges' love of English literature.[20]

Another example would be representations of Ireland and the Irish in cinema, especially in thrillers emanating from the USA, where the plots and conventions of film noir have – as is the way – been relocated to a site of current conflict.[21] Northern Ireland. Again we see notions of loyalty/disloyalty built around the 'Irish' persona. I do not say, of course, that Irish people do not have issues about loyalty/disloyalty. All diasporic peoples face such conflicts, as families fragment, new families are formed, old countries make demands and new countries make new demands.

We Irish have a national day, St. Patrick's Day, which we value and which we have taken with us all over the world. Indeed, in the work of Cronin and Adair, we have a diaspora-wide study of St. Patrick's Day, and the changing nature of the celebrations over time and in different places. Cronin and Adair show clearly that there have long been quarrels over ownership of St. Patrick's Day – those who control the celebration control definitions of "Irishness".[22] Complete the following sentence: you cannot really be Irish unless you…

What are we to make then of the weird and worrying representations of St. Patrick's Day on television, particularly in American situation comedies or cartoons. Recently I have watched, open-mouthed, St. Patrick's Day episodes of The Simpsons and Happy Days on cable television. So much alcohol, so much stupidity… You cannot really be Irish unless you… get very drunk on St. Patrick's Day.

It is possible to respond with anger to all this, this mix of prejudice and lazy thinking – and anger is always available as a source of energy. The danger for scholarship is more subtle. Given the nature of the evidence, the archival record, the sources, the discourse so far, it is in fact far easier to study anti-Irish prejudices and stereotypes of the 'Irish' than it is to study real Irish people who actually lived. This would be to develop a "media studies" approach to Irish Studies and Irish Diaspora Studies.

I should now also mention the Irish relationship with language. You cannot really be Irish unless you… speak the Irish language. The Irish activists of the nineteenth century focused on the declining Irish language as one marker of identity, and Irish writers and poets in the twentieth century have maintained a troubled relationship with the language. Article 8 of the Constitution of the Republic of Ireland says that: "The Irish language as the national language is the first official language." And, "The English language is recognized as a second official language." In fact, attempts to halt the decline of the Irish language have not been successful – one shrewd commentator has observed that task of maintaining the Irish language was given to two groups of people who had little power to shape events: teachers and children.[23]

Now, I think there are interesting scholarly issues here – I think that the focus on Irish as a "national language" within Ireland means that we have lost sight of Irish as a diasporic language, and I am anxious to develop projects which track the use of the Irish language outside Ireland. But we must listen to an Irishman, writing home in the nineteenth century, in Irish, from America: "I gcuntas Dé múin Béarla do na leanbhain…" For God's sake teach the children English. And he continues, in Irish, Without English the children will be blind like the other fools who have come out here…[24]

Over the past two centuries the Irish Diaspora, for the most part, has been and is a phenomenon within the English-speaking world. The Irish are now an English-speaking people, in a world where English is becoming a global language. A number of commentators have observed that the very language we speak contains within it those "native/settler" patterns outlined above, where the word "Irish", and associated words (like the popular first name "Patrick" or "Paddy") are associated with violence, bad temper, stupidity

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[20] On Borges: the key text is the "Theme of the Traitor and the Hero" (Tema del traidor y del héroe) but also important are "The Shape of the Sword" (La forma de la espada) and "The Garden with Forking Paths" (El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan).

[21] There is a considerable literature on cinematic representations of Ireland. I say to students: Do not expect to learn much about Ireland and the Irish; do expect to learn about the demands of genre. On "film noir", for example, see John Hill, "Images of Violence", in Rockett, Gibbons and Hill, Cinema and Ireland, Croom Helm, London, 1987.

[22] Mike Cronin and Daryl Adair, The Wearing of the Green: A History of St. Patrick's Day, Routledge, London, 2002. See also Sallie A. Marston, "Making difference: conflict over Irish identity in the New York City St. Patrick's Day parade", Political Geography, Volume 21, Issue 3, 2002 – the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization had been denied a place in the parade.

[23] There is a considerable literature on the Irish language movement: see Tony Crowley, The politics of language in Ireland, Routledge, London, 2000. See also the controversial work of my colleague Reg Hindley, The death of the Irish language: a qualified obituary, Routledge, London, 1990.

[24] Cited in Karen P. Corrigan, "For God's sake teach the children English": emigration and the Irish language in the nineteenth century, in Patrick O'Sullivan, ed. IWW2.

and untrustworthiness. The very word "Ireland" offered a pun to the pun-loving sixteenth century English poets – the land of ire, of anger. There is an English expression, still in common use – behaviour that is totally unacceptable, unforgivable, uncivilised, is described as "beyond the Pale". A "pale" is a simple English word, meaning fence or boundary. In the times of English conquest of Ireland "The Pale" circumscribed the city of Dublin, and marked the then extent of English rule. "Beyond the Pale" lived the wild, unconquered Irish. I can here report that I was born 'beyond the Pale…'

Oppression, compensation, contribution…

When I was writing the General Introduction to my series, The Irish World Wide, I began to think about two words which I had met, again and again, in discussion and reading, about Irish migration and about the migration of other scattered peoples: oppression and contribution. In much writing about the Irish Diaspora oppression is presented as the sufficient and only cause of Irish emigration, linking with the description of emigration as "exile" in ways that precluded other kinds of analysis, and often with scant regard for the normal rules of historical evidence and chronology. In studies of the Irish in the new, host countries, their contribution to the well-being of their new country is stressed – usually economic contribution, but often military service. This –in what I have called the "argument from Fredericksburg"– is a very strong theme within Irish-American historiography.[25]

I recalled that I had seen those two words, oppression and contribution, elsewhere, as part of a continuum: oppression, compensation, contribution. My source was, of course, within feminist historian Gerda Lerner's categorisation of women's history: Lerner pointed out that most writing on women fell into those three categories: accounts of male oppression of women led to the search for "compensation" (accounts of "famous" or "extraordinary" women), and a report on women's contribution, economically or politically. This meant that the study of women's history was shaped by the oppressor, and gave no account of women "functioning in that male-defined world on their own terms." [26]

My conclusion was that Lerner had noticed a general pattern: that when an oppressed group, any oppressed group, begins to collect material about its own history, and begins to write that history, we get a historiography which falls into the pattern: oppression, compensation, contribution. The reasons for such an approach are understandable. But it is an approach that conspires with the oppressor to let the oppressor shape the agenda, it is tendentious, and it leaves out a great deal.

This, as theory goes, is fairly rough and ready. But I am told that students like it – it has the merit of categorising material before it even reaches us.[27] It also has predictive value – if we are going to go down that "scientific" road.[28] I need to stress that if I put "scare quotes" around the word "oppression" then I am not thereby suggesting that no oppression took place. In Lerner's formulation, "oppression, compensation, contribution" are not categories of experience – they are kinds of writing. There does not seem to be any way of avoiding this kind of writing – and I am not sure that we would really want to. But it can be transcended.

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[25] The Battle of Fredericksburg, 1862, was the American Civil War battle in which the Irish Brigade, in the service of the North, advanced to destruction against a well-defended Confederate position. In 1988, in the USA, a representative of the Irish Immigration Reform Movement commented on the fact that only 800 Irish people per year were allowed to legally enter the United States: "That number is less by 120 the number of Irishmen who died storming Marye's Heights in Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862, in defence of this union…" See the discussion in O'Sullivan, "Introduction", p. 4, IWW1.

[26] Gerda Lerner, The majority finds its past: placing women in history, Oxford University Press, 1979.

[27] So I am told by Graham Davis, who has developed Irish Studies at Bath Spa University College, England. Graham Davis has embarrassingly summarised my ideas, far better than I have ever been able to, in the exploration of the Irish in the historiography of Texas which led to his book. See Graham Davis, "Models of Migration: The historiography of the Irish pioneers in South Texas" Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XCIX, 3, 1996, and Graham Davis, Land! Irish pioneers in Mexican and Revolutionary Texas, Texas A & M University Press, 2002. And, once again, we see problems of loyalty presented to a migrant community – some Irish remained loyal to their adopted country, Mexico, others sided with the Texas revolution.

[28] Two recent books about Irish migration are precisely predicted by the theory: Thomas Cahill, How the Irish Saved Civilization: The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role from the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe, Anchor Books, 1996; Sean O'Callaghan, To Hell or Barbados: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ireland, Brandon Books, 2000.

Leisure

In eras of globalisation ethnic identities tend to coalesce around leisure activities. Rural and customary work practices rarely transfer from the old country to the new country. It is in spare time that identity can be nursed and comforted. We have seen the example of St. Patrick's Day. Other things happen. There is often an overt commodification of culture –as the sometimes covert commodification of culture in the homeland become more visible. Sometimes the diaspora will value parts of the culture that the homeland has no time for.

From 1903 to 1922 Francis O'Neill, an Irish born policeman in Chicago, USA, published five compilations of Irish folk music, and two further books of reminiscences. O'Neill discovered that he was ideally placed in Chicago to be a collector of Irish folk music: for there could be found "exiles from all of Ireland's thirty-two counties…" O'Neill himself never expected his efforts on behalf of Irish traditional music to be appreciated or understood, "in the face of both racial and national indifference…" In fact, O'Neill's main collection, 1001 Gems, is generally revered as "The Book" by Irish musicians. The precious Captain Francis O'Neill Collection of Irish Music is housed in the Library of the University of Notre Dame. This collection would not have been possible – and would most probably have not been valued – in the Ireland of O'Neill's lifetime.

In 1914, Michael Coleman, a fiddle player from Sligo, Ireland, settled in the USA. The burgeoning American recording industry of the 1920s went to the Irish dance scene in the large American cities, to make sound recordings for the "ethnic" market. Records by Coleman and other Sligo fiddle players were sent back to Ireland by Irish emigrants. All over Ireland these "cultural remittances" spread the "Sligo fiddle style" – jaunty, flamboyant, highly ornamented – and all but destroyed the more austere music styles of other regions. One player has told how, anticipating the techniques of the ethno-musicologist, he would slow the rotating disc with his finger – so that he could catch all the detail of Coleman's ornamentation.

There are very significant and dynamic processes going on here, which folkloric notions of authenticity or "timelessness" find of no interest. I remember at one time trying to explain all this to an academic colleague –and failing. In 1994 I was idly watching the Eurovision Song Contest– like you do –when Riverdance happened. And made it all visible. One lead dancer from Chicago, the other lead dancer from New York. On the screen, and subsequently on theatre stages throughout the world, we saw not only the "products" of the world's Irish dancing classes– we also saw the commodification of a leisure activity.

What is particularly interesting about these Irish examples, of the association between an ethnic identity and a use of leisure time, is that we have a case of the boundaries of leisure being, as it were, policed. The Gaelic Athletic Association (the GAA) was founded in 1884, one of a series of Irish nationalist identity-building projects in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The founder of the GAA, Michael Cusack, believed that the spread of English games in Ireland was sapping national morale, and worked to replace them with specifically Irish games, hurling and Gaelic football (Irish rules football).

The rules of the GAA excluded from membership anyone who played, or even watched, "imported games" –such as cricket, rugby or soccer. Irish autobiographies of the early twentieth century are full of anecdotes about keen sports fans trying to avoid 'The Ban', and having to hide from GAA vigilantes, in order to watch a rugby match.[29] That rule was finally abandoned in 1971. There was also a rule which excluded from the GAA any member of the "crown forces", the British armed forces, which included the famous Irish regiments, or the Royal Irish Constabulary, the United Kingdom's police force in Ireland. In 2001 this rule was abandoned, following the Good Friday agreement– and in 2002 the re-named Police Service of Northern Ireland fielded its first ever Gaelic football team. However there is still in place a ban on the playing of "imported games" in GAA stadiums– which means that the GAA stadium at Croke Park, Dublin is not available to the soccer team of the Republic of Ireland.

I have not analysed in this section two activities which also might possible be regarded as "leisure" activities: religion and politics. Organised Irish Catholicism, wherever it has gone in the world, has thrown its not inconsiderable weight behind the cause of a separate Catholic educational system. My colleague Sheridan Gilley has, in conversation, contrasted the enormous resources and effort that went, throughout the world, into keeping Irish Catholics Catholic with the comparatively puny resources that went into keeping Irish Catholics Irish. Indeed my colleague Mary Hickman thinks that in Britain there was a tacit conspiracy between the Catholic church and the British state, which supported the development of a separate Catholic

[29] Brendan Mac Lua, The steadfast rule : a history of the G.A.A. ban,, Cuchulainn Press, Dublin 1967, is the standard history – but by now, of course, overtaken by events.

educational system – with the understanding that this would mean the abandoning of a separate Irish identity.[30] Be that as it may, throughout the world, there seems to have been assumption, which was never much verbalised – never mind questioned – that if efforts and resources went into maintaining Catholic education this would have the knock-on effect of maintaining an Irish identity.

I think I have perhaps said enough about politics within the Irish Diaspora. Some years ago there was an unseemly spat between two historians of the Fenians, the nineteenth century secret Irish nationalist organisation. One historian had suggested that Fenianism was essentially a spare time activity – the other historian took exception to this, taking it to mean that the Fenians were not serious about their concerns.[31] But politics is, for most people, a spare time activity – and very few of the Fenians were able to be full time politicians.

What might be helpful here is the notion of "identity resources", an interesting development of the theories of Anthony Giddens, which appeared recently in the online Web journal, The North American Journal of Welsh Studies. These young Welsh theorists suggest that we 'not overplay the distinction between the (diasporically) "imagined Wales" and the (locally experienced) "real Wales"' [32] They look at the material out of which their Welsh migrants create a diasporic Welsh identity. I have made a special study of the life and work of John Denvir, an Irish-born writer and publisher – he wrote, in 1892, one of the first studies of the Irish in Britain.[33] John Denvir also devised and published 'John Denvir's Irish Library', first in Liverpool in the 1870s, and later in London in the 1910s. These were tiny pamphlets, sold on the streets for a penny – they are guides to Irish history, Irish politics, Irish song and Irish dance. I have described these pamphlets as a "Do it yourself how to be Irish kit…" They are "identity resources."

The Basque Questions

I now turn to the list of questions that your organisers forwarded to me – in my email conversations with colleagues throughout the world I have got into the habit of referring to these as "the Basque questions…" The questions asked for information and comment in the following 5 areas…

1. Current Organisation of the Irish Diaspora.

2. Financial Resources of the Irish Diaspora.

3. The maintaining of identity.

4. Activities of the Irish communities.

5. Business networks, identity and cultural maintenance.

If you had asked me for this information four or five years ago I would have had considerable difficulty gathering the material. As I have already indicated, the literature of the Irish Diaspora is distorted and unbalanced – in particular that we lack work on Irish migrants in the twentieth century, especially on the recent past.

I would like now to pay my respects to three pieces of work which, together with my own work, gave me the confidence to tackle "the Basque Questions". One of these pieces of work reached me, as an email attachment, only within the past week.

I have described the recent report of the Republic of Ireland's Task Force on Policy Regarding Emigrants, and I indicated that I would be surprised if this report led to any great changes. But a part of the report of the Task Force was "A study of existing sources of information and analysis about Irish emigrants and Irish communities abroad", conducted by Bronwen Walter of Anglia Polytechnic University and her colleagues Linda Dowling Almeida, New York, Breda Gray, Cork, and Sarah Morgan, London. This was very much a

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[30] Mary J. Hickman, Religion, class and identity: the State, the Catholic Church and the education of the Irish in Britain., Avebury, Aldershot, 1995.

[31] The two historians were R.V. Comerford and John Newsinger. See R.V. Comerford, The Fenians in Context: Irish Politics and Society 1848-1882 , Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 1985; John Newsinger, Fenianism in mid-Victorian Britain, Pluto Press, London & Boulder, 1994.

[32] Hywel Bishop, Nikolas Coupland and Peter Garrett, "Blood is Thicker than the Water that Separates Us!": Welsh Identity in the North American Diaspora', The North American Journal of Welsh Studies, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer 2003), p. 54, available online at http://spruce.flint.umich.edu/~ellisjs/journal.html

[33] John Denvir, The Irish in Britain, from the earliest times to the fall and death of Parnell, Kegan Paul, Trench, Truubner & Co., London, 1892.

global effort, with contributions from scholars throughout the world, and specific sections on the Irish in present day Britain, USA, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and in other countries of the European Union.

At the same time a young scholar based at Queen's University, Belfast, in Northern Ireland, produced a little pamphlet for the Economic and Social History Society of Ireland – Enda Delaney, Irish Emigration since 1921.[34] And, reaching me by email from Boston, Kevin Kenny, "Diaspora and Comparison: the Global Irish as a Case Study", published in the Journal of American History, June 2003.[35] These three works –none of them very long– by Walter, Delaney and Kenny together summarise and discuss the relevant material, and point to the gaps in that material.

My friend and colleague Clare Barrington recently surveyed the Irish organisations in Britain.[36] She found over 500 broadly defined and self-defining, Irish organisations in Britain. Of these 500 Irish organisations some 94 are involved in welfare, in some fashion – the rest are involved in social, cultural, artistic, sporting, political and economic activity. On a world-wide scale, over the time period surveyed in this paper, we are looking at many thousands of organisations, many very small, many short lived. There are international networks of organisations gathered around specific activities, with a figurehead organisation within Ireland. I have mentioned the Gaelic Athletic Association, the GAA. I should also mention Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann - founded in 1951, its purpose is to promote the music, culture and arts of Ireland at home and abroad. Comhaltas has over 400 branches within Ireland and beyond – each branch is, in effect, self-financing. Within Ireland organisations like the GAA and Comhaltas find themselves in competition for funds with other sport or cultural organisations for funds and resources.

It would be wonderful to report that the Irish Diaspora has the benefit of a wonderful organisation, which –from its superbly appointed headquarters in Dublin (or perhaps New York)– oversees and co-ordinates a multitude of fully integrated activities. There is no such headquarters. There is a loose committee within the Department of Foreign Affairs, in Dublin, which meets infrequently. The Task Force on Emigration has many suggestions for better structures, but we have yet to see if any of its recommendations will actually be put in place.

Of increasing importance what my friend and colleague, Owen Dudley Edwards, has called "the most charming, most cultured, and most unscrupulous foreign service in Europe, perhaps in the world…", the career diplomats of the Irish Republic. Their attitudes have changed changed over the decades. One Irish ambassador to Australia in the 1950s is quoted as saying that the most that the Irish state could expect of the diaspora was indifference; anything more would be a bonus.[37] But another Irish ambassador to Canberra, Joesph Small –later the Irish Ambassador in London– has played a more active role. Right at the beginning of this paper I outlined Patrick O'Farrell's book The Irish in Australia. It was Joe Small who suggested the idea to Patrick, found him the initial funding and the space within his university. Ambassador Small had decided that something had to be done about the image, and the stereotypes, of the Irish in Australia. Behind these changes of policy and attitude there lies, no doubt, the demands of the peace process in Northern Ireland –the uncoupling of that active part of the Irish Diaspora from violent nationalism within Ireland.

Traditionally, historically, as we have seen, Ireland has been a gross exporter of people. A migrant is, of course, a gift to the host nation, usually a gift from a poor country to a rich country, a gift of a free adult for whose upbringing and education the new nation has paid nothing. The Irish emigrants sent back funds to their families, often to allow the emigration of the next generation –often, in the twentieth century, to pay for improvements to the family farm. Until recently, there has really been little movement of funds in the other direction, out of Ireland.

I should mention, since you may have heard of them, the Ireland Funds. In 1976 Anthony O'Reilly, whom you may know as the former Chief Executive of the Heinz company (whose headquarters is in Pittsburgh), and Dan Rooney, the owner of the Pittsburgh Steelers American football team, combined to form what was to

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[34] Enda Delaney, Irish Emigration since 1921, Studies in Irish Social and Economic History 8, Economic and Social History Society of Ireland/Dundalgan Press, Dundalgan, 2002. This pamphlet can now be put alongside the same publisher's David Fitzpatrick, Irish Emigration since 1801-1921, Studies in Irish Social and Economic History 1, published in 1984.

[35] Kevin Kenny, 'Diaspora and Comparison: the Global Irish as a Case Study', Journal of American History, 90, 1, June 2003, pp 134-162. Kevin Kenny is the author of The American Irish: A History, Longman, Harlow, 2000 – highly recommended.

[36] Clare Barrington, Shades of Green: A Directory of the Irish in Britain, Irish Studies Centre, University of North London/ Smurfit Media UK, London, 2000.

[37] Keown, p. 376.

become the first Ireland Fund, the American Ireland Fund. The Ireland Funds we site says 'Today, The Ireland Funds are an international network. Ireland Funds in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, New Zealand, Japan, Monaco, Mexico and The United States are uniting the aspirations of the Irish diaspora, a global community of more than 70 million people.' The aims of the Ireland Funds are…

– Peace and Reconciliation.

– Community development.

– Education.

– Arts and Culture.

All within Ireland, be it noted. The Ireland Funds are not really in the business of identity formation, as such –there is no suggestion of a specific interest in Irish traditional music, arts and games. The Ireland Funds have not really given much attention to the Irish Diaspora– other than as a source of finance. However I have noticed recently a number of projects which have diasporic resonances – the funding of the 'Jeanie Johnston', the replica of the 1847 emigrant ship, and the funding of an Irish collection at the library of Notre Dame.

A little while ago I was asked to give a paper at a symposium at the Princess Grace Irish Library in Monaco, and –as part of a crowded weekend– was invited to the Ireland Funds' banquet in the Hotel de Paris, Monte Carlo. I attended, purely in the spirit of anthropological enquiry, you must understand –and I was much enlightened.

Thus far some 150 million US dollars have gone into projects, mostly in Ireland. The political aims of the Ireland Funds have not been much analysed – though it is fair to say that the Ireland Funds have been regarded with some suspicion in some quarters in Ireland. Broadly, as we have seen, their aims can be defined as bringing peace to Ireland, and redefining the image of Ireland and the Irish in the world. There is also, of course, the suggestion that the Ireland Funds mop up money that might otherwise go to un-peaceful causes in Ireland.

One of the things I have studied is the spread of Irish Studies programmes throughout the world, not only in the English-speaking world. A lot of Irish projects set out, with something approaching naivety, to trap the Irish millionaire. But occasionally these millionaires do turn up –and they do seem to have a special interest in Irish Studies. The Glucksman Ireland House is New York University's Irish Studies centre– it was founded in 1991, thanks to the generosity of Lewis and Loretta Glucksman. Mrs. Glucksman's maiden name is Brennan. At the University of Melbourne, Australia, my friend and colleague Elizabeth Malcolm now holds the Gerry Higgins Chair in Irish Studies –founded to commemorate their father by the later Mr. Higgins' children.

And I am now giving some attention to the new world-wide interest in family history and genealogy. At the beginning of the year 2001, the Public Record Office, the National Archives of England and Wales at Kew, made freely available on its web site the entire census records of England and Wales for the year 1901. So great was the interest in these hundred year old records that the system was immediately overwhelmed, crashed, had to be withdrawn and redesigned. This year, 2002, a more cautious, limited system is at last in place. The Public Record Office was simply not prepared for the amount of interest there now is in access to archives and records, and the interest, throughout the world, in family history and genealogy. If ethnic identities tend to coalesce around leisure activities, then exploring identity has in itself become a use of leisure time.

Ever scholar of diaspora and migration who has a Web presence will regularly receive literally hundreds of emails asking for help with a family history query. Usually these enquiries come from people who are at the earlier stages of constructing their family history, or who have encountered problems – and who are simply not aware of the standard methods of the family historian, and the difficulties of family history. Family history is, in fact, the most expensive, time-consuming kind of archival research.

By now I have a standard reply to such enquiries –explaining the limitations within which my little research unit must work, the difficulties of family history and so on. Usually people simply need to be made aware of guidance, networks and resources elsewhere– on the Web, Rootsweb, GENUKI, or the many local family history societies and clubs.

But also visible on the Web you will see a proliferation of commercial, and expensive, family history resources. There is another theme that I have not as yet laboured in this paper: the Irish Diaspora as something to be commercially exploited.

The flow of funds in the other direction, out of Ireland to the Irish Diaspora, is a very new phenomenon, and is really only possible because Ireland has, at last – but for how long? – entered a prosperous phase. I will give only one example, because there is really only one example. The Díon Committee is an Irish Government committee based in the Irish Embassy in London – "díon" is an Irish language word meaning "shelter". Since it was established in 1984 the Committee has directed some 10 million pounds towards Irish welfare organisations in Britain. It is by no means clear why one member state of the European Union should fund the welfare needs of its citizens, or its kin, in another member state. Indeed, in one of its annexes, the Report of Task Force on Policy Regarding Emigrants listed all the international work and welfare agreements that are in force or might be in force. The argument of the Díon Committee always has been that it provides only pump-priming funds –and that the Irish welfare organisations should then seek continuing funding from British sources. But this is hard– the Irish are simply not on the British ethnic policy agenda. Nonetheless the Task Force on Policy Regarding Emigrants has very grand plans for the Díon Committee, including the suggestion that it should interest itself in the welfare of the Irish in the USA. However, as I wrote the final draft of this paper, I noticed that the Irish Government – in a general belt-tightening exercise - has just cut the Díon Committee's funding for the coming year.

Ireland is no longer a gross exporter of people – the Irish are staying in Ireland, working in Ireland, marrying in Ireland. It is possible to detect, in this new, prosperous, young Ireland an increasing estrangement from the Irish Diaspora, its stories and its legends.

Indeed, Ireland now imports people –refugees, asylum-seekers, and economic migrants. There are skills shortages in Ireland– I learnt the other day that in the little town of Roscommon, in the west of Ireland, there is a little colony of some 500 Brazilian butchers. Roscommon has a population of some 5000. The Irish of Ireland have never had to accommodate people of different culture and appearance – welfare organisations within Ireland are horrified by the hostility and prejudice which has greeted these new arrivals. The Irish of the Diaspora do not know what to say…

The Diaspora and the Jewish lobby today

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The policies which drive the Diaspora nation-state relationship, or rather, the ways in which Diasporas relate, on the one hand, to the mother state and impact its policies, and on the other how they impact the policies of the host country, is a prickly subject to theorize on. Perhaps the most interesting studies on the topic were carried out by the Israeli political expert Iossi Shain, who conducted a broad analysis of how the Diasporas of Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, as well as the Diaspora of the Jewish and Arab communities, amongst others in the United States, interact. Basically, he attempts to explain how such diversity, instead of dividing the United States, collaborates in projecting American policy in their countries of origin. The same thesis also attempts to analyze how the Diasporas impact political processes in their countries of origin, especially when there is political strife, civil wars or they are immersed in ethnic wars. Examples of the Republican Diaspora during the Spanish Civil War, the Cuban Diaspora in the United States, the Croatian, Serb Diasporas, etc., during the civil war in Yugoslavia. There are many examples, and I believe that the Jewish Diaspora in different countries, particularly in the United States, is paradigmatic of what might be defined as the ideal organization in terms of promoting the interests of their country of origin (Israel). The Jewish case exemplifies how the Jewish dual identity is beneficial for Israel and for the country hosting the Jews.

It is well known that since the Jewish people was expelled from the Holy Land by the Romans they have maintained an unswerving spiritual relationship with the land of Israel. Long before it became a national political movement, the prayers of the Jews were directed towards the holy city of Jerusalem. On the other hand, this did not directly entail the birth of political Zionism which arose at the end of the 19th Century, since the link with Jerusalem was purely a mystic one. The end of the Diaspora for the orthodox religious would only come with the advent of the Messiah. However, Political Zionism changed the plans. The founder of Political Zionism, the Austrian journalist Theodoro Hertzl, identified the incongruence of Jewish life in the Diaspora. The end-of-century Progroms in Russia, the Dreyfuss affair in France and the growing anti-Semitic spirit in Europe led him to understand that the solution to the Jewish problem could only come about within the framework of an independent Jewish nation state.

One thing that is clear with regard to the question in hand is that the Jewish national project was born in the Diaspora when the fundamental idea is that the nation state should precisely put an end to the Jewish Diaspora that creates it. I will return to this question later, although I may say for the moment that the

idea was based on the idea that life in the national state means reverting to normality, whereas life in the Diaspora exposes the Jews to constant existential dangers.

A lot of water was to flow under the bridge before the World Zionist Congress decided that the site for the national state should be the land of their ancestors, and nowhere else on the planet.

Three parameters would mark the creation of the old-new national identity. One was the reconstruction of the Hebrew Biblical language, transformed from a dead language into a live language, the creation of an investment fund to buy lands and to start to create a Jewish life in a Palestine dominated by the Ottoman empire, and the programming and training of young idealists, mainly from Russia and Poland who, eager to give up their life in the Diaspora would reach a barren, desert-like land to create the first centers of agricultural production.

This point is very important for us to understand how the idea of the Zionist pioneer took shape, and how the support framework was articulated in the Diaspora. Before the state of Israel was founded, the pioneer groups were already divided into different social ideologies that suited their national ideology. Zionism was mainly socialist, collectivist and pioneering. It was they who laid the foundations of the Labor party. Then there was the "Revisionist" sector which upheld a liberal economic or anti socialist ideology, anti-imperialistic in its fight against the British mandate that came after the Ottoman empire, and finally was profoundly anti-Arab. These revisionist sectors would create the bases of the current right-wing movements and the Likud party currently in power.

Behind them all, the Jewish Diaspora acted by creating the aforementioned common colonization fund, and in the diplomatic area, sowed the seeds to secure acceptance for the national project from the prevailing powers that were. The role of the Rothschilds in promoting economic sustenance programs and of Haim Waissman in securing the British support for the construction of a Jewish homeland in Palestine is part of the national epic. The Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization would be the national institutions that would polarize all the logistic and political support geared towards the creation of the society or the national community.

Apart from the fact that the creation of the state of Israel would never have come about but for the Holocaust of the Second World War, one thing that must be made clear is that the Jewish community in Palestine, with its own government, its defense apparatus and agricultural colonization, was already a fact.

The Jewish community acquired a life of its own before it became an independent national state, and from the early decades of the century was pitched into a no-holds-barred fight against Palestine Arabs who, albeit lacking a state-like organization (there was no independent Palestine state then), were already developing an identity of their own and were hardly enamored with the growing Jewish presence.

It is clear that this was all made possible by a joint action by the colonizers and the Jewish Diaspora in the world, particularly in England and the United States, which provided the economic resources to buy land for the pioneers that generally hailed from Russia and Poland at the beginning of the century. In this light it will be easier to understand the role of the Zionist Jewish lobby in countries where there are Jewish communities.

Before going on to address organizational elements, it would be a good idea to dwell somewhat on the impact of the Holocaust in promoting the Israel-Diaspora connection. It goes without saying that the tremendous impact of the Holocaust, and the fact that no country in the world offered shelter en masse for the Jews, who were in the throes of extermination, was vital in leading western countries to realize that they could not deny the Jewish people the creation of an independent state. The "national state-Diaspora" relationship always exhibited a latent tension. The national identity of the new Hebrew state was to be created in opposition to the identity of the Diaspora. The reasons underpinning this idea was that while the Jewish Diaspora was hauled off to Nazi concentration camps practically without any opposition, the "new Hebrew man" was conceived on the basis of military values, land, a pioneering mentality, and was a sure-fire winner in the struggle for survival. Whereas the new Hebrew man stood for rebellion against the past, and had wielded the power to forge his own destiny, the figure of the Diaspora represented the image of the defeated, at the mercy of the political vicissitudes of the gentiles.

To summarize this point, whereas the new state was born in a scenario of combat, the old Jew of the Diaspora symbolized the individual who has been constantly trodden upon. With this preconcept in mind it is easy to see why in the early years of the state of Israel the role of the Diaspora "appeared" to be secondary, and was looked upon warily by the pioneers who risked their lives to create and build the state.

However, despite this distrust, and the shame felt by a Diaspora Jew on encountering the "new Jewish Israeli", the role of the Diaspora in the support to Israel continued to be preponderant in the institutional

framework. The Diaspora helped to create the dual institutionality in Israel that helped to uphold the Jewish Israeli society. Allow me to dwell on this point for a minute, as it is very revealing in terms of the current state of Israel. Israel is a democratic state in which Arab Jews, Jews , Druses and other nationalities coexist. The state institutions must provide funds democratically for all the cultural and ethnic groups of the state. However, the democratic institutions are paralleled by the national institutions, which were created well before the state. The Jewish Agency, and the World Zionist Organization, as we mentioned previously, which bring together Jews from all over the world to accumulate funds and resources for the Jewish population of Israel, did not cease their activities after the creation of the state of Israel. Apparently, these institutions appear as antagonistic to the democratic institutions, because they represent the Jewish people in general and not the citizens of the democratic state of Israel. However, it is these institutions that allow the Jews to hold a privileged position vis-à-vis the other ethic and cultural communities in Israel, and safeguard the concept of democratic state, since formally the democratic institutions cover all citizens regardless of their origin.

The Jewish lobby in the United States: Its contribution and challenge to Israel.

A lot of water "has passed under the bridge" since the Zionist nationalist ideology placed the national state above the Diaspora. Nowadays, several cross phenomena explain the enormous relevance of the Diaspora, which rapidly overtakes the role of the national state in operating importance.

1) Economic globalization detracted from the mythical role of the agricultural pioneer who has been the cornerstone of Zionist ideology since the turn of the century. Despite the fact that the role of the land, to wit territorial nationalism, still has a certain clout, the not too distant future seems to point to the opening up of economic borders with the region and the world.
2) Nowadays, national realization does not necessarily mean living in the state of Israel, as it did in the times of the mythical leader Ben Gurion. Now, Jewish life in the Diaspora may be safer than in the state of Israel, as the concept of Jewish life can be preserved in the Diaspora and in Israel. As many orthodox Rabbis already claim, living in the state of Israel does not necessarily guarantee the continuity of Jewish life.
3) Nowadays, unlike the past, wars are won in the media as well as on the battlefield. The role of the commander of an infantry or tank unit may be less or at least equally important as the role played by many Jews in Diaspora institutions organized by Jewish lobbies in different countries of the democratic western world.

This has afforded a revamped vitality to the role of the Jewish lobby, especially in the United States. But not only has the Jewish lobby that supports Israel recovered its importance, as organization of Jewish community life in the Diaspora is still a source of material and human resources that Israel draws from.

Let us turn to the current role of the Jewish lobby, taking the example of the most important lobby, namely the American Jewish lobby concentrated in AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee). This committee was established in 1954 by leaders of the Jewish American community, with a view to achieving financial and political support for Israel in the American Congress, and at the same time to pre-empt support to the Arab countries. While by American standards it is hardly a large group, AIPAC has 40 presidents of Jewish communities in the United States representing some 4 million Jews. To perform its lobbying role in Congress, AIPAC is totally conversant with the American political process and basically the channels for access to Congress. This is undoubtedly a job of paramount importance which requires scheduling special courses for community leaders specialized in lobbying. This work is done above all in the universities, where the AIPAC has a network of technical assistance and educational programs focusing not only on providing data on Israel and Judaism for Jewish students, but also on technical strategies on how to perform the role of lobbyist in Congress. This includes techniques for approaching senators and members of Parliament, information on their districts, and on the lobbies that target these senators. It even provides information and techniques for approaching the private staff of each senator or congress member.

To keep each one of the members of the senate and the House of Representatives, AIPAC issues a weekly publication called the Near East Report, which reports on the Arab-Israeli conflict. This publication reaches all congress members, as well as all the university activists supported by AIPAC. This point is of paramount importance, since the idea is not to target dailies with the latest news but rather go for an in-depth analysis. The seminars organized by AIPAC for its student members offer all the most comprehensive range of in-depth literature on the conflict in the Middle East and on the American political process. Thus, by dint of being utterly conversant with the substance and technique, the members of AIPAC report constantly to

the Senate Committee, particularly at a time when we are reaching a legislative process that affects Israel in on way or another.

Accompanying the AIPAC is also the Conference of Presidents of Major American known as the Conference of Presidents. This lobby focuses on pure foreign policy in the relations between United States and Israel, and on achieving an open dialog in the American Jewish community to achieve points of consensus on Israel for its projection in the White House.

As may be imagined, attaining a consensus on the policies of Israel is a very serious problem for the AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents. One of the most serious problems of a Diaspora lobby is that the country it defends is democratic and therefore changes its policies, if not regularly, at least with a certain degree of regularity. Most of the theoretical theses on the Diaspora nation-state relationship determine that the Diasporas are generally more extremist than the countries of origin. The case of the Jewish lobby is a clear example of this, although there can be no doubt that the Palestinians, for example, are much more extreme in the Diaspora than in the occupied territories.

In the case of the AIPAC, this was seen in the process that began in Oslo and led to the recognition of the PLO by Israel. For a long time Israel "educated" the Diaspora that there was and would never be a Palestine state and that there would be no dialogue with the PLO. It goes without saying that Israel's change of attitude obliged the AIPAC to change its attitude. At this moment in time the debate focuses on the "roadmap", the AIPAC leadership is immersed in a task of information-building and analysis to convince the American senators that the United States and Israel are in the same line, that the most important thing is the security of Israel and that therefore the first step has to be made by the Palestine Authority, which entails the total dismantling of the radical organization Hamas. For the moment, the work of AIPAC on these points is relatively easy, because AIPAC works most in the senate, where the conviction as to the validity of this thesis is almost total. The Conference of Presidents, more dedicated to the White House, will have to work more, because the White House, albeit maintaining the same ideological parameters as AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents, deals in a different type of tactical and strategic priorities, which will never coincide with Israel's.

Finally, but no less important, both the AIPAC and the Conference of Presidents are supported by the non-Jewish pro-Israel lobby. This is of major importance, and to a certain extent explains even more than the Jewish lobby the United States' permanent support to Israel despite some moments of darkness. The group that coordinates the activity of more than a dozen Christian groups that support Israel is the National Christian Leadership Conference for Israel. These Christian groups, part of the so-called "Christian majority", are the cornerstone of Bush's neo-conservative policy in all orders, social and foreign, and vis-à-vis Israel these groups defend an even more activist position than Sharon. Israeli delegates that come to propose peace programs in the United States are running into increasingly greater opposition from these Christian groups that see Israel as the ultimate bastion of Christian civilization, and therefore demand a more inflexible position of Israel.

Finally there are the Pro-Israel Political Action Committees. Unlike other lobbies, these small committees engage in organizing and contributing to the funding of the careers of candidates to the senate. In view of the changing and uncertain characteristics of American party politics, it is more profitable to go straight to candidates according to their affinities with Israel than to the actual political party.

In any event, it must be said that not all is success for AIPAC and the other Jewish lobbies in United States. For a long time the Israel-United States relationship was tense, and may become so in what may be a future of changing hues, and the Jewish lobby often comes across as too militant, which can be counter-productive. However, there is no doubt that criteria have been clearly adjusted since 11 September. Before that, despite the existence of different hues and moments of political tension between Israel and the United States, both countries initially defended the same philosophy which sits well with the role played by the Jewish Diaspora in the United States. Thus, it may be said that the United States, Israel and the Jewish community in the United States are on a permanent honeymoon, as they understand the same values in the same way. Nowadays, the neo-conservatives, having cornered conceptual supremacy in Washington (one of whom, the undersecretary for defense Wolsowitz, one of the most influential persons in Washington, is a member or former member of AIPAC), subscribed more than ever to the plans of Sharon. The question is what will happen when, as we mentioned previously, the tone changes in the United States, and the neo-conservatism switches to pure, more Bush senior-style conservatism, or if at some point it changes to a more reformist tendency such as that of the democrats. In this case AIPAC will probably change its tone without changing the music, and would very probably, in certain circumstances, try to convince Israel of the impossibility of getting the United States to yield in certain issues.

What does this mean? Basically that the members of AIPAC and other components of the pro Israel lobbies feel and are American, and will not go against the United States unless America embarked upon anything tantamount to an "abnormal" policy. For example, in the issue of the Jewish spy Jonathan Pollard, who supplied important information on Pentagon documents related to Syria and Iraq to Israel, the Jewish lobby took a different tack than Israel. The Jewish lobby, realizing that the Pollard was serious for the United States and that it would not be a good idea to go out of its way to have him released from prison, understood that it would be better to upset Israel rather than the government of the United States. At the moment, and as we mentioned, there is a lot of tension surrounding the roadmap between Bush and Sharon. The Jewish lobbies will work basically in Congress to secure the necessary pressure on Bush. A very clear recent example was the condemnation by Bush of the thwarted attempt to assassinate the leader of Hamas, Rentisi. It was not long before the voice of the American sensate was heard, and Bush was obliged to back down. This is where AIPAC does all its work, although as was already stated this is akin to preaching to the converted, since the senators, out of conviction, are a guarantee for Israel, which implies that the United States-Israel relationship is in essence a strong one, and probably came out even stronger after 11 September. As of that moment, in the eyes of any American citizen of the Mid West, i.e. "darkest America", the United States had the same right as Israel to chastise terrorists all over the world.

However, at the moment the most important aspect of the "Diaspora-nation state" equation is that now, more than in the past, we can augur that the Diaspora may eventually achieve more power and influence than the formal representatives of the actual state of Israel.

The Jewish lobbies and national Jewish organizations abroad

It should be clear to everyone that there is a world beyond the United States, and the Jewish Diaspora expanded to South America, Europe, specially in France, Australia, etc. However, nowhere else is there such an important and independent lobby for Israel than the United States. In the United States, the national institutions we mentioned above, namely the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization (WZO), do not actually operate. It is not that there are no branches of these organizations in the United States, but they do not have the importance they enjoy in other parts of the world. The Jewish Agency and the WZO represent the centrality of Israel for the Jewish world, and their task nowadays is to contribute to maintaining Judaism in the communities of the world, and to help future immigrants to Israel. As we know, as far as Israel is concerned, any Jew in the world is a potential immigrant and an immediate citizen in Israel. For this to take place, all the Jews in the world must keep their identity. This is done in different ways. Since religion, the visit to the synagogue, now lacks the clout it once had, the important thing is to help the Jewish communities to hold cultural activities in community centers, attend conferences on Judaism and the different aspects of the Jewish and Israeli life. The Jewish schools and lycées play a very important role, since, apart from covering the normal syllabus of any country, they provide complementary studies on Judaism, and more specifically the Hebrew language. The most outstanding country in terms of this community work is undoubtedly Argentina, particularly in the years of economic boom. In this country the Jewish community is organized in the AMIA (target by a terrorist act of the Hizbhala years ago) which deals with things related to community life, and represents the community before the local authorities. Besides the AMIA, there are the Zionist institutions that work inside the community and whose mission is to promote awareness of Israel and foster the immigration of Jews to Israel. The Zionist institutions collect funds assigned to social projects in Israel, although more specifically for the process of acclimatization and settling of the new immigrants. For example, these funds served to accommodate almost one million Russian Jews that settled in the last decade. At this moment in time, this money also serves to accommodate a part of the Argentinean community that leaves the country for economic reasons, and many of whom settle in Israel.

Another form of congregation are the community and sports centers that have prospered greatly in Argentina.

In Argentina, as occurs in most democratic countries, the Jewish lobby, organized in the Jewish institutions, has barely had to make an effort to secure support for the policies of Israel, since most of the Latin American governments have been very pro-Israel. However, there are also moments of tension, one of them being during the military dictatorship, when Israel was selling arms to the military regime, which was violating human rights. It was common knowledge that Jewish torture victims were treated twice as worse. This gave rise to a conflict of interests between Israel, a sovereign country, with its national interests, and the Jewish community, which could demand a different behavior, with special mention of Israel's mission in the world; to become the motherland and place of refuge for all Jews, wherever they are.

For me there is no doubt that the relationship of the Jewish lobby with the national authorities is much more difficult in countries such as Chile and France. In both countries, for example, the Arab community outnumbers the Jewish community, which means that the Jewish lobby is far less effective.

However, despite this drawback, the Jewish communities organize themselves and fight for their political space, working politically at all levels. In these communities, the lobby is organized through students, as this activity affords them room for activity and expression. In these communities the World Zionist Organization provides training material, sends representatives from Israel, both academic and political, who help to keep the flame of activity alive. Or in other words, while the possibility of directly influencing government policies are scant in places like France, people do get together because the aim is to keep the flame of identity burning.

This is really the final clause of this matter. Since religion (although it has recovered a certain relevance) no longer polarizes nor offers the levels of activity it once did, identity is kept alive via lobbies and the political activity. This has undoubtedly worked extremely well hitherto, not just because of the efficient organization but also because the specific history of the Jewish people, and specially the memory of the Holocaust, means that the flame of identity simply must be kept burning.

Basques residing out of Euskadi

José Ángel Gutiérrez and Marce Nasa (Behatoki, S.L.)

Introduction

This report shows the study conducted by Behatoki, s. l. Sociological and Market Studies, commissioned by the Director of Relations with Basque Associations of the General Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza, following a series of work meetings. This study was based on information and analysis collected in a survey administered to Basques residing outside of Spain.

The report is structured in five chapters:

– Introduction.

– Objectives of the study.

– Methodological design.

– Analysis of results.

– Overview of results.

We wish to extend our special thanks for the work carried out by Xabier Zubillaga, Director of the Argentine Basque Institute for Cooperation and Development; Izaskun Etxearte, Director of Eguzki, the Venezuelan Basque Institute for Cooperation; Koldo Atxutegi, Director of the Chilean Basque Foundation for Cooperation; Josu de Garritz, Director of the Mexican Basque Institute for Development; to the staff of both the General Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and the Office of Sociological Surveys of the Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza. We would also like to thank all of the Basque people residing abroad who helped develop the Atzeus Register by providing information by telephone or e-mail, or by sending in documentation (letters, photographs, legal documents, etc.) in the pre-paid envelopes provided.

Objectives of the study

Below is a brief explanation of the primary purpose and the specific objectives of the study.

Primary purpose

To create a register ('Atzeus Register') of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad as an essential instrument for the potential implementation of policies aimed at this population.

Specific objectives

– To establish the current residence of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad.
– To address the needs of Basque emigrants residing abroad.
– To construct sociodemographic profiles (marital status, number of children, level of education, etc.) of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad.
– To give consideration to the languages spoken by individuals of Basque origin residing abroad.

Methodological design

This chapter covers the most relevant elements used in designing this study, including measures put in practice by the Department of Relations with Basque Communities of the General Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza, as well as those implemented by Behatoki, s. l., the sociological and market studies firm commissioned to undertake the study.

Thus, this chapter focuses on two broad categories: first, an explanation of all of the procedures used to collect information from individual of Basque origin residing abroad, and secondly, the overall results of the operations; in other words, the reception of the surveys, unquestionably the most important part of this study.

Explanation of the operations implemented

In order to better understand the operations put to use in the study, eight items associated with the collection of information for the Atzeus Register were defined:

– Mailings.
– Survey characteristics.
– E-mail address.
– Telephone number.
– Fax number.
– Website.
– Information collected by Basque institutes in Argentina, Venezuela, Chile and Mexico.

Survey requirements

In response to numerous queries addressed to the General Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza, and in light of Act 8/1994, dated 27 May, which regulates the bodies in charge of relations with Basque Communities abroad, the Atzeus Register was created based on an ad hoc survey.

Survey-takers had to meet three prerequisites:

– Have been born in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (in the Historical Territories of Alava, Bizkaia or Gipuzkoa), or be a direct descendent thereof.
– Be a Spanish national or eligible for Spanish citizenship.
– Have permanent residence outside of Spain.

Mailings

The General Secretariat of the Presidency of the Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza sent out a series of mailings to people of Basque origin, who, according to its references, were currently residing abroad. An additional set of mailings was sent to Basque institutes in Argentina, Venezuela, Chile and Mexico, which served as partners in collecting information, as explained in detail later in this report.

The mailings included a letter of presentation signed by Mr. Iñaki Aguirre, Secretary General for Foreign Affairs of the Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza, and a set of four (4) complete surveys, each with its own pre-paid envelope.

The implicit logic behind this number of surveys was based on the potential for mobilizing informal communication network of the initial mailing recipient, whether it be the actual family – parents/grandparents or children/grandchildren – or a circle of friends that might include individuals of Basque origin.

The pre-paid envelope system, a tool commonly used in mail-based research since it encourages participants to return the requested information, was set into motion by the General Secretariat of the Presidency upon renting an international post office box in Bilbao. Behatoki, s.l. was responsible for collecting the incoming mail under authorization by the Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza.

Mailings were sent out in mid-December 2002. After a reasonable response period had elapsed, the first surveys mailed back to the post office box address arrived the second week of February 2003.

Survey characteristics

The survey used to create the Atzeus Register contained a total of twenty-eight (28) pieces of information, plus the survey-taker's full name and signature. The survey was divided into two broad areas: Part A – Place of Permanent Residence, and Part B – Personal Information.

In general terms, Part A, with a total of ten (10) items or questions oriented at actual residence, to a large extent corresponded to the objective of the Register, whilst Part B, with a total of eighteen (18) items or questions, focused more on sociological aspects, including demographics, language, economics and job-related matters.

Most of the questions asked in the survey were totally closed-ended, although a series of items in Part B allowed for the inclusion of other categories considered fundamental to each question.

