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FROM GREY CITY TO METROPOLITAN ICON: BASQUE CULTURAL REVIVAL
AND URBAN REDEVELOPMENT IN BILBAO, SPAIN

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for a Degree with Honors
(Anthropology, International Affairs)

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ABSTRACT

After decades of political oppression and industrial decline, the Basque people of Bilbao, Spain sought to incorporate cultural revival into their urban redevelopment. The redevelopment in Bilbao, Spain is recognized all over the world. Bilbao is an icon to those who hope to revitalize their post-industrial city. This paper looks to understand why this reurbanization was so successful and to determine how the Basque people implemented their culture, history, and identity into their new post-industrial and post-dictatorial space. I will be discussing the history of both the Basque Country and Bilbao to provide context for the redevelopment. Additionally, I will highlight specific examples of the redevelopment such as Bilbao's airport, the Guggenheim, the center of Abandoibarra, and Kafe Antzokia, and I will highlight how they incorporated Basque identity into the redevelopment. I will also consider the organizations that facilitated the redevelopment, Bilbao Metropoli 30 and Bilbao Ria 2000. Additionally, I will highlight challenges to the Basque identity that came with redevelopment, and how Bilbao fits in the context of redevelopment as a whole.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

History	1
Basque History	1
Bilbao History	8
Basque Freedoms	11
Reurbanization	13
Reurbanization Overview	13
Airport	15
Guggenheim	16
Bilbao Metropoli 30 & Bilbao Ria 2000	18
Bilbao Metropoli 30	18
Bilbao Ria 2000	21
Abandoibarra	22
Kafe Antzokia	24
Redevelopment and Challenges to the Basque Identity	27
Discussion: Why Was Bilbao’s Redevelopment So Successful?	35
Works Cited	47
Author’s Biography	50

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	41
Figure 2	41
Figure 3	42
Figure 4	42
Figure 5	43
Figure 6	43
Figure 7	44
Figure 8	44
Figure 9	45
Figure 10	45
Figure 11	46

HISTORY

Basque History

The Basque people have been isolated throughout their history, creating a separate and unique pocket of cultural practices otherwise unseen in the rest of the Iberian Peninsula (see Figure 1). This isolation is thought to be from the geographic boundary created by the Pyrenees Mountains (Levy-Coffman). The Basque Country is surrounded by the Pyrenees and called Euskal Herria to the Basque people, or “land of the Basque language” (Euskal Herria-The Basque Country). Due to this isolation, the Basque Country has rare connections to the prehistoric past, and the Basque people are often thought of as the most-representative genetic descendants of pre-Neolithic Europeans (Levy-Coffman). In fact, they are the only European group that today speak a non Indo-European language, known as Basque (Levy Coffman).

Even Basque DNA has proved that Iberian and Basque histories have been separate. There were substantial genetic differences found when Iberian, or geographically Spanish, and Basque DNA were compared (Levy-Coffman). One example of this is found in the Bronze Age. During the Bronze Age, pastoralists from eastern Europe migrated to the Iberian Peninsula. During this great migration, they brought Indo-European languages throughout Europe, including the Iberian Peninsula. They also brought traces of their DNA (Ancient DNA Cracks Puzzle of Basque Origins). DNA from these pastoralists is found in the DNA of the contemporary people of Spanish and French descent, but not in the DNA of those with Basque descent. This genetic

information provides evidence that the Basques remained isolated throughout most of their history and indeed into modern times, and provides insight on why the Basque language does not have a Indo-European lineage (Ancient DNA Cracks Puzzle of Basque Origins).

Around 6th century BC, a group of Indo-Europeans, the Celts, settled on territory west of the Basque Country, and began to influence Basque life. Next, in 220 BC, Romans arrived and began their period of influence on the whole of Spain. The first Romans to reach the Iberian Peninsula entered through the Northwest and the Basque Country in the 1st century BC. However, Roman rule in this region was not consolidated until Augustus' reign. Throughout most of their rule, Romans had a relaxed hold on the Basque Country, which allowed Basque people to maintain their own leadership and traditional laws. Additionally, there is little evidence of Romanization in the Basque Country, and the survival of the Basque language may be attributed to this. Spanish people were molded by Roman, Arab, Celtic and Jewish cultures, all of which were once abundant in Spain. However, Basque people remained largely isolated from this diversity, separating them from the rest of Spain, and creating unique histories in the same peninsula. The next to claim the Basque Country were the Visigoths in the 5th century. They claimed the Basque Country at an early date; however, they were unable systematically to subdue it (Woodworth).

In the 11th century, the Basque Country came under one rule for the first and only time in history under the leadership of Sancho Garces III, a Navarran king. By the end of the

Middle Ages, Basque lands were allotted to France and Spain, but most of the Basque Country ended up in Spain. In Spain, the Basque people were given *fueros*, a number of freedoms given directly from the Kingdom of Castile to the Basque Country, which distinguished them from the rest of Spain. Among many freedoms, the *fueros* recognized separate laws, taxations and courts in each province, including Navarra. At this time, the Kingdom of Castile had no right to levy taxes in the Basque Country because of its *fueros*. These *fueros* made the Basque Country's products subject to duties in Spanish markets (Woodworth).

This customs duty was a reason why the Basque Country entered the Carlist Wars. The First Carlist war began in 1833 and ended in 1840. The Second Carlist War began in 1872 and ended in 1876. The Carlist Wars showed a deepening rift in the Basque Country that occurred between the countryside and larger towns. In the cities and towns, the duty-free zone was a problem in commerce, and was inhibiting their position to be a major player in international trade. City-dwellers hoped to get rid of this privilege because it was actually harming them. This aligned them on the side of the liberals during The Carlist Wars. On the other hand, peasants from the countryside feared that if there was a duty-free import of agricultural products from across Spain, their businesses would fail. Those in the countryside aligned mostly with the Carlists. The First Carlist War ended in 1841 with a win for the liberals. The Liberals won again in 1876, and the wars were finally over, stripping the Basque Country of some of its economic freedoms, and downgrading the Basque Country to an economic agreement. The economic agreement abolished *fueros*, ended Basque military and fiscal exemptions, and removed customs

between the Basque Country and Spain. For Carlists and the subsequent Basque Nationalists, the win of the Liberals was tragic, as it was a loss of their freedom (Woodworth).

The Basque region underwent economic change in the nineteenth century as well. During the mid to late 19th century, the Basque Country, and the region of Bizkaia (see Figure 2) in particular, was a major iron exporter. The Basque Country exported iron to Britain for industrial processing. With large-scale industrialization comes a need for massive amounts of labor. Bizkaia especially needed workers to work in factories and participate in heavier mining. People from all over Spain came to work in the cities of Bizkaia, especially those from the Basque countryside, Castile and Rioja. Additionally, there was increasing immigration flowing from impoverished portions of Galicia and Andalusia to the Basque Country at this time. The Spanish people who moved to the Basque Country at this time to share in the wealth of industrialization mostly spoke Spanish. Basque people perceived Spanish immigrants as a threat to the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic integrity of the Basque people. By the end of the 19th century, the Basque Nationalist Party was born (PNV). The goal of this party was independence or self government for the Basque Country.

Spanish people's independence was soon threatened during the Spanish Civil War. For people in Spain, the Spanish Civil War that lasted from 1936-1939 is the most devastating event in recent history (Molina). During the Spanish Civil War, Basque nationalists and leftists from Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa sided with Spanish republicans rather

than Franco and others. Francisco Franco was the first real threat to the Basque way of life. One of the most important impacts that Franco had on Basque life was the bombing of Gernika. Because the vast majority of Basque people did not side with Franco, he had the Germans bomb the Basque town of Gernika on his behalf. Like Bilbao, Gernika is situated in the region of Bizkaia, the same as Bilbao. However, it is set apart due to its deep political history in the Basque Country. Gernika emerged as an important place in the Middle Ages when it was developed into a center for Basque culture and manufacturing between the east and west, and with a strategic estuary. It became the central site where the local fueros were created and agreed upon by the King of Castile. In Gernika, the focal point of these rights was an oak tree, where town elders and foral councils would meet. For this reason, Gernika is a very symbolic town for many Basque people, and to some, the center of their economic freedoms (Raento). Because the Basque people did not side with Franco in the war, he launched a devastating attack. Germany bombed Gernika on a Monday, a time when the town was packed with civilians. There is much debate on the number of people killed by the attack, but according to Basque officials, the bombing killed over 1,000 in a population of 5,000-10,000 people (Rhodes, Richard). For many Basque people, the bombing of Gernika is a symbol of destruction, and perhaps a cause of more contemporary political violence and nationalist tendencies. Within Gernika, there is a famous Peace Museum. One of the most striking parts of the museum is an exhibition where the visitor experiences the bombing of Gernika by sitting on a bench on the inside of a traditional Basque house with sirens blaring. Visitors get nervous as the ground begins to shake. Suddenly, there are heart-wrenching screams, and soon, the house goes dark. Museum goers are then led around to learn about important

peace activists and about peace in general. In this way, the Basque Country turned a horrific event into one of beauty and one that reminds the world of the benefits of peace.