Telephone number

In order to best attend to the potential Atzeus Register survey recipients, a telephone line was installed at the office of Behatoki, s.l. Survey respondents were provided with a toll-free number (+34) 94-4241569, and instructed in the letter of presentation to notify operators to reverse the charges.

The telephone was staffed continuously from 9:00 a.m. to 7:00 p.m. The greatest concentration of phone calls was placed during the first two months of the program (February and March), generally from 2:00 p.m. onwards, owing to time differences. Also due to the different time zones, it is likely that a significant number of phone calls went unattended; however, we feel that in general terms the service provided was satisfactory.

Fax number

Much the same as the telephone number provided, a fax number was made available as an alternative means of communication. The number was (+34) 94-4246089.

E-mail address

The international dissemination of information via e-mail is indisputably one of the most significant means of communication in recent times, paralleling the development of the Internet.

For this reason, ever since the project first got underway it seemed logical to generate an e-mail address specifically for the Atzeus Register as an additional channel of communication for potential participants. Part A of the survey included a space for the recipient's e-mail address, where applicable.

The e-mail address created was atzeus@ej-gv.es, which, as we point out in the next section, was used to a significant extent.

Website

The last of the technologies implemented for generating the Atzeus Register was the creation of specific online information included in the official website of the Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza.

By logging on to www.euskadi.net/euskaldunak and selecting Atzeus, a PDF file was made available for downloading. The file contained the same survey documents, including the letter of presentation, the survey itself and a postage printout which could be adhered to the envelope for pre-paid mailing.

Information collected by Basque institutes in Argentina, Venezuela, Chile and Mexico

Through the Department of Relations with Basque Communities, the Basque institutes in Argentina, Venezuela, Chile and Mexico were made part of in the Atzeus project. These offices are aware of the existence of persons of Basque origin residing in Argentina, Venezuela, Chile and Mexico, and were therefore able to collect information more directly.

In addition to the mail-based survey designed and conducted through the General Secretariat of the Presidency, in order to standardize the data recording procedure Behatoki, s. l. was coordinated the measures:

– Direct telephone contact with the directors of the four institutes in order to clarify the objectives and methodology.
– Configuration of a database in Access specifically designed for the project featuring a system for recording information that significantly reduces margins for error in closed-ended items.
– Sending the Atzeus Register database by e-mail to the addresses of the four institutes.
– Providing the four institutes with technical and methodological support throughout the information collection process.
– Reception at the office of Behatoki, s.l. of e-mails with attached databases generated by the four institutes.

As pointed out below, contributions by the four institutes were highly significant and timely. We would like to specially thank the Argentine Basque Institute for Cooperation and Development, the Venezuelan Basque Institute for Cooperation (Eguzki), and the Chilean Basque Foundation for Cooperation.

Results of the Operations

Table A below provides an overview of the results of the operations used in creating the Atzeus Register.

In general terms, the different channels of communication employed have yielded satisfactory results. As we can see in the table, the means clearly used the least was the fax. This can be explained by an unquestionable preference for the telephone, on the one hand, and the increasing use of e-mail, on the other.

Table A. Overview of the results of Atzeus Register operations. Totals and percentages. February-May, 2003

Category	*Total*	
	N	%
Surveys received by Behatoki, s.l.	7,472	58.5
Surveys by conducted by Basque Institute Argentina	3,647	28.5
Surveys by conducted by Basque Institute Venezuela	1,112	8.7
Surveys by conducted by Basque Institute Chile	422	3.3
Surveys by conducted by Basque Institute Mexico	127	1.0
Total Atezus Register Surveys	**12,780**	**100**
Number of calls attended	190	38.5
Number of e-mail responses	281	57.0
Number of faxes received	22	4.5
Other Atezus Register means of reception	**493**	**100**

In cursory terms, the vast majority of the telephone calls raised questions of methodology, for the most part how to respond to survey items. Callers also asked more general questions regarding the objectives of the register, although they also used the occasion to ask about different aspects of the Basque Country.

When queries went beyond the scope of Behatoki's activity with regard to the Atzeus Register, callers were provided with phone numbers and/or addresses where their concerns would be more appropriately addressed.

We should also underscore the extra information, both intangible (oral) and tangible (letters, photocopies of passports, birth certificates, etc.), collected through the different channels of information, especially the mail surveys. Due to its very nature, this information will obviously require specific individual analysis, which at this time goes beyond the objectives of the present study, oriented more toward quantitative and administrative data. Nevertheless, Behatoki, s. l. did take this material into account, recording and systemizing each piece of information, and attaching it to the corresponding survey as additional information included in the development of the Atzeus Register.

Lastly, Behatoki, s.l. finished recording results from the mail surveys, e-mails and telephone calls on 30 May 2003. However, the three channels of communication remained in operation, and therefore Behatoki continued to receive and compile the incoming information. In research projects of this type the pace of the people or organization conducting a study is never the same as the subjects. In this case, however, it seemed important not to shut down the flow of what was clearly significant data.

This leads us to a fundamental aspect of the Atzeus Register, which should be taken into consideration when assessing the information presented below. In addition to establishing an end date for the inclusion of information used in the study, it *is also important to point out that the Atzeus Register are not like a census in that "registration" and survey reception are absolutely voluntary.*

As pointed out earlier, the methods and operations used to contact Basques residing outside of Spain were exhaustive. However, although it may seem obvious, it is important to remind readers that the study did not reach every Basque individual residing abroad.

Analysis of results

This chapter focuses on analyzing the results of the Atzeus Register. The analysis is divided into four broad sections:

1. Summary of overall survey results.
2. Summary of results by type of emigrant.
3. Summary of results by knowledge of Euskara
4. Summary of results by primary employment.

Overall results

This first section of the analysis presents the global results of the Atzeus Register – covering all of the surveys received – based on each question or item included in the survey.

We should first point out that although a total of 12,780 individuals took part in study, the number of responses to each question varies. There are two reasons for this: some survey respondents failed to answer all of the questions in the survey; and a series of restrictions were established by the Behatoki, s. l. team upon analyzing each of the questions.

Country of residence

Naturally, the first result revealed the residence of persons of Basque origin. In *table 1* we can see that according to the Atzeus Register individuals of Basque origin currently reside in eighty-three (83) countries.

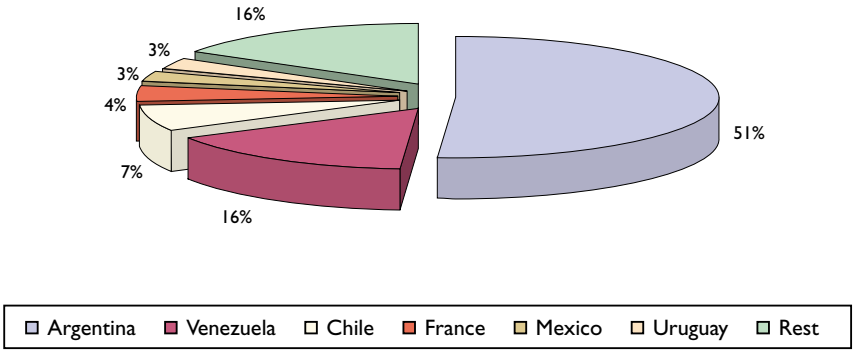
Table 1. Countries of residence of Basques residing abroad. Totals and Percentages. Atzeus Register. February-May, 2003 (in alphabetical order)

Country	Total		Country	Total	
	N	%		N	%
Germani	124	0.97	Italy	111	0.87
Andorra	13	0.10	Japan	6	0.05
Algeria	7	0.05	Kenya	2	0.02
Argentina	6,457	50.52	Luxembourg	10	0.08
Australia	70	0.55	Madagascar	2	0.02
Austria	9	0.07	Mali	1	0.01
Bahamas	1	0.01	Morocco	14	0.11
Belgium	133	1.04	Mauritania	1	0.01
Bolivia	32	0.25	Mexico	430	3.36
Brazil	118	0.92	Mozambique	1	0.01
Burkina Faso	3	0.02	Nicaragua	18	0.14
Cameroon	4	0.03	Nigeria	2	0.02
Canada	79	0.62	Norway	4	0.03
Chad	2	0.02	New Zealand	1	0.01
Chile	905	7.08	Oceania	2	0.02
China	1	0.01	Low Countries	3	0.02
Cyprus	1	0.01	Panama	6	0.05
Colombia	90	0.70	Paraguay	9	0.07
Congo	10	0.08	Peru	102	0.80
South Korea	4	0.03	Poland	1	0.01
Ivory Coast	3	0.02	Portugal	18	0.14
Costa Rica	10	0.08	Puerto Rico	9	0.07
Cuba	86	0.67	United Kingdom	190	1.49
Denmark	6	0.05	Czech Republic	1	0.01
Ecuador	27	0.21	Dominican Republic	21	0.16
Egypt	1	0.01	Romania	1	0.01
El Salvador	25	0.20	Russia	109	0.85
Scotland	2	0.02	Rwanda	1	0.01
Spain	1	0.01	Serbia and Montenegro	1	0.01
United States	225	1.76	Sri Lanka	1	0.01
Philippines	27	0.21	South Africa	4	0.03
France	466	3.65	Sweden	8	0.06
Greece	17	0.13	Switzerland	95	0.74
Guatemala	22	0.17	Swaziland	1	0.01
Equatorial Guinea	3	0.02	Thailand	2	0.02
Haiti	2	0.02	Taiwan	1	0.01
Netherlands	36	0.28	Tunisia	6	0.05
Honduras	2	0.02	Ukraine	8	0.06
Hungary	3	0.02	Uganda	1	0.01
India	5	0.04	Uruguay	417	3.26
Indonesia	3	0.02	Venezuela	2,098	16.42
Ireland	26	0.20	**Total**	12,780	1

The second most relevant piece of information shown here is the predominance of Basques in Argentina, accounting for 50.52% of a total of 6,457 individuals. Undoubtedly, the magnitude of survey-takers in Argentina, to a large extent, determined by the very operational logic implemented in creating the Atzeus Register, since the Argentine Basque Institute for Cooperation and Development, the Venezuelan Basque Institute for Cooperation (Eguzki), the Chilean Basque Foundation for Cooperation, and the Mexican Basque Institute for Development were also involved in the direct collection of data.

The other results in *table 1* and *graph 1* also show that 16.42% of the survey respondents reside in Venezuela (n=2,098), 7.08% in Chile (n=905) and 3.36% in Mexico (n=430).

Graph 1. Countries of residence of Basques residing abroad. Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



Following these four countries, three sub-groups are defined. Firstly, at the same level as Mexico, are two (2) countries with a significant number of residents of Basque origin – France and Uruguay – France with a total of 466, or 3.65% of the total participants, and Uruguay with 417 or 3.26%.

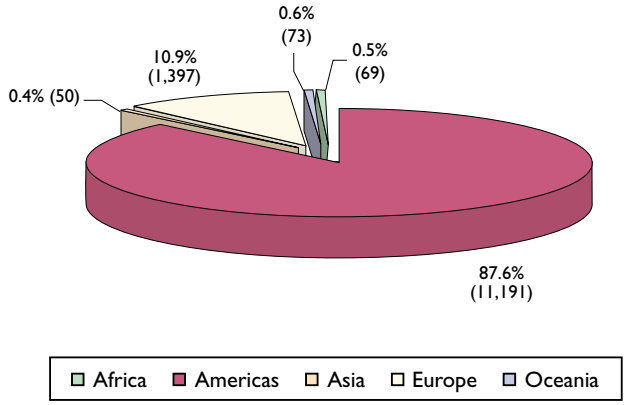
In second place is another sub-group comprising eight (8) countries with more than one hundred (100) residents of Basque origin. These countries are: United States with 225 survey-takers (1.76%), United Kingdom with 190 (1.49%), Belgium with 133 (1.04%), Germany with 124 (0.97%), Brazil with 118 (0.92%), Italy with 111 (0.87%), Russia with 109 (0.85%), and Peru with 102 (0.80%).

The third sub-group includes a total of five (5) countries with more than seventy (70) participants: Switzerland, with 95 (0.74%), Colombia with 90 (0.70%), Cuba with 86 (0.67%), Canada with 79 (0.62%), and Australia with 70 (0.55%).

The sixty-four (64) remaining countries account for less than (40) survey-takers, distributed between countries on different continents.

Graph 2 shows results grouped into five continents. Without losing sight of the operations mentioned earlier, we can see a predominance of individuals of Basque origin taking part in the Atzeus Register in the Americas – 87.6%, accounting for a total of 11.191 people.

Graph 2. Countries of residence of Basques residing abroad by continent. Totals and Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



Falling behind North and South America is the number of Basques residing in Europe, with 10.9% of the total, or 1,397 participants. Even fewer is the number of Basques residing in Oceania, Africa and Asia, with 0.6% (n=73), 0.5% (n=69) and 0.4% (n=50) respectively.

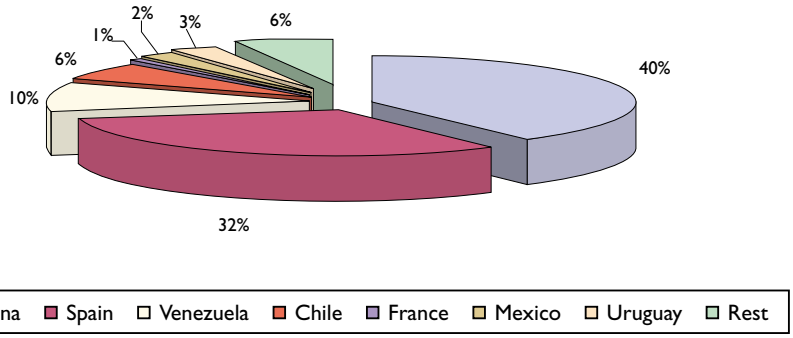
Country of birth

After learning about the country of residence of survey respondents, the following information addresses place of birth. *Table 2* shows a total of forty-nine (49) different countries of birth.

Table 2. Countries of birth of Basques residing abroad. Totals and Percentages. Atzeus Register. February-May, 2003 (in alphabetical order)

Country	Total		Country	Total	
	N	%		N	%
Germani	34	0.27	Netherlands	12	0.09
Andorra	3	0.02	Indonesia	2	0.02
Algeria	5	0.04	Ireland	9	0.07
Argentina	5,519	40.39	Israel	1	0.01
Australia	11	0.09	Italy	22	0.17
Austria	1	0.01	Luxembourg	1	0.01
Belgium	42	0.33	Morocco	7	0.05
Bolivia	16	0.13	Mexico	296	2.32
Brazil	61	0.48	Nicaragua	12	0.09
Canada	32	0.25	Panama	5	0.04
Chile	732	5.73	Paraguay	5	0.04
Colombia	54	0.42	Peru	59	0.46
Costa Rica	5	0.04	Portugal	7	0.05
Cuba	67	0.52	Puerto Rico	15	0.12
Denmark	2	0.02	United Kingdom	37	0.29
Ecuador	13	0.10	Dominican Republic	4	0.03
El Salvador	12	0.09	Russia	62	0.49
Spain	4,046	31.68	Serbia and Montenegro	1	0.01
United States	50	0.39	Sweden	2	0.02
Philippines	25	0.20	Switzerland	36	0.28
France	142	1.11	Tunisia	3	0.02
Greece	10	0.08	Ukraine	2	0.02
Guatemala	13	0.10	Uruguay	318	2.49
Equatorial Guinea	2	0.02	Venezuela	1,317	10.31
Haiti	1	0.01	*Total*	12,773	1

Graph 3. Countries of birth of Basques residing abroad. Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



To a certain extent, figures are similar to the data on place of residence. Thus, *graph 3* shows that 40.39%, or 5,159 people, were born in Argentina. The second largest group comprises individuals born in Spain, with a total of 31.68% or 4,046.[1] Persons of Basque origin born in Venezuela follow in third place, at 10.31%, or 1,317 survey respondents; Chile is fourth with 5.73%, or 732.

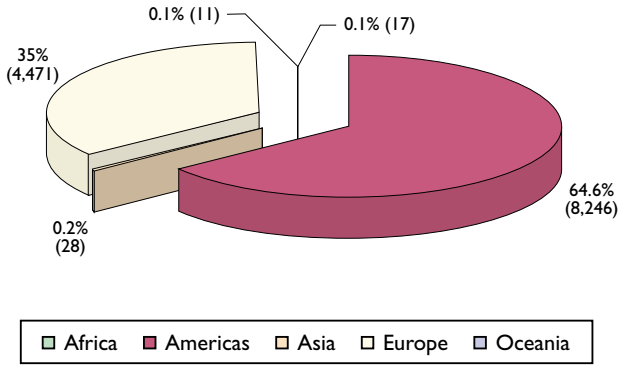
A second group of countries ranging from 140 to 320 survey-takers includes Uruguay with 318, or 2.49% of the total; Mexico with 296, or 2.32%; and in last place France with 142, accounting for 1.11% of the total.

The countries of birth of between 30 and 75 participants make up a final sub-group, which comprises the following nine (9) countries: Cuba with 67 survey-takers (0.52%), Russia 62 (0.49%), Brazil 61 (0.48%), Peru 59 (0.46%), United States 50 (0.39%), Belgium 42 (0.33%), Germany 34 (0.27%), Switzerland 36, (0.28%), and in last place Canada with 32 (0.25%).

Graph 4 shows the distinct presence of survey respondents born in Spain, virtually all first-generation Basques. This accounts for the lower concentration of Basques born in North and South America (8,246 individuals, or 64.6%) and a greater presence of individuals of Basque origin born in Europe taking part in the Atzeus Register (4,471, or 35% of the total).

As we can see, Basques born in countries in Asia, Africa and Oceania account for less than 0.5% of the total.

Graph 4. Countries of birth of Basques residing abroad by continent. Totals and Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



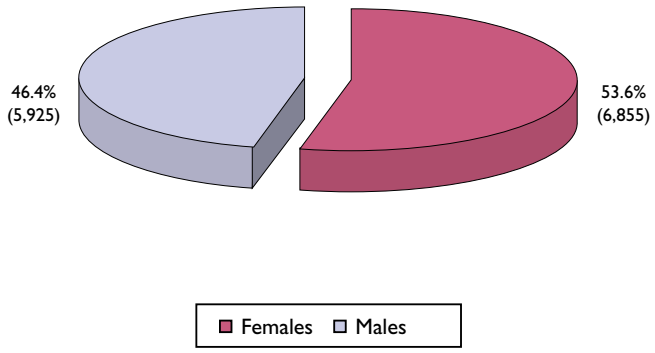
[1] The survey was designed such that question number B02 asked only about place of birth. This open-ended question resulted in some people providing the name of a city or town, a Historical Territory, or both. When this information was processed, a single code was entered for Spain.

In future studies, whether begun from scratch or based on the operations and data derived from the Atzeus Register, knowing the town and Historical Territory where Basques were born, particularly first-generation emigrants, may be highly relevant from several points of view.

Gender

Graph 5 shows that 930 more women participated in the Atzeus Register than did men – 6,855, (53.6%) compared to 5,925 (46.4%).

Graph 5. Gender of Basques residing abroad. Totals and Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



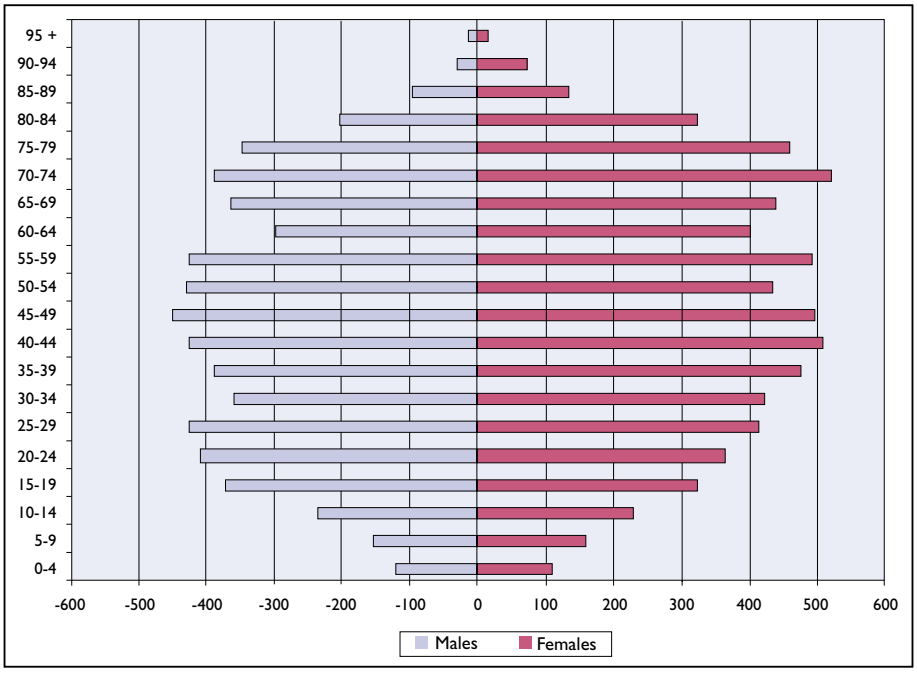
Age pyramid

The average age of individuals taking part in the Atzeus Register was 46.94; for women the average was just over three years greater than for men: 48.40 compared to 45.27. This fact yet again denotes the generally longer life span among women.

In *Graph 6* we can see that from the age of 65 onward, women increasingly outnumber men, and that the difference becomes even more evident at 75 years of age.

Graph 6 also shows the population pyramid for Basques residing abroad by gender and age cohorts in five year increments. Individuals under the age of 25 account for 19.5% of the total (n=2,483) population; 25-44 year olds for 26.8% of the total (n=3,413); 45-64 year olds for 26.9% (n=3,426); and over 65s for the remaining 26.7% (n=3,402).

Graph 6. Age pyramid for Basques residing abroad. Totals. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



Based on the overall information on age structure of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad who took part in the Atzeus Register, it seems appropriate to explain the sociological profile of the two extremes: the youngest and the oldest.

To this end, of the 12,780 cases recorded for Atzeus, the *oldest* person of Basque origin residing abroad is a woman born in Spain on April 10th 1903, making her a 100-year old, first-generation Basque. She lives in Argentina, is widowed, has two children and lives on retirement benefits.

The *youngest* person of Basque origin residing abroad is a four-month-old male (as of July), born in Venezuela on March 7th 2003, making him a third-generation Basque emigrant.

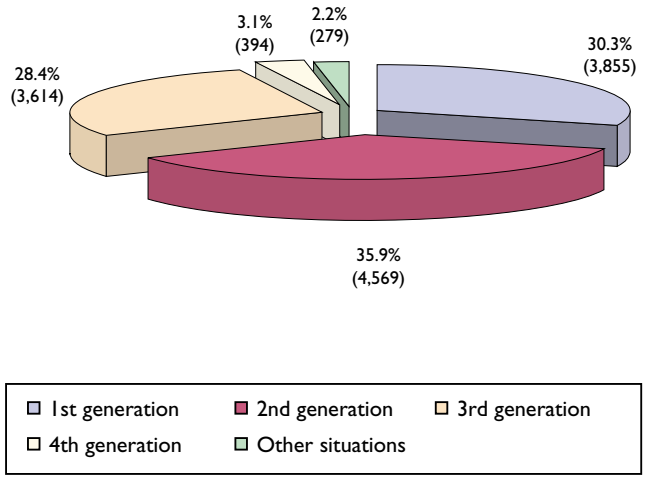
Type of emigrant

More detailed analysis of this highly significant variable will be provided later; however, graph 7 gives a breakdown of the 12,711 people taking part in the Atzeus Register who responded to this item.

Results are quite evenly distributed among first-, second- and third-generation emigrants. The numbers drop significantly for fourth-generation emigrants and other situations.

Second-generation emigrants account for 36% of the total, or 4,569 cases. First-generation emigrants follow closely behind with 30.3%, or 3,855 cases. In third place are the third-generation emigrants, making up 28.4%, or a total of 3,614 cases.

Graph 7. Type of Basque emigrant residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



As we have pointed out, the 394 fourth-generation emigrants make up 3.1% of the total, while 279, or 2.2% of the cases fit into other situations. For the most part, these individuals are members of the family household related to persons of Basque origin (husbands/wives).

Much the same as in the age structure, we feel it worthwhile to point out the basic sociological profile of the oldest first-, second-, third- and fourth-generation Basque emigrants.

Once again, the 100-year old woman born in Spain on April 10th 1903, residing in Argentina, widow, with two children and living on retirement benefits is the oldest first-generation Basque.

The oldest second-generation Basque emigrant is a woman born in Argentina in 1905, resident of Argentina, widow with seven children and living on retirement benefits.

The oldest third-generation Basque emigrant is a female born in Argentina in 1907, resident of Argentina, married with three children and living on retirement benefits.

Lastly, the oldest fourth-generation Basque emigrant is a male born in Venezuela in 1915, resident of Venezuela, married with four children and living on retirement benefits.

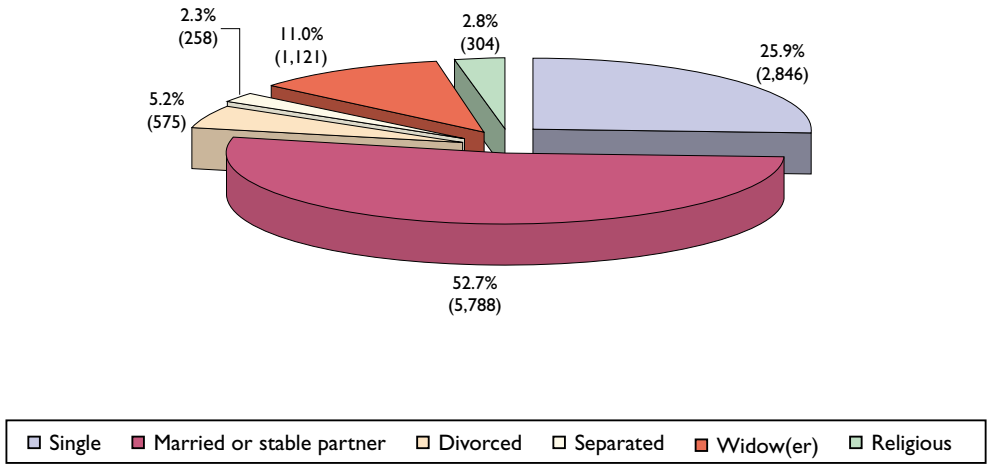
Marital status

Graph 8 shows the results for marital status. In order to better interpret results in this category, individuals born after 1984 were not included. Thus, aware of the relative importance of marital status, only individuals over the age of 18, a total of 10,982, were included.

52.7% (5,788 cases) of the total number of persons of Basque origin residing abroad are either married or living with a stable partner; 25.9% (2,846 cases) of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad are single.

11% or 1,211 are widows and widowers, which correlates with the age structure of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad. Lastly, in relative terms, the number of members of religious orders is certainly worth underscoring: a total of 304 cases, accounting for 2.8% of all survey respondents.

Graph 8. Marital status of Basques residing abroad (born before 1984, aged 18 or older). Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



Number of children

Table 3 shows the number of children of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad. In this category, just like with marital status, it was decided that individuals born after 1984 would not be included for the sake of better interpretation of results; thus, only persons aged 18 or older were taken into consideration.

Based on the total number of cases recorded, the average number of children per person over the age of 18 is 1.55. A larger percentage of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad do not have children, 34.53% (n=3,772), followed by 26.74% (n=2,921) with two children.

Two noteworthy cases include one person with 13 children and another with 12.

Table 3. Number of children of Basques residing abroad (born before 1984, aged 18 or older). Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Number of children	Total	
	N	%
0	3,772	34.53
1	1,575	14.42
2	2,921	26.74
3	1,693	15.50
4	617	5.65
5	207	1.89
6	78	0.71
7	35	0.32
8	11	0.10
9	4	0.04
10	3	0.03
11	7	0.06
12	1	0.01
13	1	0.01
Total	**10,925**	**100**
Average	**1,55**	

Residence status at the Atzeus Register survey mailing address

Table 4 deals with the nature of the mailing address where the Atzeus Register survey package was sent. This information is clearly relevant in administrative terms, but another fact can also be deduced from this aspect: the degree of circulation of the Atzeus Register from the initial mailing address to the final response or reception of the survey.

In view of the results, two factors can be deduced. In the first place, just over half of the surveys were completed in the permanent place of residence of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad. Among other considerations, this denotes two things: that in general terms the mailing system set into motion at the beginning of the project by the General Secretariat of the Presidency of the Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza was properly oriented, and that the job of collecting information performed by the Basque institutes in Argentina, Venezuela and Chile was also directly aimed at households as a source of data.

Table 4. Residence status of Basques residing abroad at the survey mailing address. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Residence status	Total	
	N	%
Permanent residence	6,431	51.2
Temporary residence	667	5.3
Never resides at this address	793	6.3
Did not receive survey by mail	4,676	37.2
Total	**12,567**	**100**

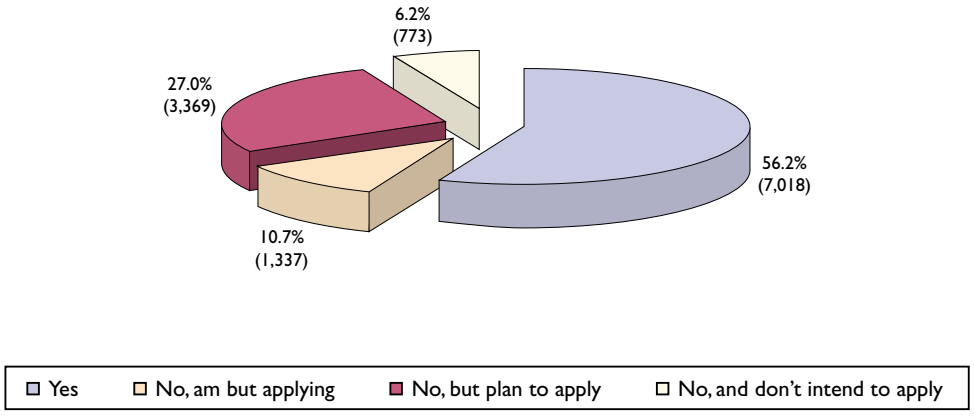
The second of the two factors is the number of cases, both in terms of absolute figures (4,676 individuals) and percentage (37.2% of the total), who participated in the Atzeus Register without having received the mail-based survey at their permanent place of residence. Among several other considerations, once again this denotes that the degree of circulation and, to a certain extent, the interest brought about by the Atzeus Register were significant. It also confirms the suitability of the operations implemented in creating the Atzeus Register — sending four sets of surveys in the original mailings, the role of the Basque institutes in the countries mentioned earlier, and the option of accessing the survey by e-mail or downloading it from the website.

Spanish nationality

Graph 9 shows that 56.2% of the total (12.497), or 7,018 survey-takers, are Spanish nationals. [2]

At some distance, accounting for 27% of the total, or 3,369 individuals, are non-Spanish nationals who plan to apply for citizenship. In third place at 10.7% were the 1,337 cases who at the time of completing the survey were in the process of obtaining Spanish citizenship.

Graph 9. Spanish nationality among Basques residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



In summary, a total of 11,724 individuals (4% of the total) were either already Spanish nationals, were in the process of applying for Spanish citizenship, or intend to do so.

Nationality other than Spanish

Table 5 presents the results of the survey question which served as a basis for creating the Atzeus Register. The aim was to find out whether individuals of Basque origin residing abroad were citizens of countries other than Spain, were in the process of applying for citizenship of those countries, or had any intention of doing so.

For reasons that are unclear, the level of response for this question was among the lowest in the survey. This item was left blank more than question B16, which addressed average income levels and was therefore expected to obtain the lowest level of response. One explanation for this might be that the question was not clearly phrased and that it would have elicited more responses had it been adequately explained. For example, the different nationalities of birth were not listed, even in cases where survey respondents did not hold Spanish citizenship.

[2] Survey respondents who claimed to be Spanish nationals were asked to include their passport number and letter. Although this field was properly completed by the vast majority of participants, a few irregularities should be pointed out: some survey-takers failed to include the letter at the end of their passport number, and some passport numbers had more than the official nine digits, etc.

Table 5. Nationality other than Spanish of Basques residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Nationality other than Spanish	*Total*	
	N	*%*
Yes	4,946	60.7
No, but am applying	43	0.5
No, but play to apply	158	1.9
No, and don't plan to apply	3,000	36.8
Total	**8,417**	**100**

In any event, we can see that 60.7% of the cases (4,946 individuals) are nationals of countries other than Spain, and 36.8% (n= 3,000) neither hold Spanish citizenship nor intend to apply.

Table 6. Nationality other than Spanish of Basques residing abroad Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register. February-May, 2003 (in alphabetical order)

Country	*Total*		*Country*	*Total*	
	N	*%*		*N*	*%*
Germany	38	0.77	Honduras	1	0.02
Andorra	2	0.04	Hungary	3	0.06
Algeria	3	0.06	Ireland	7	0.14
Argentina	1.018	20.62	Italy	95	1.92
Australia	52	1.05	Lebanon	1	0.02
Belgium	33	0.67	Morocco	6	0.12
Bolivia	16	0.32	Mexico	291	5.89
Brazil	61	1.24	Nicaragua	14	0.28
Canada	59	1.19	Panama	3	0.06
Chile	610	12.35	Paraguay	3	0.06
Colombia	39	0.79	Peru	55	1.11
Costa Rica	2	0.04	Poland	1	0.02
Croacia	3	0.06	Portugal	10	0.20
Cuba	40	0.81	United Kingdom	28	0.57
Denmark	3	0.06	Dominican Rep.	4	0.08
Ecuador	12	0.24	Rep. of San Marino	1	0.02
El Salvador	10	0.20	Russia	93	1.88
United States	113	2.29	Sweden	3	0.06
Philippines	15	0.30	Switzerland	39	0.79
France	122	2.47	Ukraine	7	0.14
Greece	8	0.16	Uruguay	237	4.80
Guatemala	14	0.28	Venezuela	1.748	35.40
Netherlands	15	0.30	***Total***	**4.938**	**100**

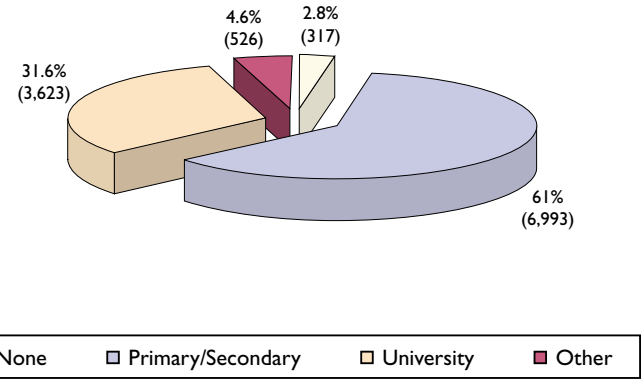
Table 6 shows the nationalities of survey respondents who reported to be citizens of countries other than Spain, or were in the process of applying for Spanish citizenship (4,959 cases). The results show that 35.40% were Venezuelan nationals, followed by Argentina with 20.62% of the total.

Level of education

Graph 10 shows the level of education of all of the subjects included in the Atzeus Register. The total number of individuals in this graph, 11.459, does not include persons born after 1988, since it is assumed that they are still in the period of compulsory education.

Thus, the highest level of schooling completed for 61% of the survey respondents (n= 3,623) was primary/secondary education. At some distance, the highest level of education for 31.6% (n=3.623) of the participants was university level. Lastly, we should point out the number of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad with no formal education, 2.8% (n=317).

Graph 10. Level of education of Basques residing abroad (born before 1988). Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



Language

Five (5) language options were included in the Atzeus Register survey: Spanish, Euskara, English, French and Other Languages.

Survey respondents were asked to rate their level of language knowledge according to one of three categories: Fluent, Limited, None. We are aware that participants may have different perceptions of their levels of knowledge for each of these languages, particularly those not used as primary languages spoken at home.

A more detailed analysis of knowledge level is provided for Spanish, Euskara, English, French and Other Languages in both absolute terms and percentages. However, a separate section of this report will concentrate on analyzing the results of knowledge of Euskara and the characteristics of the individuals who claim to speak it.

Table 7 shows that 97.3% of the cases (n=12,401) consider themselves fluent in Spanish.

Table 7. Knowledge of Spanish among Basques residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Spanish	*Total*	
	N	%
Fluent	12,401	97.3
Limited	242	1.9
none	98	0.8
Total	**12,741**	**100**

Conversely, table 8 shows that 79.3% of the cases (n=10,109) have no knowledge of Euskara, 13.6% (n=1.733) have limited knowledge, and the remaining 7.1% (n=899) are fluent in Euskara.

Table 8. Knowledge of Euskara among Basques residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Euskara	*Total*	
	N	%
Fluent	899	7.1
Limited	1,733	13.6
none	10,109	79.3
Total	**12,741**	**100**

Table 9 presents data on the levels of knowledge of English. Here we can see that while a little over half of the survey-takers have no knowledge (n=6.431), the other half, are either fluent in English (25.9%, or 3,295) or have a limited knowledge of the language (23.7%, or 3,105).

Table 9. Knowledge of English among Basques residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

English	*Total*	
	N	%
Fluent	3,295	25.9
Limited	3,015	23.7
none	6,431	50.5
Total	**12,741**	**100**

Knowledge of French was similar to knowledge of Euskara. 78.7% of the cases (n=10,026) have no knowledge of the language, 11.1% (n=1,420) have limited knowledge and the remaining 10.2% (n=1,295) are fluent in French.

Table 10. Knowledge of French among Basques residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

French	*Total*	
	N	%
Fluent	1,295	10.2
Limited	1,420	11.2
none	10,026	78.7
Total	**12,741**	**100**

1,525 survey-takers, or nearly 12% of the total, indicated that they had knowledge of languages other than Spanish, Euskara, English or French. The predominant language was Italian, spoken by 30.1% of survey respondents, followed by Portuguese, spoken by 23.5%, German, with 19.3% and Russian, 9%. With

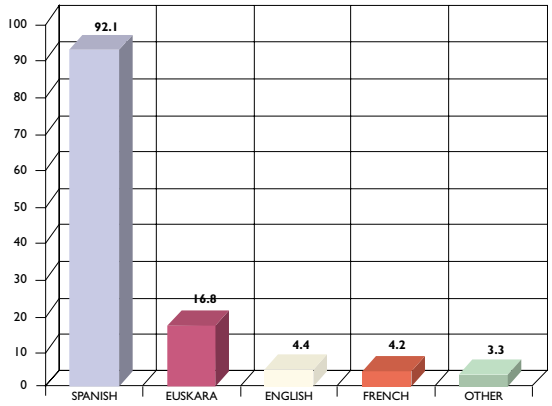
the exception of German, knowledge of these different languages does not only apply to people living in the countries where they are officially spoken. The phenomenon can also be explained by more complex migratory processes and the blending of cultures and languages, most particularly Italian in Argentina and Portuguese in Uruguay.

In summary, we can see a predominance of fluency in Spanish, followed by English, French and Euskara.

Native language(s)

Graph 11 presents the overall results of the question aimed at determining the mother tongue or tongues spoken in the home from an early age by persons of Basque origin residing abroad.

Graph 11. Native language(s) spoken by Basques residing abroad. Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



Taking into account the possibility of multiple answers — two languages or more — we can see that 92.1% of the total number of responses to this question (12,737), reported Spanish to be their native language, or one of their native languages in the case of more than one mother tongue.

At a distant second place, with just under 16.8% of the total, 2,144 people stated that Euskara was their native language or included it as one of their mother tongues.

English and French came in third with very similar figures: 4.4% and 4.2% respectively.

In last place, the table shows that 3.3% of survey-takers considered others to be their native language(s). Of the 415 people who specified other native language(s), 20% each went to Russian, German and Portuguese.

Table 11 presents additional yet equally significant information. Here we can see more than one native language resulting from migration, combining the native language in the country of origin and the predominant language in country of destination.

Spanish was at the top of the Atzeus Register as the only native language spoken by 74% of Basques residing abroad. 9.1% of survey-takers reported a combination of Spanish and Euskara as their native languages, while 6.1 stated Euskara to be their sole native language.

Other combinations were Spanish-English (3%) and Spanish-French (2.3%); a minority of cases, although no less relevant, combined three languages, two of which were Spanish and Euskara.

Table 11. Native language(s) spoken by Basques residing abroad (combinations). Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

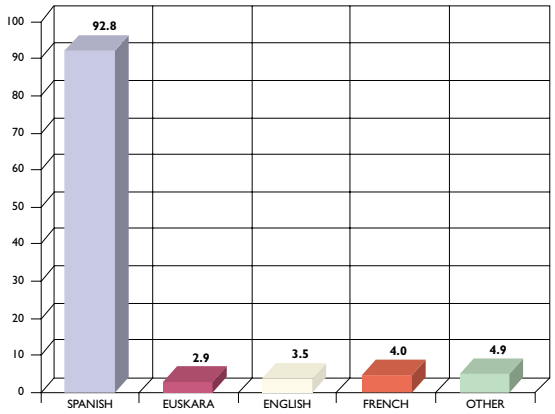
Native language(s)	*Total*	
	N	%
Spanish	9,412	73.9
Euskara	777	6.1
English	48	0.4
French	49	0.4
Other	95	0.7
Spanish + Euskara	1,157	9.1
Spanish + English	379	3.0
Spanish + French	291	2.3
Spanish + Other	222	1.7
Spanish, Euskara + French	93	0.7
Spanish, Euskara + English	39	0.3
Spanish, Euskara + Other	1	0.0
Spanish, English + French	40	0.3
Euskara + French	14	0.1
Euskara + English	10	0.1
Euskara + Other	4	0.0
Other options + Euskara	49	0.4
Other options	57	0.4
Total	**12,737**	**100**

Primary language(s) spoken at home

The third and last of the language-related questions in the Atzeus survey deals with the primary languages spoken in the household of persons of Basque origin residing abroad.

Although this was not a multiple response question some survey respondents again gave more than one answer. *Graph 12* shows that 92.8%, or 11,818 survey respondents, considered Spanish to be one of the primary languages spoken in their homes.

Graph 12. Primary language(s) spoken in the household of Basques residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



The other languages are relegated to a subordinate position, yet significant nonetheless. It is worth pointing out that Euskara is in last place, with 368 cases, or 2.9%, trailing behind English, French and Other Languages, which takes second place with 4.9%.

As we can see, in 4.9% of the cases another language is spoken in the home. This is closely linked to the figures for native languages, accounting for approximately 20% each for German, Portuguese, Russian and Italian as the primary languages spoken in the homes of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad.

Along the same lines as for native language(s), *table 12* shows the most significant combinations of primary languages spoken in the home. Once again, Spanish is at the forefront, at levels even higher than those seen for native language; 85.5% of respondents reported Spanish to be the only primary language spoken in the family household.

Likewise, in cases where two languages were considered primary, Spanish was one of them, combined with either French, English, Euskara or Other Languages (the latter of which includes German).

Although a more in-depth analysis of Euskara is provided later, we should point out here that only 1% of respondents (n=125) reported Basque to be the sole primary language spoken in the home. When combined with other languages, preferably Spanish, the number rose to 243, or 2%.

Table 12. Primary language(s) spoken in the household of Basques residing abroad (combinations). Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Primary language(s) in home	*Total*	
	N	%
Spanish	10,883	85.4
Euskara	125	1.0
English	180	1.4
French	235	1.8
Other	307	2.4
Spanish + Euskara	194	1.5
Spanish + English	227	1.8
Spanish + French	230	1.8
Spanish + Other	264	2.1
Euskara + French	17	0.1
Euskara + English	15	0.1
Euskara + Other	9	0.1
Other options + Euskara	8	0.1
Other options	43	0.3
Total	**12,737**	**100**

Disability

Table 13 indicates the number of disabled individuals of Basque origin residing abroad, independently of the degree of disability. A total of 907 survey respondents, or 7.1% claim some degree of disability.

Table 13. Disability among Basques residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Disability	*Total*	
	N	%
Yes	907	7.1
No	11,873	92.9
Total	**12,780**	**100**

Average monthly household income

Another source of information is the average monthly income of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad.

Considering the number of different currencies and standards of living, a decision was made regarding the design of the survey to standardize the responses based on the United States dollar. The primary reason for this is because it serves as a macro- and micro-economic indicator of the first order in the Americas, where the bulk of this study was concentrated. Accordingly, eleven (11) different economic brackets were defined, ranging from less than US$100 to more than US$1,000.

The survey was designed to ask survey respondents to report the total income of the entire household rather than their own personal earnings, and to indicate the different sources of such income.

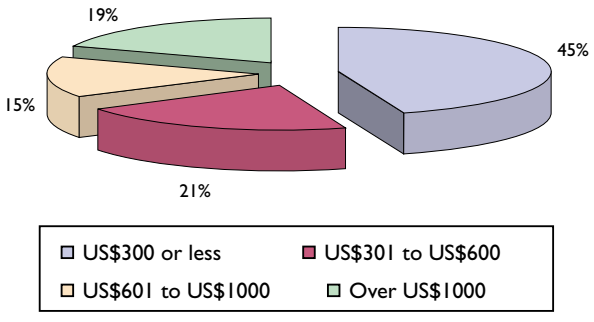
Without disregarding any possible cases which may have reduced the amounts based on the final objectives of the Atzeus Register, *table 14* shows greater concentrations at both ends: 19.3% of households (n=2,182) reported incomes of over US$1,000, while 16.2% (n=1,835) reported incomes of under US$100.

Table 14. Monthly income per household of Basques residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Monthly Income	*Total*	
	N	*%*
US$100 or less	1,835	16.2
US$101 to US$200	1,664	14.7
US$201 to US$300	1,546	13.7
US$301 to US$400	1,076	9.5
US$401 to US$500	713	6.3
US$501 to US$600	624	5.5
US$601 to US$700	424	3.7
US$701 to US$800	372	3.3
US$801 to US$900	291	2.6
US$901 to US$1000	595	5.3
Over US$1000	2,182	19.3
Total	**11,322**	**100**

Perhaps even more relevant is the data presented in *graph 13*, which shows that 45% of the cases (n=5,045) indicated a level of income per household of US$300 or less.

Graph 13. Monthly income per household of Basques residing abroad (by income brackets). Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



A geographical dimension has been added to the data in table 15, where average monthly income per household is broken down by country. To do this each bracket or interval had to be assigned an exact number based on the mean(with the possible deviations this might imply). A separate category — "remaining countries" — was created for countries with lesser representation among survey-takers.

The average income per household for all of the cases recorded is US$479.31, with five countries falling below this level: Cuba, Russia, Argentina, Uruguay and Colombia; Peru and Venezuela come in slightly above the average.

Table 15. Average income per household of Basques residing abroad. Average income. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Country	*Total Average Income*
Switzerland	971.25
Germany	958.25
Belgium	916.36
United States	910.75
United Kingdom	901.66
Canada	876.39
Italy	864.46
France	834.72
Australia	796.43
Mexico	756.63
Other	679.30
Chile	598.03
Brazil	550.90
Venezuela	520.40
Peru	502.17
Average	**479.31**
Colombia	472.78
Uruguay	402.78
Argentina	340.55
Russia	182.04
Cuba	103.42

Primary employment

The last item in the survey addressed the different types of occupations among individuals of Basque origin residing abroad. A list of a total of twelve (12) occupational categories was drawn up, designed to standardize the potentially wide array of options.

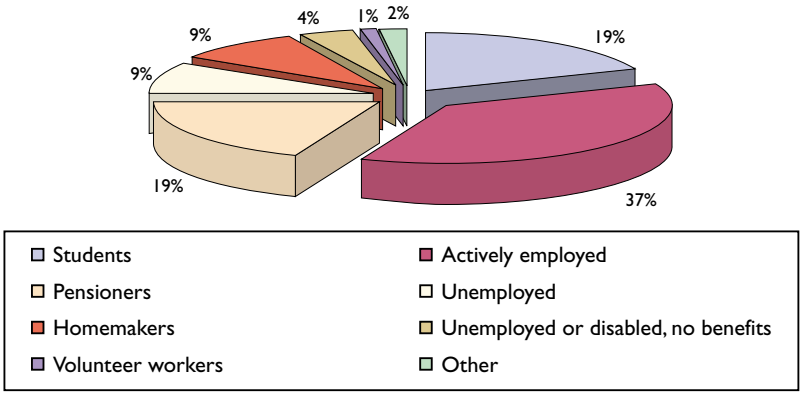
The results are broken down in greater detail below. However, *table 16* presents the four primary types of employment: salary or wage earners, representing 22.7% of the cases (n=2,863); students, 18.6% (n=2,341); self-employed workers, 14.8% (n=1,865); and, lastly, people living on widow's or orphan's pensions, accounting for 14.2% of the responses (n=1,786).

Table 16. Primary occupation among Basques residing abroad. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Primary Occupation	*Total*	
	N	%
Student	2,341	18.6
Self-employed	1,865	14.8
Wage or salary earner	2,863	22.7
Volunteer work	129	1.0
Recipient of unemployment benefits	104	0.8
Unemployed, not collecting benefits	1,026	8.1
Homemaker	1,162	9.2
Recipient of disability benefits	166	1.3
Recipient of widow's or orphan's benefits	1,786	14.2
Recipient of retirement or pre-retirement benefits	420	3.3
Retiree or disabled, not collecting benefits	528	4.2
Other situations	217	1.7
Total	**12,607**	**100**

Graph 14 shows that 37.5% of the total were actively working (salary or wage earners, and self-employed workers); 18.8% pensioners (receiving disability, widow's, orphan's, retirement or early retirement benefits); 18.6% students; 9.2% homemakers; nearly 9% unemployed (collecting unemployment benefits or not); and 4.2% retired or disabled people who did not receive financial benefits of any kind. In even more succinct terms, 50.8% were not working and 46.5% were actively employed.

Graph 14. Primary occupation of Basques residing abroad. Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



The "Other" category basically comprises two groups of people: children of Basque origin not yet old enough to begin schooling, and members of religious orders of Basque origin residing abroad.

Results by type of emigrant

Survey question B04 on type of emigrant was unquestionably one of the most significant sources of information for the Atzeus Register.

The question included five different types of Basque emigrant:

1. First-generation: Born in Alava, Bizkaia or Gipuzkoa.
2. Second generation: Father and/or mother born in Alava, Bizkaia or Gipuzkoa.
3. Third-generation: One or more grandparent born in Alava, Bizkaia or Gipuzkoa.
4. Fourth-generation: One or more great-grandparent born in Alava, Bizkaia or Gipuzkoa.
5. Other

The rest of this report focuses on a series of data that provides greater detail about individuals of Basque origin residing abroad by type of emigrant. Section 4.2.8. contains information specific to first-generation Basques residing abroad.

Gender by type of emigrant

Three circumstances are highlighted in table 17: first, the predominance of first-generation females, 31.6% (n=2.164), compared to males 28.5% (n=1.691); secondly, the predominance of third-generation males compared to females (30.4% and 26.7%) respectively; and thirdly, a more homogeneous male-female distribution in the case of second- and fourth-generation Basques.

It should be kept in mind that in absolute terms, females outnumber males in all cases except the category of fourth-generation Basques.

Table 17. Gender of Basques residing abroad by type of emigrant. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Type of Basque Emigrant	Male		Female		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st generation	1,691	28.7	2,164	31.7	3,855	30.3
2nd generation	2,104	35.7	2,465	36.2	4,569	35.9
3rd generation	1,793	30.4	1,821	26.7	3,614	28.4
4th generation	221	3.8	173	2.5	394	3.1
Other	84	1.4	195	2.9	279	2.2
Total	**5,893**	**100**	**6,818**	**100**	**12,711**	**100**

Average age by type of emigrant

Table 18 shows the average age among all Atzeus Register participants, 46.94, as well as the average age for each generation. Thus, 64.19 years was the average age for first-generation Basques residing abroad; 44.12 for second-generation Basques; 33.53 for third-generation; and, lastly, 30.31 for fourth-generation.

Table 18. Average age of Basques residing abroad by type of emigrant. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Type of Basque Emigrant	Total
	Average Age
1st generation	64.19
2nd generation	44.12
3rd generation	33.53
4th generation	30.31
Total	**46.94**

Perhaps most notable is the 21-year age difference between first- and second-generation age averages as opposed to homogenous average ages in third-and fourth-generation Basques.

Number of children by type of emigrant

Table 19 presents data on the number of children by type of Basque emigrant. Distribution is homogenous in terms of total number of children between first-, second- and third-generation Basques residing abroad. In a certain sense, bearing in mind that a considerable number of sons and daughters of Basque origin collaborated in the Atzeus Register, this data shows the persistence of Basque emigration through the generations, particularly in the third and fourth. This is concentrated in specific countries, as shown in table 20 below.

Table 19. Number of children of Basques residing abroad by type of emigrant. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Type of Basque Emigrant	Number of children						Total	
	0	1	2	3	4	5 ó más	N	%
1st generation	976	608	1,173	630	246	160	3,793	34.9
2nd generation	1,473	580	1,036	634	207	96	4,026	37.1
3rd generation	1,131	303	544	338	139	71	2,526	23.2
4th generation	128	28	54	23	12	12	257	2.4
Other	44	45	96	58	12	8	263	2.4
Total	**3,752**	**1,564**	**2,903**	**1,683**	**616**	**347**	**10,865**	**100**

Country of residence by type of emigrant

Table 20 shows the countries of destination among individuals of Basque origin by generation. It should be pointed out that results have been synthesized and that this table includes only the nineteen (19) countries reported by at least forty (40) survey respondents to be their place of residence.

As mentioned earlier in paragraph 4.1., Argentina accounts for the greatest concentration of individuals of Basque origin. This still holds true for all generations of emigrants.

This being said, the following circumstances prove to be significant. In the first place, there is a high level of heterogeneity regarding residence distribution among first-generation emigrants. Argentina heads the list with 32%, followed by Venezuela with 18.2% and France with 8.8 %.

Secondly, just over half of the second-generation Basque emigrants live in Argentina (52.5%), followed by Venezuela (17.7%), Chile (6.8%) and Uruguay (3.9% %).

Thirdly, the greatest concentration of Basques living in Argentina are third-generation emigrants, accounting for 70.7% of this generation. Chile and Venezuela show nearly equal numbers, each accounting for some 10 %.

Lastly, we should point out the presence of fourth-generation Basque emigrants in Argentina, with 45.4%, Venezuela, with 19% and Chile with 15.7 %.

Nationality by type of emigrant

Table 21 shows the distribution of Spanish nationality by type of emigrant among Atzeus Register participants. The number of individuals holding Spanish nationality decreases from one generation to the next. Nearly 88% of the total number of Basques residing abroad with Spanish citizenship (n=6,132) is concentrated among first- and second-generation Basques (52% or 3,632, and 35.8% or 2,500, respectively) compared to 10% of third-generation Basques (n=694).

Table 20. Country of residence of Basque residents abroad by type of emigrant. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003.
(Countries accounting for over 40 respondents, in alphabetical order)

Country	1st generation		2nd generation		3rd generation		4th generation		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Germany	85	2.2	34	0.7	3	0.1	1	0.3	1	0.4	124	1.0
Argentina	1,234	32.0	2,400	52.5	2,554	70.7	179	45.4	63	22.6	6,430	50.6
Australia	55	1.4	13	0.3	2	0.1					70	0.6
Belgium	84	2.2	38	0.8	7	0.2	2	0.5	2	0.7	133	1.0
Brazil	49	1.3	54	1.2	10	0.3	3	0.8	2	0.7	118	0.9
Canada	46	1.2	30	0.7	1	0.0	1	0.3	1	0.4	79	0.6
Chile	172	4.5	311	6.8	333	9.2	62	15.7	23	8.2	901	7.1
Colombia	47	1.2	29	0.6	13	0.4	1	0.3			90	0.7
Cuba	17	0.4	28	0.6	33	0.9	7	1.8	1	0.4	86	0.7
United States	136	3.5	72	1.6	8	0.2	3	0.8	3	1.1	222	1.7
France	339	8.8	97	2.1	12	0.3	1	0.3	13	4.7	462	3.6
Italy	89	2.3	19	0.4					1	0.4	109	0.9
Mexico	126	3.3	168	3.7	97	2.7	24	6.1	10	3.6	425	3.3
Peru	47	1.2	39	0.9	10	0.3	1	0.3	5	1.8	102	0.8
United Kingdom	141	3.7	43	0.9	2	0.1			4	1.4	190	1.5
Russia	51	1.3	36	0.8	15	0.4	2	0.5			104	0.8
Switzerland	54	1.4	33	0.7	5	0.1			1	0.4	93	0.7
Uruguay	96	2.5	180	3.9	109	3.0	22	5.6	8	2.9	415	3.3
Venezuela	700	18.2	809	17.7	371	10.3	75	19.0	131	47.0	2,086	16.4
Rest	287	7.4	136	3.0	29	0.8	10	2.5	10	3.6	472	3.7
Total	**3,855**	**100**	**4,569**	**100**	**3,614**	**100**	**394**	**100**	**279**	**100**	**12,711**	**100**

Table 21. Spanish nationality among Basques residing abroad by type of emigrant. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Type of Basque Emigrant	Total	
	N	%
1st generation	3,632	52.0
2nd generation	2,500	35.8
3rd generation	694	9.9
4th generation	59	0.8
Other	97	1.4
Total	**6,982**	**100**

Average monthly income by type of emigrant

Table 22 presents data relating to average monthly income per household by type of emigrant. In general terms, no major differences were apparent between types of Basque emigrants, owing primarily to one factor common across the board: the concentration among all types of survey-takers reporting average monthly incomes of less than US$301, accounting for 45%,.

As pointed out earlier in the section on overall results, the methodological operation used in the Atzeus Register, with its focus on such countries as Argentina and to a lesser degree Venezuela determines this relatively low average monthly income level.

Primary occupation by type of emigrant

Table 23 shows the different occupations of Atzeus Register participants by type of emigrant. To a large extent the results are coherent with commonly accepted working situations and activities for different age groups. Among first-generation emigrants, retirees and pensioners accounted for 45.5% of the total (n=1,628), and 13.3% of survey respondents stated their primary occupation was homemaker. 42.2% (n=164) of fourth-generation Basques were students.

Table 22. Average monthly income of Basques residing abroad by type of emigrant. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Category	1st generation		2nd generation		3rd generation		4th generation		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
US$100 or less	560	16.2	695	16.7	485	15.9	52	15.4	28	10.6	1,820	16.2
US$101 to US$200	513	14.8	618	14.9	447	14.7	45	13.3	36	13.6	1,659	14.7
US$201 to US$300	467	13.5	587	14.1	413	13.6	37	10.9	33	12.5	1,537	13.6
US$301 to US$400	287	8.3	380	9.2	347	11.4	32	9.5	26	9.8	1,072	9.5
US$401 to US$500	189	5.5	270	6.5	219	7.2	16	4.7	15	5.7	709	6.3
US$501 to US$600	157	4.5	227	5.5	214	7.0	15	4.4	11	4.2	624	5.5
US$601 to US$700	114	3.3	152	3.7	129	4.2	19	5.6	7	2.6	421	3.7
US$701 to US$800	112	3.2	129	3.1	106	3.5	11	3.3	11	4.2	369	3.3
US$801 to US$900	87	2.5	102	2.5	69	2.3	16	4.7	15	5.7	289	2.6
US$901 to US$1000	186	5.4	216	5.2	159	5.2	21	6.2	13	4.9	595	5.3
Over US$1000	790	22.8	777	18.7	459	15.1	74	21.9	70	26.4	2,170	19.3
Total	**3,462**	**100**	**4,153**	**100**	**3,047**	**100**	**338**	**100**	**265**	**100**	**11,265**	**100**

44.5% of second-generation Basque emigrants were actively working, yet this group also accounted for the greatest concentration of unemployed persons (12%), three percentage points higher than the overall average. Moreover, most of the unemployed persons in this group claimed they were not recipients of unemployment benefits.

Lastly, data relating to third-generation Basque emigrants are more evenly distributed in terms of occupations: 38.6% were actively working, while 37.3% stated they were students.

Table 23. Primary occupation of Basques residing abroad by type of emigrant. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Category	1st generation		2nd generation		3rd generation		4th generation		Other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Student	68	1.8	755	16.7	1,329	37.3	164	42.2	21	7.6	2,337	18.6
Self-employed	373	9.8	793	17.5	560	15.7	68	17.5	58	20.9	1,852	14.8
Wage or salary earner	677	17.8	1,221	27.0	815	22.9	76	19.5	62	22.3	2,851	22.7
Volunteer work	97	2.6	12	0.3	13	0.4	3	0.8	3	1.1	128	1.0
Recipient of unemployment benefits	46	1.2	32	0.7	20	0.6	3	0.8	2	0.7	103	0.8
Unemployed, not collecting benefits	208	5.5	511	11.3	261	7.3	22	5.7	18	6.5	1,020	8.1
Homemaker	505	13.3	382	8.4	193	5.4	16	4.1	58	20.9	1,154	9.2
Recipient of disability benefits	78	2.1	48	1.1	30	0.8	2	0.5	5	1.8	163	1.3
Recipient of widow's or orphan's benefits	263	6.9	108	2.4	25	0.7	5	1.3	16	5.8	417	3.3
Recipient of retirement or pre-retirement benefits	1,105	29.1	455	10.1	179	5.0	14	3.6	25	9.0	1,778	14.2
Retiree or disabled, not collecting benefits	282	7.4	177	3.9	51	1.4	5	1.3	10	3.6	525	4.2
Other situations	92	2.4	30	0.7	84	2.4	11	2.8			217	1.7
Total	**3,794**	**100**	**4,524**	**100**	**3,560**	**100**	**389**	**100**	**278**	**100**	**12,545**	**100**

First-generation Basque emigrants: year of departure, gender, education, occupation and country of residence

Question B05 of the Atzeus Register asked first-generation Basque respondents to indicate the year they left the Basque Country. [3]

We felt it appropriate to focus particular attention on first-generation Basque emigrants based on their year of departure from the Basque Country. To this end, a set of historical criteria affecting Basque society throughout the twentieth century was used to define the seven (7) different time periods listed below.

- *1908-1914:* From the earliest year of departure among Atzeus Register respondents to the beginning of World War I, which appeared to mark a significant slowdown in Basque migration to the Americas.
- *1915-1935:* The period between World War I and the beginning of the Spanish Civil War.
- *1936-1939:* The four years of the Spanish Civil War, a period which greatly affected the Basque Country in terms of migration.
- *1940-1955:* The most important years of the post-war period.
- *1956-1975:* This 25-year period is characterized by substantial economic development in Europe, which had an important impact on migratory processes in the Basque Country and throughout Spain.
- *1976-1990:* This 15-year period is characterized by a decline in economic development on the global level, and a particularly negative impact on the economy of the Basque Country; unemployment fell to levels previously unheard of and remained that way throughout the 1980s.

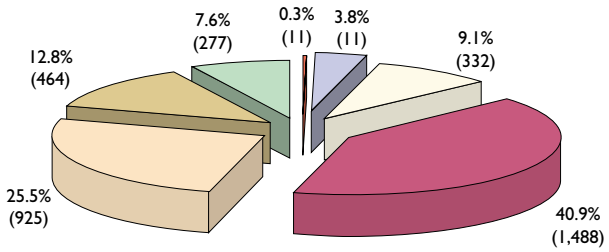
[3] With postal-based surveys it is not uncommon for respondents to leave certain questions unanswered or provide more information than solicited. In this survey a few first-generation Basque emigrants did not indicate the year they left the Basque Country, while others included extra information, such as the actual date and place of departure or brief notes suggesting the emotional impact any type of migratory phenomenon of this type always implies.[40] Como es habitual en la implementación de cuestionarios postales, al igual que algunos pocos de los emigrantes vascos de primera generación no señalaron el año de salida del País Vasco, otros, sin embargo, aportaron más información, al indicar tanto el día, el lugar, así como, en ocasiones, breves apuntes en los que se deduce el impacto emocional que siempre conlleva cualquier tipo de fenómeno migratorio.

– *1991-2003:* The last of the seven periods is characterized by a gradual recovery from the economic crisis and substantial improvement in the economic situation of the Basque Country, which, in general terms, continues today.

Based on this definition of time periods spanning nearly one hundred years, the following five sets of data were collected from first-generation Basque emigrants taking part in the Atzeus Register by year of departure: gender, level of education, occupation and country of residence.

Graph 15 shows the total number of first-generation Basque emigrants who included their year of departure in the Atzeus Register (n=3,634), 41% (n=1,488) of this group is concentrated in the so-called post-war period from 1940-1955. The next period, 1956-1975, accounts for 25.5% of the total, or 925 cases. The four-year period of the Spanish Civil War unquestionably marked a significant and particularly intense time for migration, with 332 cases, or 9.1% of the total number of Basque emigrants.

Graph 15. Year of departure of first-generation Basque emigrants. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003.



Here we can see that just over 75% of the total number of first-generation Basque emigrants included in this study left the Basque Country during the forty (40) years from 1936 to 1975.

Broken down by gender, we can see in table 24 that in general terms there are no major differences in percentages between males and females in the seven established time periods.

Table 24. Year of departure of first-generation Basque emigrants by gender. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003.

Year of departure	*Male*		*Female*		*Total*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
1908-1914	3	0.2	8	0.4	11	0.3
1915-1935	47	2.9	90	4.4	137	3.8
1936-1939	166	10.3	166	8.2	332	9.1
1940-1955	666	41.5	822	40.5	1,488	40.9
1956-1975	419	26.1	506	24.9	925	25.5
1976-1990	191	11.9	273	13.5	464	12.8
1991-2003	113	7.0	164	8.1	277	7.6
Total	**1,605**	**100**	**2,029**	**100**	**3,634**	**100**

However, if we look at the data from left to right, keeping in mind that participation in the Atzeus Register was greater among females, we can see that in absolute terms more females than males left the Basque Country during all of the periods except for the four-year period during the Spanish Civil War, when the numbers were equal. Thus, from 1940 to the present nearly 56% of Basque immigrants currently residing abroad are female, accounting for 1,765 out of a total of 3,154.

The data in table 25 reveals that the percentages of education levels among first-generation Basque emigrants who indicated when they left the Basque Country follow the same patterns as those for the whole of the population and by generation.

Table 25. Year of departure of first-generation Basque emigrants by level of education. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Year of departure	None		Primary/Secondary		University		Other responses		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1908-1914	1	0.5	10	0.4					11	0.3
1915-1935	19	9.5	106	4.5	9	1.0	2	2.0	136	3.8
1936-1939	24	12.0	235	10.0	64	7.1	4	3.9	327	9.2
1940-1955	92	46.0	1,119	47.5	226	25.1	28	27.5	1,465	41.2
1956-1975	49	24.5	573	24.3	232	25.8	35	34.3	889	25.0
1976-1990	7	3.5	223	9.5	203	22.6	22	21.6	455	12.8
1991-2003	8	4.0	90	3.8	165	18.4	11	10.8	274	7.7
Total	**200**	**100**	**2,356**	**100**	**899**	**100**	**102**	**100**	**3,557**	**100**

In our view, the most interesting data can be seen in *table 26,* which shows a *trend towards higher academic* levels among emigrants. Thus, we see a very significant upturn in education levels as we move forward in time. Prior to 1975 less than 27% of survey-takers born in the Basque Country had university degrees; however from 1976 onwards the percentages took an upward swing, increasing to the current figure of 60.4% of the total.

Clearly these results have to be interpreted in the proper context. In this case, the significantly greater increase in academic level in Basque society over the past twenty years can be explained by the widespread access to secondary and university education among all segments of the population. As a working hypothesis, however, the role of the labor market in the Basque Country since 1976 should be taken into account as one of the motivations for leaving and seeking new opportunities to match the academic level of some of these first-generation Basques. This type of emigration would indicate a different set of characteristics than for Basques who emigrated prior to that period.

Table 26. Year of departure of first-generation Basque emigrants by level of education. Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Year of departure	None	Primary/Secondary	University	Other responses	Total
1908-1914	9.1	90.9			**100**
1915-1935	14.0	77.9	6.6	1.5	**100**
1936-1939	7.3	71.9	19.6	1.2	**100**
1940-1955	6.3	76.4	15.4	1.9	**100**
1956-1975	5.5	64.5	26.1	3.9	**100**
1976-1990	1.5	49.0	44.6	4.8	**100**
1991-2003	2.9	32.8	60.2	4.0	**100**

Table 27 shows an occupational structure which, to a certain extent, is in accordance with the age of first-generation Basques residing abroad. Thus, prior to 1975 results are concentrated in 'post-working age' occupations, that is, retirement and homemaking, whereas from 1976 to the present the results are concentrated in active-age occupations and, to a lesser degree, unemployed persons.

In any event, we should point out 29.3% of first-generation Basque emigrants are recipients of retirement or pre-retirement benefits.

Table 27. Year of departure of first-generation Basque emigrants by occupation. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Categorías	1908-1914		1915-1935		1936-1939		1940-1955		1956-1975		1976-1990		1991-2003		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Student									2	0.2	27	5.8	32	11.6	61	1.7
Self-employed			3	2.2	12	3.8	137	9.4	107	11.7	61	13.2	33	12.0	353	9.9
Wage or salary earner			1	0.7	3	0.9	122	8.3	174	19.1	209	45.2	135	48.9	644	18.0
Volunteer work			1	0.7	4	1.3	23	1.6	44	4.8	18	3.9	7	2.5	97	2.7
Recipient of unemployment benefits					1	0.3	9	0.6	19	2.1	9	1.9	5	1.8	43	1.2
Unemployed, not collecting benefits			2	1.5	4	1.3	85	5.8	50	5.5	37	8.0	19	6.9	197	5.5
Homemaker			13	9.6	35	11.0	228	15.6	118	13.0	57	12.3	25	9.1	476	13.3
Recipient of disability benefits			1	0.7	7	2.2	35	2.4	26	2.9	3	0.6			72	2.0
Recipient of widow's or orphan's benefits	4	36.4	24	17.8	29	9.1	146	10.0	32	3.5	2	0.4	2	0.7	239	6.7
Recipient of retirement or pre-retirement benefits	6	54.1	70	51.9	182	57.2	516	35.2	256	28.1	13	2.8	4	1.4	1.047	29.3
Retiree or disabled, not collecting benefits	1	9.1	19	14.1	39	12.3	145	9.9	46	5.0	11	2.4	1	0.4	262	7.3
Other situations			1	0.7	2	0.6	19	1.3	37	4.1	15	3.2	13	4.7	87	2.4
Total	**11**	**100**	**135**	**100**	**318**	**100**	**1,465**	**100**	**911**	**100**	**462**	**100**	**276**	**100**	**3,578**	**100**

The last set of data relating to first-generation Basque emigrants participating in the Atzeus Register is presented in *table 28*. This table includes a list of the nineteen (19) countries where at least forty (40) survey respondents live.

Without losing sight of the importance of such countries as Argentina and Venezuela in the information collecting process of the Atzeus Register, this data clearly shows the trends in the countries of destination among Basque immigrants over the different time periods.

Table 28. Year of departure of first-generation Basque emigrants by country of residence. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003. (Countries accounting for over 40 respondents, in alphabetical order)

Country	1908-1914		1915-1935		1936-1939		1940-1955		1956-1975		1976-1990		1991-2003		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Germany					1	0.3	1	0.1	40	4.3	26	5.6	14	5.1	82	2.3
Argentina	6	54.5	91	66.4	90	27.1	80,3	54.0	109	11.8	25	5.4	14	5.1	1,138	31.3
Australia			1	0.7	2	0.6	8	0.5	30	3.2	9	1.9	3	1.1	53	1.5
Belgium			1	0.7	7	2.1	8	0.5	43	4.6	11	2.4	14	5.1	84	2.3
Brazil			1	0.7	2	0.6	14	0.9	26	2.8	2	0.4	2	0.7	47	1.3
Canada				0.0	1	0.3	9	0.6	20	2.2	9	1.9	5	1.8	44	1.2
Chile	1	9.1	10	7.3	21	6.3	87	5.8	21	2.3	7	1.5	18	6.5	165	4.5
Colombia					3	0.9	15	1.0	20	2.2	3	0.6	2	0.7	43	1.2
Cuba			3	2.2	4	1.2	5	0.3	2	0.2			3	1.1	17	0.5
United States					1	0.3	10	0.7	54	5.8	54	11.6	12	4.3	131	3.6
France			8	5.8	48	14.5	48	3.2	121	13.1	57	12.3	35	12.6	317	8.7
Italy					1	0.3	9	0.6	10	1.1	39	8.4	27	9.7	86	2.4
Mexico			8	5.8	22	6.6	32	2.2	21	2.3	26	5.6	6	2.2	115	3.2
Peru					2	0.6	13	0.9	21	2.3	4	0.9	7	2.5	47	1.3
United Kingdom			2	1.5	11	3.3	5	0.3	38	4.1	44	9.5	34	12.3	134	3.7
Russia					51	15.4			1	0.1					52	1.4
Switzerland					1	0.3	3	0.2	12	1.3	23	5.0	9	3.2	48	1.3
Uruguay	2	18.2	2	1.5	5	1.5	66	4.4	13	1.4			5	1.8	93	2.6
Venezuela	1	9.1	9	6.6	52	15.7	314	21.1	233	25.2	53	11.4	3	1.1	665	18.3
Rest	1	9.1	1	0.7	7	2.1	38	2.6	90	9.7	72	15.5	64	23.1	273	7.5
Total	**11**	**100**	**137**	**100**	**332**	**100**	**1,488**	**100**	**925**	**100**	**464**	**100**	**277**	**100**	**3,634**	**100**

Until 1955, the Americas, particularly Argentina, drew the greater part of Basque immigration, with the exception of the Spanish Civil War period, when many people took exile in France and the Soviet Union (including the so-called 'children of the war' refugees). However, beginning in 1956 immigration shifted toward Europe, with the exception of 1956-1975, when Venezuela was a preferred destination, and 1976-1990, when many Basque immigrants went to the United States. The impact of European economic development brought about new countries of destination during the period from 1956-1975, including Germany, the UK and Belgium, in addition to France, which has continued to be one the main countries of Basque immigration; in 1976-1990 Italy and Switzerland became new countries of destination in contrast to the significant decline in immigration to Argentina and even Venezuela. Lastly, between 1991-2003, in addition to a general decrease across the board, we see a shift in immigration from countries such as Argentina and Venezuela to the UK, France and Italy.

Knowledge of Euskara

After presentation of the data from all of the participants in the Atzeus Register, and taking into account the Type of Basque Emigrant variable, a more detailed analysis was conducted to determine the level of knowledge of Euskara among individuals of Basque origin residing abroad. We believe that this analysis provides meaningful, relevant information on the state of one of the most significant markers of identity for the Basque people.

Knowledge of Euskara by type of emigrant

As pointed out earlier, the survey used to create the Atzeus Register included five (5) language options –Spanish, Euskara, English, French and Other; survey-takers were asked to rate their knowledge of each

language according to one of three categories: Fluent, Limited and None. The pie chart in Graph 16 represents a graphic description of the results from the Atzeus Register.

These results paint a very relevant picture of the level of knowledge of Euskara among Basques residing abroad, in which 79.3% or 10,109 individuals have no knowledge of the language, 13.6% or 1,733 people have limited knowledge, and the remaining 7.1% or 899 individuals considered themselves fluent in Euskara.

Graph 16. Level of knowledge of Euskara. Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

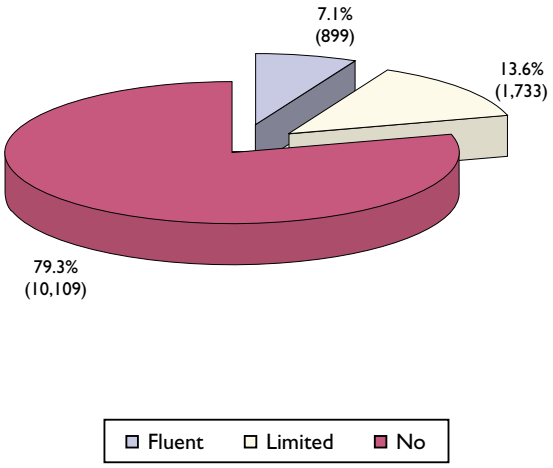


Table 29 shows relevant data on the types of Basque emigrant that consider themselves either fluent in Euskara or to have a limited knowledge of the language.

Table 29. Level of knowledge of Euskara by type of Basque emigrant. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Type of Basque Emigrant	*Fluent*		*Limited*		*Total*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
1st generation	785	87.3	974	56.2	1,759	66.8
2nd generation	85	9.5	538	31.0	623	23.7
3rd generation	18	2.0	182	10.5	200	7.6
4th generation	3	0.3	19	1.1	22	0.8
Other	8	0.9	20	1.2	28	1.1
Total	**899**	**100**	**1,733**	**100**	**2,632**	**100**

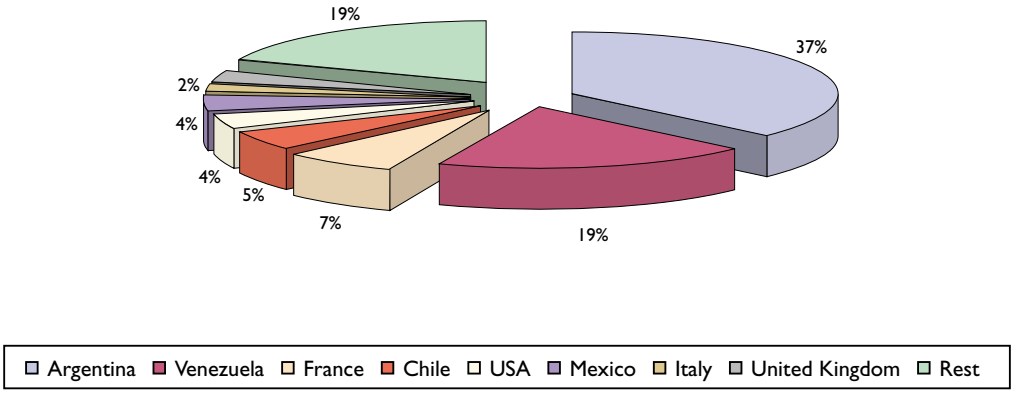
Thus we can see an evident correlation between type of emigrant and knowledge of Euskara: on the one hand, there is a concentration of first-generation Basque emigrants who either have a limited knowledge of Euskara, 56.2% of the total (n=974), or consider themselves fluent, 87.3% (n=785). This stands in contrast with the quasi residual knowledge of Euskara among third- and particularly fourth-generation Basques, around 90% of whom claim to have limited knowledge of the Basque language.

Among other considerations, this data makes two factors quite clear: that knowledge of Euskara among individuals of Basque origin residing abroad is essentially limited to people born in the Basque Country, and that Euskara is primarily transmitted from first- to second-generation Basques living abroad. The process becomes diluted in the third and fourth generations.

Knowledge of Euskara by country of residence

Taking into consideration the concentrations and transmission patterns of Euskara outside the Basque Autonomous Community, and the number of first-generation emigrants residing in Argentina and Venezuela based on the Atzeus Register, graph 17 shows that these two countries account for 56.3% of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad who are fluent or have a limited knowledge of Euskara. The rest of the countries with a significant percentage of knowledge of Euskara are France, Chile, the United States, Mexico, Italy and the UK, in many cases the percentages are disproportionate to the number of Basque emigrants living in those countries.

Graph 17. Level of knowledge of Euskara (Fluent and Limited) by country of residence. Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



Euskara as a mother tongue by type of emigrant and country of residence

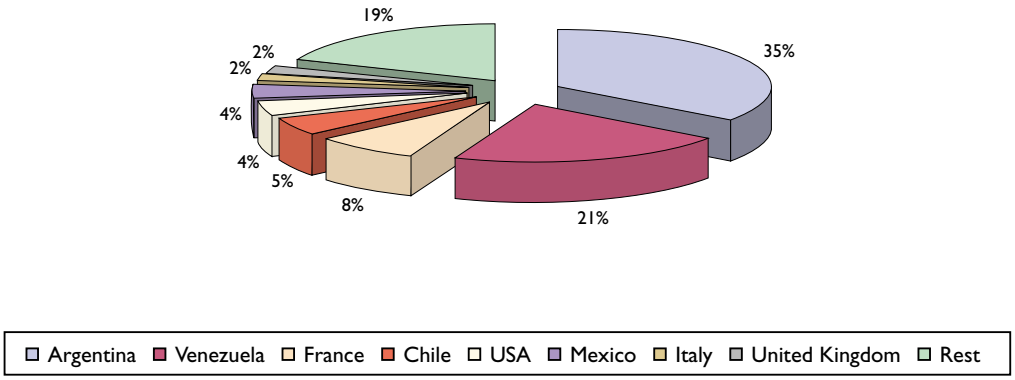
Table 30 limits data to individuals for whom Euskara was a mother tongue, broken down by type of emigrant. There is a close relationship between this data and the previous set of data relating to knowledge of Euskara, with first- and second-generation Basques accounting for 96% of the total (77% or 1,650 individuals, and 19.4% or 416, respectively).

Table 30. Euskara as a mother tongue by type of emigrant. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Category	Euskara	
	N	%
1st generation	1,650	77.0
2nd generation	416	19.4
3rd generation	61	2.8
4th generation	2	0.1
Other	15	0.7
Total	**2,144**	**100**

Graph 18 shows the residence of Basque emigrants whose mother tongue was Euskara; once again Argentina and Venezuela heading the list with 56% of the total

Graph 18. Euskara as a mother tongue by country of residence. Percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003



Euskara as a primary language spoken in the home

Table 31 presents data on the primary languages spoken in the household among respondents who indicated that Euskara was one of their mother tongues. Of the 2,144 cases, we can see that a total of 348 continue speaking Euskara today as one of the primary languages spoken in their homes. This means that Euskara is still used in the home today by 16.23% of Basque emigrants who reported it as their mother tongue. Conversely, this also means that 83.77% of the cases have ceased to use Euskara in their day-to-day lives.

Table 31. Euskara as a mother tongue by primary language(s) spoken at home. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Primary language(s) in the home	*Total*	
	N	%
Spanish	1,443	67.3
Euskara	116	5.4
English	49	2.3
French	64	3.0
Other	68	3.2
Spanish + Euskara	183	8.5
Spanish + English	56	2.6
Spanish + French	56	2.6
Spanish + Other Language	45	2.1
Euskara + French	17	0.8
Euskara + English	14	0.7
Euskara + Other Language	12	0.6
Euskara + Other options	6	0.3
Other options	15	0.7
Total	**2,144**	**100**

Knowledge of Euskara by students of Basque origin residing abroad

Lastly, taking into consideration how important the period of formal education is in acquiring knowledge in general and in developing measures for promoting language, *table 32* shows the countries of residence of students who currently have knowledge of Euskara. Of a total of 169 cases, 39.6% are concentrated in Argentina, 12.4% in Venezuela and 11.2% in France.

Table 32. Knowledge of Euskara by country of residence. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Country of Residence	Total	
	N	%
Germany	3	1.8
Argentina	67	39.6
Australia	3	1.8
Austria	1	0.6
Belgium	1	0.6
Canada	3	1.8
Chile	11	6.5
El Salvador	1	0.6
United States	8	4.7
France	19	11.2
Netherlands	3	1.8
Ireland	4	2.4
Italy	1	0.6
Kenya	1	0.6
Luxembourg	1	0.6
Mexico	8	4.7
Nicaragua	2	1.2
Paraguay	2	1.2
United Kingdom	4	2.4
Switzerland	2	1.2
Uruguay	3	1.8
Venezuela	21	12.4
Total	**169**	**100**

Results by primary occupation

Occupation is the last of the analysis variables included in the Atzeus Register report. Below is a set of data which, coupled with the information presented in the section on overall results, offer a panorama of the structure and occupational diversity among Atzeus. Register participants, Particular emphasis is placed on less advantaged occupations or situations with regard to the labor market.

Average income per household by occupation

A logical point of departure for analyzing occupations is to look at average household income. This is based on essential information gathered beforehand in order to select occupations which, in general terms, are among the lowest-paying. Therefore, in *table 33* we can see that nine of the thirteen occupations fall below the average. The first two are variations of active workers and the third, students, whose situation, in most cases, mirrored the average household income of the family.

Table 33. Average monthly income per household of Basques residing abroad by primary occupation. Average income. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Primary Occupation	*Total Average Income*
Wage or salary earner	587.76
Self-employed	571.10
Student	561.01
Average	**479.31**
Recipient of unemployment benefits	442.78
Other situations	442.41
Homemaker	439.65
Volunteer work	376.88
Recipient of retirement / pre-retirement benefits	371.88
Recipient of disability benefits	335.33
Retiree or disabled, not collecting benefits	311.43
Unemployed, not collecting benefits	294.73
Recipient of widow's or orphan's benefits	253.65

Lowest-paying occupations by gender

Based on the data presented above, this section concentrates on the three lowest-paying occupations: retiree or disabled not collecting benefits, unemployed not collecting benefits, and recipient of widow's or orphan's benefits.

Table 34 provides a different types of data. In absolute terms, we can see that of a total of 1,974 individuals, nearly 52% (n=1,026) are unemployed and receive no benefits. With regard to gender, the figures do not vary greatly for unemployed and retirees and for disabled persons collecting no benefits; however, females account for 96.4% of those receiving widow's or orphan's benefits.

Table 34. Lowest-paying occupations among Basques residing abroad by gender. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Category	*Recipient widow's or orphan's benefits*		*Unemployed No benefits*		*Retired/disabled No benefits*		*Total*	
	N	%	*N*	%	*N*	%	*N*	%
Female	405	96.4	465	45.3	267	50.6	1,137	57.6
Male	15	3.6	561	54.7	261	49.4	837	42.4
Total	**420**	**100**	**1,026**	**100**	**528**	**100**	**1,974**	**100**

Lowest-paying occupations by type of emigrant

Equally significant are the results presented in *table 35*.

Table 35. Lowest-paying occupations of Basques residing abroad by type of emigrant. Totals and percentages. Atzeus Register, February-May, 2003

Category	Recipient widow's or orphan's benefits		Unemployed No benefits		Retired/disabled No benefits		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st generation	263	62.6	208	20.3	282	53.4	753	38.1
2nd generation	108	25.7	511	49.8	177	33.5	796	40.3
3rd generation	25	6.0	261	25.4	51	9.7	337	17.1
4th generation	5	1.2	22	2.1	5	0.9	32	1.6
Other	19	4.5	24	2.3	13	2.5	56	2.8
Total	**420**	**100**	**1,026**	**100**	**528**	**100**	**1,974**	**100**

We can see here that recipients of widow's or orphan's benefits, and retirees or disabled persons not collecting any type of benefits are concentrated among first-generation emigrants, while there is a predominance among second-generation emigrants of unemployed individuals not collecting benefits.

Summary of results

Below is a summary of the most significant aspects that emerged over the course of the present study.

- The method of operations implemented in the Atzeus Register proved to be successful in terms of 1) collaboration between different organizations (Department of Relations with Basque Communities under the General Secretariat for Foreign Affairs of the Basque Government-Eusko Jaurlaritza, the Argentine Basque Institute for Cooperation and Development, the Venezuelan Basque Institute for Cooperation (Eguzki), the Chilean Basque Foundation for Cooperation, the Mexican Basque Institute for Development, and the sociological and market studies firm Behatoki, s.l.; 2) communication channels established (mailing address, telephone, fax, e-mail address and website); and 3) the actual survey design.
- There was a significant level of Atzeus Register respondents in barely five months (January-May 2003), with a total of 12,780 participants.
- 58.5% of the total sent in the survey by mail (n=7,472); 28.5% (n=3,647) was conducted by the Argentine Basque Institute for Cooperation and Development; 8.7% (n=1,112) by the Venezuelan Basque Institute for Cooperation, Eguzki; 3.3% (n=422) by the Chilean Basque Foundation for Cooperation, and the remaining 1% (n=127) was carried out by the Mexican Basque Institute for Development.
- A total of approximately 190 telephone calls, 281 e-mail messages and 22 faxes were served.
- Individuals of Basque origin were found to reside in a total of eighty-three (83) countries.
- Taking into consideration the method of operation implemented for this study, 50.52% (n=6,457) of the survey-takers reside in Argentina, 16.42% (n=2,098) in Venezuela, 7.08% (n=905) in Chile and 3.36% in Mexico (n=430).
- Therefore, 87.6% (n=11,191) of individuals of Basque origin taking part in the Atzeus Register reside in the Americas.
- The study revealed a total of forty-nine (49) different countries of birth among individuals of Basque origin residing abroad.
- Basques born in Argentina make up 40.39% of the total (n=5,159), followed by 31.68% (n=4,046) born in Spain, 10.31% (n=1,317) in Venezuela, and in forth place Chile, with 5.73% of the total (n=732).
- Individuals of Basque origin born in the Americas account for 64.6% (n=8.246), as opposed to 35% (n=4,471) of Atzeus Register respondents born in Europe, including the Basque Country.
- 53.6% of Atzeus Register respondents were female (n=6,855), and 46.4% (n=5,925) male.

– The average age among all Atzeus Register respondents was 46.94 - 48.40 in the case of females and 45.27 for males.
– 19.5% of the total (n=2,483) population were under the age of 25; 26.8% (n=3,413)25-44 year olds; 26.9% (n=3,426) 45-64 year olds; and the remaining 26.7% (n=3,402) were over 65.
– Based on the 12,780 cases recorded in the Atzeus Register, the oldest person of Basque origin residing abroad is a woman born in Spain on April 10th 1903, making her a 100-year old, first-generation Basque. She lives in Argentina, is widowed, has two children and lives on retirement benefits.
– The youngest person of Basque origin residing abroad is a four-month-old male (as of July), born in Venezuela on March 7th 2003, making him a third-generation Basque emigrant.
– 36% of the total number of emigrants (n=4,569) were second-generation; 30.3% (n=3,855) first-generation, and 28.4% (n=3,614) third-generation Basque emigrants.
– Once again, the 100-year old female born in Spain on April 10th 1903, residing in Argentina, widow, with two children and living on retirement benefits was the oldest first-generation Basque.
– The oldest second-generation Basque emigrant was a female born in Argentina in 1905, resident of Argentina, widow with seven children and living on retirement benefits.
– The oldest third-generation Basque emigrant was a female born in Argentina in 1907, resident of Argentina, married with three children and living on retirement benefits.
– Lastly, the oldest fourth-generation Basque emigrant was a male born in Venezuela in 1915, resident of Venezuela, married with four children and living on retirement benefits.
– 52.7% of all individuals of Basque origin residing abroad over the age of 18 (n=5,788) were either married or living with a stable partner. 25.9% (n=2,846) were single. 11% (n=1,211) were widows or widowers.
– The average number of children for Atzeus Register respondents over the age of 18 was 1.55.
– 50% of respondents completed the survey in their permanent place of residence.
– 94% of Atzeus Register respondents (n=11,724) either held Spanish citizenship (56,2%), were in the application process (10.7%), or planned to apply for Spanish nationality (27%).
– The highest level of schooling for 61% of the survey respondents having completed the period of compulsory education (n= 3,623) was primary/secondary education At some distance were the 31.6% who had university level studies (n=3.623), while 2.8% of Basques residing abroad had no formal education (n=317).
– 97.3% (n=12,401) of Atzeus Register respondents considered themselves fluent in Spanish; just under 26% (n=3,295) considered themselves fluent in English, 10.2% (n=1,295) considered themselves fluent in French, and 7.1% (n=899) considered themselves fluent in Euskara.
– 92.1% of all survey-takers (n=12,737) reported Spanish to be their native language, or one of their native languages in the case of more than one mother tongue. Euskara was one of the native languages for 16.8% of all participants (n=12,737).
– For 92.8% (n=11,818) Spanish was considered one of the primary languages spoken in the home.
– The average monthly income per household for all Atzeus Register respondents was US$479.31.
– 45% (n=5,045) of participants indicated a level of income per household of US$300 or less.
– With regard to occupation, 37.5% survey-takers were actively working were actively working (wage earners or self-employed); 18.8% pensioners (receiving disability, widow's, orphan's, retirement or early retirement benefits); 18.6% students; 9.2% homemakers; nearly 9% unemployed (collecting unemployment benefits or not); and 4.2% retired or disabled people not receiving any financial benefits.
– Data by type of emigrant show that in absolute terms female Atzeus Register respondents always outnumber males, except in the case of fourth-generation emigrants.
– The average age of first-generation Basques residing abroad is 64.19 years; for second-generation Basques the average is 44.12, for third-generation, 33.53 and for fourth-generation Basque, 30.31.
– Argentina accounts for the greatest number of individuals of Basque origin residing abroad. The most significant numbers were among third- and second-generation Basques (71% and 52.5 respectively), followed by 32% of first-generation Basque emigrants.
– The number of individuals holding Spanish nationality decreased from one generation to the next. Thus, nearly 88% of the total number of Atzeus Register respondents with Spanish citizenship (n=6,132) was

concentrated among first- and second-generation Basques (52% or 3,632, and 35.8% or 2,500, respectively) compared to 10% of third-generation Basques (n=694).

– In terms of average monthly income by type of Basque emigrant, there were no major differences, owing primarily to one common factor: the concentration of survey-takers, 45%, reporting average monthly incomes of less than US$301.
– Likewise, there are no major differences by type of emigrant in terms of commonly accepted working situations and activities for different age groups. Among first-generation emigrants, 45.5% of the total (n=1,628) were retirees and pensioners, and 13.3% of survey respondents stated their primary occupation was homemaker, while 42.2% (n=164) of fourth-generation Basques were students.
– With regard to year of departure of first-generation Basque emigrants, a little over 75% of all participants in the study (n=2,755) left the Basque Country during the forty (40) years between 1936-1975.
– Although there were no major differences in percentages between males and females in the seven established time periods, it is noteworthy that from 1940 to the present 6 out of 10 Basque emigrants participating in the Atzeus Register were females.
– There is a growing trend in higher education among Basque emigrants born in the Basque Country. Before 1975 less than 27% had university degrees; from 1976 onward the percentage has grown to the current figure of 60.4%.
– Since 1956 there has also been a shift in country of destination, with greater numbers of Basques immigrating to Europe as opposed to South America, particularly Argentina and Venezuela.
– With regard to the number of respondents who speak Euskara and their level of knowledge, 79.3% (n=10,109) of the total number of Basques residing abroad who responded to the Atzeus Register did not speak the language; 13.6 (n=1,733) had a limited knowledge, and the remaining 7.1% (n=899) considered themselves fluent.
– There was a concentration of first-generation Basque emigrants who either had a limited knowledge of Euskara, 56.2% of the total (n=974), or considered themselves fluent, 87.3% (n=785), in contrast with the quasi residual knowledge of Euskara among third- and particularly fourth-generation Basques, around 90% of whom claim to have a limited knowledge of the Basque language.
– 56.3 of the Basques residing abroad who speak or are familiar with Euskara are located in Argentina and Venezuela.
– Data clearly shows that knowledge of Euskara among individuals of Basque origin residing abroad is essentially limited to people who were born in the Basque Country, and that Euskara is primarily transmitted from first- to second-generation Basques living abroad; the process becomes diluted in the third and fourth generations.
– Therefore, first- and second-generation Basques accounted for over 96% of all survey respondents who reported Euskara to be one of their native languages - 77% (n=1,650) for first generation emigrants, and 19.4% (n=416) for second-generation.
– Of the 2,144 respondents whose native language was Euskara, a total of 348 continue using it today as one of the primary languages spoken in their homes. This means that Euskara is still used in the home today by 16.23% of Basque emigrants who reported it as their mother tongue; conversely, this also means that 83.77% of the cases have ceased to use Euskara in their daily lives.
– 169 students responding to the survey reported to have some knowledge of Euskara.
– Three occupations - disabled not collecting benefits, unemployed not collecting benefits, and recipient of widow's or orphan's benefits - fall way below the average monthly income per household.
– There was a predominance of female recipients of widow's or orphan's benefits, particularly among first-generation emigrants (n=236), and a predominance of unemployed persons not collecting any type of benefits among second-generation emigrants (n=511).

Youth of the Basque Clubs in the USA

Dr. Catherine Marie Petrissans (Clarion University of Pennsylvania)[1]

In 2000, the Basque Government published the results of a study on Basque Youth in the Autonomous Basque Region. Two years later, affiliates of the Basque Government approached members of the North American Basque Organization (NABO) to conduct a similar study of Basque Youth in the United States. The results of the U.S. study, as well as a similar study conducted in Argentina, would be presented at the Third World Congress of Basque Communities, held once every four years, from July 14-19, 2003 in Vitoria-Gasteiz.

Dr. Catherine Marie Petrissans, an Associate Professor of Sociology at Clarion University of Pennsylvania, was selected by NABO to be the primary investigator for the U.S. study. Dr. Petrissans developed a questionnaire that combined a number of questions from the survey completed in the Basque Country, a number of questions from the Argentinean survey, as well as a series of questions that served the interests of Basques in the United States (see Appendix A). She contacted the thirty NABO delegates affiliated with each of the thirty Basque Clubs in the United States. Each NABO Delegate provided Dr. Petrissans with a list of the Basque Club Members and the children of Basque Club Members between the ages of fifteen and thirty-four. From each list, a proportionate representative sample was randomly selected. Each NABO Delegate administered the questionnaire to those who were randomly selected and returned the questionnaires to Dr. Petrissans for data entry and analysis.

Of the thirty clubs that were originally contacted, ten clubs completed their questionnaires early enough to be included in the Congressional Report in July 2003. These communities and the NABO delegates and helpers responsible for the administration and collection of surveys include: Anaitasuna Basque Club (Gina Espinal), Basque Club of Utah (Mary Gaztambide), Big Horn Basque Club (Liz Camino), Boise Euzkaldunak (Ana Mendiola and Ricardo Yanci), Elko Basque Club (Bob Echeverria), Las Vegas Basque Club (Jose Beristain), Ontario Basque Association (Grace Mainvil, Maria Tipton, and Lisa Corcostegui), San Francisco Basque Club (Valerie Arrechea), San Francisco Basque Cultural Center (Valerie Arrechea), and Txoko Ona (Tony Uranga).