One of Franco's key objectives as dictator was to stop the Basque Country's autonomy. The bombing of Gernika was a way for Franco to demonstrate the military power that the Nationalists had over Republicans. After Franco won the bloody war, he continued to target the Basques throughout his time as dictator of Spain until the day he died in 1975. While Franco's supporters credit him with strong anti-communist and nationalist ideas, economic policies, and the preservation of a Spanish culture; his detractors consider him to be one of the worst things to happen in Spain. Throughout his rule, he destroyed and confiscated private property, controlled food distribution and fired teachers if they did not teach the way he wanted them to. He turned on Basque churches and priests and he imprisoned and deported priests and monks. Perhaps his most destructive act was banning from speaking Basque, or Euskera. Schools were not allowed to teach it, priests could not speak it, and the government imprisoned those who spoke it. The government also burned books and scraped inscriptions off tombstones. The government under Franco's rule banned church sermons in Basque, although many of the people in the Basque country did not speak Castilian. All of this led to a decrease in the amount of Basque spoken in the region, and the reduced the amount of people who speak Basque today (Sedlacek). During my time in Bilbao, many teachers have mentioned how their parents were spies against the Franco regime, or that their grandparents were jailed for speaking Basque. Franco's dictatorship truly impacted the entire Basque Country, and the pain he inflicted was felt widely and deeply.

There were two important developments during Franco's rule. One was a new wave of immigration. Immigration to the Basque Country came from Spain's poorer regions during the 1960s and 1970s because of the immense amounts of industrialization in the Basque Country. This created more obstacles to Basque attempts to resist the regime as it tried to stamp out Basque identity. The second development was the birth of Euskadi ta Askatasuna (ETA), a Basque phrase that means "Basque Fatherland and Liberty." The organization began as a student resistance movement in 1959 rebelling against Franco's horrible persecution. The group killed 829 people since 1968, and its main form of violence was car bombs and shootings (Tremlett, Giles). Their most strategic kill was the 1973 assassination of Luis Carrero Blanco, who was likely to be Franco's successor after he died. The ETA's last kill occurred in 2010, with the murder of a French policeman. The terrorist group is thought to have been weakened by many arrests, especially the leaders of the group (Tremlett).

After Franco's death, a new constitution provided for the union of the 3 Basque provinces, Álava, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, called the Basque Autonomous Community. In order to stop ETA violence and to regain some sort of control over the Basque people, Spain granted the Basque Country status as an autonomous community in 1979. With this, the Basques were able to govern themselves. They reestablished the Basque language and created their own school system where Basque is taught (Tornabane). They also maintained their own police force and perhaps most importantly, control over

taxation. The central government powers in Madrid retained control over harbor authorities, customs policy, employment law, armed forces and foreign relations.

Bilbao History

The city of Bilbao had historic origins in the Basque Country. Its name has unclear origins. Some believe that it comes from “bel vado” in ancient Spanish, which means “good river crossing,” and others declare that it comes from the Basque “bi albo,” meaning two river banks (History of Bilbao). It began first as a small fishing and trading town. Along with the Basque Country, it became part of the Kingdom of Castile in 1200, with a substantial amount of self-governance (Plöger). In 1300, Don Diego Lopez V de Haro incorporated Bilbao as a village through its founding document: the Carta Puebla (History of Bilbao). Throughout the centuries, Bilbao continued to have an economy based around nautical and commercial activities, and it benefitted from its advantageous geography that placed it right on the Atlantic Ocean (Plöger). At this point in time, Bilbao was quite small, limited to the area of Casco Viejo (See Figure 3) (Plöger). The industrial side of Bilbao is said to have formed in 1511 after a trade and shipping regulating body was formed, called the Consulado, or the Consulate of Bilbao. During the 16th century Bilbao was known as both the economic center and capital city of the Biscay region (OECD). During this time, Bilbao possessed special trading rights granted by the King and became the main port for exports of wool from Castile to Northern European cities (History of Bilbao). This led to the rise of Bilbao during its vital industrial age, where Bilbao developed steel, mining and shipbuilding industries (History of Bilbao).