1 Presentation: Pierre Etcharren and Martin Goicoechea, NABO President and Euskara Chairman.

Phase one

These ten clubs represent our first phase of acquiring data; in the next phase we hope to expand the data pool and better compare and contrast the similarities and differences among our various Basque-American communities. Here in Phase One we are concentrating on developing some general overall conclusions on a national level.

A total of one hundred and sixty-six questionnaires were collected and analyzed. Ten were collected from the Basque Club of Utah, ten from Big Horn Basque Club, thirty from Boise Euzkaldunak, eighteen from Elko Basque Club, ten from Las Vegas Basque club, twenty from Ontario Basque Association, a combination of fifty were collected from Anaitasuna, San Francisco Basque Club, and the San Francisco Cultural Center, and eighteen from Txoko Ona. Efforts were made to have an equal number of males and females participate in the study as well to have an equal number of respondents from each of five age groups. All told, eighty-six females (52%) and eighty males (48%) participated in the study. Thirty-seven respondents (22%) were between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, twenty-eight individuals (17%) were between the ages of nineteen and twenty-two, thirty young Basque-Americans (18%) were between the ages of twenty-three and twenty-six, thirty-one people (19%) were between the ages of twenty-seven and thirty, and forty of those surveyed (24%) were between the ages of thirty-one and thirty-four.

It is important to note that the results included in this report are only based on one hundred and sixty-six participants from ten of the thirty Basque Clubs in the United States. Following the Congress, the NABO Basque Youth Survey will continue, until a more representative sample is collected and the results will be re-analyzed. As it stands, significant Basque Communities such as Chino, Bakersfield, Fresno, Gardnerville, Los Banos, Reno, Winnemucca, and New York are not included in this study. And without the inclusion of these very important and historic Basque Communities, the following results are not truly representative of Basque Youth in the United States.

What follows, then, are the preliminary results of the NABO Basque Youth Survey; they are generalizations of the Basque-American youth community which we thought most relevant for the World Congress forum. In the next phase we aim to expand our data pool and move to more of an analysis of similarities and differences among our various Basque-American communities.

Basque ancestry and emigration

Basque men have historically immigrated to the United States in larger numbers than Basque women (Douglass, 1975). It is not surprising then that more male Basque ancestry was found in the NABO Basque Youth Survey than female Basque ancestry. For instance, fifty-eight young Basque-Americans (35%) indicated that only their father is Basque, while thirty-eight respondents (26%) reported that only their mother is Basque. Although in the United States it is more common to have a Basque father than a Basque mother, the majority of the respondents' parents are both Basque. Indeed, seventy of the one-hundred and sixty-six respondents (42%) acknowledge that both of their parents are Basque.

The majority of the one hundred and sixty-six respondents can be divided into three generational categories. Ninety-seven respondents (39%), can be considered "first generation" in the sense that their parents were the first to emigrate to the United States, while seventy-one (28%) are "second generation" in the sense that their grandparents were the first to set foot in the United States, and seventy-six of those surveyed (30%) are "third generation," in the sense that their great-grand parents, or a more distant relation, were the first to permanently settle in the United States.

Those in the "first generation" are far more likely to report having both parents who are Basque. For instance, forty eight of the sixty-seven respondents (72%) who fall in the "first generation" category report having parents who are both Basque. Fifty-four percent of the one hundred twelve respondents who fall within the "second generation" category report having parents who are both Basque, while only 8% of the fifty-two individuals surveyed who fall within the "third generation" category report having parents who are both Basque. In essence what is happening is that the longer Basques take up residency in the United States, the more likely they are to marry someone who is not Basque.

Although the ancestry of young Basque-Americans can be traced to all seven Basque Provinces, those randomly selected for this survey primarily find their ancestry in one of three Provinces. The most common is Vizcaya, from which ninety-five respondents (39%) trace their ancestry. Not only are Vizcayans the most numerically prominent in our survey, they are also among some of the earliest immigrants with thirty-eight respondents, making up 66% of those who fall within the "third-generation" category. The second most frequently mentioned ancestral province is Bas Navarra, from which sixty-six respondents (27%)

trace their ancestry. Those from Bas Navarra are primarily "second generation" with sixty-one individuals making up 34% of those who fall within this category. The third most commonly mentioned province was Navara, from which thirty three individuals (14%) were able to trace their ancestry. Those from Navara are the most evenly split between the first and second generation, with twenty-five of the fifty-five total (45%) in the first generation and twenty-six of the fifty-five total (47%) in the second generation.

Education

Because the age gap of those surveyed varied from fifteen to thirty-four, there was a wide range of educational experiences reported. The majority of respondents indicated that they were finished with their education; this group of seventy-seven young Basque-Americans make up 46% of those surveyed. Sixty-one individuals (37%) are full-time students, seven (4%) are part-time students, and seventeen (10%) are not currently in school, but will be returning. One hundred and twelve Basque individuals (68%) hope to eventually attain their B.A., B.S., or Master's Degree. An additional, sixteen individuals (9%) hope to eventually receive their Ph.D., medical degree, or law degree. Only nine individuals (5%) report desiring a High School Degree as their highest level of educational attainment.

It is interesting to note that high degrees of educational attainment are important to young Basques-Americans, despite the fact that the majority of their fathers (67%) and mothers (59%) have no more than a high school degree. This is particularly the case among first-generation Basque-Americans 92% of whose fathers and 71% of whose mothers have attained a high school degree or less. Not only have most young Basque-Americans made a tremendous leap forward in terms of educational attainment, the majority do very well while in school, with one hundred forty-seven respondents (88%) receiving mostly A's or B's.

This survey reveals that young Basque-American women are particularly committed to their education and do exceptionally well in school. In comparison to their male counterparts, there are more Basque women (41%) who are full-time students than Basque men (31%). Seventy-two Basque women (83%) report desiring at least a Bachelor's Degree, as opposed to fifty-six Basque men (71%). Not only do young Basque-American women report higher educational goals and are more likely to be found in school, they also receive higher grades. An astounding 50% of all Basque-American women surveyed, report receiving mostly A's in school, and 93% indicate receiving mostly A's and B's. In contrast, 28% of Basque-American men report receiving mostly A's, and 84% indicate earning mostly A's and B's. Perhaps high educational attainment is something young Basque-American women learn from their mothers whose overall level of educational attainment in first, second, and third generations, is higher than those of fathers.

Occupation

In the area of work, there are few surprises to those who are familiar with Basque-Americans. Most of the respondents' fathers (22%) are self-employed, or own their own business. The second most popular occupational category is gardening. Twenty-six of the respondents' fathers (16%) are gardeners. This occupational category made up 50% of the responses for fathers in the San Francisco Bay Area. The third most frequently mentioned occupational category is farming, with twenty-one respondents (13%) indicating that their father is a farmer. This occupational category made up 80% of the responses for fathers associated with the Big Horn Basque Club in Wyoming. Most of the respondents' mothers fell into the category of homemaker, with thirty-three mothers (20%) occupying this position. Basque-American mothers who work outside of the home for pay held traditionally female dominated jobs primarily as secretaries (13%) and teachers (11%).

The majority of the respondents themselves (73%) are working either full time or part time, with only five of the one hundred and sixty-six individuals surveyed (3%) reporting being currently unemployed. The average annual income for young Basque-Americans who work full time is roughly $37,500. This is high in comparison to $39,945, which is the combined median family income in the United States (Rose, 2000). In terms of occupational earnings, this puts the majority of young Basque-Americans well into the middle and upper-middle class. In terms of social class, these figures correspond with reports of those surveyed. One hundred and fifteen individuals (69%) indicated that they were in the middle class, while an additional thirty-four Basque-Americans (20%) report being in the upper-middle class.

There is, however, a significant gender wage gap in that, despite higher levels of educational attainment, the average Basque-American woman earns $34,000 a year, while her Basque-American male counterpart earns an average of $40,347 annually. This gap in pay can at least partially be explained by the fact that

Basque-American men tend to enter the types of higher paying jobs traditionally occupied by men, while Basque-American women tend to have female-dominated jobs which are traditionally lower paying. For instance, while Basque-American men are typically found in professional jobs or in upper management positions (13%), Basque-American women are more likely to occupy positions in middle management (8%). And while, Basque-American men secondarily occupy positions in sales and services (15%), or skilled crafts and trades (11%), Basque-American women are more likely to be found waiting tables (9%), teaching (7%), or being a secretary (6%).

Another significant occupational gender difference is the near absence of Basque-American women in the two jobs that are historically associated with Basque-Americans: gardening and farming. While three Basque men (4%) are currently gardeners, no woman reported occupying a gardening position. And while one woman reported being a farmer, nine men (11%) said that they were currently farmers. This type of occupational sex segregation shows no signs of changing in the near future. The occupational aspirations of the majority of Basque-American men lie in the realm of a professional or upper-managerial position (11%) or in self-employment (8%), whereas, the future occupational goals of Basque-American women involve getting out of middle-management and becoming either a nurse (10%) or a teacher (9%).

Marriage and family

Divorce rates in the United States are high, with forty to fifty percent of all marriages ending in divorce (Olsen and Defrain, 2003). Despite the very high rates of divorce common among Americans in general, Basque-Americans do not seem to follow this trend. One hundred and thirty-four of the respondents (81%) reported that their parents were still married and had never divorced. The lack of divorce is particularly evident among parents who share Basque ancestry; 87% of those parents who are both Basque remain married. Slightly higher rates of divorce can be found among Basque/non-Basque marriages with 79% of Basque fathers married to non-Basque mothers remaining married, and 71% of Basque mothers married to non-Basque fathers remaining married. The pattern of remaining married and avoiding divorce is repeated among the current generation of young Basque-Americans. Among the respondents themselves, there has only been one reported divorce within fifty four marriages total.

Although divorce among Basque-Americans is not common, the majority of the respondents (66%) report still being single at the time of the survey. One trend that Basque-Americans seem to hold in common with young Americans in general, is the tendency to postpone marriage until a later age (Olsen and DeFrain, 2003). The majority of Basque-Americans (39%) report postponing marriage until their late twenties, that is, between the ages of twenty-six and thirty. The second most desirable age of marriage for Basque-Americans is in the early twenties, between the age of twenty and twenty-five, with 25% of those surveyed reporting an actual or desired marriage within that age frame.

Another growing trend among young Americans in general, is the increasing tendency for unmarried couples to live together (Olsen and DeFrain, 2003). Although the rate of young Americans who live together outside of marriage is quite common, Basque-Americans have not followed this trend with only ten individuals (6%) reporting living with their boyfriend or girlfriend. Instead, Basque-Americans hold somewhat of a traditional living pattern in the sense that the majority of Basque-Americans live with their parents until they either move away for school or get married. Although the majority of Basque-Americans seem comfortable living with their parents, they also strongly feel that by the age of twenty-five a child should no longer live with their parents. In fact, one hundred and thirty-five of the one hundred and sixty-six individuals surveyed (81%) believe a child should move out of their parents home before the age of twenty-five. And indeed, only twelve of the one hundred and sixty-six respondents surveyed (7%) continue to live with their parents beyond the age of twenty-three.

The majority of respondents (72%) do not currently have children, but those that have children report having an average of 1.8 children. And on average, young Basque-Americans hope to eventually have 2.6 children. Despite soaring rates of children being raised in single-parent households in the United States in general (Olsen and DeFrain, 2003), only two of the one hundred and sixty-six individuals surveyed (1%) report being single-mothers. With the low rates of divorce and preponderance of duo-headed families, it is not surprising that Basque-Americans report high levels of family satisfaction. One hundred and fifty-six individuals (94%) report being "satisfied," or "very satisfied" with their family life, with one hundred and five of those surveyed (63%) indicating that they are "very satisfied" with their family life.

Based on the fact that the parents of young Basque-Americans have very low rates of divorce, and that Basque-American youth are very satisfied with their family life, one might assume that young Basque-

Americans would try to exclusively date and marry fellow Basques in order to emulate the family in which they grew up. However, this does not seem to be the case. One hundred and thirty-seven individuals surveyed (83%) reported "never dating another Basque" or only dating "a few Basques." In addition, there was no overwhelming desire to marry another Basque reported, with respondents being evenly split over the question of whether they would like to marry a Basque person or not. It can be said that while young Basque-Americans have many friends that are Basque, they do not necessarily date and marry fellow Basques.

Free time

On an average work or school day, the majority (70%) of young Basque-Americans have between one and four hours of "free time" on their hands. How do young Basque-Americans spend their free time? In order to find out, respondents were asked how often they engage in a series of free time activities. The weighted responses were averaged and put on a three point scale ranging from zero to three, with zero representing "never" engaging in this activity and three representing engaging in this activity "very often". The most commonly reported past-time is "hanging out" with friends and family, which received a 2.2 on a three point scale. Watching television was the second most frequently mentioned free time activity, receiving an average score of 1.8. With a score of 1.6, exercising was the third most frequently occurring free time activity. Tied in fourth place were "going out to eat," and "Basque-related activities," which both received a score of 1.5 on a three point scale. With a score of 1.4, reading newspapers or books was the fifth most typically reported past-time activity. Tied in sixth place were spending time on the computer and attending sporting events, both receiving scores of 1.3. In seventh place, with scores of 1.1, was another tie between going to a show (music, theatre, or movie) and volunteering for a club or organization. And, the activities that young Basque-Americans engage in the least, with a score of .9, were religious activities.

Given the large variety of free time activities to choose from, it is remarkable that "Basque related activities" came in fourth, beating out other seemingly "young" and "interesting" activities such as attending sporting events and spending time on the computer. In fact, young Basque-Americans do not seem to spend as much time on the computer as one might think; on average, young Basque-Americans report spending only 4.6 hours a week on the Internet. And how do most young Basque-Americans feel about spending time in Basque related activities? Ninety-six individuals (58%) report feeling they spend "just about the right amount of free time in Basque related activities" and another one hundred and six young Basque-Americans (64%) feel they spend "just about the right amount of free time with other Basque people." And if respondents were given the option to spend "more" or "less" time in Basque-related activities and with other Basque people, young Basque-Americans overwhelming would rather have "more" rather than "less" time dedicated to Basques and Basque activities. This is also astonishing considering the fact that, on average, young Basque-Americans already spend 31% of their estimated free-time in Basque-related activities or with other Basque people.

One might assume, given their more recent immigration to the United States, that first generation Basque-Americans would spend more time in Basque-related activities than descendants of those who immigrated earlier. However, this does not seem to be the case. First, second, and third generation Basque-Americans all seem to spend the same amount of time, which is between thirty-two and thirty-four percent of their overall free time, in Basque-related activities. And, in addition, all three generations gave the Basque-related activities question the same ranking, which was 1.5 on a three point scale. This is encouraging news which seems to imply that the amount of time spent in Basque activities is consistent and does not decrease from one generation to the next.

The final question in the section of "Free Time," was designed to understand how young Basque-Americans keep in touch with each other. Respondents were given four options, and the weighted averages were put on a three point scale ranging from zero to three, with zero representing "never," and three representing "very often." With an average score of 2.2, Young Basque-Americans primarily keep in touch with other Basques in person, through face-to-face interactions. With a score of 1.7, the second most common way to contact each other is through the phone. Third, young Basque-Americans are likely to keep in touch by emailing each other, which received a score of 1.4 on a three point scale. And, with a score of .7, the least likely way for young Basque-Americans to keep in touch is through the mail. What this implies is that young Basque-Americans are not simply keeping in touch with each other on a superficial level. Instead, they physically get together and more often than not, they get together to engage in Basque-related activi-

ties. Of the four methods mentioned, face-to-face interaction is the most likely to result in stronger and longer lasting friendships.

Religion

When asked about their religious affiliation, one hundred and forty-three respondents (85%) indicated being Catholic, with one-hundred and nine individuals (65%) mentioning being a practicing Catholic and thirty-four young Basque-Americans (20%) reporting being a non-practicing Catholic. An additional thirteen people (8%) said they believe in God, but are not religious, and ten respondents (7%) indicated being Christian, but not Catholic. Although one person identified themselves as Agnostic, no one considered themselves to be Atheist. In addition, one hundred and forty-six respondents (88%) said their religious beliefs are "important" or "very important" to them. Based on these responses, it can be said that young Basque-Americans are highly religious and have a close identification with the Catholic Faith.

Although the vast majority of young Basque-Americans are self identified Catholics and feel their religious beliefs are important to them, this does not necessarily lead to frequent Church attendance. Only forty-eight respondents (29%) attend Church once a week or more, while sixty-two individuals (46%) attend Church at most several times a year. While there is no way of knowing whether the majority of young Basque-Americans only attend Church when mass is held in the Basque language, there seems to be a strong numerical correlation between attending Church several times a year and the number of Basque masses that are typically made available to Basque Communities on Christmas, Easter, at picnics, and/or special occasions.

While there is a significant difference between professed religious affiliation and Church attendance, this discrepancy seems to be at least slightly made up for through prayer, with one hundred and fifteen young Basque-Americans (70%) reporting that they pray "often" or "very often". It seems then, that to young Basque-Americans, being Catholic is either more a personal relationship with God or a manifestation of the Basque culture, and not so much a connection to the Catholic Institution or Church. Finally, and on average, the one hundred and sixty-six respondents reported that 47% of the weddings they attend involve the marriage of at least one Basque person, while 51% of the funerals they attend are Basque funerals.

An analysis of the data also revealed some interesting intergenerational differences in terms of religion. To begin, there is a significant decline in reported Catholicism that occurs between the first and third generation of immigrants. Sixty-five individuals (97%) of first generation Basque-Americans report being Catholic, one-hundred and five people (94%) of second generation Basque-Americans identify themselves as Catholic, while only thirty-four individuals (64%) of third generation Basque-Americans acknowledge being Catholic. In comparison to first and second generation Basque-Americans who closely identify themselves with the Catholic Faith, third generation Basque-Americans are significantly more likely to claim that they believe in God, but are not religious (19%), and have a higher tendency to identify themselves as Christian, but not Catholic (15%).

There is also a marked decline in Basque wedding and funeral attendance that tends to occur between the first and third generation. While the majority of the weddings attended by first generation (55%) and second generation (54%) Basque-Americans involve the marriage of at least one Basque person, only 37% of the weddings attended by third generation Basque-Americans involve the marriage of a Basque person. And while the majority of the funerals attended by first generation (62%) and second generation (58%) Basque-Americans involve the burial of a Basque person, only 39% of the funerals attended by third generation Basque-Americans involve the burial of a Basque person. Although Catholic self-identification and Basque wedding and funeral attendance seem to decline from one generation to the next, there appears to be no significant intergenerational differences in terms of Church attendance, prayer frequency, or professed importance of religion.

Basque parental composition also seems to have a significant affect on religious identification as well as Basque wedding and funeral attendance. For instance, sixty-nine individuals (98%) of those whose parents are both Basque report being Catholic. This includes fifty-seven individuals (81%) who are practicing Catholic and twelve people (17%) who are non-practicing Catholic. While rates of Catholic self-identification decline in families where only the mother or the father is Basque, rates of practicing Catholic identification is higher among respondents whose mother is Basque (61%) in comparison to cases when a person's father is Basque (49%). And, in contrast, there are higher rates of non-practicing Catholicism among individuals whose father is Basque (29%) as opposed to cases in which a person's mother is Basque (13%). In addition, families with two parents who are Basque proportionately attend far more Basque weddings and funerals. 59% of the weddings and 63% of the funerals attended by families with two Basque parents

involve either the marriage or the burial of a Basque person. In contrast, families with only one Basque parent have significantly lower rates, with only 37% of the weddings and 42% of the funerals involving a Basque person.

Not only is Basque parental composition related to religious identification and wedding and funeral attendance, it also seems to have an affect on Church attendance and frequency of prayer. Families in which only the mother is Basque have the highest overall rate of Church attendance, while families in which only the father is Basque have the lowest rate of overall Church attendance. For instance, thirteen individuals (35%) of those whose mother is Basque attend Church at least once a week, while fourteen individuals (23%) of those whose father is Basque attend Church this often. In terms of prayer frequency, the rates among mother-only Basque families are nearly as high as in families in which both parents are Basque. For instance, fifty-three individuals (76%) of those with two Basque parents and twenty-eight people (74%) of respondents with only a Basque mother report praying "often" or "very often," while the rates of prayer for individuals who only have a Basque father declines to 58%.

The final area affected by Basque parental composition is the importance of religion. Here again, families with only a Basque mother exhibit rates that are nearly as high as the rates found among families with two Basque parents. For instance, while sixty-six respondents (95%) of those with two Basque parents and thirty-four individuals (90%) with only a Basque mother acknowledge that their religious beliefs are "important" or "very important," only forty-six individuals (80%) of those with only a Basque father report rates that high. In short, families in which both parents are Basque exhibit the highest rates of religious identification, wedding and funeral attendance, and religious practice, however, families in which only the mother is Basque closely approximate rates of religious practice and actually surpass two-parent Basque families in terms of Church attendance. Families in which only the father is Basque exhibit a marked decrease in terms of practicing Catholicism, church attendance, prayer frequency, and importance of religion.

Another variable that has an affect on religious identification and practices is gender. On most every question involving religion, young Basque-American women are slightly or significantly more religious than their male counterparts. For instance, there are slightly more Basque women who are practicing Catholics (68%) as opposed to Basque men (63%). In contrast, Basque men are more likely to identify themselves as non-practicing Catholic (24%) in contrast to Basque women (18%). Young Basque-American women also have higher rates of Church attendance, with fifty-four women (63%) attending Church at least once every couple of weeks, in contrast to their male counterparts of whom only thirty-six (46%) attend that frequently. Basque women also report praying more frequently than Basque men. For instance, seventy-two female respondents (84%) indicate praying "often" or "very often," while only forty three male participants (54%) pray that frequently. Finally, young Basque-American women report higher rates of religious importance, with seventy-nine females (92%) acknowledging that religion is "important" or "very important" to them, while only sixty seven males (84%) report rates that high.

Politics

When asked about their political affiliation, eighty seven young Basque-Americans (52%) report being Republican, forty-six respondents (28%) indicate being Democrat, six individuals (4%) acknowledge being Independent, Libertarian, or Green, seven people (4%) identify themselves as unsure or undeclared, and a final four young Basque-Americans (2%) report not being political. For the most part, political affiliation transcends age, generation, and Basque family composition, but not gender. While the majority of both young Basque-American men and women are professed Republicans, women are more likely to identify with the Democratic Party than their male counterparts. For instance, thirty-two Basque women (37%) classify themselves as Democrats, in contrast to fourteen Basque men (18%). On the other hand, forty seven Basque men (59%) categorize themselves as Republican, in comparison to forty Basque women (47%).

The majority of respondents (35%) describe themselves as "moderate" with an additional sixty four people (38%) categorizing themselves as "moderately conservative," "conservative," or extremely conservative" and thirty-five individuals (21%) classifying themselves as "moderately liberal," "liberal" or "extremely liberal." Although on a scale from extremely conservative to extremely liberal, young Basque-Americans naturally approximate a bell-shaped curve, in a single category, they are best described as "moderately conservative." Basque-American men acknowledge a greater tendency towards being conservative, while Basque-American women lean more in the direction of the liberal end of the scale. For instance, while

thirty-four Basque men (44%) place themselves in a conservative category, only thirty Basque women (34%) do so. And, while fifteen Basque women (25%) identify themselves with a liberal classification, only thirteen Basque men (16%) do so.

The next series of questions were designed to gauge what young Basque-Americans think about a variety of political issues. The majority of young Basque-Americans report being interested in political events that occur in the United States and in the Basque Country. However, they are more interested in political events that occur in the United States than those that occur in the Basque Country. To illustrate this fact, one hundred and fifty individuals (90%) "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement "I am interested in political events that occur in the United States," while one hundred and twenty-four people (75%) "agreed" or "strongly agreed" with the statement, "I am interested in political events that occur in the Basque Country." The disparity in interest may be partially explained by the fact that young Basque-Americans feel better informed of political events in the United States in comparison to events that occur in the Basque Country. For instance, one hundred and thirty-two respondents (79%) report feeling "well informed" of political events that occur in the United States, while only fifty individuals (30%) acknowledge feeling "well informed" of political events that occur in the Basque Country.

Despite feeling ill-informed of political events in the Basque Country, young Basque-Americans are as equally confident in the US Government as they are in the Basque Government. That is, one hundred and twenty people (72%) report "trusting that the US Government will do what is best for the United States" and the exact same amount, one hundred and twenty people (72%), also report "trusting that the Basque Government will do what is best for the Basque Country." When asked "Should Basques try to create a Basque Country separate from Spain and France?" the majority (54%) said "yes", with thirty-three respondents (20%) saying they "strongly agree" and fifty-six individuals (34%) saying they "agree" with the statement. While the majority of young Basque-Americans are in favor of Basque Independence, the majority are also against the use of violence for political purposes. One hundred and sixteen young Basque-Americans (70%) believe it is not even occasionally justifiable to use violence for political purposes, with sixty-nine of these individuals (42%) "strongly opposed" to violence being used in this way.

When asked, "Is the Basque Government primarily controlled by ETA?" the majority of young Basque-Americans, one hundred and twenty six respondents (76%) disagreed. In other words, young Basque-Americans trust the Basque Government, but the Basque government they have in mind has little to do with ETA. And while they are in favor of Basque Independence, it is not through the kinds of violent acts typically associated with ETA. What then, should the primary aim of the Basque Government be? One hundred and nineteen young Basque-Americans (72%) say they "agree" or "strongly agree" that the primary aim of the Basque Government should be to preserve the Basque Language. In short, young Basque-Americans are interested in political events in the Basque region and they have strong feelings concerning these events. However, their feelings are based on self-reports that they are ill-informed about what is actually going on in the Basque Country.

Current situation of youth

Young Basque-Americans were asked to rate the current situation of young people in the world today. Essentially, they rated their own personal situation the best, with one hundred and thirty-one individuals (79%) rating their own personal situation as "good" or "very good." They reported the current situation of young Basque people in the United States as being slightly worse off than for they themselves, with only ninety-three respondents (56%) rating the young Basque situation as "good" or "very good." They reported young people in the United States today as being worse off than Basque-Americans in general, with only seventy four young Basque-Americans (44%) rating young people in the United States today as "good" or "very good." And finally, they rated the current situation of young people in the world today as the worst off, with only thirty-six people (22%) reporting scores of "good" or "very good." In essence, young Basque-Americans view their own personal situation quite optimistically and see themselves as "better off" than most other young people throughout the world.

Although Basque-American youth seem quite content with their lot in life, what kinds of things worry them? Overwhelmingly noted by sixty respondents, and 16% of the total, was "war," which is not at all surprising given the fact that most of the surveys were administered during the United States War on Iraq. The second most repeated response involved financial worries, which were mentioned by forty-four individuals, or 12% of all participants. Then tied for third, each referred to by 7% of all respondents were:

employment, school, and violence or terrorism. The fourth most frequently reported worry, each being mentioned by 6% of all respondents, were: worries about the respondent's children or family, the economy, and personal or family health.

Basque traits

The next series of questions were designed to determine whether young Basque-Americans perceive Basques to be different from non-Basques. Overall, young Basque-Americans do not feel that Basques are strikingly different from non-Basques, however respondents were able to identify five traits that the majority felt were more likely to be found among Basques than non-Basques. The trait that young Basque-Americans believe Basques are most likely to possess is traditionalism. In other words, one hundred and ten respondents (66%) agree with the statement that Basques are "more traditional" than non-Basques. The second trait, with one hundred and seven individuals in agreement, is "stubbornness." That is, sixty four percent of those surveyed think that Basques are more stubborn than non-Basques. The next characteristic young Basque-Americans associate with Basques more non-Basques is being a "hard worker," with ninety-five respondents (57%) in agreement. The fourth trait, with eighty respondents in agreement (48%), is Basques are "more fun" than non-Basques The final characteristic respondents associate with Basques as opposed to non-Basques is a "better family life," with seventy-eight young Basque-Americans (47%) in agreement.

The next ten traits did not receive a majority vote, and therefore, can be viewed as not being a trait particular to Basques. In order of popularity, the trait that ranks highest on this list is "religious." In other words, seventy-one (51%) of those surveyed believe that Basque are not more religious than non-Basques. Following this logic, ninety-one respondents (55%) think Basques are not physically stronger than non-Basques. Ninety-four individuals (57%) consider Basques to be no more generous than non-Basques. Ninety-six people (58%) believe Basques do not make better friends than non-Basques. Ninety-six individuals (58%) think Basques are not happier than non-Basques. One hundred and one young Basque-Americans (61%) believe Basques are not more honest when compared to non-Basques. One-hundred and eight individuals (65%) believe Basques do not make better marital partners than non-Basques. One hundred and fourteen respondents (69%) consider Basques to be no more financially successful when compared to non-Basques. One hundred and seventeen people (70%) believe Basques do not do better in school than non-Basques. One hundred and nineteen young Basque-Americans (72%) think Basques are not more intelligent than non-Basques. And finally, one hundred and twenty-six respondents (76%) believe Basques are not more politically involved when compared to non-Basques.

An analysis of the data revealed several interesting gender differences regarding Basque traits. Specifically, there are three traits that the majority of Basque men believe are true of Basques in comparison to non-Basques, whereas the majority of Basque women respondents disagree. First, the majority of Basque men surveyed believe Basques have better family lives than non-Basques, but the majority of women do not believe this is true. Second, the majority of Basque men surveyed believe Basques are more religious than non-Basques, but the majority of women disagree with this statement. And third, the majority of Basque men surveyed think Basques are more fun than non-Basques, yet the majority of Basque women disagree.

Other differences can be found when comparing the responses of those raised in homes with only a Basque father vs. those raised in homes with the presence of only a Basque-mother. The majority of those raised in Basque father only homes agree that Basques are more likely to possess five traits when compared to non-Basques. However, the majority of those raised in Basque mother only homes disagree. In particular, the majority of those raised in Basque father only homes believe Basques are "harder workers," they are "physically stronger," they are "more religious," they are "more fun," and they are "more generous." However, the majority of those raised in Basque mother only homes believe these traits are no more likely to be found among Basques than non-Basques.

Basque identity

The next question asks respondents to define themselves and is aimed at determining the extent to which each respondent identifies with the Basque culture. The majority of those surveyed, that is seventy-eight individuals and 46% of the total, define themselves as "equally Basque and American". The next most popular response is evenly divided between those who identify themselves as "more Basque than American" and those who categorize themselves as "Basque." Both of these cases each encompass thirty-three respondents and 20% of the total. Next, twenty-one respondents (13%) classify themselves as "more American than Basque." And finally, only one person (1%) regularly defines themselves as "American."

Based on these responses, young Basque-Americans as a whole identify themselves more closely with the Basque culture than with the American culture.

Although there appears to be no significant gender difference in terms of Basque-American self identification, there are intergenerational and family composition differences that are noteworthy. Respondents raised in homes with two Basque parents identify themselves more closely with the Basque side of the spectrum than the American side, while respondents raised in homes with only one Basque parent identify themselves more closely with the American side of the spectrum. For instance, 24% of those raised in homes where both parents are Basque identify themselves as "More Basque than American," in contrast 17% of those raised in homes in which only one parent is Basque classify themselves as such. And, whereas only 6% of those raised in homes in which both parents are Basque categorized themselves as "More American than Basque," 18% of those raised in homes where only one parent is Basque categorize themselves as such. The Basque identity of young Basque-Americans also seems to fade across time. That is, the descendants of those who immigrated to the United States the latest report the highest degree of Basque self definition. For instance, 30% of first generation Basque-Americans, 20% of second generation Basque-Americans, and only 13% of third generation Basque-Americans identify themselves as "More Basque than American." In contrast, 7% of first generation Basque-Americans, 11% of second generation Basque-Americans, and 19% of third generation Basque-Americans categorize themselves as "More American than Basque."

Respondents were next asked, "In your opinion, what makes a person Basque?" The responses to this question were weighted and averaged and then placed on a two point scale, with zero representing "not at all," and two representing "definitely." The overwhelming consensus from those surveyed is that blood or ancestry is what makes a person Basque. Indeed, one hundred and fifty respondents (90%) feel that blood, or ancestry "definitely" makes a person Basque. Overall, this response received a score of 1.9 on a two point scale. After blood or ancestry there was a significant gap in scores, with "engaging in Basque activities" coming in at second place, with a score of 1.2. "Speaking the Basque language" closely followed with a score of 1.1. "Being born in the Basque Country" was the next most common response, scoring 1.0 on a two point scale. Then, with a score of .8, "living in the Basque Country" comes next, followed by "being Catholic" in last place, with a score of .5. This question had a very high level of agreement, with responses remaining stable across gender, parental composition, and generation.

Next, respondents were asked, "On a scale from 1-10 how proud do you feel to be Basque?" and "On a scale from 1-10 how Basque do you feel?" On average, young Basque-Americans report very high scores, with respondents scoring a 9.4 in Basque Pride and an 8.2 in Basque feeling. When gender is taken into consideration, young Basque-American women report higher scores of Basque Pride (9.5) and Basque Feeling (8.4) in comparison to their male counterparts who scored a 9.2 in Basque Pride and an 8.0 in Basque Feeling. Basque Pride proved to be highly consistent and even increased slightly across time, with first and second generation Basque-Americans receiving an average score of 9.4 in Basque Pride, and third generation individuals scoring 9.5. In contrast, first generation Basque-American report higher degrees of Basque Feeling, scoring an 8.6 in comparison to second generation individuals who scored a 8.4 and third generation respondents who received an average score of 7.6. In cases where respondents grew up with two Basque parents, higher rates of Basque Pride (9.5) and Basque Feeling (8.8) where reported in contrast to Basque-Americans who were raised in homes with only one Basque parent. Respondents with only one Basque parent received average scores of 9.3 for Basque Pride and 7.7 for Basque Feeling.

Basque relatives and country

In general, most young Basque-Americans (66%) have visited the Basque Country. Of those who have visited the Basque Country, each respondent has done so an average of 4.1 times. First-generation Basque-Americans visit the Basque Country more often than young Basque-Americans in general. Indeed, first generation Basque-Americans have visited the Basque Country an average of 5.6 times, second generation Basque-Americans have been to the Basque Country an average of 3.6 times, and third generation Basque-Americans have visited the Basque Country an average of 2.1 times.

The top four reasons young Basque-Americans give for visiting the Basque Country is "to visit their relatives" (49%), followed by "to learn the culture" (18%), for their education (11%), and then to learn the Basque language (9%). What these individuals like about the Basque Country is "seeing relatives" (18%), "the countryside" (18%), "the people" (16%), "the parties" (14%), "the language" (13%), and "the music" (13%). First generation Basque-Americans are more likely to report visiting the Basque Country "to

visit relatives," while later generation Basque-Americans are more likely to mention going to the Basque Country "to learn the culture." In fact, 57% of first generation Basque-Americans, 48% of second generation Basque-Americans, and 29% of third generation Basque-Americans acknowledge going to the Basque Country to visit relatives. In contrast, 13% of first generation Basque-Americans, 18% of second generation Basque-Americans, and 23% of third generation Basque-Americans report visiting the Basque Country to learn the culture.

As opposed to those who have visited the Basque Country and have done so quite frequently, there is another group of fifty-five people (or 33% of the respondents) who never visited the Basque Country. Of those who have never visited the Basque Country, fifty-two individuals (90%) say they "definitely plan to visit in the future," six people (10%) say they "might visit, but it is not a high priority in their life," and no one reported having "no desire to visit the Basque Country." A desire to visit the Basque Country is consistent across gender, generation, and family composition.

On average, it is estimated that about a third (or 32%) of the respondents' relatives live in the Basque Country. Although young Basque-Americans have a comparatively large number of relatives in the Basque Country, they are rarely contacted. Indeed eighty-four people (50%) report that they "rarely" or "never" contact their relatives in the Basque Country. Of those who do communicate with their relatives, about one-third contact their relatives by phone, and another third contact their relatives by email. First generation Basque-Americans and individuals with two Basque parents report having more relatives in the Basque Country than later generations and those with only one Basque parent. In fact, 49% of the relatives of first generation Basque-Americans live in the Basque Country, and 46% of the relatives of individuals with two Basque parents reside in the Basque Country.

First generation Basque-Americans, those with two Basque parents, and Basque-American women, report higher rates of contact with their relatives than average. For instance, thirty-one first generation Basque-Americans (46%) mention getting in touch with their relatives "often," or "very often," while only thirty-nine second generation Basque-Americans (35%), and three third generation Basque-Americans (6%) report communicating with their relatives that frequently. In terms of family composition, twenty-nine individuals (42%) of those with two Basque parents acknowledge contacting their relatives "often," or "very often," while only fourteen individuals (15%) of those who have only one Basque parent report keeping in touch with their relatives that often. In terms of gender, twenty-nine Basque-American women (34%) mention contacting their relatives "often," or "very often," whereas, only fourteen Basque-American men (18%) indicate communicating with their relatives that frequently.

Although the majority of respondents have visited the Basque Country, the majority of those surveyed have not lived in the Basque Country. Indeed, one hundred and thirty-nine individuals (84%) have never lived in the Basque Country. Of the 22 people (or 23%) that have lived in the Basque Country, the majority (73%) have done so for a short period of time, typically for a year or less. Of those who have never lived in the Basque Country, the majority (or 32%) would consider living there for a short time, twenty-four people (14%) would live in the Basque Country if there was a job for them, and twenty-three young Basque-Americans (13%) said they would live there in order to study.

Interestingly, young Basque-American women are twice as likely to have lived in the Basque Country in comparison to their male counterparts. In fact, fifteen Basque women (17%) have lived in the Basque Country, in contrast to seven Basque men (9%). Of those individuals who have never lived in the Basque Country, Basque-American women are more than twice as likely to say that they would be interested in living in the Basque Country in order to further their studies. Indeed, seventeen Basque-American women (18%) would consider studying in the Basque Country, in contrast to six Basque-American men (7%). And of those who have never lived in the Basque Country, third generation Basque-Americans appear to be the most interested in one day living in the Basque Country. In fact, 69% of first generation Basque-Americans, 73% of second generation Basque-Americans, and 79% of third generation Basque-Americans say they would be interested in living in the Basque Country.

Basque language

The next section is aimed at determining how well young Basque-Americans understand, speak, read, and write Basque. In order to determine Basque language proficiency, responses were weighted and averaged on a three point scale, with zero representing "not at all" and three representing "fluently." Based on the responses collected, it can be said that young Basque-Americans are not proficient in the Basque language. On average, young Basque-Americans scored a 1.0, on a three point scale, in terms of Basque comprehen-

sion, .8 in speaking the Basque language, .6 in Basque reading ability, and .4 in Basque writing ability. Another way to interpret the results is to note that, only twelve people (7%) report being able to fluently speak Basque. However, the vast majority (83%) can speak only some words or not at all. When it comes to reading Basque, only twenty-one of one hundred and sixty-six people surveyed (12%) report being able to read Basque "fairly well" or "fluently" and even fewer (7%) feel they are able to write in Basque "fairly well" or "fluently."

Although Basque language proficiency among young Basques in the United States is already quite low, Basque language ability has declined over the generations. The degeneration of Basque language proficiency can be traced in Basque language comprehension as well as speaking, writing, and reading skills. For instance, Basque language comprehension skills fell from 1.48 among the first generation, to 1.25 in the second generation, and .67 in the third generation. Similarly, first generation Basque-American youth scored 1.19 on a three point scale in Basque speaking skills, which declined to .99 in the second generation, and .53 in the third. Basque reading abilities among first generation respondents was the highest at .98, then lowered to .73 in the second generation, and .24 in the third generation. And finally, Basque writing abilities scored a high of .6 in the first generation, .46 in the second generation, and .2 in the third generation. These scores are extremely low, but more disturbing is the fact that, based on these trends, Basque-Americans can most likely anticipate a further deterioration of Basque language skills in the future.

Although both Basque-American men and women exhibit low proficiency in the Basque language, on every dimension measured, Basque-American women are more competent in the Basque Language than their male counterparts. For instance and on average, Basque-American women scored a 1.2 on a three point scale in Basque Comprehension, while Basque-American men received a .94. In speaking skills, Basque women attained a .9, while Basque men scored a .76. In terms of reading, Basque women scored .71, while Basque men scored .49. And, in regard to writing the Basque language, Basque-American women on average received a score of .5, while a score of .28 was the average for their male counterparts.

Of those who report being able to at least minimally speak Basque, sixty-two individuals (30%) learned to do so at home. Another thirty-one respondents (16%) said they learned to speak Basque at Udaleku or by taking Basque classes, and twenty-one people (10%) reported primarily learning how to speak Basque in the Basque Country. Clearly, these statistics demonstrate that those who speak Basque primarily learn to do so at home. Unfortunately, very little Basque seems to be spoken in the homes of most respondents. One-hundred and twenty-five young Basque-Americans (75%) report speaking mostly English at home. Only seven people (4%) indicate speaking mostly in Basque in and around their home, while another twelve individuals (7%) acknowledge speaking in both English and Basque. There is a clear and significant decline in the amount of Basque spoken at home over the generations. Thirty-one first generation Basque-Americans (46%), seventy-six second generation respondents (68%), and fifty third generation Basque-Americans (96%), report speaking mostly in English at home. In contrast, seventeen first generation respondents (25%), eighteen second generation individuals (16%), and zero (0%) third generation Basque-Americans report speaking mostly in Basque, or in both English and Basque, at home.

Although the majority of young Basque-Americans do not speak Basque or do so poorly, they appear very eager to learn. Of those who do not speak Basque, only 12 people (7%) stated that they would not like to learn Basque. The bulk of the respondents (70%) said they would like to learn to speak Basque. Indeed, eighty-three young Basque-Americans (50%) said they would take Basque Courses if they were offered near their home, and an additional thirty-three people (20%) reported they would even be willing to travel to the Basque Country to learn. Basque-American women are more eager to learn the Basque language than are Basque-American men, with sixty one women (73%) and fifty-five men (67%) stating that they are willing to learn. In addition, descendants of earlier immigrants are more eager to learn the Basque language, than are the descendants of later immigrants. In fact, thirty-three first generation Basque-Americans (50%), seventy second generation Basque-Americans (63%), and forty-six third generation Basque-Americans (83%), report that they would like to learn to speak Basque.

Basque skills

The one hundred and sixty-six young Basque-Americans were asked to rate themselves in terms of how well, how often and for how long they Basque dance, play Mus, play a Basque instrument, play a Basque Sport, and sing Basque songs. In general it turns out that young Basque-Americans are most adept at Basque dance, followed by playing Mus, then singing Basque Songs, playing a Basque Sport, and finally playing a Basque Instrument.

Of all the Basque skills listed above, young Basque-Americans have had the most experience Basque dancing. In fact, one hundred and forty-two of those surveyed (86%) have danced in a Basque dancing group, while only twenty-four individuals (14%) have not. Of those who have danced in a Basque dancing group, each respondent has done so for an average of ten years. With so many years of Basque dancing experience, it is not surprising that young Basque-Americans feel that they are very capable dancers. Sixty-seven respondents (40%) report being able to Basque dance "very well" and another thirty-six people (22%) think they can Basque dance "well." Another forty-two individuals (25%) claim they can Basque dance "a little," and only twenty-one young Basque-Americans (13%) acknowledge that they cannot Basque dance "at all." How often are young Basque-Americans able to Basque Dance? One hundred and three individuals (62%) said "often" or "sometimes," while sixty-two people (37%) reported "rarely" or "never."

The second Basque skill that young Basque-Americans feel they are good at and with which they have had experience, is mus. Although mus skills are ranked second to dance, it must be said that there is a large gap in skill levels between dance and all other skills, including mus. In fact, self-rated Basque dancing abilities scored an average of 1.9 on a weighted three point scale, while self-rated mus abilities received an average score of 1.2. Most respondents (66%) report having never played in a competitive mus tournament. Of those who have played in mus tournaments the average number of years of experience is six. Sixty-four respondents (38%) report being able to play mus "very well" or "well," while sixty-three young Basque-Americans (60%) say they play mus only "a little" or "not at all." Not surprisingly, those who are able to play mus, are the only ones who do play. So that, seventy individuals (43%) acknowledge playing mus "sometimes" or "often," while ninety-two respondents (55%) claim that they "rarely" or "never" play mus.

Receiving an average score of 1.0 on a three point scale, singing Basque songs comes in third place in terms of self-rated capabilities. The majority feel they are unable to sing Basque songs, with one hundred and eighteen respondents (71%) claiming they can only sing "a little" or "not at all." That leaves, only forty-five people (27%) with the ability to sing Basque songs "well" or "very well." Perhaps even more telling is the fact that one hundred and fifty-seven respondents (95%) have never sung in a Basque Choir, and those that have sung in a Basque choir, have all done so for an average of no more than three years.

In fourth place, receiving an average score of .8 on a three point scale, is Basque Sport, with one hundred and twenty-five individuals (76%) acknowledging that they can only play a Basque Sport "a little" or "not at all" and only thirty-eight respondents (23%) stating they can play "well" or "very well." The vast majority (72%) have never competed in a Basque Sport Tournament, while the other forty-seven respondents (28%) have. Fifth in the ranking, receiving an average score of .6 on a three point scale, is the ability to play a Basque Instrument. One hundred and thirty-eight young Basque-Americans (83%) admit that they can only play a Basque instrument "a little" or "not at all" and only twenty-five people (15%) claim that they are able to play "well" or "very well." Indeed one hundred and nineteen people (72%) said they have never studied or played a Basque Instrument. Although the majority of young Basque-Americans do not have much experience playing Basque sports or Basque Instruments, it is important to note that those who do are quite experienced. Indeed, those who compete in Basque athletic tournaments, or who regularly practice a Basque instrument have done so for an average of seven years, with three individuals (2%) in each category having played a Basque Sport or Instrument for over twenty years.

Gender intersects Basque skills in several interesting ways. First of all, Basque-American women rate themselves higher in terms of Basque dance, Basque singing, and Basque instruments than do their male counterparts. In contrast, Basque-American men give themselves higher self ratings in terms of their mus and Basque sport abilities. Again it turns out that the activities people engage in more frequently are the same activities at which they excel. That is, young Basque-American women report dancing, singing, and playing a Basque instrument more frequently than men, while young Basque-American men report engaging in Basque sport and mus more frequently than women. On average, Basque-American women have four more years of experience dancing in a Basque dancing group than men, while Basque-American men have four more years of experience competing in Basque sport tournaments and three more years competing in mus tournaments than women. Although women rate themselves as better at singing and playing a Basque instrument, on average, Basque-American men and women who play a Basque instrument both have seven years of experience, and those who have sung in a choir have done so for an average of three years, regardless of gender.

The majority of Basque skills show a tendency to decline from generation to generation, with the exception of Basque dance. First, second, and third generation Basque-Americans all seem to be highly skilled Basque dancers, with first and second generation individuals rating themselves 2.0 on a three point scale,

while third generation respondents are not far behind at 1.7. Although first generation Basque-Americans have eleven years of experience dancing in Basque dancing groups, and second generation report ten years of experience, third generation Basque-Americans have fewer years of experience, but are still highly experienced with an average of eight years of participation. Apart from dancing, all other skills, exhibit a marked decline over time. Mus abilities among first generation Basque-Americans score an average of 1.6 on a three point scale, declining to 1.4 by the second generation, and .6 in the third. In terms of Basque singing, first generation Basque-Americans received a composite score of 1.4, on a three point scale, while second generation respondents achieved a 1.2, and third generation individuals attained a score of .7. In terms of Basque sport, first generation Basque-Americans again rate themselves the highest with a score of 1.2, which goes down to 1.1 in the second generation, and .5 in the third generation. The ability to play a Basque instrument is the highest among the first and second generation, each receiving a score of .7, but significantly drops to a score of .3 among third generation Basque-Americans.

Relations with basque clubs

Roughly two-thirds (61%) of those surveyed report that their Basque Club has a Club House or Cultural Center and nearly the same amount (58%) believe it is "very important" to have a Basque Center in order to keep the Basque Culture alive. Although respondents from all three generations are equally likely to acknowledge the importance of having a Basque Center, the descendants of more recent immigrants are more likely to have a Basque Center than in other generations. For instance, fifty-four first generation respondents (84%) have access to a local Basque Center, whereas only eighty-three second generation individuals (74%), and twenty-seven third generation Basque-Americans (52%) acknowledge having a local center.

The activities that are most regularly offered by Basque Clubs in the United States include: an annual club picnic, fundraising events, holiday festivities, Basque Dancing Lessons, and Basque Masses, Basque Sporting Events, Mus Tournaments, a Basque Singing Group, and Special Events. Activities that are irregularly offered by a typical Basque club include: Klika, Basque Instrument Lessons, Basque Cooking Lessons, Basque Language Courses, and activities for children. It is highly unlikely for a typical Basque Club to offer Basque History Courses or Basque Theater or Movies. Third generation Basque clubs are significantly less likely to have a Klika or Basque Singing Group and to offer Basque Instrument Lessons and Basque Sport Tournaments than earlier generations. In contrast, first generation Basque clubs are considerably less likely to offer Basque Cooking Lessons, Basque Language Courses, or Basque History Courses than later generations.

More than any other event that is typically offered, young Basque-Americans report being primarily involved in Basque Dancing, followed by annual picnics, fundraising events and Basque Masses. Although individuals are equally involved in fundraising events, holiday festivities, Basque dancing, and activities for children across the generations, there is a marked decline in young Basque-American participation in Basque masses, Klika, Basque Sport Tournaments, and Muss Tournaments from the first to the third generation. And while young Basque-American women of all generations are more likely to participate in Holiday Festivities, Basque Dancing, and Basque Instrument Lessons than are their male counterparts, young Basque-American men are far more likely to be involved in Klika and Basque Sport Tournaments.

Basque-American youth also report being highly interested in events that are not typically offered by their clubs. For instance, eighty individuals surveyed (47%) said they would take Basque language Courses if they were offered by their club, seventy five Basque-Americans (45%) said they would be interested in Basque History Courses, sixty-six people (40%) report a desire to attend Basque Theater or Movies, and sixty-two individuals (35%) say they would take Basque Cooking Lessons if they were offered. Why do young Basque-Americans attend Basque Club Events? Primarily because they are interested in the activities offered and to see their friends. But they also go to eat the food and because it is a family tradition. They are encouraged to attend Basque Club Activities primarily by their mothers (20%), then their fathers (17%), followed by their Basque friends (15%) and other relatives (12%). One hundred and fifty-nine individuals surveyed (93%) reported feeling that "no one" discourages them from participating in club events and activities.

What do young Basque-Americans like and dislike about their Basque Clubs? First of all, one hundred and twenty-four individuals (75%) mentioned liking the food, while one hundred and eighteen individuals (71%) said they liked getting together with friends. Next, one hundred and nine respondents (66%) said they felt their club offered a "comfortable environment," and one hundred and seven individuals (64%) suggested

liking their Basque club because it is a place where they "have a lot of fun." In general it can be said that young Basque-Americans have many positive things to say about their clubs. In fact, eight-hundred and fifty four positive comments where made about respective Basque Clubs, which averages out to approximately five positive comments per respondent. In contrast, only seventy-one negative aspects were mentioned. Of these comments, twelve individuals (7%) said they disliked the fact that there were few opportunities for young people to get involved. While, nine individuals (5%) thought their club was an "uncomfortable environment", and an additional nine individuals (5%) felt their club was "boring."

Most young Basque-Americans (77%) are members of their local Basque Club and they each have been a member for an average of nine years. How involved are young Basque-Americans in their club's Board of Directors or Governing Body? Thirty-two of the one hundred and sixty-six individuals surveyed (19%) report serving on their club's Board of Directors or Governing Body, and those who have served, have done so for an average of three years. Nine young Basque-Americans (5%) have served as Club President, five people (3%) as Club Vice-President, thirteen individuals (7%) as Club Secretary, and twenty-five respondents (14%) as Dance Group Leaders. When gender is considered, it turns out that young Basque-American women are far more likely to occupy a position as club secretary and dance group leader than are Basque men. In contrast, young Basque-American men are far more likely to occupy leadership positions in Basque Sport Organizing. In terms of intergenerational differences, third generation individuals are the least likely of the generations to serve on their club's Board of Directors.

Although young Basque-Americans only minimally occupy positions of leadership in their local Basque Clubs, what are their hopes in terms of future leadership positions? Ninety-seven individuals (58%) report a desire to be more involved with their club. And, forty-nine respondents (30%) would like to occupy more positions of leadership in their local Club. What positions are they interested in? Twenty-one people (11%) would like to be a dance group leader, while fourteen individuals (7%) would like to be their Club President, and twelve Basque-Americans (6%) would like to be a Basque Sports Organizer. While young Basque men and women would equally like to be their Basque Club President, young Basque-American women are more interested than men in becoming club Vice-President, Club Treasurer, Club Secretary, or a Dance Group Leader. In contrast, Basque-American men are more drawn to a position as a Basque Sports Organizer. What is preventing young people from being more involved in their clubs? Fifty-eight individuals (35%) say they are too busy and do not have the time. An additional twenty-two people (13%) explain that they are already too involved in Basque activities, and another twenty-two respondents (13%) said that they are unable to be more involved at this time because their club is either too far, or they are currently away at school.

In terms of NABO participation, thirteen individuals (8%) have served as a NABO delegate, and each has done so for an average of 2.5 years. To date, no young Basque-American surveyed, has ever been a NABO officer Twenty-five additional young Basque-Americans (15%) state that they would be interested in one day occupying a position of leadership in NABO. Sixteen individuals (8%) would like to be a NABO delegate, while nine young Basque-Americans (5%) hope to one day be a NABO officer. Third generation Basque-Americans are significantly less likely to serve as a NABO officer or delegate. In fact, of those surveyed, not a single third-generation Basque-American has ever served as a NABO officer or delegate. What is preventing young people from being more involved in NABO? Twenty three individuals (14%) say they do not have the time, and fifteen individuals (9%) feel they are personally unqualified to occupy such a position.

Future image

In general, young Basque-Americans feel it is important for the Basque Culture to continue. One hundred and fifty-six individuals (94%) say it is "very important" for the Basque Culture to continue in the Basque Country, one hundred and forty-one respondents (85%) report it being "very important" for the Basque Culture to continue in the United States, and one hundred and four young Basque-Americans (84%) acknowledge it being "very important" for the Basque Culture to continue in their local area. Basque Youth are highly optimistic that the Basque Culture will continue well into the future. One hundred and forty-five of those surveyed (87%) report believing that the Basque Culture will never end in the Basque Country, one hundred and four individuals (63%) think it will never end in the United States, and one hundred people (60%) feel it will never end in their local area. Interestingly, those who are the descents of earlier immigrants are the most optimistic that the Basque culture will continue well into the future. To illustrate, thirty seven first generation (55%), sixty seven second generation (60%), and thirty-four third generation (65%) young Basque-Americans believe the Basque culture will never end in the United States. And simi-

larly, thirty-five first generation (52%), sixty-five second generation (58%), and thirty-four third generation (65%) respondents think the Basque Culture will never end in their local area. Apparently what may be happening is that third-generation Basque-Americans, having made it thus far, are more optimistic that the Basque Culture will never end.

How responsible do young Basque-Americans sense they are for the perpetuation of the Basque culture? In general, respondents feel responsible for perpetuating the Basque Culture in the United States, but not in the Basque Country. One hundred and thirty-one individuals (78%) report "agreeing" or "strongly agreeing" with the statement that "The future of the Basque Culture in the United States is in my hands," while only forty-nine respondents (29%) report "agreeing" or "strongly agreeing" with the statement, "The future of the Basque Culture in the Basque Country is in my hands." Young Basque-Americans feel even more responsible for perpetuating the Basque Culture in their local area, with one hundred and forty young Basque-Americans (85%) "agreeing" or "strongly agreeing" with the statement, "The future of my local Basque Club is in my hands."

Conclusions

The typical young Basque-American surveyed has two parents who are Basque. One or both of these parents predominantly emigrated from the provinces of Vizcaya, Bas Navarra, or Navarra. Although most of the parents of those surveyed have very low levels of educational attainment, young Basque-Americans quickly surpass their parents in terms of education. The average respondent excels in school and will receive at least a Bachelor's Degree. The majority of those surveyed work full time and are not suffering from unemployment. The typical young Basque-American moves out of their parents home between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. They are able to financially support themselves and their families and comfortably reside in the middle and upper-middle classes.

Most respondents were single at the time of the survey and tend to postpone marriage until their mid to late twenties. The parents of young Basque-Americans, and the respondents themselves, have very low rates of divorce. Young Basque-Americans live traditional lifestyles with very few choosing to live with their significant others without being married, and even fewer occupying single headed households. Of those surveyed, most do not have children, but hope to have children one day. Those that do have offspring, have an average of two children. The typical young Basque-American is "very satisfied" with their family life. In their free time, young Basque-Americans enjoy hanging out with friends and family, watching TV, exercising, going out to eat, and engaging in Basque-related activities. The majority of those surveyed wish they had more time to engage in Basque-related activities.

Young Basque-Americans are primarily practicing Catholics who feel their religious beliefs are very important to them. Although Basque-Americans pray often, they do not regularly attend Church. Nearly half of the weddings and funerals attended by young Basque-Americans are Basque weddings and funerals.

The typical young Basque-American is Republican and "moderately conservative." They are interested in political events that occur in the United States and the Basque Country, they feel well informed of political events in the United States, but ill-informed of political events in the Basque Country. Young Basque-Americans trust that the US and Basque Government will "do what is best" for their respective countries. The majority of those surveyed are in favor of Basque Independence, they are strongly opposed to the use of violence for political purposes and they believe the primary aim of the Basque Government should be to preserve the Basque Language.

Rating their own current situation as "good" or "very good," young Basque-Americans believe they are better off than most young people in the United States and as well as throughout the world. When young Basque-Americans worry, they report being primarily concerned about war, finances, employment, school, and violence. Overall, young Basque-Americans do not feel that Basques are strikingly different from non-Basques, however they do tend to agree that Basques are more traditional, more stubborn, harder workers, more fun, and have better family lives than non-Basques.

The typical Basque-American defines him or herself as "equally Basque and American." They overwhelmingly believe that what makes a person Basque is their blood or ancestry. Most Basque-Americans are extremely proud to be Basque and report strongly feeling that they are indeed Basque. Most young Basque-Americans have visited the Basque Country several times. They primarily go to the Basque Country to visit their relatives. Those that have never been to the Basque Country are very eager to one day visit. Although one-third of the respondents' relatives live in the Basque Country, for the most part these individuals are rarely or never contacted. The average young Basque-American has never lived in the Basque

Country and has no desire to do so.

Young Basque-Americans exhibit very low levels of Basque language proficiency. Very few can understand, speak, read, and/or write in Basque. Of those who can speak Basque, the majority learn to do so at home. However, very little Basque is being spoken in the home, with the majority of those surveyed speaking mostly in English. Although the vast majority of young-Basque-Americans are unable to speak Basque, they are very eager to learn and the majority said they would take Basque classes if offered. Young Basque-Americans are very good dancers and have had a lot of experience dancing. After Basque dancing there is a large drop in skill levels, with mus being next, followed by singing Basque songs, Basque Sport, and playing a Basque Instrument.

Most young Basque-Americans have access to a local Basque Center, and feel it is very important to have a Basque Center in order to preserve the Basque culture. A typical Basque Club in the United States regularly offers, an annual club picnic, fundraising events, holiday events, Basque dancing lessons, Basque masses, Basque sporting events, Basque mus tournaments, a Basque singing Group, and Special Events. Of these events, young Basque-Americans are most likely to participate in dancing, picnics, fundraising and Basque Masses. Respondents are highly interested in the kind of events that are not typically offered by Basque Clubs including: Basque Language Courses, Basque History Courses, Basque Theater or Movies, and Basque Cooking lessons.

Young Basques attend club events because they are "interested in the activities" and "to see their friends." Basque-American youth report being primarily encouraged to attend Basque Club events by family members. There are many positive things, and few negative things young Basque-Americans have to say about their Basque Club. Young Basque-Americans enjoy the food, getting together with friends, the comfortable environment and the fun they have at their club. Most Basque youth are members of their local club however the majority do not occupy leadership positions. Those surveyed would like to be more involved in their local Basque clubs however the majority are not interested in occupying leadership positions in the future.

Finally, most young Basque-Americans feel it is "very important" for the Basque Culture to continue in the Basque Country, in the United States, and in their local areas. And, they are highly optimistic that the Basque Culture will never die in the Basque Country, United States, and in their local areas. Most young Basque-Americans feel personally responsible for carrying the Basque Culture forward in the United States and in their local areas, but not in the Basque Country.

Aurrera goaz — zelan eta zergatik
How and Why Should Basque Culture Go Forward

John M. Ysursa, NABO Cultural Chairman

A Proposal for Opening a Dialogue Among Generations of Basques-Americans

Trinity Rodriguez was not born a Basque but became one when she married a Basque from Buffalo, Wyoming and they raised their children as being cognizant of their Basque heritage. Her child of seven years one day asked Trinity "what is a Basque?" She responded that there were many different ways to answer that question, and gave her child the answer she knew the best: Basque culture is the "same as how you feel about your religion, it is in your blood and mind and makes you who you are. The person that you will become when you get older is a combination of all the people before you, your ancestors, with a little of yourself to add to the mixture to make the generations after you even richer as a person of Basque heritage." She concluded that this answer seemed to satisfy her child, but "maybe because it was too long! HA! HA!"

In Euskara zer ginen, zer gara means "who were and who are the Basques?" Culture must be transmitted from generation to generation for it to endure, so this becomes, I believe, one of the key issues that we (i.e., NABO, Basque clubs, those who aspire to preserve the Basque heritage) need to address. We know generally what the Basque world was for the early generation of immigrant Basque-Americans (e.g., sheep industry, coming from a rural background, etc.). But what is it today? What is it to be a Basque-American at the beginning of the 21st century? Furthermore, what does it mean to be Basque in Euskal Herria? Exploring these issues is essential if we are going to tell our young people why they should choose to preserve a Basque heritage.

Mordecai Kaplan wrote that: "To answer any difficult question raised by a child, two requirements are necessary: 1] the ability to answer the question to the satisfaction of an adult, and 2] the ability to adapt that answer to a child's mind in accordance with his age." Kaplan was writing about the challenge in answering questions about God and illness. It is of course not the same, but I do believe that his conclusion is relevant to our current Basque situation. Kaplan concluded that "the main difficulty in answering this question [in our case the question of what does it mean to be Basque] is that we have not yet arrived at an answer that is fully satisfying to the modern adult mind."

Public relations campaign

So our challenge here is essentially to develop an effective public relations campaign. How can those who have embraced and acted upon their Basque heritage communicate to others why? How can we hope to encourage others to join us? We will follow Kaplan's advice because he gives us the crucial elements of running a good P.R. campaign. We begin with developing satisfying responses for adults, because those who are seeking to communicate to others need to know—really know—what they are talking about. Then we will move to adapting these adult responses to the young. Here is the other key element of the effective P.R. campaign: know your audience. In this case, we will examine how our young people generally see and understand the world.

So what are Basques for? What set of values define Basque culture? I accept the central role played by the language, but as this factor grows less central over time in our Basque-American community, we'll need to identify other elements to satisfy ourselves so that we can then explain them to the children. If Basque culture is to endure, the older generation will have to transmit it to the younger generation: so what should we tell the children?

Aurrera goaz

The third international congress of Basque entities set as its theme how to better integrate youth into Basque organizations. The title adopted by this congress is aurrera goaz ["forward we go"]. It represented a timely choice because many a Basque organization is experiencing the same challenge: how to sustain a distinct Basque identity now at the beginning of the 21st century. The Basque population continues to grow exponentially; there are more Basques now than ever before. But this growth has not been reflected in the membership roles of various Basque organizations because simply stated, many Basque youth have not chosen to actively affiliate themselves. Why do we continue to see more of the following: a Basque couple with children who always brought their kids around to almost all of the events, but when the kids were old enough we hardly ever see them again at Basque events? Their parents had made the choice to be Basque, but why have so many of the next generation forsaken this?

To these questions are added more. Another question that we will explore is that of who the Basques were: where they came from, how they lived, what brought them to the Americas, etc. Then we will need grapple with modern issues that have redefined Basques to explore who the Basques are today. What defines a modern Basque? These two questions of what were and what are the Basques, however, are not a dichotomy because who the Basques were still influences who they are today. Finally, all of these questions converge around a core question: what is the source of Basqueness?

Today being Basque is primarily a state of mind in that people choose to identify themselves as being Basque. As noted in the opening anecdote, it can be likened to choosing a particular religion, in the sense that one opts to commit themselves—time, energy, finances, creativity, etc—to a specific community. Being religious requires a commitment, and it is a similar commitment of dedicated members that sustains a local Basque community. We have to believe in being Basque and that it is worth our commitment.

Today in the modern, industrialized West, individuals are generally afforded far more choices than ever before, and within this context we are given an opportunity to generally write our own screenplay: we get to decide who we are going to be. Unlike earlier times when choices were more limited, the modern barrage of options for many presents a distinct challenge to one of the world's oldest ethnic cultures. So if we are intent on "aurrera goaz," that is moving forward, how are we to proceed to best maximize the viability and preservation of Basque identity? How can the Basques go forward in a world defined by increasing alternative options and demands on our time and commitment? Has we think about moving into the future it might be helpful to first look back at the past. As the father played by Lawrence Olivia in the film The Jazz Singer told his son played by Neil Diamond, "you have to know where you came from to know where you are going."

Who exactly were the Basques? Generalizations are always limited, but the Basque-American community does reveal a handful of values that this community has accentuated over time and into this present generation. The last major wave of Basque immigration into the United States was a generation ago when young Basques left their homes to find new lives here in America. Basques had come to America much earlier with some making the case that they might have even preceded Columbus' arrival with whaling expeditions across the northern Atlantic to what is today northeastern Canada. A good many sailors with Columbus were Basque and they have been coming ever since. Most, it should be noted, often came here with the idea of eventually returning. It was not an easy endeavor that the immigrant generation

took upon themselves. They had to find their way in a new world. As they made their way, they of course adapted themselves to new situations, and they adapted as best they could utilizing what they had. What the immigrant had with them to assist in this transition is what they brought with them: their "original software."

Ohitura zaharrak: Traditional Basque Software

Generally, a computer consists of two elements: its hardware and software. The hardware consists of the keyboard, monitor, hard-drive, etc, while the software is what is loaded onto the hard-drive to get the machine to operate specific tasks. It is no coincidence that a computer is comprised of these two aspects because it reflects the image of its creator: human beings. We too are hardware [arms, legs, brain] and software [language, religion, customs] that are loaded on. This particular analogy might be new for some, but they might recognize it when phrased as "nature vs. nurture" or "genes vs. environment".

The question of hardware versus software, of what is genetically inherited versus what is acquired through experience and environmental influences, is an old one. It goes to the issue of what makes us who we are. Most would concede that we humans are a blend of both, but here we focus on the software. What are the defining elements of traditional Basque software that were transmitted across generations? What are the oitura zaharrak or old traditions? Any definition is subjective, so here we will focus on eight defining elements: language, rural, family, community, work ethic, religion, honor and perseverance. Note that these eight are not definitive, nor are they mutually exclusive. As we shall see, these aspects are oftentimes blurred together.

Language

A central element of Basque identity is the language Euskara. The Basques refer to themselves in their language as Euskaldunak which means "those who have Basque" or Basque speakers. Using Euskara as our perspective, we can use it as a metaphor for what has occurred in our Basque world. Culture being largely artificial, it must be transmitted from generation to generation. Historically there was no mono-Basque culture, rather subcultures. This reality is reflected, for example, in the sub-dialects of Euskara. Language is a symbolic system of communication; i,e. we learn to associate meaning to a select sound. This correlation is not automatic; it must be taught and learned. Historically, the transmission of Basque culture was largely unconscious, in the sense that the choice of what to transmit was largely dictated. That is to say most early Basques were mono-lingual and spoke only Basque so when it came time to teach a language to their children, the choice was essentially already made. This of course has changed in modern times.

We now live in a world of shrinking time and space. Generally speaking, the world in recent times has grown smaller. At the beginning of the 19th century travel from the east to the west coast of the United States, for example, took six months. By the beginning of the 20th century that travel time was reduced to six days. At the beginning of the 21st century travel time is six hours. This shrinking of time as also shrunk space. Until recently, most Basques who remained in Euskal Herria traveled only limited distances from home. Their world —their Basque world— was limited in time and space. Staying with language as our perspective, my Aittitte ["Grandfather"] once noted this reality. He said that with his native Basque he was fine; he could go twenty miles down the road. After that, he acknowledged that he would not be able to effectively communicate in Basque because of the dialect change. Limited in range though it might have been, the immigrant generation of Basques to America brought with them their unique language which had within it distinctive elements that reflected defining traits of Basque culture.

Rural

Euskara is one of Europe's oldest languages, and this is revealed in the language by the preponderance of the root word for rock being used to describe many tools. This suggests that when these tools were developed they were grafted of stone revealing a portal back to the Stone Age of tens of thousands years ago. Until the industrial revolution of two centuries ago, most all Basques lived in farming communities and small towns. Their worldview, therefore, was largely defined by what we might consider the "rural" perspective in contrast to the "urban" view. This dichotomy was noted in the Basque world as the contrast between the baserritarra and kaletarra which still provides fodder for the Bertsolariak or Basque improvisational singers. The last wave of Basque immigration to the United States in the 1950-60s emanated from this rural context. Most of these immigrants soon found a connection to the sheep industry in the American West that we will address later. But it was also from this rural context that many immigrants found

themselves coming from large families. My wife's Basque immigrant parents were each the eleventh child in their respective families, and these larger families were usually the norm not the exception.

Family

The rural world of the Basques centered on the baserri or farmhouse. It was from there that one received one's primary affiliation. Most Basque surnames are derived from the traditional familial home; e.g., Etxeberria ["new house"], Goikoetxea ["the house on high"], Mendiondo ["House by the mountain"], etc. It was not uncommon for a Basque family across generations to live in the same home for hundreds of years. The Basque language reflects this central element of the traditional Basque software: the importance of family. This emphasis is noted by the varied vocabulary for family members; e.g., the words for a brother of a brother as opposed to a brother of sister are different. Familial relationships are given distinctive names. Basque culture was defined by a strong familial accent.

Community

This strong familial accent was conveyed into a communal emphasis. That is to say, the accent in the Basque world was more on the community rather than the individual. One was expected to sacrifice his/her individuality for the betterment of the community. Dress, for example, was quite standard. There are berets of various colors, but the older Basque men still prefer the traditional black version. This emphasis is also veiled in the term auzolan, which translates as communal work. Basques of the neighborhood would periodically join together to assist one another with particularly difficult tasks; e.g., the slaughtering of pigs, the shucking of corn, etc. It was understood that by joining the community that the individual would benefit. Finally, another manifestation of this communal accent is revealed in the traditional penchant of defining someone from where he or she came from; e.g., Albert Arbulu became known to many of his Basque friends as Berriz because that was his hometown. Essentially in this context, the tie-breaker became the accent on community. The individual was expected to sacrifice his/her own aspirations for the sake of others.

Work Ethic

Another characteristic element of the Basque software consisted of a strong work ethic. Max Weber's famous thesis of the "Protestant Work Ethic" described the Catholic Basque-Americans quite well. Weber hypothesized that the Protestant form of Christianity underlay the Industrial Revolution of the West. Modern industrialization was not uniform across Europe; instead it was characteristic not of Catholic peoples but Protestants instead. A case can be made that Protestantism accented a work ethic, but the Basques, traditionally devout Catholics, had this in their software as well. Here in the United States, neighbors of the Basques noted this penchant for hard work, and Basques were sought after for this characteristic, for example in the sheep industry. When immigration quotas were imposed early in the 20th century barring the number of Spaniards allowed into the United States, thus drying up the source of Spanish passport-carrying Basques, sheepmen turned to their French passport-carrying Basque cousins to fill the void. Weber's thesis sought to explain why capitalism emerged in some places and not in others. His argument was that software with an accent on a work ethic played a key role in determining economic development. Traditional Basque software had this default setting, and it benefited a good many Basques in an emerging capitalist system.

Religious

The Basques were some of the latest converts to Christianity in relation to their neighbors in western Europe, with one generally accepted estimate being around the 8th century. Once they embraced it, however, Basques became some of the most fervent of Catholics. Their old ritual celebrations were redefined to incorporate Christian symbols and meanings. In Otsagi, Nafarroa, for example, pagan or pre-Christian dances were covered by a thin façade of Christianity. They were re-christened as dances in honor of the town's patron Virgin Mary, Our Lady of Muskildi. Meanwhile, other towns concocted elaborate rituals with Basque music and dance to commemorate the Feast of Corpus Christi. Basque immigrants brought their religiosity with them and literally went to work on it. In Boise, Idaho Basques contributed not only financing, but their own labor to the construction of Catholic church; Basques in Jordan Valley, Oregon did the same thing. Almost every Basque-American picnic or festival is characterized by the celebration of a mass to open the festivities.

Honor

Chris A. Erramouspe of Rock Springs, Wyoming, the child of a Basque father and an Irish-English mother, noted she had specific elements of Basque software loaded onto her hard-drive. She opted to accent her Basque background because in her twenties she came to believe that Americans de-valued what she considered to be important and what she believed Basques emphasized, "such as traditions, culture, language, and family." She noted that "there is a pride that comes with being Basque that one would have a hard time justifying to anyone around him or her." Acknowledging that "this pride can be useful at times and also very detrimental," she believes that Basques "have a sense of duty; not only to our family but to those that we work for." She admired that "if we give you our word, then it is our pride that will see it through no matter how meaningless the task might be." She concluded that Basques "hate failure." She speaks of being proud of her heritage because of the honorable elements it espouses. Note here the link to community, because to experience honor, one must belong to a community that periodically assembles to reinforce and acknowledge these honorable achievements.

Perseverance

Most Basques will quip that Basques are "stubborn." This ingrained stubbornness is a primary reason that Basques are still around today. Unlike most all other numerically small groups of Europe (today there is just about 3 million total inhabitants in all of the Basque country; this makes them less than 5% of the total population of Spain and an even smaller proportion in France), the Basques refused to acquiesce to cultural assimilation by their more numerous neighbors. This perseverance is why Basque culture has endured into the modern world. When outsiders challenged Basque identity, many responded with the stubborn refusal to capitulate; e.g., the Franco regime's oppression of Basques in Spain in some ways served to strengthen Basque identity. This perseverance is also reflected in traditional Basque sports. Not only do these sports of weight carrying and lifting test the strength of contestants, most also demand endurance. Perseverance is also the software trait that helps to explain how hundreds of Basque sheepherders quietly toiled in their isolated world delaying gratification for sometime down the line.

This list of eight values—language, rural, family, community, work ethic, religion, honor and perseverance—is not intended to be comprehensive nor definitive. They do, however, characterize some of the defining elements of Basque traditional software: the cultural values that defined the Basques. When we ask who the Basques were, however, we are not just talking about the past. These characteristics continue to be exhibited by many Basques of the immigrant generation who are alive today.

Thus far the reference to a Basque has assumed the traditional definition: one who was born Basque. But as the earlier anecdote suggested, birth alone is not the only determinant. Some of the "best Basques" are the converts: those not Basque by birth but nevertheless ones who have made an extraordinary effort to embrace the culture. These folks have committed themselves to promote various aspects of the Basque culture, and they remain willing to lend a helping hand. Most Basques could list several examples from their own circles, and I could have named this whole category after an un-named txistulari in Boise, Idaho. The Basque-American community has certainly benefited from the contributions of these converts. But whether one comes to being Basque by birth or choice, this still leaves us with the core issue: why do some opt to "be Basque" today? We need a satisfactory adult answer for this before we begin to encourage the youth to join us.

Aukera berriak: New Opportunities

This is not the place to reproduce the arguments that trace Basque origins and their historical development, relevant though they are, because our focus remains with the with Hamlet's dilemma slightly adapted "to be or not to be [Basque], that is question?" Why do some choose to be Basque, while others do not? Of course this implies a continuum rather than a dichotomous choice. At one end we have those who opted to ignore their Basque cultural heritage while at the other end are the Basques who make extraordinary efforts to sustain it. Along that continuum we could locate all Basques. In this section we now concentrate on the question nor gara gu ["Who are Basques now"]? By taking a closer look at this continuum of today we can hopefully discover some ways to better make our appeal to Basque youth; today's continuum presents us new challenges but it also affords new opportunities to promote our Basque heritage.

Basques of earlier times, it seems, had less difficulty defining themselves as being Basque. They did not have to work at being Basque, like we might today, because it was who they were. It less a matter of choice;

their culture was largely imparted to them with little or no challenge from an alternative source. One learned Basque, for example, because your parents knew only that language. Today, this scenario has been transformed and Basques live in a world that generally provides far more choices than ever before, and not just in languages. Will Basque parents, for example, take their children to Basque dance lessons or to soccer practice?

Our world is constantly being challenged and transformed. Technological capitalism has redefined many aspects of our world in many ways. Many former institutions have become obsolete; traditional ways of doing things have gone by the wayside. New innovations, meanwhile, have created new realities. Take the revolutionary impact of the automobile. Before its introduction, most people lived on farms or in small towns. By providing almost universal access, the car essentially brought to an end a whole way of life. Technology also helped to transform women's roles. New industries beckoned women into the workplace in larger and larger numbers. As forklifts, the washing machine and computer have reduced the need for human muscle, the world of work of yesteryear that was harsh and physically demanding has faded away for many.

What we loosely label modernization has transformed our world and how we relate to it. New economic and social realities, the shift of people from the countryside into the cities, all these and more have challenged Basque traditional software. Has significant as these have been, new ideas have also impacted our modern worldview in perhaps a more profound way. A major intellectual challenge for aurrera goaz ("Going Forward") is what I call the Rousseau mentality. It is this worldview that stands as the single greatest challenge to the maintenance of Basque cultural identity.

The Rousseau mentality: The Blessing and the Curse

Kaplan set out for us the need to develop satisfactory answers for an adult mind that we can then adapt to the appropriate age. An effective public relations campaign, therefore, possesses not only a promotional thrust emanating from a clear understanding of the objective, but also a keen awareness of the target audience. In this section we concentrate on the challenge of effectively communicating the message to our target audience—Basque-American youth. This now requires that we examine the prevailing worldview of people in the Western world; i.e., how does the audience understand and relate to the world?

In many ways we have undergone a profound change of worldview in modern times. There is no definitive answer as to when this transformation in outlook and identity came about, but since our focus is on the youth of today, one place where we can begin our inquiry is back a generation ago. It was then that we can ascertain the growing relevance of a distinct attitude or worldview whose primary spokesperson, ironically, was a man of the 18th century. J.J. Rousseau wrote long ago, but key ideas of his were not really embraced until the end of the 20th century. Rousseau did not single-handedly trigger this revolution of outlook, but he provided the most articulate and profound explanations. Before him, no one in the West argued that one's life should follow only one's "interior guide." This Rousseau mentality, as we shall see, emphasizes the emotional side of things but it also proposes a radical form of individualism. It is both a curse and blessing for Basque identity.

Acknowledging the limits of generalizations, this French philosopher set in motion a mentality that set the stage for something quite unique to westerners: the identity crisis. One suffers an identity crisis only when one thinks that life could—and should—have been lived otherwise. This phenomenon is peculiar to westerners, and it has recently become more profound. The identity crisis is more acute in the West [western Europe and its intellectual diaspora], generally speaking, because it is in the West that individuals are offered a wide assortment of options of how they can live their lives. Previously, more traditional societies effectively imprinted an individual's destiny upon him or her; e.g., the son of a candle-maker would most likely become a candle-maker. Meanwhile in the modern western intellectual diaspora people are generally free to write their own life's script: who they marry, what they will do, where they will live, etc. The Rousseau mentality exacerbates the severity of the western identity crisis.

Rousseau lamented the loss of the original state of things as civilization developed. He located "natural man" back in the mists of time and found him both genuine and good. It was then that natural man was truly free, with no prescribed duties and not having to obey the rules of others. Instead natural man was free to follow only his own will; consequently everything that followed was less genuine and less. Rousseau challenged nearly every social institution, and in his day these ideas influenced the founders of the United States as reflected in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution where institutional legitimacy is challenged. But the founders stopped short of embracing Rousseau's fundamental assumption of human

nature. Rousseau's natural man was born innately good. The American system, meanwhile, was designed with a view of human institutions that was not as innocent; power corrupts so do not trust people to be automatically good.

Rousseau acknowledged that there was no turning back the clock to reclaim that golden era since civilization was here to stay. Instead, he proposed an alternative plan: an altered state of mind. If the genuine and good era could not be restored as a place, then it could be restored in the mind. Rousseau counseled others to transcend their time and place, and like the good old days, live your life today by your own rules. He celebrated originality and valued just being different from others for its own sake. This is the basis of Rousseau's radical individualism.

Rousseau's worldview found a sympathetic audience in the generation that came of age in the 1960s and 1970s. The previous generation of the 1930s and 1940s—the World War II era generation that included the last major wave of immigrant Basques to the United States—possessed a traditional software. This generation worked hard to make a life here in a new land and to provide for their children. Most succeeded in doing that, but their children found themselves in a different context. Whereas the immigrant sought after comfort, security and greater opportunity generally because of need, their children did not know that same degree of need. Having their basic needs largely satisfied, the younger generation sought something different—something else would serve to define and validate their lives. The Rousseau mentality did not appeal to the WWII generation, but the following "Babyboom" generation found here a way to "authenticate" their lives.

Today the Rousseau mentality is deeply ingrained throughout the West. Whenever there is a battle in the popular culture between the old ways and the new, it is usually the new that prevails and this outlook continues to gain legitimacy. The United States Supreme Court, for example, in the case of Planned Parenthood v. Casey in 1992 validated this worldview when it declared that all have a "right to define one's own concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe, and of the mystery of human life."

The Rousseau mentality serves as the basis of many contemporary definitions of being Basque. Note the opening anecdote that spoke about how one felt about their identity. In another story from Trinity Rodriquez who married a Basque man, she tells about how while dining at a Basque event in San Francisco, California she became acquainted with a Basque couple that had immigrated to the United States when they were young. While talking to the lady, the non-Basque spouse confided that she did not feel like she quite fit in because she was not Basque. The older lady took the hand of the wife in hers and proceeded to simply say that "being Basque isn't just in your blood, it's in your heart." Following the Rousseau mentality, identity is derived not from without—what others might say—but from within—your own "inner guide."

This "inner guide" is a blessing for Basqueness. There is no doubt that a key part of Basque identity touches upon an emotional/irrational connection that some have for Basque culture. Almost certainly, without this attachment Basque culture would quickly evaporate because many would abandon their commitment. This is what makes the Rousseau mentality a blessing.

Another respondent to the query of being Basque yielded this response: "it is how a person feels about his or hers nationality, and more importantly it is when this feeling occurs within each one of us." Here again is Rousseau's "inner guide" that serves to animate some to remain committed to their heritage. The response further illustrated the Rousseau mentality as it acknowledged that "even though it might be different for each individual . . . we need to continue having events that not only involve kids but also encourages them to [feel?] a part of it." It is this feeling that retains many Basques.

The Rousseau mentality, however, is also a curse for the preservation of Basque culture because of its potentially radical individualism. If natural man was fine before the introduction of society or culture, as Rousseau argued, then these later introductions become the source of our problems; remember that natural man was naturally good. It was Rousseau that showed us to look at society as being the culprit for life's woes. Following Rousseau, it makes it problematical to preserve Basque culture if culture in general is the problem because it moves us away from the genuine and good. The Rousseau mentality, therefore, presents a unique set of problems for those who aspire to preserve a heritage. Remember that heritage or culture is an external source of authority and this Rousseau denigrated.

To communicate effectively with today's young generation we need to appreciate the influence of the Rousseau mentality because it is here to stay. Some may lament it, but there will be no return to the era of conformity and more rigid definitions of identity; i.e, when the immigrant generation came of age. A primary reason is because of the universal aspiration for liberty. The Rousseau mentality does potentially declare for complete liberty of cultural norms; it serves to empower the individual to create his or her

own world. The challenge, therefore, becomes how best to channel this creative energy and turn it toward the promotion of Basque culture.

The creative energy legitimized by the Rousseau mentality is potentially chaotic. If Rousseau's natural man was genuine and good before society imposed its artificial constraints. This assertion, if carried to its logical conclusion, makes for pure liberty which would be chaos. If all were absolutely free to pursue their own course, for example, we would immediately have a multitude of massive collisions on our freeways. Most understand, therefore, that to enjoy liberty we all must accept a degree of limitations. On that most will agree; the debate is over which limitations. Where are the lines to be drawn?

While the Rousseau mentality can be taken too far by some to argue for the absence of all constraints or limitations, this energy can be harnessed because the Rousseau mentality need not just be about self-indulgence. It can be a legitimate form of self-expression as long as this freedom is not abused. So instead of battling against the Rousseau mentality, a more pragmatic approach would be to embrace it and to work on educating people about the varied sources of freedom and about how to use that freedom well. Here we can interject Basque culture. What we can tell our children—and adults for that matter—about Basque culture is that it can be a way of using our liberty well. The individual who employs Rousseau's mentality to define themselves is oftentimes unaware of their good fortune. The generation of today is allowed to dabble with Rousseau's ideas because the previous generation literally bought this opportunity for them. It was the hard work, discipline, delayed gratification and frugality of our Basque parents and grandparents that allowed for many young Basque-Americans to seek new alternatives for their lives.

The Rousseau mentality can be the point of convergence for the WWII and Babyboom generations. Here the various generations of Basques can meet in mutual understanding and appreciation. The older generation can understand that their children possess greater opportunities and choices, so that if they choose to connect with their Basque identity parents can be gratified. This of course can be a way of honoring thy father and mother and what they cherished. Meanwhile, the youth can also gain valuable perspective. The radical Rousseau advocate deludes him or herself if they believe that they can define their own identity on their own. We know that at its core, Rousseau's formulation of the idealized natural man who needs nothing except one's own "inner guide" was a fiction. This is a fiction because we are primarily social creatures. Our identity and self-image is largely a product of our interaction with others. Remember that Tom Hanks' character in the film Cast Away risked everything to rejoin society. We need culture because we need to be a part of something larger than ourselves. It is in joining with others in a community that our lives have meaning and an underlying purpose. Liberty is meaningless if it makes no difference what I choose. The fundamental flaw of the Rousseau mentality, therefore, is that simply stresses the power of choice without providing guidance about making good choices. This is what compounds the identity crises of Westerners: the "inner guide" does not suffice. It must be supplemented by external rules, lines, explanations, call it what you will—the inner guide needs culture.

What is being proposed, therefore, is a viable compromise of sorts—Aristotle's "golden mean"—for being Basque. Good judgment requires that one find the mean between the extremes of individualism and communal influence. This ancient Greek philosopher of the 5th century B.C., Aristotle, was much in favor of teaching the young to develop the habit of seeking the mean so that when they were adults, they would naturally gravitate toward the mean in any given situation. Here again Basque culture can be injected, but in order for it to serve as a viable golden mean it must be articulated and more precisely defined.

Ohitura zaharrak, aukera berriak: Old Traditions, New Opportunities

So we are back to the question of nor gara gu: who are the Basques? Historically there was a definable group of people in the Pyrenees Mountains that we could label as being Basque. But what is a Basque today? What core values define this community so we know what to communicate to our children? We summarized some of the relatively recent characteristics of Basque software or defining culture traits. The immigrant generation of Basque-Americans generally accentuated various values that included: language, rural, family, community, work ethic, religion, honor and perseverance. This software generally served this generation well. The question now is whether it remains relevant. This section promotes the theme oitura zaharrak, aukera berriak ["Old Traditions, New Opportunties"]. The assertion is that we can take the values and traditions of yesteryear and adapt them to a new age. The Basque software of old, with a few updates, can be made to serve another generation.

Tom Brokow celebrated the World War II generation of Americans as this nation's "Greatest Generation." In a collection of stories, Brokow's The Greatest Generation lauds the contributions and achievements of

these ordinary people who did extraordinary things. Some critics challenge this assertion claiming instead that another generation was more significant, but there is no doubt that the World War II generation of Americans did accomplish much. But one key accomplishment seems to have eluded them: this generation somehow failed to replicate itself.

The children generally rejected the norms of their parents' world and instead generally found solace and meaning in the Rousseau mentality. So what broke down in this transmission of culture from one generation to the next? Was it the failure of the parents' generation to transmit their worldview or was it moreso because their children refused to listen? This of course might well be a false dichotomy, but it does give us perspective as our current generation ponders the same challenge of replicating itself. For those who want Basque culture to endure, will the next generation listen and can we adequately articulate what it means to be Basque? Ultimately each person will decide what they will listen to, but what we can accomplish here is the articulation of the eight values of traditional Basque software adapted for a new age.

How much relative importance should be placed on Euskara? In a modern miracle of sorts, the language is staging a comeback today in the Basque homeland with the proportion of speakers continuing to rise. This however applies only to portions of the southern region; the Iparralde or northern provinces continue to experience a rapid decline in the numbers of young Basque speakers. In this way, the Iparralde shares much in common with the larger Basque diaspora. Likewise, here in the United States the drop-off of Basque speakers from one generation to the next has been dramatic. Basque endures primarily because there remain many immigrant Basques. Programs have been initiated to teach the language here in America but results remain meager. If the language diminishes, will Basque culture survive?

We have already seen the answer. I would venture that most new members in Basque clubs, for example, are not Basque speakers. This is not to say that there is no place for Euskara or that it is superfluous to the Basque-American community. Efforts should continue to introduce the language and to keep it a viable alternative for those who choose to learn it. The language still maintains a unique ability to connect its speakers on a more intimate level. One can make themselves understood using another language, but Euskara is a special collection of symbols that can still transport one back across the centuries to the early Basque communities; it grounds its speaker in a larger, more profound context. Efforts should be made to keep the language highly visible; e.g., its use on Basque event posters, select usage at Basque events, etc. We should always be reminded of the centrality of the language to the Basque experience.

Most all Basque-Americans came from rural regions of the Basque country. Today, the Basque country has been transformed: the life of the baserri is no longer the norm or primary defining element. Here in America, however, the nostalgia continues for this world. One time NABO's annual calendar contained a series of photos of modern works of art from the Basque country and many people complained: they wanted the "old stuff." Meanwhile, the various knick-knacks at many Basque festivals still enshrine this rural image of the Basque country though the reality is quite different. This of course illustrates a nostalgic view of Basque culture. For some Basque-Americans the image of the Basque country remains locked in time and space. That is why they are shocked when they travel to the Basque country to witness the transformation, and why many European Basques are in turn surprised by our Basque world here. When Euro-Basques attend a Basque festival, for example, they are oftentimes struck by some of the events and activities because they remember how they used to do these things or they heard about how a long time ago this was done.

The center-piece of the rural image in the Basque-American experience remains the sheepherder. Disproportionately, Basque immigrants became involved in the sheep industry because it served as a port of entry into America; ironically most immigrants had little or no experience with sheep before they arrived here. Whereas for a time, the majority of Basques were affiliated with the sheep industry in one form or another (e.g., the Basque boarding houses were spawned as a support-service for herders), today only a handful of Basques remain active in this business. This connection, however, lives on at almost every Basque festival which features BBQ lamb meals. In the same way that turkey seems to symbolize Thanksgiving for most Americans, lamb entrees apparently authenticate a Basque gathering.

The rural world may have faded, but it does provide us an interesting perspective on our current urban-based society; the worldview of the baserritarra ["people of the country"] can still enlighten the kaletarra ["people of the city"] if the latter remains open. In American history, Thomas Jefferson celebrated the world of the baserritarra over that of the kaletarra because it was the baserritarra that remained rooted to the land and the true master of his own destiny. This echoed Rousseau's natural man. Rousseau objected to the bourgeois or "city dwellers" because they always "talk only of business and money." He was put off by the "bourgeois mentality" because their main goals seemed to fixate on material gain which all seemed quite hollow and ultimately unfulfilling to Rousseau.

The rural context was the basis of the large family units of traditional Basque society, but now the birth rates of Basques reflect bourgeois norms. This contrast is most stark for European Basques. Europeans in general have the world's lowest birth rate, and the birth rate of Basques has shrunk drastically. It is quite ironic what is occurring. Franco sought to rid his Spain of the pesky Basques who refused to conform, and now European Basques might well be birth-controlling themselves out of existence. Again the quest for the golden mean—this is not a plea to return to families of eleven. The Basque Government has taken note of this and they know that current trends do not bode well for European Basques.

There is no doubt that the Basque family has been redefined in numbers. The importance of the family, however, need not be diminished. Basque events, then and now, are very family-friendly. Most all of these events have something the whole family can do together. While the parents are talking to friends, the kids are off playing as two or more generations are oftentimes gathered for the day. Basque events, therefore, can be a time of creating family memories. Generally, families define themselves by what they do—or not do—together and Basque events provide a unique venue to forge a distinct family tradition. The added feature of a Basque picnic, for example, is that it is a linking of many families together. Basque events can be a time that a family shares time and space with other families, making this an event where the collective spirit is celebrated.

Basque events still require a significant degree of organization and work to sustain them. The communal aspect can be celebrated by promoting the Basque concept of auzolan or "neighbor's work." This tradition of the old software was when in Basque rural society neighbors periodically gathered to work together. Today, the Basque work ethic can be celebrated by stressing the unique enjoyment that can be derived by the voluntary contribution made to a communal event. Get a group of people in a kitchen all working together and then pat the backs of those who contributed to the making of a successful event. Remember, do not wait for someone to come and tell you "good job;" instead you can start the chain of mutual appreciation. There is more about work in the following section.

What about the traditional religiosity of the Basques? In a more secularized world, by what is meant a this-world focus, religion has encountered challenges. Well until a generation or two ago, Basques were Christian, more precisely Roman Catholics. This remained a constant for most all of Basque society. Recently, the European Basque perspective on religion has been fundamentally altered. The factors of this transformation are varied, but generally it follows the trend of most western Europeans who have become more secularized. In a few words, European Basques went from being some of the most religious of Europeans to now reflecting the opposite. Many Europeans are agnostic if not atheistic. Today many European Basques have generally abandoned Roman Catholicism.

In marked contrast is the American religious experience. While the typical European might shun religion, most Americans still retain an attachment to it. The same way that factors can explain the European transition, there are also factors that reveal why Americans relate to religion differently. A discussion about this European-American secular-religious contrast is beyond the scope of this paper, but we see this clearly illustrated by the ongoing centrality of Christianity to Basque-American identity. Almost every summer picnic or festival includes a Roman Catholic mass celebrated by a resident Basque chaplain. For Basque-Americans, religion can remain an effective way to further integrate the familial and communal aspects of a Basque gathering, as well as tapping into the power of ritual and the transcendent.

Basques are still around because as Mark Kurlansky stated, they are "a nation that refuses to die." So now we ask, what exactly do we want to keep alive? Why do some continue to make an effort to preserve the Basque heritage? Despite the light-hearted joking among friends, Basques are aware that their culture is not intrinsically superior to others. Yes, there are some notable Basques who have been significant throughout history, but then again many other cultures could make the same claim, and oftentimes on a larger scale. Yes, the Basques are historically a distinctive people in their corner of the Pyrenees in Europe, but they are not a separate race. Yes, Basques dress up differently and participate in dance and games during their festivals, but those outfits and traditions are not unique when you look around their European source to see that many Spanish and French neighbors practiced much the same. Yes, the Basques possess a unique language—Euskara—that knows no other definitive link with any other language, but the essence of a language is its function of allowing communication. So what do we seek to communicate?

Gogoetak eta ekintzak

In Euskara gogoetak eta ekintzak means "thoughts and actions," and here the public relations campaign might encounter some resistance. Our target audience is now those self-defined Basques that are mini-

mally or not involved at all in their Basque community. Those of us who are already actively involved in our Basque communities need to again articulate a response that is satisfying to an adult and then adapt it. Here will we want to tap into those old Basque software values of work, honor and perseverance. The campaign will be prickly because of the implicit challenge involved. Simply stated, it is not enough just to think oneself Basque anymore. For Basqueness to remain a vibrant manifestation of culture we need those thoughts to be put into action. We still see the "Proud to be Basque" slogan on shirts and bumper-stickers. But what are we proud of exactly? The following sections now put forth specific responses to the opening questions of the title: zelan eta zergatik—how and why be Basque?

Being Basque has been likened to being religious in the sense of choosing to make a commitment—and doing something about it. So far we have had some cameo appearances from secular philosophers (e.g., Aristotle and Rousseau) so now we turn to some religious thinkers to help us in formulating responses satisfying for adults: Martin Luther, the apostle Paul and the author of the New Testament book of James. Luther ignited the Protestant Reformation in 1517 when he posted his 95 theses or points of debate on a church door. Western Christendom would never be the same. Luther began as a reformer of the Roman Catholic Church; his initial attempts were aimed to get the church to change itself. After battles back and forth, Luther changed course and he came to advocate the dissolution of the Roman Catholic Church. Luther was no longer interested in fixing what was broken, but getting rid of it. What was now beyond repair, he argued, was how the Church was incorrectly stressing people's actions or outward behavior over internal belief and spirituality. Luther took Paul's statement of "saved by faith alone" at face value. Note that Luther opted out of the golden mean here; he came down firmly on one side of the continuum. But as is usually the case when arguing from Scriptures, there is usually a counter-argument that can be made from Scriptures and Luther really did not appreciate this.

Luther's description of the true Christian, based on his reading of Paul's writings in the New Testament, was challenged by the words in the following Epistle of James. In this selection, the revealed word states that faith without accompanying "good deeds" or actions is no faith at all. Luther really did not appreciate this challenge, and he literally ripped this part of the Bible out and dismissed it as an "epistle of straw." The Paul-James discussion identifies a continuum that raises the issues of the relative importance of faith on one side and works on the other. In other words, is faith (or thoughts) in Jesus enough for securing salvation or must one also be a "good-deed-doer" as the Wizard of Oz stated?