Bilbao began major industrialization phases in the first half of the nineteenth century, with the creation of the Tudela-Bilbao Company, Banco de Bilbao, stock exchange, and general urbanization (Plöger). During the first half of the 1800s, Bilbao had only a population of around 10,000 people, however, major economic growth occurred in the second half of the century. By 1900, Bilbao's population increased to eight times this amount, swelling to about 80,000 people (Plöger). For the rest of the century, the population of Bilbao tripled and Bizkaia became the most populated part of the Basque Country. With a greater population of immigrants from around Spain, industrialization increased, more industries sprung up, and there were new opportunities for employment. As the population increased, there was resentment toward immigrants from both the Carlist countryside and the urban lower-middle class. Basque natives thought that immigrants were diluting traditional values and populations in their own country. At this point, Bilbao developed into an industrial city, but this was just the beginning of its growth (Plöger). Due to the upsurge of these industries, Bilbao became the wealthiest city in Spain in the early 1900s. Insurance companies and major banks like BBVA came to the city at this time (History of Bilbao).

Bilbao remained mostly in one piece without much destruction, even after the Republican defeat in 1937. After the Nationalist win, Francisco Franco stripped the Basque Country of its autonomy at this time, and created a culture of oppression. During his dictatorship, Bilbao's industries were an important part of Spain's economy, and many people from all over Spain migrated to the Bilbao area (History of Bilbao). This led to immense, and chaotic growth (History of Bilbao). Bilbao had a second wave of industrialization at this

time, otherwise known as a “late” industrialization. Heavy manufacturing was the main focus of this industrialization, and at this time it was known as one of Spain’s major industry hubs (Plöger). Urban development followed the great economic expansion, and many city projects and famous buildings occurred during this time (Historia de Bilbao).

After a golden age in the 1960s, Bilbao entered an age of economic decline in the 1970s and 1980s, much like many other industrial cities. Throughout time, Bilbao had created a specialization in industry and had continued to do things as they always had. For this reason, Bilbao had a late reaction to changes nationally and internationally. As changes in production came about, Bilbao did not adapt. The OECD points to a number of problems that caused this economic slump, including “restrictive industrial production based on the traditional iron and steel industries, shipbuilding and equipment goods, the sectors worst hit worldwide, and also on insufficient autonomy of the services sector, which was closely linked to industrial development” (OECD). The post industrialization degradation of Bilbao was similar to that of Pittsburgh, Glasgow, Hamburg, Rotterdam and Turin (OECD). Technological development led to diminishing jobs, and people had to leave Bilbao in order to find a way to make money, which caused steep population decline (Plöger). By 1986, Bilbao was at its peak unemployment. Additionally, Bilbao was also suffering from immense pollution from the high levels of industry (OECD). Pollution, waste, and grey came over the city; it was even nicknamed “The Grey City.” It was no longer a hub of industrialization in Spain, but a city with ample waste and unused lands. In the first half of the 1980s, Bilbao’s unemployment rate was up to 25%, the public transport system was failing, and there was also violence from the ETA (Plaza).

BASQUE FREEDOMS

Basque freedoms were essential to rebuilding the city. The Basque Country has historically been separate from the rest of Spain, and has been given more freedoms. This continued when the Statute of Autonomy passed with a referendum in 1979. The Statute of Autonomy establishes the Basque Autonomous Community, which provides limited self-governing powers to the Basque Country. Powers include an elected parliament as well as control over the police force, school system and taxation. The Statute of Autonomy allowed for the self-governance of the Basque Country. The three territories of the Basque Country have their own institutions with provincial parliaments, or Juntas Generales, which are given many broad powers, including the ability to levy direct and indirect taxes. The people of the Basque Autonomous Communities elect Junteros, or members of the Juntas Generales. Junteros pass regulations at the provincial level, approve budgets, and select a provincial council that presides over the historic territory. Additionally, there are local and town councils, bodies that are entrusted with overseeing matters related to each municipality. This includes the mayor, and the delivery of local services such as sanitation, transportation, and fire departments, among others (The Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country). The Statute of Autonomy established the Economic Agreement, which provides the power to regulate taxes and the necessary autonomy to manage and collect them. In particular, Title III of the Basque Statute of Autonomy acknowledges The Basque Country's own Department of Finance with powers to develop its own autonomous treasury. This Economic Agreement also contains information on whether the Basque or Spanish tax systems are used. Additionally, there

is a quota in which the Basque government provides tax dollars to the Spanish government in order to cover expenditure on areas of national interest including foreign affairs, defense, customs and general transport. The quota the Basque Country must pay is calculated by applying Basque contribution capability ratio to general Spanish expenditure. The rate is currently 6.24% of the annual general state budget (Vasco); (The Regional Tax System in the Basque Country). The Basque Country has more freedoms than other autonomous communities in Spain. Most notably, only Basque regions have the economic agreement where they are able to levy their own taxes. With tax euros levied, the Basque Country has the ability to pay for public services of the autonomous community, such as infrastructure, social action and public works. Other regions are part of a redistribution system which transfers wealth from wealthier to poorer parts of the country. Additionally, a police force allocated to a specific autonomous community is a right that Spain has only extended to the Basque Country and Catalonia, and not places such as Andalusia (Specia).