Some people who have made it their business to study the Bible argue that Paul and James were not arguing against one another; they explain the differences that arise derive as coming from different interpretations of key words. A good many biblical scholars, unlike Martin Luther, have concluded that Paul and James agreed that a "faith" that does not yield good deeds is a false or empty faith.

Now the transition back to our present Basque dilemma. The dilemma is that while we might be getting bigger, we are also shrinking. The recent U.S. Census for 2000 lists almost 60,000 Basques living in the United States (California is home to about 20,000 of these, followed by Idaho and Nevada with about six thousand each and Oregon and Washington with twenty-six hundred each). This number is the highest yet recorded in a Census, so the number of self-defined Basques does seem to be growing. But what is shrinking in many of communities are the workers. The total number of individuals in Basque organizations affiliated with the North American Basque Organizations does not even total 10% of the stated national Basque total. If these figures are accurate, nine of ten people who consider themselves Basques have not taken the next step to become more directly or actively involved in a local Basque organization. Remember that Basques are traditionally Catholic, so you knew that Luther—the first Protestant—could not be right. Thinking oneself Basque is not enough unless you do something about it. The reason why it is not enough is because we are running out of the "good-deed-doers."

Previously there was enough critical mass to sustain the Basque culture; enough people choose to work at it that Basqueness endured. As many Basque-American communities are undergoing transitions, the critical mass is shrinking. We need more Basques to join our communities and become actively involved. We need them to work at being Basque. There are plenty of tasks that require volunteers. Generally speaking, there are five primary roles that need filling: the dreamers, workers, entertainers, financiers and participants. We need some to take the initiative to concoct new and interesting events to keep Basque events engaging. But good ideas amount to nothing if they are not somehow implemented. So we need the second group of volunteer workers who are willing to contribute their time and energy. The festivals need a show, so entertainers of various kinds (e.g., Basque singers, athletes, etc.) are being sought at a Basque organization near you. We also need the ongoing support of the financier group—those who disproportionately donate to Basque causes. Finally, what is a party if no one comes? Thus we need the participants

to attend our events. It is not satisfying to work on an event and have few people attend. We need all of these roles filled and more, but the main point is to see if we can get people to at least pick something and take the next step to formally belong to some Basque organization. Remember that our Basque identity is not created in a vacuum but via interaction with others.

Relative & universal

It is clear that there are many ways of being Basque, but this paper has argued for a more focused definition. One the one hand if being Basque is everything—whatever you want it to be—then it is nothing. That is the Rousseau mentality speaking. On the other hand are the overly constrained definitions; e.g., a person is Basque if a] they had four Basque grandparents, b] were born in the Basque country, c] speak Basque and d] live in the Basque country today. Again in pursuit of the golden Basque mean, we reject the extremes. To say that something or someone is Basque, we need to draw the lines somewhere. Basques are of course human beings, and earlier attempts to set them off as a separate people or a distinct race were erroneous. But being Basque is a particular way of being human. This argument identifies eight distinct criteria, not to say that Basques exclusively embody these values nor that Basque culture is innately superior to others. Instead, the point is to demonstrate how that old Basque software is still useful and relevant.

A fundamental premise of this paper is the rejection of the extreme form of cultural relativity—that all cultures are fundamentally equal. This rejection of cultural relativity is no doubt controversial in some circles, and understandably so because for too long ethnocentrism served as the basis for the imposition of one culture onto another. Ethnocentrism or the notion that one's culture was superior to all others established a possible rationalization of bad if not ugly things that one group did to another. Certainly cultural relativism can be a beneficial outlook and proper approach to the observation of humans and cultures interacting with one another, but—and here we return to the pitfall of the Rousseau mentality—only to a point.

There are the good, better and best ways of being Basque (there are of course also ways that Basques have exhibited negative characteristics but we will not go there because we are trying to remain upbeat and optimistic about aurrera goaz). This three-fold categorization assumes a set of standards or criteria; i.e., there are lines that differentiate a good Basque from a better Basque. Again these lines between cultures create artificial distinctions—they are man-made. It has been conceded that the historical examples of lines being imposed have yielded horrible outcomes, but it does not follow that we should move from one extreme—that is hard, non-bending lines—to the other—hazy or no lines at all. Basically, the misapplication of lines in history should not tempt us to jettison all standards, even if the denial of lines is done for good motives. Some are committed to extreme forms of cultural relativism because they see it as weapon to be used against racism. If there are no lines between cultures then there can be no better or best among cultures. This in turn negates racism because it requires the assumption that one race is better than other. Again we seek the golden Basque mean. Though problematical and perilous, we should venture forward to make some basic value judgments—again because we need to clarify for ourselves, and for our children, what it means to be Basque.

All of this is not to say that there is any one fixed standard with which to declare cultures superior or inferior. Again most claims that can be made by Basques, that they are the best in this or that, are quickly countered by other cultures that can oftentimes produce a greater number of positive examples; e.g., Basques can brag that they are the world's best pilota or handball players, but the non-Basque players who win gold medals in international competitions reveals that others can master this game as well. No, the assertion is that for there to be meaningful —and legitimate— comparisons across cultures, each group or culture that is being compared must generally agree on the same "prize." The prize varies of course. In one scenario, the prize might be the Olympic gold medal in basketball. For many years basketball was dominated by the United States, but other cultures or nations sought that same objective so it became a more universal aspiration. Here the extreme interpretation of cultural relativism —that all culture's are fundamentally equal— breaks down because this scenario demonstrates a valid comparison because all groups agree on the same goal. Different basketball teams will attempt to utilize different strategies to achieve the mutually agreed upon prize. In this case, it is reasonable to examine differing strategies that are the most effective in achieving the prize. Incidentally, the American defeat at the last World Championship of basketball demonstrates that other national basketball programs developed more effective strategies of achieving their objective.

Zergatik—why?

Why work for the prize, and what is the prize for Basques? Again, there is no one answer to this but the argument here is that the range of answers can be narrowed. Well obviously, the prize for most self-defined Basques is not monetary; very few people make their living in the capacity of a Basque-related occupation in the arts, government, academia, etc. The prize, therefore, must nevertheless be something quite lucrative if it requires a significant sacrifice of time and energy with little or no monetary gain. So what are most self-defined Basques after? What do they get out of being Basque? A part of the answer, I believe, goes to the core of who we —and others— think we are.

Harold Kushner writes that people oftentimes become conflicted "between conscience and success" as we grapple with a simple question that has no simple answer —how will we be remembered after we die? Kushner believes that we possess an innate desire to feel or believe that we are important— that we matter! How we pursue that goal —life's purpose, significance— is what defines us. But he asks, will the path to this goal entail the compromise of our conscience? At what cost will success in life be found? Like the Paul-James debate above it all depends on how we define our terms, in this case success. Our modern world provides some definitions of success that most of us recognize; e.g., a well-paying job, a distinguished title, a movie celebrity, riding first-class, etc. Kushner, however, veers away from these to instead accent less heralded examples of success. He states that "if you've been a faithful husband or wife, a loving parent, a caring friend, you've changed the world for the better." It is this definition of success that I believe Basque culture can provide a useful strategy to realize. The prize for Basques is the quest to become more human. What does this mean to become more human? It means to become better people.

Better people

Some years ago our Basque-American community lost some special people: Dr. Pat and Eloise (Garmendia) Bieter of Boise, Idaho. Pat, incidentally, was not a Basque by birth but a Basque by choice. Their premature passing in an auto accident shook the Boise Basque community. This tragedy, however, provided a time of reflection. Yes, being Basque is fun. The festivals, for example, provide us with good food, revelry and entertainment as we celebrate Basque music, song and dance, sport, cuisine, etc. We also celebrate a time that family and friends can gather together. But there is more there for us, because Basque culture can also enable us to be better people.

Here I must move into the first person narrative, because I grew up just behind the Bieter home in Boise, Idaho. I know all of their children and I spent many an hour with them in their home around the favorite congregating point of the kitchen table. It was there that I learned much from a family that has much to teach. But it was not until the sad days after the passing of Dr. & Mrs. Bieter [old software —they were always that to me] that I learned just how much they had influenced others. The massive display of mourning and tribute spoke to the impact that this couple had on the lives of so many people.

It was during a moment at their memorial service that I looked around to see the people who had gathered. There I saw old, familiar faces of people that I have long respected. I respect these folks because they are good people. These were people who had a strength of character, who were decent and honest, and people who treated those around them with dignity and respect. In a word, these were people that had "class." I lost count of the numbers there that day, but the impression remains. Dr. & Mrs. Bieter were a class act. The proof was that when it was time for them to depart this world, they assembled around them so many good people. They achieved this tribute living simple, unpretentious lives.

The Reverend Thomas Faucher, a longtime family friend, perhaps said it best during his funeral eulogy: "They had standards and they personally lived those standards. They also made it clear to their children and those close to them what those standards were, and there was an expectation that those standards be lived up to. And yet, with no compromise to those standards, they had a marvelous and unique sense of tolerance. Their wisdom and intelligence, their faith, hope and love, their appreciation of life, their humor and humanity give rise to millions of memories and hundreds of stories. Each of us has memories of those 'Bieter moments' when one or the other would do something so good, so funny, so deep, so kind, so thoughtful, so inventive, so creative, so powerful that we will never forget them."

The Bieters showed us how within the framework of Basque culture to live better lives. They demonstrated how it could serve as a means of building and sustaining a beneficial community that embraces all —Basque and non-Basque alike— in a positive, constructive context. They showed us how to build bridges and to bring people together to celebrate the good things in life. This, I believe, is the ultimate meaning of the phrase "Proud to be Basque". It is people like Pat and Eloise that make us all proud of being Basque

because they showed us how to celebrate goodness and decency. They are missed but remembered because they showed us how to be better people.

The Bieters were instrumental in the building of bridges among Basque communities. They worked to inaugurate the Basque Studies Program that took young Americans to the Basque Country for an opportunity to study abroad. Their vision brought together Basque-Americans with our European Basque family. In 1974, they took all their children, a group of eighty students and a handful of teachers to Oñati, Gipuzkoa. The long-range vision that led them to take this huge leap was the realization that a Basque consciousness here the United States would dissipate over time if there was not a concentrated effort to sustain it. As these pioneers saw years ago, one key way to preserve the Basque heritage here in America was to re-connect with the Basque homeland in Europe. Their courageous venture of decades ago continues to bear fruit today. Young generations of Basques were now provided a crucial passageway to make connections with our European cousins. It has made our Basque-American community that much more vibrant and viable. Their vision and the work it entailed brought together Basques from two different sides of the world. This is what we can tell our children. It is not enough to simply think oneself Basque: you have to go out and do something about it. Granted, not all are called to inaugurate a studies abroad program as the Bieters did. Instead, the message we need to convey to all self-defined Basques is to actively participate, in the way of their choosing, to keep our Basque heritage alive. Along the way, we will hopefully be made better people.

Conclusion

This essay began with the question of what should we tell our children about being Basque. It acknowledged the looming problem of many Basque children opting not to actively identify with and/or participate in their Basque heritage. Culture being transmitted from one generation to the next, it was also noted that something happened in this transition. Most of our Basque-American communities have demonstrated the noticeable gap between how the immigrant generation and their children understand Basqueness. So what is at the core of this rift: did the children's generation refuse to listen to their parents, or did the parent's generation fail to adequately communicate with their children? Whereas we cannot ultimately coerce people into listening and accepting our ideas, this essay instead settled upon clarifying some of what it means to be Basque so that we can at least make a sincere effort to communicate to others who we think we are.

The initial premise was that we could not understand who the Basques are until we understood who the Basques were. Consequently the first segment endeavored to establish some defining criteria —what was termed traditional Basque software— that generally served to characterize who the Basques were. There the discussion revolved around how traditional Basque society defined eight select values; i.e., language, rural, family, community, work ethic, religion, honor and perseverance. In recent times, however, Basque identity has undergone significant redefinition because of profound societal changes. At this point the focus shifted to the challenge presented by the Rousseau mentality. This mentality represents both a blessing and curse for our objective of aurrera goaz ["We go forward"]. The blessing was that it aided our identification with Basque culture on a visceral or emotional level, thus providing a basis for a strong attachment or commitment. The curse, however, was that this worldview argued against submitting oneself to artificial or cultural constraints; Rousseau preached that we should only follow our "inner guide" and thus Basque culture becomes extraneous or dispensable. We then sought to reconcile this with a pursuit of the golden Basque mean or viable compromise between the extremes of individual aspirations and communal demands.

Basque culture can still thrive here in the United States. This however will take work and dedication, and we will need the added support of the heretofore periphery Basques. We know that less than one of ten people who define themselves as being Basque chooses to become actively involved in a Basque-related organization. So let us rededicate ourselves to this cause of preserving our Basque identity so that we will continue to fulfill Kurlansky's declaration of Basques being a nation that refuses to die. Let us launch a successful public relations campaign to re-energize our Basque-American community. Let us open up our existing Basque communities and challenge ourselves to find better ways of reaching out to the periphery Basques. Let us recommit ourselves to those same values of the old Basque software, somewhat adapted and implemented, that can still define a viable strategy to realize for us a universal prize: the positive response to the question of how people will remember you after you are gone. Let us tell our children that being Basque can be a viable vehicle of making us better people.

The opening anecdote spoke of a mother's attempt to answer her child's question about what it means to be Basque. Her answer seemingly satisfied her child, but the mother also conceded that it might have

been only that her answer was just "too long! HA! HA!" Well this essay qualifies as being too long and it is now up to the reader to decide if any of this is enough to "satisfy." What it means to be Basque remains a complex issue to adequately address. This paper concentrated on ways of fulfilling Mordecai Kaplan's two-fold definition of answering a question for children: 1] the ability to answer the question to the satisfaction of an adult, and 2] the ability to adapt that answer to a child's mind in accordance with his age." This concludes a proposal to open a dialogue among generations of Basque-Americans. The aim was to at least probe some aspects that might be "satisfying to the modern adult mind" so that we can better explain to ourselves —and to our children— how [zelan] and why [zergatik] we should go forward [aurrera goaz]. GOAZEN! "Let's go!"

Acknowledgments & sources

This paper does not purport to be an original thesis; instead it is a synthesis of various viewpoints. Three recent books that I read served as a catalyst for this paper, Mark Kurlansky's A Basque History of the World (Penguin, 2001), Dinesh D'Souza's What's so Great About America (Regnery, 2002) and Harold Kushner's Living a Life that Matters (Knopf, 2003). Kurlansky provides the best English language introduction of the Basques, and his style and organization which seamlessly weaves political battles with food recipes makes for interesting reading. It was Kurlansky who declared the Basques a nation who refuse to die. D'Souza's text helpfully articulated the modern challenge Westerners confront in the ideas Rousseau. This freedom to "write the script of your life" comes with both its benefits and its costs. Kushner articulated a viable explanation of why we humans oftentimes find ourselves conflicted in our life's pursuits. Furthermore, I learned much from fruitful discussions of late with new and old friends. Chris Erramuspe and Trinity Rodriques introduced themselves to me with their response to my general inquiry to NABO delegates, while Steven Gamboa, Inaki Bizkarra, Jean Flesher, Pierre Igoa, Jean Pierre Etchechury, John Bieter, Jenny Ysursa, Enrike and Lisa Corcostegui shared their insights as well. To these folks I am indebted, but I reserve for myself responsibility for whatever errors or distortions that I might have made in transposing some of their ideas. To all of them, eskerrik asko —many thanks.

North American Basques' leader project: Udaleku

Grace Mainvil, Ana Anacabe. NABO delegates

What is udaleku?

Formerly known as Music Camp, Udaleku came into being in April 1974 when various Basque clubs joined together to create the North American Basque Organizations, Inc. (NABO) with the purpose of promoting and encouraging our common Basque heritage. Since those early days the bonds between Basques here in the United States have been strengthened and extended. The annual Udaleku sponsored by NABO, and hosted by one of our member organization, has contributed much to this growth.

The first camp was held in Boise, Idaho (Bogus Basin) in 1975. Since then, hundreds of young Basques have gathered for two weeks each summer in a different city of the extended Basque community in the United States. Under the direction of local and visiting talent from Europe, participants study Basque folk dance, music (either txistu or accordion), singing and games (such as the card game "mus" and "pala").

Besides being a good learning experience, the camp offers the participants a great opportunity to develop ties and friendships with other young Basques from many states whose parents and ancestors came from both the northern and southern parts of "Euskal Herria" or the Basque country. The relationships formed over the two-week period increases the present and future interaction between all of our Basque clubs. Udaleku is a unique experience for both the participants--who meet other Basques from other communities--and for the opportunity to teach younger generations of Basque-Americans about their culture. The camp is meant to impart to young Basque-Americans an appreciation for the uniqueness of their heritage.

Objectives

The overall objective of Udaleku is to serve as a learning opportunity for Basque youth. During the course of the camp, another key aspect for the camp is to serve as catalyst for the creation of new, and hopefully, lasting friendships that will serve to re-enforce links among our various Basque-American communities. Teaching is divided into several sections that include:

Music

Every student must make an attempt at learning, or improving, on either the accordion or txistu.

Dance

Every student will be expected to participate in dance rehearsals and make an attempt to learn as many of the dances as possible.

Singing

Participants will take part in singing sessions in which both old and new, northern and southern, Basque songs will be learned.

Language

This being a Basque camp, "Euskara" or the Basque language should be present and apparent. No one can learn the language in two weeks, but an effort should be made to introduce the language.

Pilota/pala

When possible, camp seeks to teach the basics of Basque handball and/or pala to serve as an inspiration for future playing of the sport[s].

Groups

All the participants will be divided up into seven groups, one for each of the seven Basque provinces (If nothing else, some will learn that there are seven provinces). The function of these groups is to better organize the camp and coordinate instruction and the important item-clean up duties. The groups, each coordinated by a music/dance instructor, would aim to accomplish the following: Mus & pala instruction; Euskara; cooking, tambourine, and their group/province presentation.

Organization

Dantzak

Dancing. The dancing instruction should be broken down by boys, girls and mixed. A further breakdown should be made based on the abilities of each student. Every student is expected to dance. The students should learn from 2-5 dances, if possible, and receive some finer points on some of the dances they already know. The daily schedule should have at least two 2 sessions of about 45 minutes each.

Abestiak

Singing. Participants will take part in all singing sessions, consisting of popular and traditional Basque songs. Approximately one hour each day should be allotted. The atmosphere is best shifted from formal (all seated or standing together) to informal (after a dinner). NABO provides the song booklets (prepared beforehand) that are theirs to keep if they would like.

Esku soinua

Accordion. Classes are not to teach students how to play, but to teach them Basque pieces. Depending on the number, classes should be divided between beginners and intermediate, of twenty-five (25) minutes each, at least three times a day. The instructor can decide how best to teach the material. Accordions are not provided by NABO.

Txistu

Classes are to teach students how to play the instrument, and to teach Basque pieces. There will be beginning and intermediate groups, taught in twenty-five (25) minute sessions, at least three times a day. NABO encourages students to bring their own txistu, but provides them with one if they need.

Mus

Classes should consist of 25 minute sessions, two or three given to instruction. Afterward, the students can play on their own with the instructor(s) supervising and helping with the scoring. By the second week, a tournament will be arranged.

Pala/pilota

If the camp site has access to a fronton, students may learn the basics of the game of "pala." The first session should be for instruction, then afterward the students can play on their own with the instructor(s) supervising and helping with the scoring. By the second week, a tournament will be arranged.

Euskara

Basque. Classes are not intended to do the impossible: teach Basque in two weeks. The aim is to introduce the language to those who vaguely remember it and even to those who hear it at home. Basically, if this is a "Basque Music Camp," the language must be made apparent. Instruction of dance and music should be in Basque whenever possible. Several twenty-five sessions aspire to encourage students to pursue learning the language.

Sukaldaritza

Cooking. Classes are both practical and beneficial. Students in their groups should take turns learning some simple cooking techniques (for example preparing "tortilla," "paella," "arain salda," and "gateau basque") to take home with them and also to help with the meals during the camp.

Pandareta

Tambourine. In their groups, students would learn some basic playing techniques of the "pandareta" or tambourine to accompany the accordion. The twenty-five minute sessions can also be used to sneak in some extra singing practice. The tambourines need to be purchased before hand (at least seven), and they can be sold after the camp if a new supply can be obtained for the next year.

Praktikatu

Practicing Music. Some sessions can be set aside for each provincial group, outside of formal instruction, to practice the pieces that they have been given. These sessions need to be monitored by one of the instructors.

Taldeak

Group/Province. Each group, headed by one of the instructors, prepares an informative or entertaining presentation on some element of Basque history or culture to present to the rest of the group. Several meetings will be scheduled prior to the presentations during the second week.

Positions and tasks

For years Udaleku used only four instructors--two for music and two for dance--but this has come to be too small a staff for a group that now averages near fifty students. NABO recommends the following staff positions:

- Txistu instructor.
- Accordion instructor.
- Dance/Euskara instructor.
- Dance/pala instructor.
- Dance/mus instructor.
- Dance/tambourine instructor.
- Dance/cooking instructor.
- Dance/singing instructor.

This outline is for a camp of fifty students, and it includes six dance teachers (three female, and three male) who can share the secondary activities and perhaps also help the music instructors. (If there are fewer, then perhaps only four dance instructors will be needed; consequently more may be needed if the group exceeds fifty.) At least seven of the instructors will also be leaders for each of the provincial groups (for the seven Basque provinces).

Instructors should be present at the camp at all times to help with whatever may arise. The internal director should see that each is rotated around to allow for a few breaks from instruction (see appendix for the staff planning schedule). Dancing will be coordinated by a male and a female dance director, who together plan the dances that will be taught and performed. Music instruction will be decided upon by the music instructors in consultation with the internal director.

Instructors will receive a minimum salary of $300 (as of Jan. 1991) and most travel expenses. Paralleling the varied club composition of the participants, an effort will be made to attract instructors from throughout the American West, and to rotate the positions so that many may have an opportunity to instruct if they are able.

Staff

The external director will assemble local help to assist with meal preparation. Cooks should be able to be recruited from the membership of the host club. Supplies can be purchased ahead of time and only the perishables purchased daily, coordinated by the external director. Cooks would prepare the meals either on site or at home. The set-up and clean-up can be handled by the students in their provincial groups.

With students staying in the homes, we have abolished the previous positions of day and night supervisors. The internal director shall serve to handle emergencies, sick students, and any questions that may arise. For some events or excursions, the external director may want to secure some chaperones. If the students are housed in one place, the external director should assemble different volunteers from the local club who would be willing to stay the night on site.

Rotation/hosting of Camp

Duties

NABO President & Delegates

– NABO Music Camp Chairman,
  - appointed by the President,
  - contacts clubs to arrange next camp,
  - works with external and internal directors to make preparations,
  - appoints internal director, and together they assemble a teaching staff,
  - distributes applications,
  - petitions for possible grants,
  - assemble materials (equipment, songbooks, etc),
  - insure that consistency and quality is maintained.

– External Director
  - Appointed by Club(s),
  - set dates/locate lodging,
  - arranging meals/helpers,
  - transportation,
  - provide applications,
  - handle registration,
  - purchase foods,
  - provide a tape player,
  - arrange possible donations,
  - assign housing,
  - acknowledge volunteers.

– Internal Director
  - appointed by M.C. Chairperson,
  - daily schedule of classes,
  - contacting instructors,
  - responsible for equipment, music & instruments,
  - purchase class supplies,
  - maintain discipline,
  - pay staff,
  - prepare summary report,
  - arrange & distribute address list & group photos,
  - prepare camp folders/packets,
  - arrange awards.

– Joint Responsibilities
  - entertainment,
  - checking account,
  - budgeting/finance,
  - arrange set-up and clean-up,
  - arrange the final performance,
  - plan outside activities,

• Completion of planning schedule,
• prepare news releases,
• arrange for video-taping.

Checklist of duties

This schedule should be divided among the NABO Music Camp Chairperson, and the two directors.

– By the annual Fall NABO meeting:
  • Confirm dates and host(s) of the camp.
  • Prepare tentative budget including enrollment totals and cost per student.
  • Apply for possible grants.

– 6 Months Before Camp:
  • Locate housing for camp.
  • Choose instructors and confirm.
  • Set salaries.
  • Choose staff and confirm.
  • Confirm prepared budget and determine per student cost.

– 4 Months Before Camp:
  • Print necessary registration forms and letters and prepare for mailing to clubs.
  • Set return deadline.
  • Re-confirm the budget.
  • Follow up on grants.

– 2 Months Before Camp:
  • Confirm housing & transportation.
  • Review food situation.
  • Locate all equipment needed (instruments, music, etc)
  • Re-confirm instructors and staff.

– 1 Month Before Camp:
  • Evaluate enrollment results/more mailings/phone/etc.

– 1 Week Before Camp:
  • Have instructor/staff meeting on what duties include.
  • Confirm most all meals.
  • Confirm all enrollments.
  • Confirm housing and transportation..

Daily schedule & provincial groups

Each of the participants will be placed in one of the seven provincial groups (Araba, Benafarroa, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Lapurdi, Nafarroa & Zuberoa) by the level of their musical ability. Each group should number from four to eight students, headed by one of the instructors. On a rotating schedule from meal to meal, group responsibilities include set-up and clean-up. They can also be used for quick attendance checks. Finally, each prepares a presentation that will be given to the other group (and invited host families and quests) by the middle of the second week.

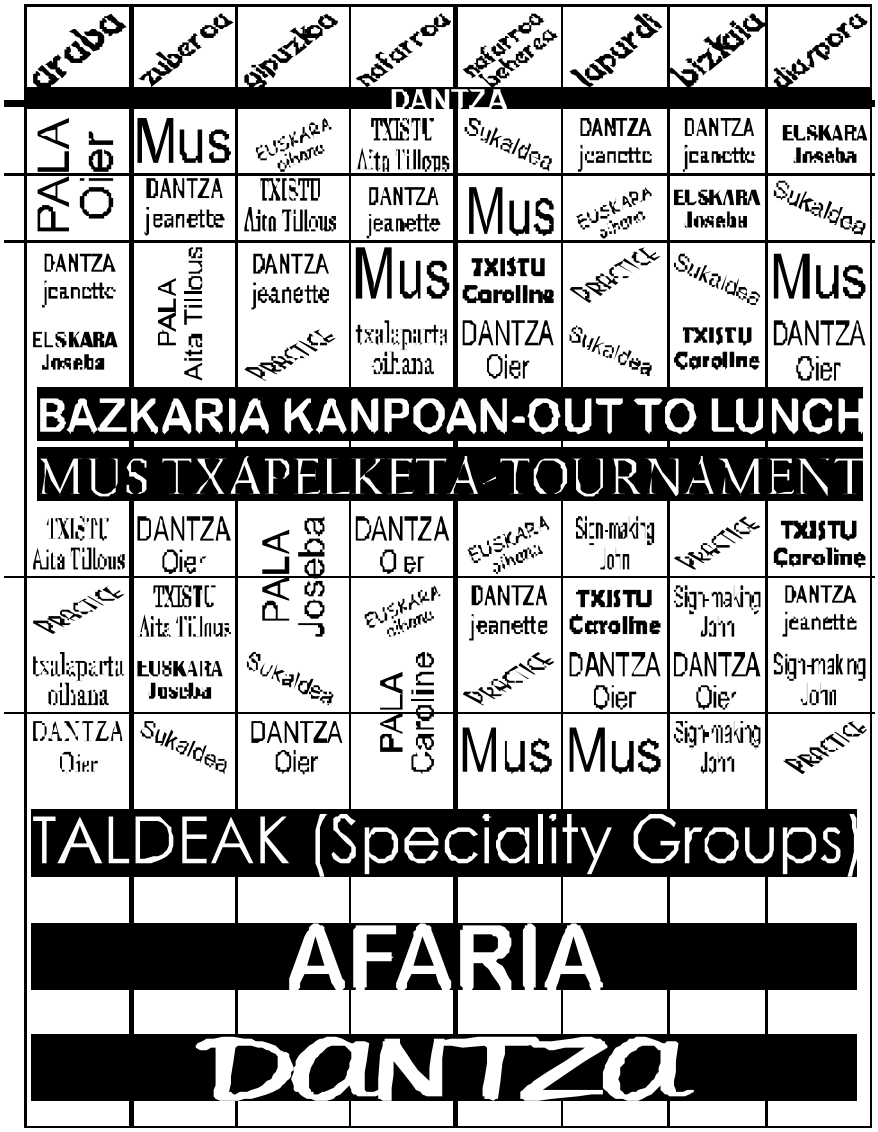
In their groups, students will attend their classes throughout the day. Music classes will last twenty-five (25) minutes with a five minute break to switch. This schedule takes advantage of shortened attention spans. Dance and singing sessions will be held all together, for a longer period of time. The daily schedule, put

together by the internal director with suggestions from the staff, will vary from day to day, and it will be broken up with meals, free-time, and fun activities (see appendix).

The host club(s) is welcomed to arrange some fun events that may include: volleyball, swimming & water parks, City Tour, movies, quest speakers, excursions, bowling, softball and going out to eat.

Asteazkena

WEDNESDAY 2



Camp awards

The two directors may choose to distribute certificates to each of the participants at the concluding performance. In addition, in years past we have given small prizes, on an informal basis, for some "outstanding" performances. Categories may include:

- Most improved accordion & txistu.
- Mus Champions.
- Most improved dancers.
- Best province/group award.
- Cleaning-up award(s).
- tambourine award.
- bota (water) drinking award.
- Pala Champions.
- Jota Contest Champions.
- Singing contest champions.
- Best pala-ball finder.
- Basque language award.
- Male/female weight carrying.
- tug-of-war award.

Evaluations

At the conclusion of camp, an evaluation should be distributed to the participants and instructors so to better evaluate the whole camp and forward future recommendations.

NABO has previously recommended that Udaleku participants be housed in one place when possible, but the problem now is that we do not have the funding to make up the difference. The present fee of $220 (Jan. 1991) is enough to only cover the camp's expenses (supplies, salaries, fun activities, and food) minus lodging. The dormitory concept, which has its benefits, would entail an increased fee. Perhaps soon, NABO may acquire the necessary funds to support the option of combined housing. In the interim, students will need to be housed in host homes. The external director should make the necessary arrangements for housing and transportation to and from the camp site.

With students staying in the homes, an effort should be made to lessen the housing burden on the hosts whenever possible (they are asked to provide a bed, only 2 or 3 meals, and to do a couple of loads of laundry, and perhaps help with transportation). Most all meals will be provided by the camp; some nights, however, can be set aside as "family nights" for the kids to enjoy with their host families. It is important that all the hosts know the hours of arrival and departure for each day. The internal director should make these announcements.

Location

Ideally the sites for the classes will all be in one place. The thing to keep in mind is need for numerous rooms which can be used simultaneously. The room for accordion instruction must be a locked room only for our use. The other rooms can be shared, and practice areas should be identified. Remember that carpet is not conducive to dancing. Plug-ins and extension cords are necessary for tape recorders in the dance areas.

Many times an outdoor setting is appropriate for individual practice or even for an informal instructional period such as txistu or dancing.

All NABO sponsored Camps will be organized in a similar fashion each year. The camp will rotate within four geographical areas of the Basque-American community, meaning that a specific club(s) will be responsible for hosting or assisting with Music Camp every four years. This arrangement is to ensure that the work gets spread amongst all the clubs, and so that youngsters can attend a nearby camp. The clubs in each geographic region are as follows (as of December 1990):

– NABO South:
- Chino.
- Bakersfield.
- Las Vegas.
- Southern California.
- Los Angeles Oberena.
- Ventura County.

– NABO North:
- Boise.
- Oinkari Dancers.
- Salt Lake.
- Buffalo.
- Rock Springs.
- Gooding Basque Museum.
- Ontario.
- Inland NW.
- Mountain Home.

– NABO West:
- S.F. Cultural Center.
- S.F. Club.
- Anaitasuna.
- Fresno.
- Los Banos.
- Marin Sonoma.
- Portland.
- Seattle.

– NABO Central:
- Reno.
- Elko.
- Winnemucca.
- Gardnerville.
- Susanville.
- New York Society of Basque Studies.

Recent Record of Host Clubs:

1985: Hosted by the Boise Oinkari (North).
1986: Hosted by the Elko Basque Club (Central).
1987: Hosted by the Los Banos Basque Club (West).
1988: Hosted by the Boise Basque Club (North).
1989: Hosted by the Bakersfield Basque Club (South).
1990: Hosted by the Elko Basque Club (Central).
1991: Hosted by San Francisco area clubs (West).
1992: Hosted by the Boise Basque Club (North).
1993: Hosted by the Chino & Southern California Clubs (South).
1994: Hosted by the Reno Basque Club (Central).
1995: Hosted by San Francisco area clubs (West).
1996: Hosted by the Boise Basque Club (North).
1997: Hosted by the Kern County Basque Club (South).
1998: Hosted by the Elko Basque Club (Central).
1999: Hosted by the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center (West).
2000: Hosted by the Boise Basque Club (North).
2001: Hosted by the Chino Basque Club (South).
2002: Hosted by the Reno Basque Club (Central).
2003: Hosted by the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center (West).
2004: Hosted by the Boise Basque Club (Central).

NOTE: NABO does not pick the host club—instead they step forward to volunteer as host.

Finances

All expenses incurred for Udaleku will be paid by NABO with the money received from the participants. The host club(s) is not financially responsible for the camp, but any donations are gladly accepted. They are requested to assist with recreation, some travel, treats, cooking, etc. The seven instructors (minus the internal director/instructor) will each receive a base salary of $300. Because NABO no longer has a surplus of funds, Udaleku must be carefully budgeted to stay within the available money.

Discipline

Nothing can make the two-weeks more unendurable than a problem participant(s). The staff need not put up with this nuisance. The application/agreement packet includes a section that asks parents to accept responsibility for early dismissals of problem student(s). This step, if necessary, will follow an initial contact with the parent(s) and expulsion will be decided upon by the internal and external directors. The internal director shall make the general rules clear at the first meeting of camp.

Discipline is important for at least three reasons: to allow the camp to progress, to save instructors headaches, and to preserve Udaleku's reputation. Because of this camp's nature, a few bad rumors can do much harm to future attendance if parents begin to believe that there are problems. For most parents to allow their little ones to attend, they need to know that the camp will be well supervised and structured. Stay with the planned schedule and be consistent. Most students quickly accept that this is how it is going to be, they adjust, and appreciate their free time more that way.

- Students are NEVER allowed to leave the grounds without permission from the internal director for excused absences. (It gets confusing, so it is best that one person at least knows where all missing students are).
- No disrespectful or irresponsible behavior by students will be tolerated.
  - Disrespectful behavior includes improper language, failure to respect and obey the instructors, and the failure to respect the other students.
  - Irresponsible behavior includes unruly behavior, fighting, failure to consider the rights and property of others, behavior which disrupts classes, and defacing or destruction of property.

– Reasons for an early dismissal include:
  - continued willful disobedience.
  - open, persistent defiance of the instructors.
  - habitual profanity or vulgarity.
  - smoking or having tobacco.
  - Use, sale or possession of narcotics.
  - willfully cutting, defacing or otherwise injuring in any way any property, real or personal.
  - use, sale, distribution or possession of any alcohol.
  - stealing or attempted stealing, gambling or forgery.
  - assault or any threat of force or violence toward anyone.
  - habitual lack of effort leading to failure in classes.

Meals

Most all the meals should be served on site to help minimize cost and save funds for occasional outings to local eateries or Basque restaurant(s). The meals that are the simplest seem to go over better than the large sit-down dinner. Included is a list of foods and meals that have gone over well in the past. The suggested meals are also easy to prepare/serve and plan in advance. The utensils and plates should be paper and plastic. The students can serve themselves and do their own clean-up. Supplies can be purchased ahead of time and the daily responsibilities of the host club can be minimized.

Gozaria: breakfast

The students need the ability to fix their own meal and move on at that time of day. The availability as a base of cereals, milk, juice, fruit, and toast is advisable. Adding the following adds some variety: poptarts, donuts, waffles, pancakes, French toast, ham and eggs, and chorizos.

Bazkaria: lunch

This need not be a formal event. Many students use this hour to clean-up, regroup, and relax. The students will go to lunch and find it refreshing to serve themselves and not have a highly structured meal. Suggestions include the following:

– Sloppy Joes.
– Rice pudding.
– Baked potatoes.
– Macaroni salad.
– Cookies.
– Pizza.
– Milk.
– Potato salad.
– U-make sandwiches.
– Jello.
– Macaroni & cheese.
– Hot dogs.
– Fruit.
– Potato chips.
– Green salad.
– Juice.
– Tacos.
– Chorizos.
– Ice cream.

Do not purchase individual size packets since this is usually more expensive. The take-a-handful system works just fine, as does pouring your own drink. A refrigerator should be on site to accommodate the drinks and some treats or leftovers. Leave the menu planning flexible so that you can work around leftovers.

Treats are always a favorite, but spread them out. Perhaps some can be donated by locals.

Afaria: dinner

Dinner has proven to be a time when all the students enjoy eating together as a group. The meals can either be on site or off. The off site is desirable occasionally as a change of pace if transportation and finances allow. This may be an opportunity for the members of the host club(s) to prepare a meal if appropriate

Introductory Letter

Dear Udaleku / Pelota Camp Participants:

The 2003 NABO Udaleku and Pelota Camp will be hosted by the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center [599 Railroad Ave., South San Francisco, CA]. Check in will be Sunday, June 15th at 3:00 p.m. The final performance will be held on Saturday June 28th. Classes will be held daily at the Basque Cultural Center. Participants will be lodged with local Basque families. To be eligible for Music/Pelota Camp, you must be at least 10 years old.

Music/Pelota Camp participants will have the opportunity to learn Pelota, Pala, Basque Dancing, Txistu, Mus, Euskera, and Basque Singing. Instructors will be coming from around the United States, and Euskadi.

Tuition is $150.00, and includes room, board, and all instruction. Tuition must be fully paid with the application by May 25th. All checks should be made payable to NABO

Participants must arrange their own transportation to and from San Francisco. Transportation after arrival in San Francisco will be handled by local members. Participants will stay in local houses until Friday night, June 27th. If you wish to stay longer, you will need to need to make separate arrangements.

Udaleku concludes with a final performance and dinner on Saturday June 28th at the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center. Parents and friends are invited to attend. Reservations should be made by June 20th. Please contact Anita Arduain (650/ 583-7018).

In less than two weeks participants will learn about all aspects of Basque culture. It is also a great way to form lasting friendships throughout our Basque community. However, with such little time and a large group we will need your cooperation. Although camp is a fun activity, you will be expected work and respect the instructors. Disruptive behavior will not be tolerated, and will be grounds for expulsion. Any participant asked to leave camp will be responsible for immediate travel arrangements home.

Valerie Arrechea
529 Yosemite Dr.
So. San Francisco, CA 94080

We are looking forward to a fun and successful camp, and hope to see you there! If you have any questions, please feel free to contact Valerie Arrechea at (415) 564-0990 or by email at Etcharren@msn.com

Udaleku Clothing & Equipment List

Weather in San Francisco can be cold during June. Please bring comfortable clothing, and shoes that you can dance in (high top sneakers or strap sandles are not recommended). If you are bringing medicine to camp, please indicate it on the medical release form so that we know when it should be taken. If you suffer from hay fever or have any allergies to plants, food, or trees, be sure to bring your medication and indicate it on the medical release form. Please bring the following items to camp:

– Basque dancing costume.
– A beat up, ugly shirt and ugly hat that can be decorated for Carnival.
– Tennis Shoes (required for Pelota).
– Txistu.
– Sleeping bag and pillow.
– Prescribed medicine (if any).
– Comb, brush, bath towels, soap with container, other toiletries.
– Windbreaker / sweatshirt / sweater.
– Hair Dryer.
– T-shirts.
– Long pants and shorts.
– socks, shoes, underwear.
– Church clothes.
– Watch / travel alarm clock.
– Swimsuit.

Udaleku 2003: application / agreement

Part i. Application information

Agreement: Participant's cooperation is necessary for the success of the camp. This returned agreement recognizes that in the unlikely event that you child(ren) prove to be too much for the staff to handle, you agree to arrange for their early return. We hope that this will not be necessary, and we will contact you prior to such action to notify you that there is a problem. Thank you for your understanding.

Parent's signature:. _____

General information:

Participant's name: _____

NABO Organization: _____

Age: _____ Birth Date: _____ – _____ –_____

Address: _____

City / State _____ Zip _____

Phone: ( ) _____ email: _____

Camp background :

1. Have you ever attended Udaleku/Music Camp before? _____ When, and Where?

   _____

2. Have you ever attended Pelota Camp before? _____ When, and Where?

   _____

Pelota information:

1. Have you ever played: Handball: _____ Pala: _____

   a. if yes, for how long have you been playing? _____

   b. do you play regularly, and if so, how often? _____

2. Have you ever played in the NABO Pelota Tournament? _____

Music / dance / language skills:

1. Have you ever played txistu before? _____ If so, what level are you at? _____
2. Are you currently dancing in a group? _____ If so, which one and for how long? _____

   Do you instruct? _____

3. Do you speak Basque? _____ If so, how would you rate yourself?

   Fluent conversation a few words nothing

4. Do you know how to play mus? _____
5. What town(s) (and province) in the Basque Country is your family from? _____

6. Please write what are your reasons and goals for attending camp, and if there is anything in particular you wish to learn.

_____

_____

_____

_____

Travel

If you are arriving by bus or plane, we will pick you up and return you to the depot or airport. The airport of choice is San Francisco International Airport . Please tell us your travel arrangements

Arrival: Bus: (carrier/date/time) _____

Plane (carrier/date/time) _____

Departure: Bus: (carrier/date/time) _____

Plane (carrier/date/time) _____

Recommended Hotel for Parents/Guardians: The Comfort Suites SFO Airport is located 5 minutes from the Basque Cultural Center at 121 E. Grand Ave., South San Francisco For room reservations, call 650-589-7100. Mention the Basque Cultural Center to receive the rate of $55.00 for a studio suite (up to four persons). Complimentary continental breakfast and shuttle to SFO is included.

Part II. Medical & liability release form

Name: _____

Phone: (_____) _____

Address: _____

_____

*** To participate, participant must be covered by medical insurance ***

Carrier: _____

Date of last physical examination: _____

Date of last tetanus toxoid injection: _____

IF YOUR SON/DAUGHTER IS BELOW THE LEGAL AGE OF CONSENT (18) THE LAW REQUIRES THAT WE HAVE YOUR PERMISSION TO GIVE MEDICAL SERVICE SHOULD THE NEED ARISE.

I authorize medical examination and treatment as may be deemed advisable by the physician in attendance. For minor illnesses or injuries, NABO, my child, or adult chaperone will attempt to contact me before my child leaves the medical office.

For major injuries of illnesses, NABO Udaleku/Pelota Camp officials will attempt to contact me before institution of treatment, unless such treatment is so urgent that it must be done before contact can be made. If I cannot be reached, I authorize the attending physician to act as medical judgment may dictate. I also agree to assume financial responsibility for my child's care.

I agree that N.A.B.O, the San Francisco Basque Cultural Center, and those working for either organization will be released any and all liabilities incident to my minor child's involvement or participation in these programs, EVEN IF ARISING FROM THEIR NEGLIGENCE.

This authorization shall be in effect from ___ June 15, 2003 __ to ___ June 28, 2003 ___

Parent/guardian's signature: _____

Date: _____

Printed Name(s): _____

Parent/guardian's home phone: _____

work phone: _____

In case of emergency, person to contact if parent/guardian cannot be reached: _____

Relationship of alternate to student: _____ phone: _____

Student's physician: _____ phone: _____

NOTE: Please let us know if your child needs to take prescription medicine, or has any medical conditions we should be aware of.

"Youths and their association with Basque Institutions in Argentina" Quali-quantitive study

Maite Velasco and Mª Alejandra Páez. Emakume Abertzale Batza (Buenos Aires)

Objectives and bases of the research

Basque institutions in Argentina have always occupied an extremely important position as meeting places for ex-patriots who cultivated the expressions of their culture from a distance. These institutions made it possible for them to keep in touch with their roots and helped them to deal with the loss felt at having been obliged to leave their country.

They have played a role of vital importance. They made it easier for the Basque immigrants to settle in their new culture without losing their identity by offering them a place of their own in which to share and preserve their customs and ideologies.

Today, given the growing incorporation of new generations, these institutions must evolve in order to achieve a synthesis between the function of transmitting essential values and interpreting the arising needs corresponding to a new reality.

Based on the general objective of strengthening the current relations of Argentinian Basque Centers with their members and of drawing up a strategic plan of growth, our entity has carried out this survey on the youngsters (15-35 years-of-age) considered to be the main actors in the overhaul process necessary for the continuity of these institutions.

This study intends to obtain, by means of applied psychological (qualitative) and statistical (quantitative) methods, the necessary information on the basis of which to establish their sociological characteristics, their demographic composition, the kind of relations which youths have with their institutions in Argentina and how they relate them to their personal aspirations.

Scope of the research

The aim of this study is to obtain information about youngsters related to Basque Centers in the Republic of Argentina.

The survey is based on the consideration that there are 42 entities of this kind in the whole country. The segment studied (youths from 15-35 years-of-age), corresponds to an estimated universe of 2,000 people.

The institutions are distributed as follows:

– Federal capital, 5 institutions with 6% of the members.

– Greater Buenos Aires, 4 institutions with 4% of the members.

– Buenos Aires province, 21 institutions with 62% of the members.

– Inland, 12 institutions with the remaining 28%.

Evaluation of the results of this survey will give us the necessary information on the basis of which to generate a strategy of growth which each Basque Centre will be able to adapt to its own reality.

Technical specifications

Survey period	Qualitative period: September – October 2002 Quantitative period: • Personal interviews: October 2002 • Telephone surveys: December 2002 – January 2003
Methods	Qualitative period: Discussion groups (Buenos Aires, Bahía Blanca, Mar del Plata and Rosario). Average duration: 2 hours Quantitative period: Personal surveys during the Basque National Week (Rosario). 388 cases National telephone surveys. 430 cases Length: 30-40 minutes
Universe	Youths and their association with Basque Institutions in Argentina

Estimated size of the universe	2,000 people
Size of the sample	8 groups (2 per city) 818 people (41% of the estimated no. of people surveyed)
Selection criteria for interviewees	People from 15-35 years-of-age
Sample framework	Lists of youth members provided by the Basque Centers

Qualitative period

Specific objective

– To study the association existing between youths and culture and Basque institutions in Argentina.

Subjects to be researched

The following principal subjects were established by way of guidelines for the group discussion.

– Knowledge and extent of identification with Basque values and culture. Nationality and identity.

– Ways in which the Basque culture is transmitted. Oral/written history, tradition, customs. Recognition of symbols.

– Aspects of the Basque culture that interest them most.

– Knowledge of and relation to the family history.

– Values with which they identify and the essential value acquired from transmission of the Basque culture.

– How these are currently put into practice. And how they would like them to evolve in the future.

– The present and future role of Basque-Argentinian institutions in response to these concerns.

Methodology and sample

An in-depth study via the implementation of exploratory groups. These groups were coordinated by a psychologist, who was in charge of guiding and moderating the group discussion. This technique is aimed at attempting to recreate a specific social group, youths related to Basque institutions in Argentina, with the purpose of drawing out their deepest feelings regarding their links with their origins.

8 (eight) groups of between 10 and 12 participants were created for an average time of two hours. The number of groups was dictated by the nature of the variables: place (Buenos Aires, Mar del Plata, Bahía Blanca and Rosario) and age; the latter of which was split into two sub-segments (15-24 and 25-35 years-of-age). We moreover attempted to ensure that each group contained a mixture with respect to other interesting variables, such as the institutions to which they were associated, their activities, etc.

By arranging the groups according to age, we were able to respect certain homogeneity of interests in each sub-segment.

The groups were distributed as follows:

– Group 1: Men and women from 15 to 24 years-of-age, Buenos Aires.
– Group 2: Men and women from 25 to 35 years-of-age, Buenos Aires.
– Group 3: Men and women from 15 to 24 years-of-age, Mar del Plata.
– Group 4: Men and women from 25 to 35 years-of-age, Mar del Plata.
– Group 5: Men and women from 15 to 24 years-of-age, Bahía Blanca.
– Group 6: Men and women from 25 to 35 years-of-age, Bahía Blanca.
– Group 7: Men and women from 15 to 24 years-of-age, Rosario.
– Group 8: Men and women from 25 to 35 years-of-age, Rosario.

Summary of the qualitative study

September/October 2002

Basque culture and institutional participation among youths

The majority of youngsters emphatically confirm their identification with the Basque culture. The aspects considered to define "being Basque" have become an ideal for these youths.

The differences existing between the younger (15-24) and elder (25-35), age groups depend on the extent to which they participate in the Basque institutions.

These variations by age had no effect on the strong attachment to the culture. The different connotations in the concepts of the "Basque person" and the "Basque culture" are closely related to variables such as the age at which they joined the Basque Centre, the way they joined and the activity in which they participate.

In this respect we can identify two clearly defined groups in our sample:

– Dantzaris/ex Dantzaris
– Cultural Centre/Euskera

Dantzariak

Family and institution appear objectively and subjectively superimposed. The children joined the centers when they were young, almost without realizing it, like learning to speak

> When I was two they'd dress me for celebrations, I didn't understand why, but I gradually realized what was happening, I don't know, I mean, I didn't learn it, it just came naturally.
>
> My parents would come here when they were courting, they got married here, I've always come.
>
> The ones of us that dance have been coming since we were small (...) our families know one another, we're almost all related to one another and the ones that aren't call each other cousins, we're all really close.

This reality gives rise to extremely important links having significant effects on the profile of the Basque Centers and on the way in which the culture and management of the organizations develop, to a certain extent creating a commitment with respect to the promotion of what they have to offer. As a result, the idea of Basque culture is closely linked to their family images, to the tales told by the older immigrants. This cultural feeling is therefore highly impregnated, almost exclusively, with traditionalism.

There is a certain amount of spontaneous reticence to accept contemporariness with respect to the uses and customs of today's Euskadi, as if some kind of disloyalty to those voices of their childhood were subjectively involved.

> When I stayed in my grandparents would tell me things about Euskadi... they were like stories for me... unforgettable.

As a result, the concept of "Culture" tends to fall predominantly under the heading of preservation.

When seeking to modernize dances and music, they don't seem to see them as the effect of the transformation of culture in general, but as a strictly choreographic or musical change.

However, they leave the institutional level to the elders.

They idealize their experience in dance groups, just as the groups of dantzaris seem in certain centers to be the privileged parties of the organizations. As far as the research groups are concerned, only in Bahía Blanca do the youngsters belong to Sub-Committees with the right to participate in the decisions of the group of dancers.

Ex-dantzariak (Former dantzariak)

Ex-dantzaris belong to the older youth segment (25-35 age group) of the sample and their institutional situation consists of the way they define their current activities in the Basque centers studied. Their self-definition of "ex" is not only functional but is accompanied by a strong feeling of loss, of disorientation. They have lost the intimate relationship which existed between the members of the group (strongly expressed by today's dantzariak) and their place of privilege in the institution. They don't seem to have found their new place in the organization.

> There's a gap there, it's true that you start having outside complications, other responsibilities, other interests, but we would otherwise have nothing to do.
>
> Sometimes a group of us get together to have a drink, we don't do anything, if they ask me I collaborate in the odd fiesta...
>
> And later we'll bring our kids here to dance...

The spontaneous moving on from being children to become parents and repeat history: the institution seen as a natural cycle and not as the product of institutional policies. This underlying concept can limit the potentialities of each subject and of the organizations. Although they have expectations, the ex-dantzaris seem to feel de-instrumented, stripped of the subjective power of management and with no institutional place in which to develop these expectations.

Cultural Centre (Buenos Aires)/euskera

The common particularity of these youths is the way in which they joined the Basque Centers studied. They have joined individually, for different reasons. Their families, of Basque ascendance, haven't participated in the institutional life of the collective in Argentina. They have been moved to participate by the intention to rediscover their roots and intensify their attachment to the Basque culture. In some cases they are endeavoring to institutionalize their belonging given that while their families have preserved and transmitted the culture, they have done so in private.

> We're here because we want to be, we've come on our own initiative.
>
> I came myself, I pulled away from my family and wanted to know where I came from and my family never... (told us anything about the culture).

Having joined in this way sets this group of youngsters apart: they maintain a less primary relationship with the institution and their commitment to culture and the organization is more rational, intellectual or ideological, depending on the case. This particularity seemed to give them a different perspective, the Basque culture is also their language, their history and the contemporary perspective of Euskadi.

> Basque culture is not only dancing and music, it also has a history.
>
> Language is a country's way of thinking.

Basque-speaking youths in Buenos Aires seem to be closely linked to the Cultural Centre, even though they are two different institutions. At Basque Centers in inland Argentina, Basque students don't have access to the main nucleus of the Centers, to the group of traditional families of these institutions (members of Executive Committees, groups of dantzaris or ex-dantzaris). In general, they would seem to hold a somewhat marginal position in the life of the institution. The similarities between Basque-speaking youths and Cultural Centers end here. The most significant differences found between the two would seem to lie in the genesis of the activity that attracts them and its effects on the management.

Euskera

This is an institutional initiative. Given the criticism which, although veiled, was obvious, the way in which this activity is carried out inland (by students, ex-students and a teacher) would seem to be based on an inappropriate methodology tending towards "group therapy". We infer that this textual expression indicates the tendency to convert the group into something more primary, perhaps along the lines of the family-based model which would seem to dominate the history of the Centers.

> it's fine as a hobby (...) but we want something else.
>
> …they don't actually make demands of us (...) but we progress at the speed of the difficulties of a 50-year-old woman.
>
> …it's more for the older folk who go along to have fun.

Euskaltzaleak

Buenos Aires is an institution separate from the Centro Laurak Bat, hence giving rise to another panorama with respect to inland Argentina.

The Cultural Centre-Eusketxe

Is defined as having an institutional policy and management criterion based on self-management.

Remarks on the typology of the youths.

Having split the group into two kinds in this report doesn't mean that each one is homogenous, or that they are considered in the same terms at each Centre. They are trends that seemed to become differential poles within the groups of youngsters. These poles and their internal differences, which at times seem to clash with one another, outline a panorama which is wealthy as a result of its diversity.

Strengths and weaknesses of the two trends

The historical-family nucleus is strong as far as local belonging and accumulated institutional experience in the Diaspora is concerned. Its weakness may lie in a certain amount of inertia, in the repetition of instrumental models at other historical moments and in the difficulty of formulating institutional projects.

The Euskera-Cultural Centre combination in Buenos Aires has a strong critical potential due to the fact that it is less tied to personal/family loyalties, and to the self-management of alternative, transforming projects. Its weakness lies in a certain amount of dispersion over the different regions, a certain disconnection from local institutional realities and its relative insertion to the Centers.

Perception of the current situation and expectations of youths with respect to their Basque institutions in Argentina

All of the youngsters share awareness with respect to the need for a change endeavoring to retain members, to increase their numbers and to involve a greater number of people in their activities. The principal shared fear is that the Centers empty or disappear. There are several reasons for this feeling:

- The crisis in Argentina
- The difficulty of generating genuine income to sustain the Centers and the presence of Basque culture in the country
- The need for subsidies from the Basque Country to subsist and the danger of political homogeneity which this could cause
- Youth emigration
- The lack of immigration by "Basques from over there", of ships which in the port areas meant a contribution, even though passing.
- The threat of the disappearance of Basque culture from the Centers given the need to promote mass activities which are more commercial than Basque culture.
- Fragmentation as a result of internal political struggles, etc.

> I stopped coming because of fragmentation, of power struggles, they put me off.
>
> If we continue like this, the Centers will end up becoming branches of the Basque Government.
>
> Without subsidies we can't maintain even part of this building.
>
> We'll continue to receive them for the time being because they need us until they obtain independence. We're their Embassies...

These fears are greater among the older youths or in the older members of the younger groups. The younger dantzaris live their moment intensely and tend to draw more promising futures based on the idealization of the group to which they belong. A minority of the group of youngsters interviewed showed a position synthetically expressed in the following quote:

> The Basque culture is not only diminishing in Argentina, we've got to reflect on the commitment with what's happening over there (in Euskadi).

There are two trends with respect to the feasibility of the necessary transformations:

1.- a To wait for or accelerate the generational change in Executive Committees and come up with new ideas.

b To encourage the inclusion of youngsters in the presently existing Executive Committees or to communicate their concerns via more informal channels: "To be able to reach the Executive Committee".

2.- To manage specific, organizational and institutional projects "from below", to generate spaces for the carrying out of activities according to the different interests of the members.

Underlying the first position is an idea of vertical power as the only source of management. In the second there is an institutional vocation of more or less management decision depending on the case.

All of the Centers studied contain both positions. And they are encouraged by concern or even anguish given the decline of Basque institutions in the country.

Desired criteria and activities at the Centre

The spontaneous or planned criteria emerging with respect to the creation of potential activities endeavoring to enrich institutional life are threefold:

1. The Basque Centre must "preserve the Basque culture".

2. The role of the institutions is not only to preserve, but also to spread the Basque culture".

3. The objective should be "to organize meetings between cultures".

In general, the second and third positions seem to predominate.

There seem to be no major obstacles to the participation of youths not of Basque ascendance. This said, the order of priorities on calling for participation in the Centers is as follows:

a) The re-recruiting of members who, while still in the country, have left the Centers.

> To talk to them, to find out why they left.

b) To seek out Basque descendants in each region and to try and attract them to the institutions.

> I keep seeing cars with the Basque flag, and think: but I don't know that guy.
>
> There are somewhere around 3 million Basques. How many are there at the Centers, 0.0001%.

c) On enrolling non-Basque youths we should encourage them to make some kind of commitment to the institution, either economy, culture or work-related.

Other criteria for the increasing of activity

One suggestion is the need to create services for the members (swimming pools, sports grounds, table football, buildings in which to hold social meetings, obtained either with their own resources or thanks to agreements with other institutions if the centre doesn't have the means to create these services alone).

To organize short, attractive courses on the Basque Country today: politics, economy, gastronomy, with member or guest speakers.

To promote community activities.

> Why does the centre not know its human resources? She's a dental surgeon, why not organize a campaign for the needy, from the Centre, but without ignorance of the reality in our country.
>
> Emakume made a Toba district with funds from over there, you mustn't stop at construction, you've got to get to know them, get them to know us, create a meeting between the two cultures.

A desire expressed in various centers is the creation of a bilingual Basque-Argentinian school. This is an idea which calls for determination within the groups and which in general comes from the participating women:

> To open a nursery first, that would attract members, those who left, Basques who have never come to the centers and Argentinians from other origins.
>
> We want our children to learn Euskera from early on.

To organize stands at different kinds of exhibitions showing activities in today's Basque Country adapted to the theme of each event.

> Also to organize exhibitions of Basque painting, sculpture.

Likewise mentioned here are Basque cinema, theatre, fashion, etc.

In these last proposals they specify the need to modernize the institutional management criteria, while a minority demands that there be no obstacles to the work of those who wish to do so on the basis of self-management, that they be given support, contacts, etc.

Internal communication and meeting places within the institutions

The Centers are perceived as having a certain amount of internal fragmentation resulting from poor communication. The majority totally reject the idea of centralizing tasks, instead proposing that they be coordinated, efficiently ensuring that members know about them, preventing overlapping, etc.

> Here we would like to underline one important point: over and above the objectives of this qualitative research which put together the discussion groups as a source of information, the participants appreciated the chance it offered them to meet, hence creating expectation.

Another point considered is the subject of gender. Although the subject didn't always appear explicitly, when it did, it appeared emphatically, creating typical situations of gender confrontation which were put down to "that's what the Basque culture is like".

Programs in the Basque Country (Gaztemundu, "the one of the 100 youths")

The program the youths know most about is "Gaztemundu", while they have only scarce information about "Euskal Herrirantz", known as "the one of the 100 youths", a program they find less attractive given its specific demands, particularly double citizenship, perhaps also because of the more radical decision implied by emigration.

GAZTEMUNDU

Here we find both idealizations and emphatic criticism. The idealizations refer to the subjective experience of getting to know the Basque Country and its people and of meeting other "Basques in the Diaspora".

> I went there and everything was marvelous.
>
> It's an experience... that words can't describe.
>
> Being there was... like an enormous Basque week.

Only one desire was reflected within this position: the desire to be over there. The critical positions of those who succeeded in going, while not denying this subjective experience, point towards:

– communication of the program in the country

– the work election system (isolated but strong criticism)

– the activity program in Euskadi

– the non-explicit feeling they believe they have discovered, and

– a certain feeling of having failed to achieve the explicit objectives

> If there's information it's half passive, it's there, but you've got to go and find it.
>
> It's as if they were hiding the information.
>
> Here the person that won did so because of his surname.
>
> We met kids that didn't know anything. They asked why we'd on a red scarf at San Fermín! And the Basque Government spends money on that.
>
> When they went because of Euskera to bring the experience back here, they ended up leaving the Centre.
>
> As tourism it's great, but they show you what they want you to see (...) there's no time to go around on your own, I had to ask for permission to eat with my family there.
>
> I went for the culture, the traditions, and they showed me a washing machine factory, cooperatives.

The work is just an excuse, they take you there so that you can see it, they're not interested in the work there or here when you want to tell them about it (...) mine was about what the ex-dantzaris do, a group of us from several provinces here got together for a presentation, (...) we felt like idiots.

To show you what they want you to see.

It's all about protocol (…) a political program.

The subject of Gaztemundu created strong feelings within the groups, with respect to idealization and criticism alike. The two evaluations made by almost all of the groups created no controversy between the spokespeople, who seemed to accept that both are aspects of one same occurrence. With respect to participation in the Program, there were two extreme positions:

Here it's a fight, we kill each other to win.

We decide between us all who's going to be presented and back them, why compete between peers?..." (the younger group of youths).

Summing up, in the majority of the cases in our sample Gaztemundu emerges as a complex situation, involving local institutional conflicts and different expectations with respect to the offer of the Basque Government and demand for the trip.

Nationality, double citizenship and migration

All of these people are and recognize themselves as being Argentinian, some of them have double citizenship, the majority Spanish, to which some add...

... Like it or not it's Spanish...

The reasons for not having double nationality are varied:

– They don't have the right to it

– It's a complicated "bureaucratic" procedure

– They have never bothered to try

I found out about it, but didn't have the right to it.

My grandfather adopted Argentinian nationality to be able to vote here and I think that's fine.

We were never instilled in my family with the idea of double nationality, with all of our Basque feeling, we never thought about leaving the country.

The majority don't consider emigrating, especially not forever.

The worst thing is to have no roots, I know because of my family.

My mother was thinking about leaving for 40 years, when she left, she came back and stayed here.

I would go, but only to study some kind of a post-graduate course.

We went with my husband, the children, and we came back, it's really difficult.

In my family they told me: you end up being from nowhere.

Both of us are leaving in 15 days... But we don't know if we'll stay there to live.

These youths still feel the painful experience of their family's uprooting. It is the deepening Argentinian crisis which is responsible for their thoughts of leaving for reasons of necessity and which at the same time seems to intensify the feeling of belonging to their country. Decidedly, for the majority, emigrating doesn't seem to be the best idea. Particularly in the older group, who suffer the deep loss of many of their friends who decided to leave.

"Being Basque"

There is pride in recognizing oneself and in being recognized as having Basque roots. For these youngsters, being Basque is the recognition of an origin which while not questioned by the majority, does endorse their belonging to the country in which they were born.

It's a tradition, a history, a way of being.

A feeling.

An ethnic group, a race.

In my case it is fanaticism, I'm the first person from my family to come here.

A very strong ethnic group, a structure of thought focused on the house, the farmhouse.

With a language which, like all others, is a Cosmo vision (...) that's the way I see Euskera, for her being Basque is Basque dancing...

My mother is Basque and I don't want the Basque side to die with her, that's why I'm here. But I'm Argentinian.

Quantitative phase

Specific objectives

– To give statistical entity to the subjects studied during the qualitative phase of the research.
– To describe the socio-demographic composition of youths associated to Basque-Argentinian entities.
– To study their relationship with the culture and institutions.
– To learn their interests and hopes.

Subjects to be studied

We attach the questionnaire used.

Methodology and sample

In Argentina there are a series of particularities due to which we were obliged to apply a mixed technique with respect to both the sample and the methodology.

The group of most important Basque Centers: Buenos Aires, La Plata, Bahía Blanca, Mar del Plata, Necochea and Rosario are important with respect to tradition, the transmission of culture, the seniority and number of members (they concentrate 37% of the universe).

There is also a second group, formed on the influence exercised by the former. And there is even a third group, more recently created and consisting of the youngest members.

To the heterogeneity between Basque Centers we added diversity with respect to their geographic location.

The methodology was adapted to the diversity of situations explained above, and to the rational use of our resources. We therefore used a combination of personal interviews held during the Basque National Week in Rosario (388), and telephone surveys carried out all over the country (430).

We were therefore able to represent this great variety of situations, with a very important sample with respect to the number of cases (818 personas) representing 41% of all youngsters.

We employed lists provided by the Basque Centers, which we used to work based on a preliminary probabilistic selection.

We used a semi-structured questionnaire lasting for an average of 30-40 minutes.

Summary of the quantitative study *(October 2002/January 2003)*

Characteristics of the youths interviewed

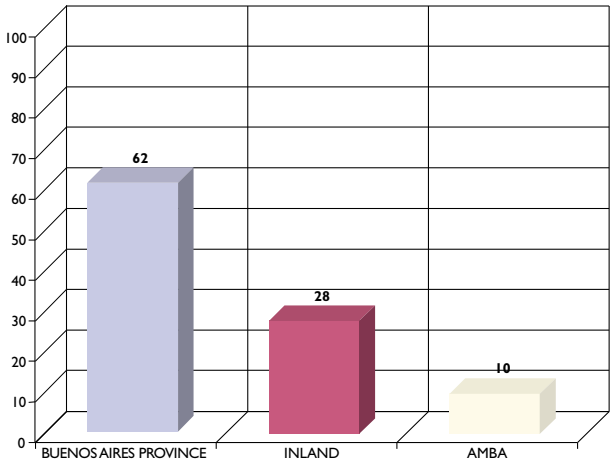
Grouped by sex and age

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %

	Total	*15 - 24 yrs-of-age*	*25 - 35 yrs-of-age*
Men	45%	44%	48%
Women	55%	56%	52%
Absolute total	818	557	261
% of the total interviewed	100%	68%	32%

Locality of the Basque Centre to which they are connected

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)- %



– Inland: 228 cases and 12 Basque Centers. These include cases from the following provinces:
  - Entre Ríos (Paraná and Concordia),
  - La Pampa (Santa Rosa and Macachín),
  - Santa Fe (Rosario),
  - Mendoza (Mendoza City),
  - Córdoba (Córdoba City),
  - Chubut (Comodoro Rivadavia),
  - Río Negro (Comahue/Cipolletti) and
  - Chaco (Resistencia).

– Province of Buenos Aires: 512 cases and 21 Basque Centers. Includes the following cities:
  - Bahía Blanca,
  - Necochea,
  - La Plata,
  - Mar del Plata,
  - Chascomús,
  - Tandil,
  - Arrecifes,
  - Chacabuco,
  - San Nicolás,
  - Cañuelas,
  - Junín,
  - Coronel Pringles,
  - Maipú,
  - Tres Arroyos,
  - Azul,
  - Balcarce,
  - Pergamino,
  - Bragado,
  - Laprida,
  - Magdalena,
  - Pehuajó.

– Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area (Amba): 78 cases and 9 Basque Centers, including:
  - Buenos Aires City,
  - Lomas de Zamora,
  - Moreno,
  - José C. Paz,
  - Gral. Rodríguez.

Composition of people living in the home

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)- %

	Total	*15 - 24 yrs-of-age*	*25 - 35 yrs-of-age*
With parents/brothers, sisters	70	81	45
Only with brothers, sisters	3	4	2
With a partner/and children	11	2	31
Alone	10	74	15
Others	6	6	7

Dependence on parents is high. This dependence diminishes significantly with age.

This said, 45% of youngsters between the ages of 25 and 35 still depend on their families for a living. This phenomenon, coined by many authors as "late adolescence", has been the subject of study in Argentina for some time now and is closely related to the economic crisis being suffered by our country.

89% are single, with important differences depending on the age group studied. While almost all youths between the age of 15 and 24 are single (99%), this percentage drops for the 25-35 age group to 66%, although it is still high.

The percentage of youngsters with children is also low (10%), although there are similar differences according to the age group studied: 2% in the 15-24 age group and 28% in the 25-35 age group.

Situation in the home

As seen by the interviewee -%
Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)- %

Socioeconomic level		*Economic situation in the home*	
High/above average	10	Good/very good	69
Average	75	Regular	29
Below average/low	15	Bad/Very bad	2

The youngsters were asked to define their socio-economic level. This detail is considered to be indicative. We therefore also analyzed other variables to establish the socioeconomic level of the home and the particular situation of the youths.

Three-quarters of the youths state that they belong to the Argentinian middle-class.

Taking a slightly deeper look, the interviewees were asked how they would define the economic situation in their homes:

69% answered that the situation in their homes was good or very good.

The money they have per month*

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %

	Total	*15 - 24 yrs-of-age*	*25 - 35 yrs-of-age*
Up to € 167 per month	71	84	41
From € 168 - € 300	13	7	24
From € 301 - € 500	5	2	13
Over € 501	4	1	12
No answer	7	6	10

Income calculated based on the exchange rate: 3 pesos = € 1

71% lives with less than € 167 per month. As we saw above, these youngsters mostly live with their families, meaning that they don't need a great deal of spending money. The income increases in the older group, which includes those who live on their own.

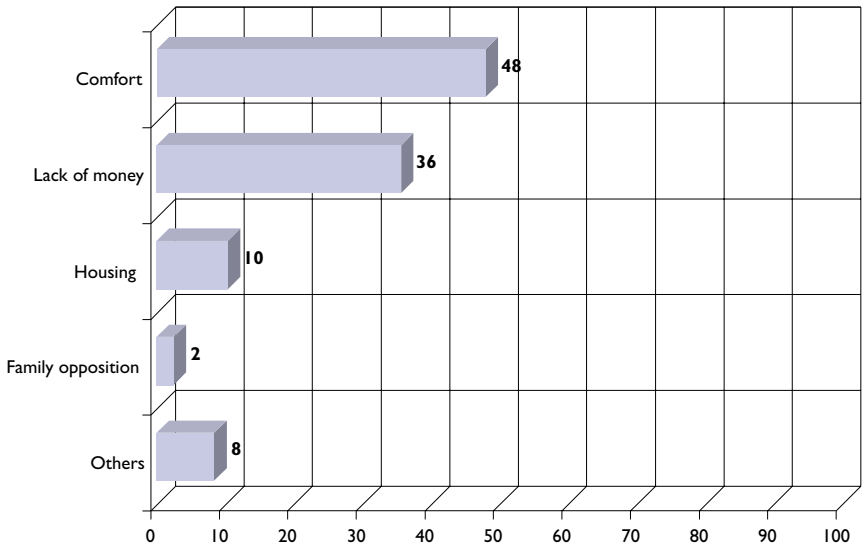
Dependence on the family

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %

	Total	*15 - 24 yrs-of-age*	*25 - 35 yrs-of-age*
Youngsters who live independently (on their incomes and those of their partners)	21	5	53
Youngsters who depend totally or partially on their family for subsistence	79	95	46

Main difficulties of emancipation

People who mentioned some kind of difficulty - Multiple - %
Base: 652 cases (80% of the sample)



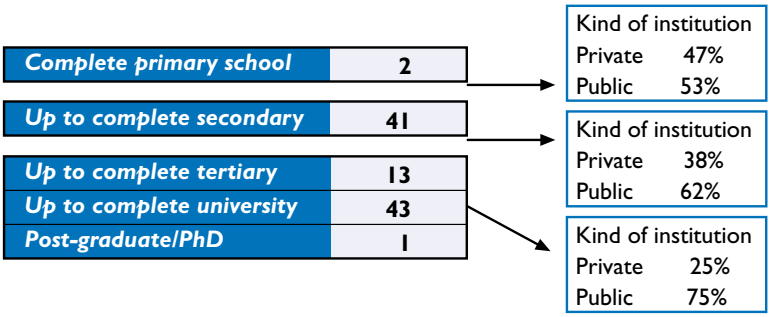
The main reason given by young Basque-Argentinians for continuing to live with their families is comfort.

This is followed in importance by the lack of money.

Family opposition was low on the list. We should point out that the majority of these youths state that they are highly satisfied with their family lives (96.9%).

Maximum level of studies achieved

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %



These youngsters show a high level of schooling. 44% have university studies of some kind.

In the medium education levels we find a remarkable number of private schools, coming to as many as 47% of the youths interviewed. This importance decreases as the level of education rises.

With respect to the direction of studies followed, the majority tended towards traditional degrees (Medicine 17%, Law 15%, and commercial, administrative, economic and accounting degrees coming to a total of 10%). Technical or computer studies were chosen by a small group of youngsters barely coming to 9% of those interviewed.

The work situation

Employment situation

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Studies	47	67	3
Studies and works	23	18	32
Works	23	9	52
Unemployed	7	5	12
Housewife	1	- -	2

Up to 6 months	25%
6 months-1 year	27%
1 - 3 years	25%
3 - 5 years	5%
Over 5 years	9%
Don't know, N/A	9%

Up until the age of 24 the majority of the youngsters spend an important part of their time studying.

As from the age of 25, there is a growing need to work, hence the considerable decrease in the number of youngster who only study. As a result, unemployment has a harsher effect on youngsters over 25 who, on completing their studies, cannot find a job.

Job stability: Seniority

People who work or worked
Base: 416 cases (51% of the sample) - %

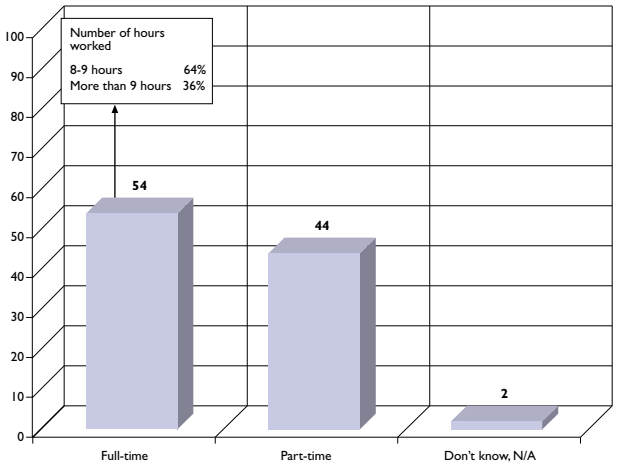
	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Less than a year	25	41	14
1 - 3 years	33	33	33
Over 3 years	40	24	51
Don't know, N/A	2	2	2

7 of every 10 working youngsters do so in relation to dependence. We find the same proportion in the difference between private and state workers, 7 of every 10 youngsters work for private companies.

The precariousness of employment in Argentina is also obvious among these youngsters: 37% receive undeclared salary (28% totally undeclared).

Working day

People in work or who have worked -
Base: 416 cases (51% of the sample) - %



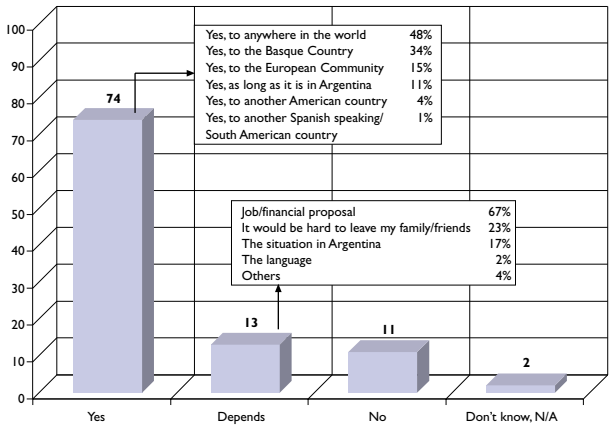
Given undeclared work and the fact that 44% work part-time, it can be said that a large group of Basque-Argentinian youths have precarious jobs.

Also obvious is the over-exploitation of young, full-time workers.

Projects

Willingness to change their place of residence for work purposes

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %

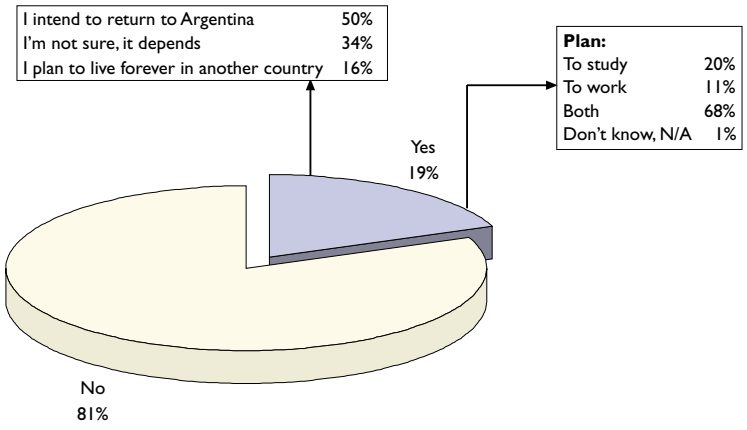


The majority of youngsters would be prepared to change their place of residence for job purposes. This figure is most certainly influenced by the current situation of the Argentinian job market, which, by not offering good prospects, means that youngsters have a tendency to emigrate if they get the chance.

Among those stating to which part of the world they would travel, most of them would prefer the Basque Country or another European Country.

Plan to move to another country

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %



2 out of every 10 people consider the possibility of going to live for a time in another country. Most of them - 68% - plan to do so for two reasons: to study and to work.

Moreover, this change is not planned as final.

Two main destinations appear:

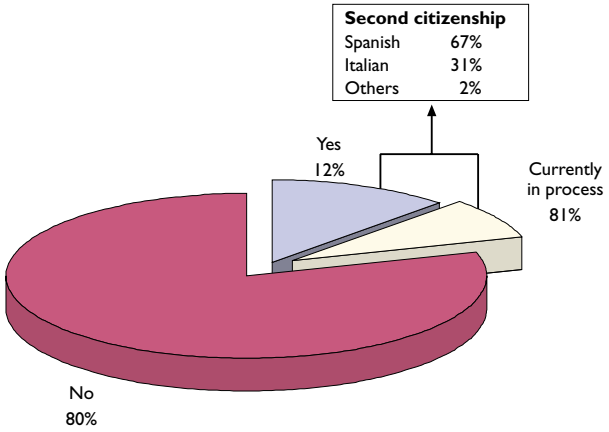
– The Basque Country (70%)

– Spain (23%)

Knowledge of its culture and traditions is the main reason given for traveling to the Basque Country. The presence of family relations comes next in importance, doubtless related to the fact that having a place to stay makes the situation easier.

Holders of double-citizenship

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)

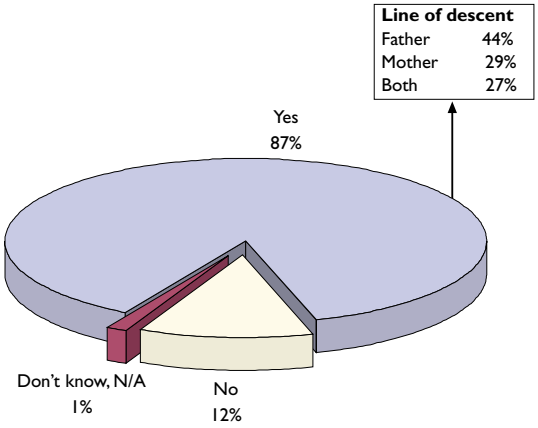


8 of every 10 interviewees do not have double citizenship, nor do they intend to request it for the time being.

Within the group with double citizenship or which is in the process or requesting it, the majority hold Spanish citizenship - 67% - followed in second place by Italian - 31%.

Basque descent

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)



The majority of those surveyed are the descendants of Basques.

There is still a high degree of endogamy in the Basque-Argentinian community - 27%. This is a noteworthy detail, given that in 77% of the cases we are talking about the second or third generation of Basques in Argentina.

Kinship with Basque ascendants

%

Son/daughter	9
Grandson/daughter	33
Great grandson/daughter	44
Great-great grandson/daughter	10
More distant kinship	2
Don't know, N/A	3

Basque Autonomous Community	34
Autonomous Community of Navarra	15
French Basque Country	4
Don't know	48

Gipuzkoa	22%
Bizkaia	10%
Araba	2%

FREE TIME

Free time on working days

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - Guided -%

Less than 1 hour	3
1-2 hours	29
3-4 hours	30
More than 4 hours	37
No answer	1

Main leisure activities of the youngsters

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - Multiple -%

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Meeting friends	97	97	97
Listening to music	87	87	86
Meeting the family	84	81	90
Going to the Basque Centre	83	85	77
Going to have a drink	78	74	84
Using the Internet	76	74	79
Watching TV/ videos	76	78	79
Reading press or magazines	69	64	79
Taking a stroll	69	68	72
Going to dance	69	80	46

Amount of hours per week connected to the Internet	
Less than 1 hour	22%
1-7 hours	60%
7-14 hours	11%
Over 14 hours	7%

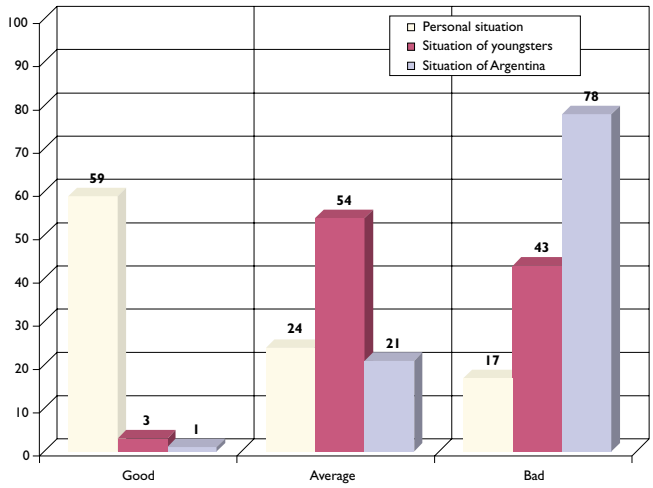
To visit sites with information about the Basque Country	
Very often	13%
Often	18%
Occasionally	32%
Hardly ever	21%
Never	16%

Basque Centers occupy a great deal of the youngsters' free time. This factor decreases in the 25-35 age group.

Situation of youngsters

Situation of youngsters and of Argentina

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %



The overall situation in the country is considered to be negative by the majority of youngsters.
This said, the situation of youngsters is not considered to be as bad as that suffered by the country.
Despite the economic crisis, the majority of youngsters are happy with their personal situations.

Their main concerns

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Economic crisis	54	58	44
Work	50	47	55
Society	42	40	48
Social problems	40	44	33
Education	36	33	42
Politics	25	24	26
Values	18	17	22

The principal concerns are the economic crisis and work.

Relationship with the Basque Country and culture

Characteristics identifying the Basques

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Positive - Multiple -%

	Characteristics identifying the Basques	Characteristics which they recognize as identifying themselves
Honest	32	24
Traditionalist/religious	28	15
Fight to achieve their ideals	24	18
Keep their word	21	14
Strong	19	8
Worker/entrepreneur	15	12
Persistent	14	10
Entertaining/happy/festive	12	9
Idealist	11	6

To a large extent, the characteristics considered to identify the Basques are reflected in their identification with these characteristics given that many of them agree that they do in fact identify them.

Characteristics identifying the Basques

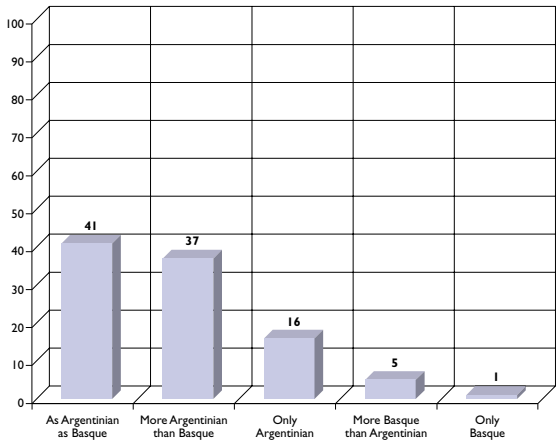
Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Negative- Multiple -%

	Characteristics identifying the Basques	Characteristics which they recognize as identifying themselves
Hard-headed/stubborn	42	25
Snobbish/elitist	3	1
Bad-tempered/irritable/strong natured	3	2
Other negative aspects	4	1

The most negative aspect declared corresponds to hard-headedness or stubbornness, a character not assumed as totally negative given that it corresponds to a traditional definition of the Basques.

Self-definition of nationality

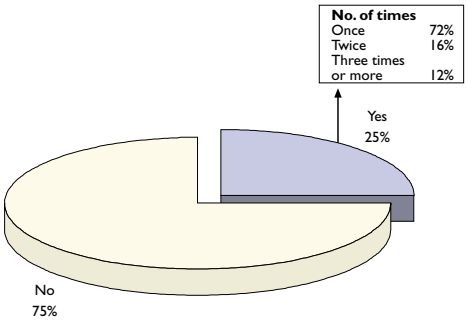
Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Guided - Exclusive - %



The Basque aspect is present, in varying degrees, for 84% of those interviewed.

Have you ever been to the Basque Country?

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Spontaneous - %



A quarter of the youngsters have traveled at some point to the Basque Country. They don't go often, and in the majority of cases only once.

Reasons for having made the trip

Base: 212 cases (25% of the sample)
Spontaneous - Multiple - %

To visit relations/friends	36
Gaztemundu Program	35
On my own initiative to see what the	22
Basque Country was like / *Holidays/tourism/leisure/ excursion*	15
Because my whole dance group went	8
To practice Euskera	4
To study	4
Sports tournaments	4
Work/commercial relations	3
To visit/return to the land of my forebears	2
Others	2

Visits to relations and the Gaztemundu Program are the main reasons for going to the Basque Country.

One important factor is the number of people (22%) who traveled on their own initiative to see what their forebears' country was like.

The things I liked most

Base: 212 cases (25% of the sample)
Spontaneous - Multiple - %

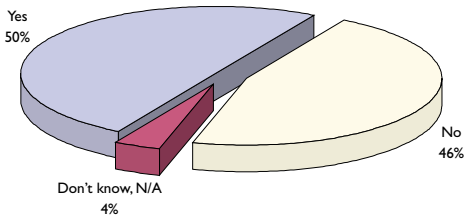
The landscape/geography	60
The people	50
The culture	45
Economic development	36
Organization	21
Seeing what I'd heard about	17
The nationalist ideas	17
Others	2

The things they liked most were related to the affection and emotions felt on traveling to the place of their origins.

The majority of those who didn't travel (75%), said that they'd like to go to the Basque Country to see it (96%) and, of those, 58% state that doing so is their dearest wish.

Relations in the Basque Country

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Spontaneous - %



No. of times they communicate with one another:	
More than 12 times a year	21%
10-12 times a year	7%
6-9 times a year	9%
3-5 times a year	11%
Once or twice a year	12%
Less than once a year	22%
Never	19%

Half of those interviewed have relations in the Basque Country. Within this group, 8 out of 10 keep in touch, even though sporadically.

Knowledge of Euskera

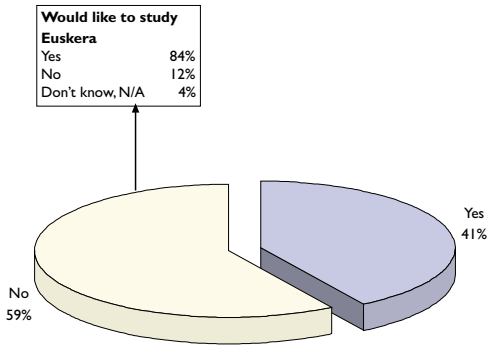
Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) -%

	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Well	2	3	4	3
Quite well	4	2	4	3
A little	19	12	11	11
Only a few words	41	32	17	18
Nothing at all	34	51	64	65

Argentinian youths have a poor knowledge of the Basque language. 83% only know a few words or nothing at all.

Are you studying or have you ever studied Euskera?

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)



Euskera awakens a great deal of interest in the youngsters, given that 4 out of every 10 either study or have studied at some point, and the majority of those who have never studied would like to do so (84%).

Communication

Ways in which they receive information about events in the Basque Country

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Guided - Multiple - %

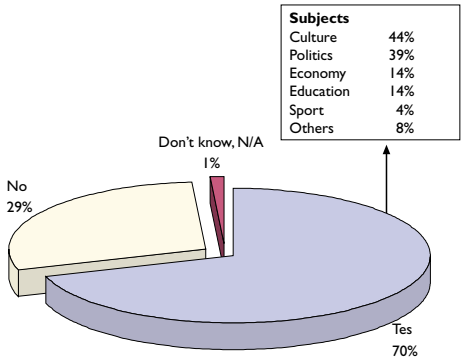
	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Basque Centre/Basque Centre Publication/gazette	58	58	58
Internet sites	45	46	43
Basque Channel/Eusko Telebista	42	41	43
Basque press or magazines	31	30	42
Relations or friends in Argentina	26	24	31
E-mail	24	23	26
Argentinian press or magazines	21	20	23
Relations in the Basque Country	17	17	18
Ordinary mail	10	8	14
Others	7	6	7
None/I receive no information	5	5	4

The manner of obtaining information about the Basque Country is quite varied. This said, the Basque Centers hold the principal position in this respect.

Regarding the manners declared as favorite by the interviewees for receiving information are first of all the Internet (41%), followed in second place by the Basque Centers (24%) and in third place Basque TV (23%).

Subjects that interest you and about which you would like to receive more information

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)



The interest focuses on the affectionate aspects of their relationship with the Basque Country: customs, history, music, traditions, etc.

Basque Centers

Activities currently organized at the Basque Centers

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Multiple - %

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Dance group	52	64	25
Parties or get-togethers	39	39	39
Cultural activities	14	12	18
Euskera	13	12	17
Pelota/Basque pelota/ Share	13	14	10
Mus/tournaments	8	8	8
Executive Committee	7	3	13
Activity Sub-Committee	6	6	7
Other sports	5	5	4
Music	3	3	4
Other activities	5	3	7
None	23	18	32

The most attractive activity is the dance group. As from a certain age (25) no activities (except parties or specific encounters) retain the attention of the older youngsters.

As a result, the number of youngsters in this segment who carry out no activity rises remarkably (32%).

Frequency with which they attend the Basque Centre

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) -%

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Often	67	74	52
Seldom	21	15	32
Never	12	11	16

33% of the young members do not usually attend the Basque Centre. This figure rises to 48% in the older sector.

The ones who go to the centers most fall within the younger segment.

Days on which they usually attend

Base: 715 cases (87% of the sample)
Multiple %

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Monday-Friday	71	72	67
Saturday	73	77	65
Sunday	26	24	30
N/A	1	1	1

Basque Centre activities in which they have participated at some point

818 cases (100% of the sample) - Multiple - %

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Dance group	22	19	29
Euskera	16	17	13
Parties or get-togethers	12	10	17
Pelota/Basque pelota/share	7	7	6
Cultural activities	5	4	8
Music	5	5	7
Mus/tournaments	2	2	2
Executive Committee	3	- -	8
Activity Sub-Committee	2	1	3
Sports	1	1	2
Other activities	3	2	4
None	52	56	43

Basque Centre activities that they don't do but would like to do

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Multiple - %

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Euskera	37	39	35
Cultural activities	19	16	25
Parties and get-togethers	16	14	18
Pelota/Basque pelota/ share	14	13	17
Txistu flute	13	15	9
Activity Sub-Committee	12	11	15
Mus/tournaments	10	10	11
Dance groups	10	8	14
Executive Committee	10	9	12
Choir	9	8	12
Football	8	9	7

There is a great deal of interest in learning Euskera and in cultural activities.

Activities which you would like to do which are not currently available

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Multiple - %

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Basque cuisine	16	16	17
Euskera	15	17	10
Basque culture, history	8	7	11
Pelota/Basque pelota/ share	6	6	7
Basque pelota school	5	5	5
Solidarity activities	5	5	7
Theatre	4	5	3
Football	4	4	2
Other sports	3	3	4
Txistu flute	2	2	3
Art, cinema, literature workshops	2	2	3
Choir	2	1	3
I can't think of any	24	21	29
None	21	24	14

There is a great deal of interest in learning Basque cuisine and Euskera.

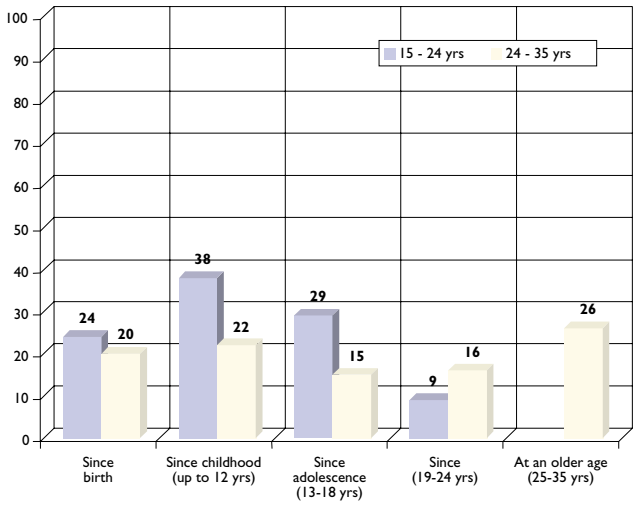
When do you intend to return to a Basque Centre and participate in the activities?
People who have participated in an activity but who no longer do so

Base: 140 cases (17% of the sample) - %

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
When I have more time	29	27	31
When I finish my studies	12	22	- -
Soon/next year/this year	11	9	15
When there are more activities/activities for youngsters	7	6	8
When my financial situation improves	2	1	3
When some things/the Executive Committee changes	2	1	3
Others	6	3	10
I don't intend to return	5	5	3
Don't know-N/A	26	25	26

Age at which you were first related to a Basque Centre

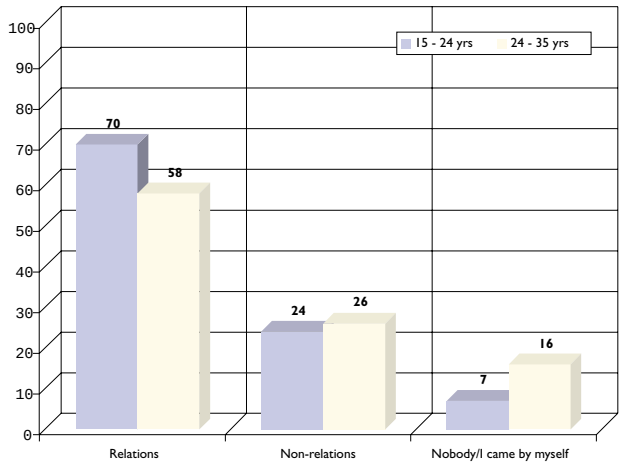
Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %



Here there is a segment showing an interest in participating in Basque Centers as from the age of 25. These are the youngsters who join as a result of their interest in cultural activities and in studying Euskera.

People who introduced these people to the Basque Centre

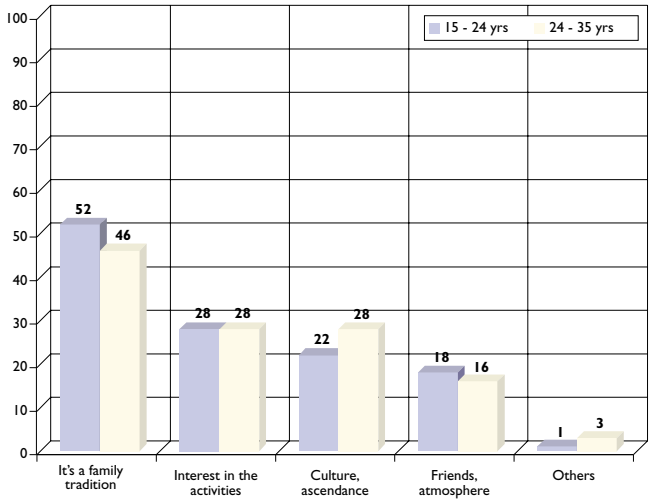
Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - Multiple - %



The family is the principal link with the Basque Centre. As from the age of 25, we can see higher personal interest in attending the Basque Centers related to the search for their roots.

Reasons for attending the Basque Centre

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) -Multiple - %



Appraisal of participation in the organization

%

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Sufficient, I don't want to participate more	**35**	**38**	**28**
Insufficient, I could participate more actively	49	47	51
I don't participate	15	13	20
Don't know – N/A	1	1	1

I had difficulties when trying to participate

Yes	34%
No	65%
N/A	1%

Here we can see that there is potential for greater participation by youngsters.

Things you like most about the Basque Centre

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %

	Total	15 - 24	25 - 35
Meeting place with friends	45	53	30
Family elements	37	41	28
The atmosphere	26	28	21
The people	24	21	31
Culture	21	22	19
Activities	11	10	13
Organizational subjects	8	7	11
Comfort of the building/ infrastructure/location	5	4	7
Others	2	1	3
Don't know-N/A-don't know the Centre	7	5	10

For the youngest, the Centre is a place at which to meet friends and where the family aspect is very importance. In the second age group, although they maintain these aspects, they tend to decrease, while greater importance is placed on the kind of people who go.

Things you like least about the Basque Centre

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample) - %

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Organizational subjects	31	27	38
The groups are really closed	9	8	12
Activities	3	2	4
Atmosphere	3	3	3
Others	6	5	7
None/Nothing/There aren't any	45	49	35
Don't know – N/A	10	10	11

Conformity with the Centers seems to be high. 45% of those interviewed considered that the Basque Centre they attend has nothing that they don't like or that bothers them.

Organizational subjects and closed groups are the questions which most concern the youths, and are subjects which grow in importance with age.

Means used to obtained updated information

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Multiple - %

	Total	15 - 24 yrs-of-age	25 - 35 yrs-of-age
Centre notice board	39	39	38
Internal gazette or publication	29	26	35
E-mail	27	25	30
By word of mouth	24	23	27
Nothing particular/any way	8	9	5
Personally/By going to/participating in the Centre	7	7	5
Ordinary mail	7	6	8
Committee/Executive Committee/Sub-Committee/ Executives/Secretary	4	5	3
Local means	3	2	5
None/I receive no information	5	5	5

Notice boards would seem to provide most information on what's on at the Basque Centre. There are a number of differences according to age: those over 25, who don't attend the Centre as often as their younger counterparts, make more use of the internal gazette and e-mail.

Means used and means preferred for receiving information

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)
Multiple - %

	Means used	*Means preferred*
E-mail	27	32
Centre notice board	39	21
Internal gazette or publication	29	21
By word of mouth	24	16
Doesn't matter/any way	8	7
Personally/By attending/ participating	7	7
Ordinary mail	7	8
Committee/Executive Committee/Sub-Commission/ Executives/Secretary	4	5
Local means	3	3

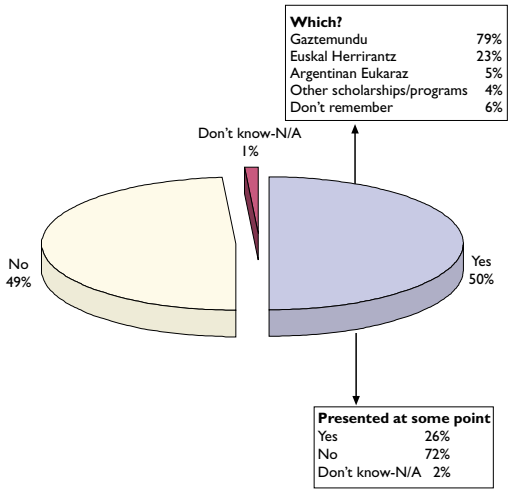
Youngsters prefer to receive information by e-mail.

The notice board, the means used most to obtain information, requires the youngsters to attend the Basque Centre. On the other hand, e-mail takes the Basque Centre to the youngsters. This, in addition to being convenient, implies a process of modernization appreciated by the majority.

Programs

Knowledge of Basque Government Youth Programs

Base: 818 cases (100% of the sample)



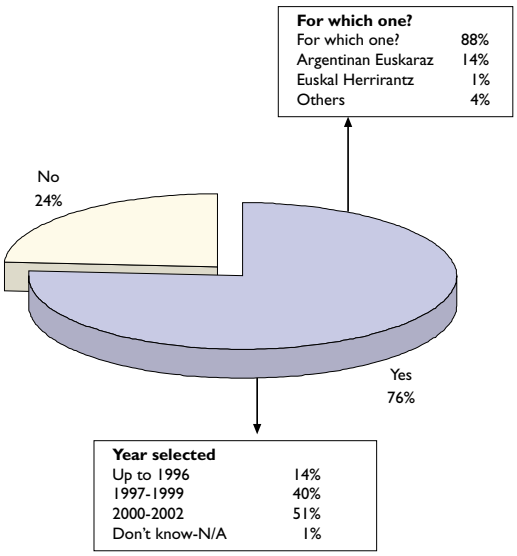
There is a lack of knowledge of Basque Government youth programs.

The best known program is Gaztemundu.

Youths who have put their names down at some point are few in number (13% of the sample - 106 cases).

Selected for a Basque Youth Program

People who put their names down
Base: 106 cases (13% of the sample)



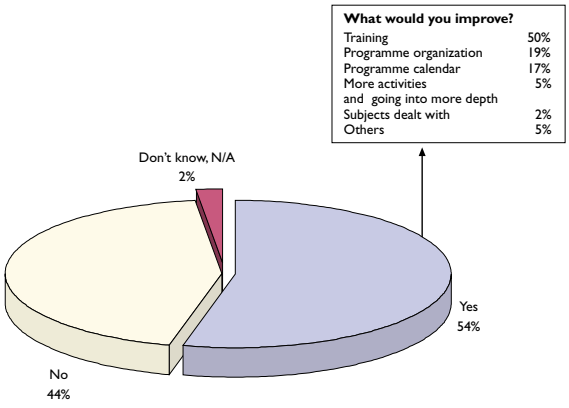
The majority of those who put their names down were selected.

Most of those interviewed participated in the Gaztemundu Program (71 cases).

Generally speaking, Basque Government programs are highly appraised by their participants.

Program improvements

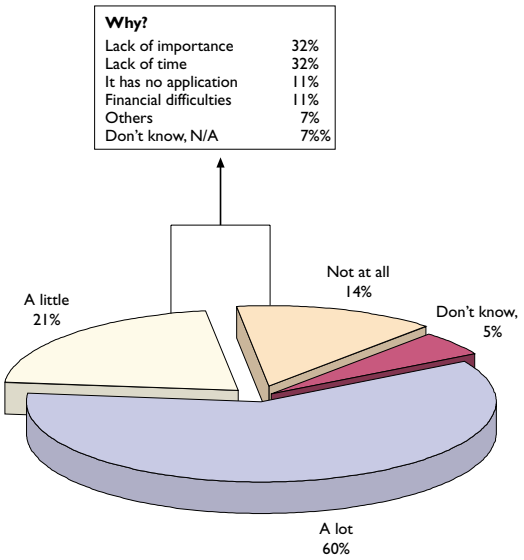
Base: 80 cases (10% of the sample)



Although in general they seem happy with the programs, the participants recommend a number of changes, mainly more training with respect to Basque culture and tradition.

Extent to which the knowledge acquired is applied

Base: 80 cases (10% of the sample)



The knowledge acquired in the programs is used on an average basis by means of its implementation in Basque Centers.

Suggested lines of institutional action

One of the first facts which should be clearly underlined is the way in which the Basque Centers operate, based on a mixture of family and institutional components difficult to set apart from one another.

The result is that the links established are between people who are close to one another, hence compromising the development of the institutions and their members.

This "familiar", fraternal style which prevails in our Basque Centers could be compatible with a rational planning establishing institutional policies and setting short, medium and long-term growth objectives.

Also necessary, in order to complete the management, is the establishment of control mechanisms ensuring the progressive fulfillment of these objectives.

To establish these policies, it is first of all essential to make a situation analysis and to compile a good database including as much information as possible about each member. This is an essential point which can be organized based on a file containing information on each member and standardized for all Centers.

These centers must also have a policy on the basis of which to attract members in general and to create a feeling of belonging both practically and symbolically (activities, services, communication, etc.).

Institutional growth policies must be based on "loyalty" and on recovery of the members who have left the Centre.

A group of people could be trained to visit the members, find out why they left and try to bring them back. The causes must be communicated to the Executive Committee and a solution found. Doing this moreover provides a never-ending source of information revealing the problems and hence makes it possible to implement the structural changes required to correct them.

To facilitate, from the Executive Committees, the participation of representatives of each activity (dantzari groups, Euskera classes, etc.), in the planning, coordinating and monitoring of the tasks involved.

To develop the ability to listen to the concerns of the youngsters and encourage them to participate in the Sub-Committees, Committees and Executive Committees of the different Centers.

One extremely important side effect would be the training of new leaders with modern ideas and the generational renovation essential to the growth of these institutions.

To provide incentives aimed at the construction of spaces for the participation of ex-dantzaris and members of the 25-35 age group based on their own initiatives.

Significantly demonstrated in this study is the trend shown by the youngsters, mainly in the older age segment, to attend the Centers on their own initiative with the purpose of finding their roots. They are mainly interested in studying Euskera and in the different expressions of the Basque culture. Eusketxe and Euskaltzaleak are currently excellent references for channeling these concerns.

By means of spreading activities of proven attraction for these youngsters, to enroll all of those who, on their own initiative, feel the urge to strengthen their links with the Basque culture.

To improve communication systems with respect to the different means of communication and the quality of the messages sent. To communicate, organize open informative meetings, exchange intra and inter Basque Centre experiences.

Promotion of the Basque culture throughout the entire spectrum.

To move towards the other Basque institutions (French-Basque Centers, Navarran Centers whenever they exist) in order to stay in touch and overcome differences by concentrating on the cultural and historical facts linking us to one another. We mustn't forget that the Euskal Etxea school is a dream come true thanks to the participation of all of these centers and that, even today, teaching Basque descendents and young Argentinians the common cultural values of Zazpirak Bat, has a multiplying effect.

Opening out towards the community in order to become a part of it, relate to it and be recognized. For example, by participating in fairs, meetings between collectives and community services based on benefiting from the skills of the members themselves.

Redefinition (more so inland) of the teaching of Euskera with respect to its pedagogic objectives and methodologies. Although there is a great deal of interest in studying Euskera, the teaching methodologies have to be restructured in order to make the experience more systematic and attractive to youngsters. It is also necessary to introduce language classes to Centers which do not presently offer them.

Moreover, it would be interesting to be able to combine two very important demands: Euskera and a deeper knowledge of the Basque culture. For example, this combination could be established by means of learning Euskera, teaching the language while at the same time introducing cultural elements, with programs adapted to each age segment (kids, teenagers, youths and adults).

Strategic Plan of the Federation of Basque Entities in Argentina (FEVA): Building the Future

Carlos Sosa / Guillermo Canut President and Secretary of FEVA

Strategic Plan on Institutional Action

Co-ordination: Board of Directors of FEVA.

Presentation: Carlos Sosa and Guillermo Canut.

Date of effectiveness: This Plan has been in effect since September 2001. This presentation will address the main points upon which action has been taken as well as the general lines of the 2003-2006 Plan.

General Objective: to strengthen the Federation within the present and future socio-economic framework, integrating it into the new global setting through a process of integral transformation.

Management by Processes:

– What *activities* are comprised: scope.
– Internal *sequence* of activities (some parallel activities also).
– *Who does what:* detailed description of functions/activities performed by each person.
– The *tools* used.
– But mainly: *What is expected from the process?*

What to measure in a process?

– Level of satisfaction of the Institutions.
– Time used to achieve the plans made.
– Quality of the activities.
– Quantity of activities.
– Costs.

(It is necessary to create indicators for each of these items and give the appropriate weight to each one of them).

Indicators

– We use them to monitor a management task, a process, an activity
– They help us know "how things are going"
– Balanced Scorecard of the Board of Directors
– Balanced Scorecard of processes
– New Balanced Integrating Tool

Strategy

The Strategy of the Institution responds to the question: what set of activities should we be involved in?

– It all begins with the following three questions:
– Where are we today?
– Where do we want to go?
– How will we get there?

Drawing up the strategic plan:

In order to draw up the Strategic Plan we must keep in mind the following:

– Self-examination
– Planned innovation
– Efficient use of resources
– Administration according to objectives
– A correct drawing-up the annual budget
– Participation of the various Basque Centers at all levels

ESTABLISHING LONG-TERM STRATEGIES
DRAWING UP ANNUAL PLANS
EVALUATING RESULTS AND MAKING ADJUSTMENTS

Planning schedule:

Steps to be followed:

– The Major Plan sets forth general objectives and lines.
– The pertinent information and historical background of each Institution are gathered.
– Possibilities are defined, goals are set, objectives are established and strategies are determined.
– Tasks are assigned, fulfillment percentages are determined and budgets are prepared.
– The final assessment of the Plan takes place.
– The Plan is put into practice.
– Periodic meetings are held to assess actions taken and make adjustments according to the circumstances.

Mission

"To be a leading basque-argentinean federation which encourages social, cultural, political and sporting activities in its associated institutions and which is deeply committed to preserving the idiosyncrasies and values of both countries: Argentina and Euskadi"

SWOT

Strengths and Opportunities

Strengths:

– The organization is recognized by the Basque community and is the first of its kind.
– It has a history of approximately 50 years.
– It is present in most parts of the country.
– Numerous institutions of Argentinean society are involved.

Opportunities:

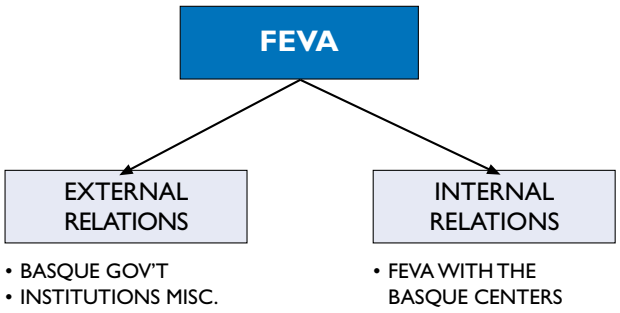
– To serve as referents between the Basque world and the Argentinean world.
– To act as liaisons and foment agreements in various areas of interest.
– To encourage a new system of internal functioning.

Weaknesses and Threats

Weaknesses:

– Dilution of efforts due to territorial extension.
– Lack of internal growth of some institutions.
– Irregular participation of institutions in FEVA
– Inefficient functioning system.

Areas of Action:



Internal functioning - Ideas:

– To continue improving the Annual Budget.
– To be present in each Basque Center on a periodic basis.
– To boost the Cultural Plan.
– To establish an Annual Calendar of National Activities.
– To compile information concerning the Basque Centers in individual folders.
– To design a strategy by which to become closer to political institutions in Argentina. To consolidate a political lobby.
– To design a strategy for oral, written and televised media.
– To work on joint projects with other Basque Federations or Centers in other countries.

External Relations - Ideas:

– To advance in the postulates set forth in the Law on Relations with Basque Communities Abroad.
– To reaffirm the continued existence of Euskera language programs in Argentina.
– To expand the field of relations, moving beyond just the Basque Government and the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country.
– To design a Network favorable to the Basque cause (External Image of Euskal Herria).

– To address the role of the Basque Centers and FEVA with regard to the creation of cultural and entrepreneurial institutes.
– To increase the participation of the Basque Communities Advisory Board.
– To work jointly with the Basque Government on priority subjects such as:
– Pacification
– Self-government
– The exterior image of Euskal Herria and its dissemination in practical terms
– Bilateral trade

Balanced Integrating Tool

• It is a balanced scorecard which monitors the action of the Board of Directors from four balanced and integrated perspectives, focusing on relevant activities in order to enhance the Institution's activity.

The 4 Windows:
1- Internal and external relations
2- Information and processes
3- Learning and growth
4- Administration and finances

What does it do?
– It clarifies and translates the Vision and the Strategy.
– It links the objectives and the indicators.
– It plans and aligns the initiatives.
– It generates a Planning culture.
– It connects short-term strategies to long-term strategies.

What is it for?
– Creating value for current and future Basque Centers, strengthening relations with the Basque Government and other Institutions.
– Enhancing internal capacities.
– Identifying the activities that generate value for the Basque Centers and Government.

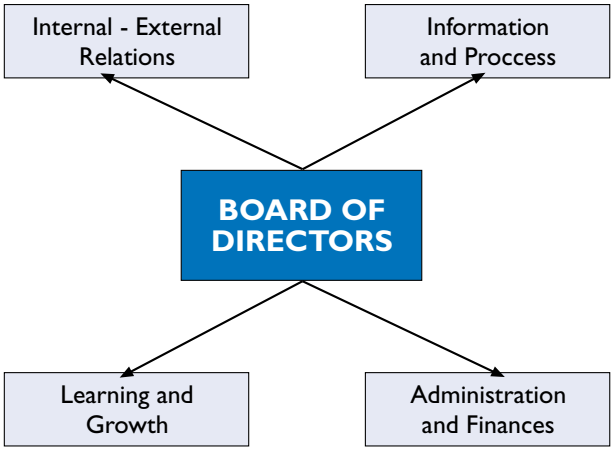
"The challenge of FEVA is to revolutionize the way strategy is created for our future, redefining traditional planning"

VISION
Be leading Basque-Argentine Federation

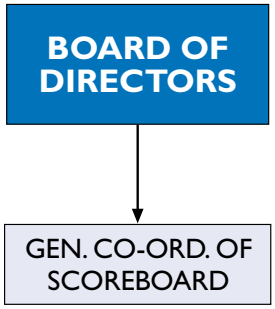
VALUES
Attain the satisfaction of the Basque Centers
Innovative Spirit
Internal/external integration
Respect for the individual and group
Service and sense of belonging
Ethical conduct

STRATEGIES
Generate activities to add value
to Basque Centers and Basque government

General Outline

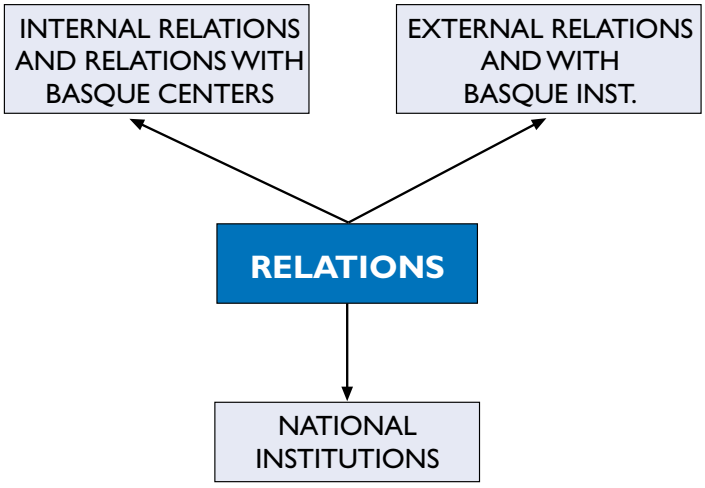


Responsibilities of the Board of Directors

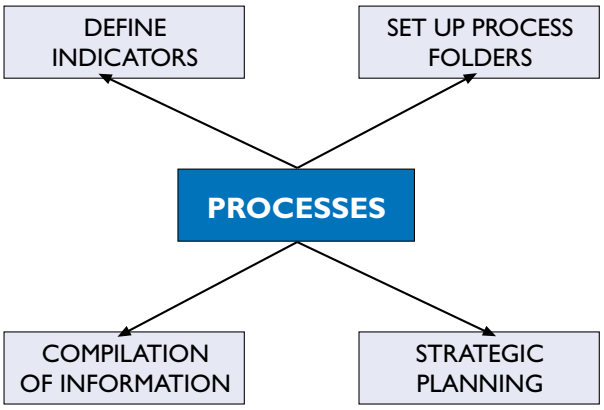


- SUGGEST
- PROMOTE
- MONITOR

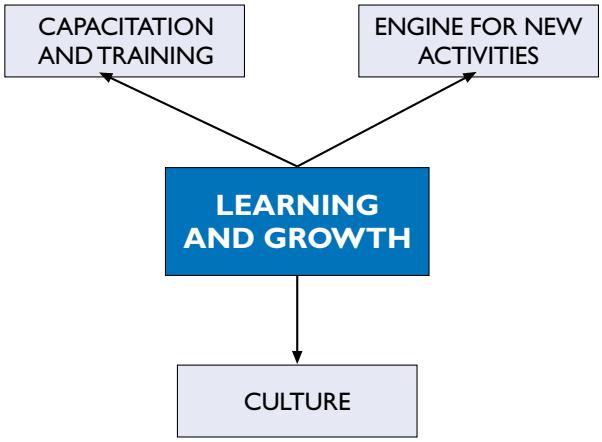
Relations Window



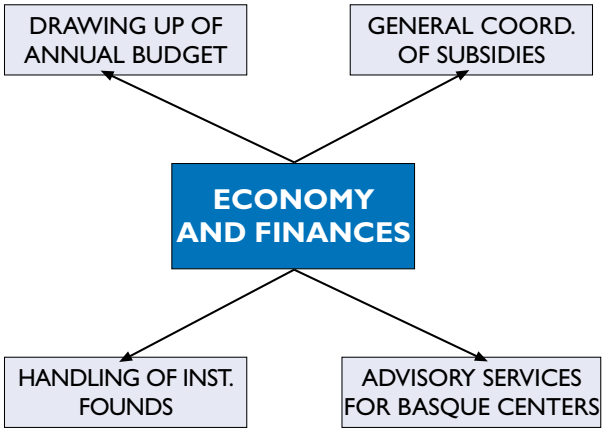
Processes Window



Learning and Growth Window



Administration and Finances Window



Work methodology:

– Decentralized model featuring the autonomy of the windows. The person in charge of each window, along with his or her collaborators, shall determine the work methodology.

– In the Monthly Meetings held by the Board of Directors, the persons in charge of each of the 4 windows present a report on finished actions, pending actions and subjects which require general discussion and/or approval.

Short-term priorities (through 12-31-2001):

– Present a Working Model at the internal level and to the Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad.
– Decide who will be in charge and who will collaborate in the various areas.
– Go into more detail in each of the windows.
– Determine measurable objectives for the short term.

Planning Year 2002

Priority activities of each window

Relations:

– Put together, distribute and follow up on the Survey of the Basque Centers.
– Basque Institutions database. Enhance institutional dialogue.
– Work on Basque Government points of interest: Pacification – Self-government – External Image – Bilateral Trade.

Information and Processes:

– Begin assembling the processes folder. Compile the data concerning each Basque Center.
– Store and classify the information obtained.
– Create a survey of the Basque Centers (topics which FEVA should address).
– Draw up strategies for the institutional growth of each Basque Center (adaptable models).

Learning and Growth:

– Continue creating cultural programs and leadership training programs.
– Plan the cultural activities for 2001.
– Undertake the reorganization of Euskera within FEVA

Economy and Finances:

– Continue the break down of the Budget for 2001 and anticipate the environment for 2002.
– Draw up of Basic Charts which collaborate with the Administration of each Basque Center (self-financing and new income channels).
– Collaborate where necessary in the response to the Request for Subsidy by Basque Centers which have presented such request.

Summary of what has been done in 2002

Relations:

– *Census – Surveys:* It is of prime importance to thoroughly get to know the Basque community of Argentina. To this end a survey was created for all members of the community. Another survey was aimed at institutions and we also collaborated with the young people's survey performed by Emakume Abertzale Batza of Buenos Aires. The results of the FEVA survey are being processed and specific plans will be developed based upon the results.
– *Referent Plan:* The Centers represented in the Board of Directors were designated as referents for other Centers, to enable us to reach out further and be at the service of anyone who needs us. The goal is to strengthen the Centers, generate a more fluid dialogue, share experiences, offer the support of FEVA to all the activities generated by the Centers and to help bring each Center closer to its community. The initial visits have taken place and a process begun for the gathering of relevant information regarding each Center, based on a model chart.
– *External image of Euskadi:*
  • Adhesions to the Idaho document: We worked hard and were successful in obtaining adhesions by legislative bodies and municipal councils to the document signed by the Idaho State Senate with regard

to peace and self-determination for the Basque people. The documentation obtained was compiled in a dossier which was given to Lehendakari Juan José Ibarretxe in his visit to Argentina.

- Visit by Lehendakari Ibarretxe: Press operations and transmission of the event held in the Laurak Bat of Buenos Aires to ten centers throughout the country by way of a modern videoconferencing system.

Information and Processes:

– Surveys: Work was basically aimed at the creation of surveys for members and institutional information charts.

– Documentation: A file is being created for each Center and will contain all the pertinent information necessary for the projects set forth in this Plan.

Details of the Surveys

Basque Center Information Chart: A chart was drawn up to gather the following information:

- Basic, institutional and building information.
- Data on Membership: number, activities, delayed payments.
- Activities: dates of the main festivities, acts, events, number of attendants....
- Institutional relations at the national and Basque level in political, social, educational, sports areas.
- Relations with the media in Argentina and Euskal Herria.
- Telecommunications and Computers: obtaining up-to-date information
- Economy and Finances: balances, subsidies, self-financing policies...

Census for Members: A chart was drawn up to gather the following information:

- Personal data: basic information, nationality, work, education, degree of descendence...
- Relationship with the Center: participation in activities, opinion regarding other activities which would add value, perception of the opening of the Center to the community, familiarity with Euskal Herria, participation in projects of the Basque Government, level of Euskera, songs, etc...
- Relationship with Sports: sports practiced, sports of interest, preferences as to football teams, specialties in pelota and rural sports.

Learning and Growth:

– Training Lectures: Three differentiated models were created in accordance with the complexity of the subjects addressed. Various lectures have been given in numerous Centers throughout the country.

– Workshop on Basque Nationalism: This workshop addresses different subjects ranging from history to current Basque politics. It has been given in various Centers with great success.

Planning Year 2003

Relations:

– *Referent Plan:* Establish a schedule of visits to the Centers and continue working on the compilation of all the information yet to be obtained. Work on the annual schedule of festivities of the Centers.

– *Census:* Enter the data in a specially-designed program, analyze the results and propose a work plan.

– *Database:* Continue working on it.

– *Create a Secretariat for Press and Dissemination, with the following objectives:*

  - Be in contact with the media of Argentina and Euskal Herria.
  - Organize press events and conferences.
  - Draw up communiqués and dossiers for Centers and the media.

Information and Processes:

– Begin defining the indicators to measure and determine the initial objectives.

Learning and Growth:

Training of Directors: Set up a Training Workshop aimed at the directors of the Centers, with no age limit and with a broad syllabus ranging from elements affecting the management of human resources, teamwork, basic concepts of economy and finances, technology and subjects related to the history of Euskal Herria and its current situation in all its facets. Our intention is to give four workshops in different parts of the country. The workshops may be led jointly by professionals from Euskal Herria and Argentina. A project will be prepared and presented.

Project for a Satellite Network of Basque Centers:

Introduction: A company will be created in order to provide technical support and services for transmission by way of teleconference of product presentations, events, conferences, fairs, concerts, press conferences, auctions, etc.

This system uses satellite technology to establish services of voice and image communication in two or more directions.

Current situation: Currently 10 Basque Centers have the antenna installed.

Work Methodology: Determination of needs through local boosters/promoters coordinated by an Executive body at the national level.

Strategy: take advantage of the recognition, reputation and local presence of the Basque Centers to construct a network of communication services.

Objectives:

– A new income channel
– Improved integration with the local community
– Improved institutional development

Medium-term priorities...

– Further this new functioning system.
– Consolidate the information pertaining to the different areas.
– Establish indicators in each of the areas.
– Establish measurable objectives.

Long-term priorities...

– We should think about and reflect on the Federation as we imagine it in 10 years. Such an image will indicate to us the activities which we should plan to undertake.
– We have to think in the long term. Many ideas may seem utopian or unattainable but if there is a word that has become almost meaningless, that word is "impossible."

Conclusions

– We need to think about the future, about young people, about future leadership.
– We need to continue learning about technology, with the management tools made available to us by the market but without losing sight of our final objective: "to continue building the Basque identity, the meaning of being Basque in Argentina or in any other part of the world"
– We will further the activities already underway and highlight the values which have enabled the Basque people to survive over time and be recognized in any corner of the world.
– We must be innovative and proactive, never forgetting that "the major problems that we face today cannot be solved with the thought level we had when we created them."
– We are convinced that our efforts deserve to live on and be seconded with new efforts in the future, that in our Centers our children learn things that will be useful to them throughout their lives, that being Basque in Argentina has meaning, and that such meaning, although it may occasionally seem to escape us, is not affected by the passage of time but rather by enthusiasm and strength.

If you want to build a ship, don't herd people together to collect wood and don't assign them tasks and work, but rather teach them to long for the endless immensity of the sea.

Antoine de Saint Exupery

Eskerrik asko – Thank you very much!

Strategia Plan of the Federation of Basque Entities in Argentina (FEVA): Argentinan Euskaraz, development of the Basque pelota and project on journalism

María Luz Arteche, Agustín Asensio, Horacio Mariano Ayesa, FEVA

Greeting:

Lagun maiteok:

Dakizuenez, nire herrialdean martxan jarritako "Argentinan Euskaraz" programaz hitz egingo dizuet.

Niretzat, ohore eta poza haundia da euskarari buruz mintzatzea, gure herriak betidanik hitz egiten duen hizkuntzari eta gure arbasoei buruz mintzatzea baita. Alde batetik mendien indarra eta Euskal Herriko itsaso basatia sentitzea da eta bestaldetik, mundua ikusi eta ibiltzeko era da.

Euskara maite, zaindu eta zabaldu beharra dugu gure kulturaren bitxirik preziatuena baita.

Dear friends:

You know that I am going to talk about Euskera and the program for learning it which has been implemented in Argentina, "Argentinan Euskaraz." For me doing so is an honor, a joy and a pleasure which moves me, because talking about Euskera means talking about our ancestors, about the language which our people have spoken since the very beginning. It means feeling the earth of the mountains and the rough sea of Euskal Herria. It means talking about a way of seeing and travelling through life.

Euskera is here for us to love it, care for it and make it known, because it is the most precious gem of our culture.

"Argentinan euskaraz" presentation

Mª Luz Arteche

Some history

Language is a vital element for all peoples, one of the most significant cohesive agents, an indisputable sign of identity. No doubt it is for this reason that inside and outside Euskal Herria, our forebears worked arduously and with determination to preserve Euskera, enabling a victorious resurgence following centuries of recession.

Throughout Argentina, since the first migrations began, Basque-speaking people, both at home and in Basque Centers, transmitted Euskera however they could, according to their linguistic knowledge and the peculiarities of the region or town they came from, always with the enormous additional effort made necessary by the lack of didactic material and methodology.

These were men and women with very clear ideas. They knew that the future of a nation lies to a large degree in its language, that language is what transmits the way of thinking, the way of feeling and the way of being.

It is moving to remember these men and women coming to the Basque Centers, after finishing their workday, to manifest their love for Euskal Herria by giving Euskera classes.

Later, in 1955, the Federation of Basque-Argentinean Entities (FEVA) was founded and the Basques active at that time chose to include, among the actions to be carried out in order to achieve the goals of extolling and defending the imprescriptible rights of the Basque people, that of "cultivating Euskera (the Basque language), encouraging its dissemination and teaching," as evidenced by Article 4 of the founding charter. Today we can say that the contents of that article remain in effect, that the charter has been and continues to be faithfully fulfilled.

We know that even today Euskera suffers from political harassment, but we also know that it will continue to grow, because that is what Basque men and women and their descendents have decided. Because not only are we going to defend it, maintain it and fervently care for it but we are also set on increasing the number of Basque speakers in and out of Euskal Herria because the Basque language was, is and shall continue to be our language, an extraordinary part of our historical patrimony, a invaluable cultural treasure, a unique and living relic with no known relatives and because it is also the means of communication of many Basque people. For these reasons we say that Euskera is not just the heritage of the Basques: it also forms a part of World Heritage.

These ideas regarding Euskera which were passed along to us by our ancestors and which germinated with strength in Argentina, were happily taken up by the Basque Government, which put them into practice with the program "Argentinan Euskaraz." This program has been in effect, with great success, since 1990 and its purpose is to transmit our language in a systematic way, with Basque-speaking teachers and using new tools and methodologies.

It is wonderful to see that the struggles and hopes of our forebears have been materialized in a program which guarantees the teaching of our language, that the commitment of the Basque Institutions and the unconditional transfer of their experience and funding have made it possible to recover and expand Euskera, thus ensuring its survival. We now see young people of second, third or fourth generation that speak Euskera and people's interest in learning it is growing by the day.

We are now in the 13th year of the plan and the situation in December of 2002 was as follows:

– Euskera courses in Basque Centers: a) Classes in which students are physically present: 20 centers.

– Self-teaching with guidance of tutor: 10 centers.

– Teachers currently active: 31.

– Number of students in Basque Centers: 584.

Given the extension of Argentina and the fact that the Basque Centers are distributed throughout the country, the active teachers (most of them residents in the city and province of Buenos Aires) are not sufficient to satisfy the growing demand of the various Centers requesting that courses be given in their cities or towns.

Many teachers make enormous efforts and teach classes in more than one Basque Center, with all of the implications: time difficulties, travelling on occasion more than 200 km., etc.

Once again it appears that the example of our forebears has given fruit.

The next challenge is the training of new human resources.

Description of the program

Since the Argentinan Euskaraz plan was put into effect we can distinguish three clearly -differentiated periods, according to the objectives and resources used at the time.

Initial period (1990-1995)

The objectives were:

– To start giving Euskera courses in the Basque Centers.

– To teach Euskera to the teachers. Three groups were taught Euskera.

Consolidation period (1996-2000)

– Pedagogical-didactic training for the teachers, for which purpose eight methodology courses were implemented.
– Sending of didactic material for teachers and students.
– Teaching of Euskera to the fourth group of teachers.

New technologies and needs (2000-2004)

Objectives of this period:

– Maintaining the level of Euskera reached by the four groups of Basque-speaking teachers.
– Implementation of a distance-learning course organized mainly from Euskadi.
– Continuing 5-day immersion courses (barnetegi) in Argentina, with specialists from HABE (Basque Country Institute for the Teaching of Basque), for Basque-speaking teachers and advanced students.
– Provide computer infrastructure to the Basque Centers with the possibility of putting into practice the HEZINET (a self-learning computer program).
– In July of 2001 the first HEZINET course and self-teaching course for teachers was given.
– In February of 2002, 19 new teachers, most of whom did not speak Basque, participated in this course to get a grasp of HEZINET in the beginning groups and to train new teachers, both in the use of HEZINET and the learning of the language.

As a result of the actions taken thus far, of the experience gained and of the increased demand by the Basque Centers, we make the following

Proposals for the future

Human Resources

– As for the training of teachers: a) maintaining and improving the level of Euskera attained by the teachers who already speak Euskera, b) training of new teachers, c) possibility of taking Euskera courses in Euskadi.

– Euskera in the Basque Centers

1. Continue giving Euskera courses in the Basque Centers where they already take place and incorporate new courses as the number of teachers grows.
2. Implement differentiated courses for adolescents and adults, in order to respect the different learning styles and interests of these groups.
3. Increase availability of didactic material.

   This happens in the following way:

   a) HABE sends teaching material to FEVA and teaching publications to each teacher.
   b) FEVA circulates the teaching materials sent from Euskadi and also that created by the teachers in Argentina.
4. Project follow-up. The objectives are: a) Continuing the fluid communication between HABE, the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs of the Basque Government and FEVA. b) Holding two annual meetings in the framework of the immersion courses (barnetegi) with the teacher sent by HABE, students, members of FEVA c) Writing an annual report on the progress of the project
5. Continue with the immersion courses in Argentina for the Euskera teachers.
6. Give methodology courses, in the form of both traditional classes and distance learning.
7. Guarantee the computer infrastructure necessary to implement HEZINET and HABENET.
8. Design an annual plan based on the demand by the Basque Centers.
9. Carry out the administrative tasks generated by the implementation of this project.
10. Tutor new teachers using HEZINET in traditional courses and also by distance learning.
11. Coordinate the group of active teachers.

12. Work towards making Euskera courses official in the national, provincial and municipal education systems.
13. Encourage the Basque Centers to use Euskera for their signs, greetings, menus, publications, etc.
14. Organize workshops on Basque culture and language.
15. Boost familiarity with Euskera through the organized activities of dance groups, choral groups, card game clubs, theater groups, sports clubs, etc.
16. Subscribe to informative material in Euskera.

Opening doors toward the local environment

– Encourage the teaching of Euskera in educational institutions.
– Obtain information regarding projects related to Euskera outside of the Basque Autonomous Community, make contact with organizing members or bodies, exchange experiences and ideas for action.
– Gather information and raise awareness as to the collaboration of the Basque Country in policies which are favorable to minority languages in Latin America.

Euskera is for everyone

– Intensify the presence of Euskera in National Week events.
  • Circulate dissemination material (Esku Eskura, sign-painting manual).
  • Organize workshops for the directors of dance groups or choral groups.
  • Design a campaign and establish the foundations for celebrating the International Day of the Basque Language.
  • Learn about and spread information regarding the socio-linguistic panorama of Euskera.
  • Promote the various modes of teaching which currently exist.
  • Celebrate International Day of the Basque Language (3 December).

Euskera for children

– Promote activities which increase motivation and familiarity with Euskera in children and adolescents.
– Implement programs for the teaching of Euskera to children.
– Organize programs and teaching materials aimed at children and which are appropriate for the Argentinean/non-Basque-speaking context.
– Include Euskera courses for children within the "Argentinan Euskaraz" program.
– Institutionalize national encounters for Basque children.

In 2002 the first experience with the teaching of Euskera in a language school began. The course was given in the school Escuela de Idiomas de José C. Paz which is an official institution associated with the School Board of the Province of Buenos Aires. The course continues this year and is showing positive results.

> We feel privileged to have Euskera within our reach through a variety of proposals.
> Garena gara eta gainera euskara izango den hori, izango gara.
> Euskara, Euskara, Jalgi Hadi Mundura!
> We are what we are and what we will be, and also what Euskera is.
> Euskera, come out into the world!
> Besarkada bat eta eskerrik asko.

Development of the basque pelota

Agustín Asensio

Project for the development of Basque Pelota

If there were a better way to revive Basque Pelota, you would probably like to hear about it, right?

After its Golden Age, more than 30 years ago, when Argentina was the leader in several consecutive world championships, Basque Pelota began a decline almost to the point of disappearing. Currently the variations in which we are most competitive are pala corta and pala larga (short paddle and long paddle). The mano and xare modalities are almost extinct.

There are various reasons behind this sad state of affairs, some of them are the following:

– Lack of leadership.

– Disappearance of the schools.

– Lack of competitions.

– Lack of incentives.

This is due to a lack of interest on the part of persons who play a role in deciding the fate of this sport, shown in the nonexistence of work plans to maintain the teams and the failure to encourage initiation to this sport.

As a consequence, we are faced with the disappearance of schools, seedbeds for the future of this sport.

Logically, since it is a sport with no schools where players are trained, it is difficult to organize competitions aimed at achieving a high level so that Argentina can compete in a World Championship.

There has been reduced immigration by Basques, who practiced the mano modality for the sheer pleasure of playing. In the younger generations, this lack of incentive and the fact that this modality is one of the most challenging have meant that the mano modality has been seriously weakened.

The Basque Country has exported its traditions and culture to many countries around the world.

It is the Basque Centers which for more than 100 years have successfully ensured the continued existence of Basque music, dance, language, literature and gastronomy. Why not also make them part of the path which leads to the resurgence of Basque Pelota in Argentina and in all parts of the world where it is needed?

Initiative in sports should also be taken by the Basque community, with FEVA, the entity which brings us all together, as an intermediary, by means of the creation of an International Association of Basque Sports. This association was already approved in the World Congress on Basque Communities held in 1999 in the city of Vitoria-Gasteiz.

For all of the above reasons, we would like to make the following proposal:

– Co-operation between FEVA and the Euskadi Federation of Basque Pelota.

– Infrastructure.

– Creation of Basque Pelota schools.

– Training of Basque Pelota coaches.

– Competitions.

Cooperation

The basis of this project is the Cooperation Agreement between the Euskadi Federation of Basque Pelota (FPVE) and FEVA Just as a child does when it starts to walk, this project in its early phases needs the full support of the Federation, to help it obtain the materials which in some cases do not exist and which would represent an expenditure that is impossible at this time.

We are also working on this problem by contacting some local manufacturers, in hopes of being able to make the necessary elements here, at a much lower cost. This will no doubt encourage this sport.

We would also like to add that with the arrival in Argentina of Mr. Mikel Bringas (the trainer of the Argentinean national selection), eight more players have participated in the two most recent world championships.

Infrastructure

The court where the sport is most often practiced is called a trinquete and some of them are in need of repair. They need to be made suitable for the practice of the sport and new ones should also be built in various Basque Centers. We propose the construction of three frontons, or courts (both short and long ones) in strategic parts of Argentina, provided the designated Basque Centers wish to participate in this project.

The Basque Centers which have the trinquete licensed out to a third party should establish a clause in the contract obliging the licensee to create or maintain a pelota school for children.

Creation of Pelota schools

In each Basque Center we will work towards the creation of a school in which all of the modalities of Basque Pelota permitted by the Center's infrastructure can be practiced. At the beginning we will have to rely on the help of coaches from the Basque Country. The various modalities will be practiced in accordance with the rules of the FPVE and the schools will be open to both sexes, in order to encourage the sport among girls and women.

This would be the beginning of the training of new young players who come from each Basque Center. Our main objective is to activate and promote this sport, spreading it throughout Argentina. The path we propose to follow consists of reaching children and adolescents by way of the admirable, spectacular and passionate sport of Basque Pelota.

Training of Pelota coaches

Taking advantage of the coaches sent by the F.P.V.E. for the Pelota Schools, we would also train future trainers. Priority would be given to Physical Education teachers who like the sport, professional players, either retired or still active, with outstanding achievements.

An important part of this project would be sending teachers to the School for Trainers in the Basque Country, as a complement to the elements described above, in order to make the methods uniform and also complete the vision of teaching all of the modalities of Pelota.

The plan for the training of coaches and players is the central axis of the entire project.

Competitions

An Argentinean Tournament of Pelota Cuero en Trinquete is a very feasible goal, since there are top-rate players in the main cities of this country.

This tournament should be included in the Calendar of the Argentinean Pelota Confederation and the Metropolitan Federation. The tournament would be played year round. It would allow the Basque Centers, through the mediation of their leaders, to become involved in the aforementioned Pelota Federations, in order to strengthen the recognition and importance of the sport, contributing to the growth of Basque Pelota.

There will be exhibitions of the modalities which are not as well-known and

tournaments for children and youth of both sexes will be organized. The winners will be given prizes, as part of an effort to heighten their enthusiasm.

Only together will we be able to make these goals become reality. We must not forget that to Basques, Basque Pelota is much more than just a sport.

Presentation on Journalism
the "ezagutu eta zabalzazu betirako" project
"know it and spread the word forever"

Horacio Mariano Ayesa

Introit

At the very moment that the first word was pronounced, the universe took on meaning, in a very literal sense, and the long course of human history opened up before it.

Once words could be carried across time and distance to many other men, and later -hundreds of years later- when this could take place immediately and in an accurate and unquestionable fashion, humanity became fully civilized. And thus began the last era, the one in which we are now living.

In principle it is true that radio and television, and their variations of cable, satellite, etc., are the mass communication media which dominate diffusion around the world: the diffusion of ideas, postures, speeches, news.

No less important are the graphic media, newspapers in particular and magazines in general.

For some time now it seems that everyone is called upon to express an opinion, to ask, to sanction and doubtless journalists occupy a special position, with access to unlimited expression and an influence travelling beyond frontiers.

In many cases, the men engaged in journalism make their profession honorable with a clear vocation to help the democratic system. This vocation can be summarized in the four basic principles which the Lehendakari Juan Jose Ibarretxe Markuartu defined succinctly more than a year ago –8 February 2001- in the document entitled "Un camino de solución" (A Path of Solution):

– Non-violence and defense of human rights.

– Political dialogue.

– Respect for decisions made by all societies.

– Social construction.

But in all professions we can also find cynics and speculators, so there are also journalists and the media at their service who break the rules of professional ethics, do not report objectively, do not spread the truth in order to achieve the common good. Instead they attack and victimize those they consider to be opponents. And under the broad concept of freedom of expression and freedom of press they systematically abuse the recognized constitutional rights and attack those they consider dangerous, serving their own egotistical interests or those for whose benefit they work.

And unfortunately we can say that currently there is, beyond any doubt, a historical situation of attacks on the Basque community all over the world by sectors of the press and media which devote themselves to malicious treatment of all things Basque. The antecedents of this situation are to be found in the journalistic treatment of the *First Basque-american Congress*, held in San Sebastian in September of 1982, of the Third Commission "Regular Communication Media between the Communities of the Exterior and Euskadi," in the First World Congress of Basque Centers, held in the city of Bahía Blanca, Argentina, between the 7-10 of November, 1989, the First Argentinean Congress of Basque Centers –Area: Social Media- held in Necochea, Argentina, in November of 1990, and most recently in the two World Congresses on Basque Communities Abroad –in 1995 and 1999- and in the Gaztemundu Programs, of which there have been six so far. In the case of Argentina, this is felt periodically within the Federation of Basque-Argentinean Entities and also in the Basque Centers.

It is also true that there are other sectors of the media which support all things Basque, which objectively present and inform without twisting reality, whether it be news of a social, economic, cultural or political nature. It is principally in the latter, political news, where the attacks on being and feeling Basque are most strident.

Just as the Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad has been successfully organizing the Gaztemundu programs since 1996, to serve as a vehicle for the expression and identity of Basque youth in the international sphere, with the objective of giving the young people belonging to Basque communities abroad a direct knowledge of the Basque Country, enabling them to have contact with organizations, companies and persons who work and act in the Basque Country, stimulating platforms between young people

inside and outside of Euskal Herria, there has been an idea, the product of necessity, to design a project and action plan to be presented to this third World Congress on Basque Communities abroad, for the purpose of creating a program similar to the Gaztemundu program. This one would be for directors, editors, presidents and other persons involved in the world of communication, in principle printed and broadcast media, and would allow them to get to know first hand during ten or fifteen days the Basque Autonomous Community, in its various cultural, social, political, administrative, touristic and other aspects. The structure would be "two-way," meaning that the participants would commit to publishing and informing about positive aspects of basque-related issues in the particular form of mass media with which they work.

While it is true that the Basque Centers do this on a daily basis, this project would lead to a more direct engagement, and later, by way of e-mail and the use of the Internet, it would nourish the commitment in the news media to publish and broadcast in they way they see fit, but without distorting the message being transmitted.

It would be the Basque Centers that would somehow collect the candidates, taking into account a variety of factors: relationship with the media, involvement with the local Basque community, real interest in learning first hand about the Basque Autonomous Community. The Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad could put this program into effect. A possible name for it would be *"conoce y difúndelo por siempre"* (Know it and spread the word forever), or *"ven, conoce la realidad y difúndela sin intermediarios'* (Come learn about the reality and spread the word without intermediaries), or simply *"difúndelo"* (Spread the word) or something similar.

Description of program and conditions for participation

Similar to the Gaztemundu Program, it would require the presentation of a piece of work, the subject of which would be *"how to further balanced knowledge about the basque country through the printed and oral communication media"* although these issues must be decided by the General Secretariat of Foreign Affairs and the Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad.

The guidelines applicable to the Gaztemundu Program regarding an investment made by the participant should also be addressed. Perhaps this subject should be more carefully examined and obviated.

In reality, the investment is minimal if we consider the benefits that are to be had:

– The opening of new social communicators committed to the Basque cause, to all things Basque, whether they be in the cultural, social, touristic or another arena and *especially non-partisan political issues,* with the well-known characteristics of *tradition, christianity and democracy* which are the reflection of the historical and current significance of the Basque people.
– The *strengthening of social communicators who are already committed*, offering them new horizons from which to find inspiration.
– *Engagement among the participants*, keeping in mind the ease of communication via Internet now and in the future.

Later, depending on the results, the *need for new programs would be discussed,* or the possibility of separating the printed from the broadcast media since television, cable and satellite media depend on more mutational factors, which would make the *creation of relationships of this type more difficult.* In fact, it would not be very viable for this sector, at least in relation to Argentina. For example, look at the satellite television channel Sky Satellite TV. It is present in other Latin American countries, like Chile, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, etc. and it started operations in Argentina in February of 2000, only to leave the country in July of 2002.

Now, the more formal matters, such as:

a. Dates and place in which program will take place.
b. Conditions for participation.
c. Presentation of applications.
d. Preselection phase.
e. Selection process.
f. General conditions.

Shall be determined in accordance with the criteria established by the Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad, along with other bodies of the Basque Autonomous Community.

Complementary and Subsidiary Idea

We are all well aware that the budgets are approved annually in the Basque Parliament and that the subsidies program has a fixed total. This amount, if we also consider the devaluation of the currencies of Argentina, Brazil and in general all Latin American countries, unfortunately for the affected countries, causes a problem for the Basque Centers, as there is a clear increase in the cost in the local currencies. In response to this situation, we propose a subsidiary idea to administrate resources with care and broaden benefits obtained.

This Program could be made to coincide with the fourth world congress on basque communities to take place in 2007 and this way, while keeping in mind the parameters of the previous ones, the journalists of the written and oral press could share in the events of the delegates of various countries. Let's consider the following reflections:

1. The Journalists Would Not Feel Isolated And Would Have The Support Of The Delegates From Their Countries, Regardless Of Who Acts As Their Guide.
2. The Journalists Can Engage In Some Shared Activities And Some Differentiated Activities, But The Primary Element Of Getting To Know The Basque Country Can Be Shared.
3. An Environment Conducive To Learning And Knowledge Would Enrich All The Participants.

Many other reflections and objections can no doubt be made. This idea is the humble effort with which we want to make a contribution, using our strength as handed down to us by our forebears and which will be rightfully transmitted to our descendents, to improving the image of our homeland.

MONITORING

The Federation of Basque-Argentinean Entities is of the opinion that in order to make this PLAN a reality, we need the intervention of the aforementioned Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad and the Advisory Board provided for in the Law of 8th of May, 1994.