Basque fueros were very unique in nature, even though local charters were commonplace around Spain and even Europe. However, the Basque Country's fueros gave "exceptional powers" to Basque authorities, and they existed for much longer than anywhere else on the Iberian peninsula. These fueros were "possibly unique in Spain," and were privileges that were only given to nobles in other regions (Woodworth). These economic freedoms add to the sense of Basque separateness from Spain, and cultivate a sense of the Basque Country being unique.

REURBANIZATION

Reurbanization Overview

Though Bilbao's redevelopment was partly about making the city more livable, with more jobs and less pollution, it was also partly about reviving Basque culture in a post-dictatorial space. Francisco Franco's attack on Basque culture and identity removed many forms of Basque-ness from Bilbao. I will be discussing how this redevelopment took on a role of reasserting Basque culture to create a space that better represented Basque and Bilbaino identity.

Bilbao's reurbanization is one that occurred in a short amount of time and yielded immense results. In the 1970s, Bilbao was one of the most polluted cities in the world along with Tokyo. Franco's dictatorship set up few environmental limitations, causing Bilbao's environmental degradation. Bilbao locals remarked that some even died on the street from breathing in poisonous air (Woodworth). The reurbanization completely transformed the city from one that was dirty, polluted, and called the "Grey City," to one that is seen as a model for reurbanization around the world, and one that it is regularly visited by international tourists.

The reurbanization of Bilbao began with physical transformations that cleaned up the pollution from its industrial days. One of Bilbao's biggest physical transformations was the cleaning of the River Nervión. The river was an unpleasant place and one to avoid. The smell was horrendous, and there were rumors that falling in would cause death. The treatment of the river began in 1981 and is now completely treated and devoid of waste.

It is now a place that many Bilbainos use for leisure, as it is a beautiful site for walking and activities in Bilbao (see Figure 4) (OECD).

There were four phases of reurbanization planning in Bilbao. During the early stages of redevelopment, from the 1980s to mid 1990s, experts from Bilbao went to visit other cities who redeveloped after the downfall of industrialization, such as Glasgow and Pittsburgh, to learn from their experiences in the process. In the second phase of reurbanization, up until 1998, experts from post-industrial cities were invited to talk about industrial restructuring in a two-way dialogue. Major change occurred in the third phase, from the late 1990s, where contacts increased with other middle-sized cities in Europe and Latin America, who began visiting Bilbao. In recent years, visits to Bilbao have escalated, and since 2003 there have been “an average of at least 54 visits a year, amounting to a weekly visit by a foreign delegation, or about 800 professionals a year” (González).

Bilbao hoped to create a new city by putting a holistic strategic plan into place, one that relied on large-scale infrastructure projects in order to revive the economy, politics, culture and environment of the city. Bilbao’s strategic plan was approved in March 1992 in order to make Bilbao a creative city with an attractive environment that would bring business and professionals to the city and would regenerate old industrial sites. This strategic plan was created by Bilbao Metropoli 30, an organization built in order to aid Basque redevelopment through strategic planning and research. From 1991 to 2010, beginning even before Bilbao Metropoli 30’s strategic plan, there was a huge

infrastructure building period in Bilbao. The Strategic Plan of Metropolitan Bilbao, created by Bilbao Metropoli 30, defined 8 critical subjects for the revitalization process: human resources, advanced services in a modern industrial region, mobility and accessibility, environmental regeneration, urban regeneration, culture centrality, public-private cooperation, and social action. The strategic plan was not isolated, and it coincided with different activities at different levels (OECD).

Overall, the Basque Country's reurbanization was one that encompassed many projects, of all scales, each with a little bit of Basque flair embedded into it. Out of the many projects undertaken in Bilbao, I have chosen to focus on the airport, the Guggenheim, Bilbao Metropoli 30 and Bilbao Ria 2000, Abandoibarra and Kafe Antzokia.

Airport

Bilbao's first airport was created in 1927, but it later became deteriorated, saturated, and obsolete by 1990. The construction of a new airport in Bilbao began in 1996, a part of the reurbanization that was essential to bringing international traffic to Bilbao. It involved a new terminal and control tower and an underground system that helped to improve internal connectivity. With the new changes, Bilbao's airport is thought to reduce travel time by 30 million hours per year, creating a more efficient and enjoyable travel experience. In my experience, Bilbao's airport is convenient, sleek, and small. It is a clean and beautiful airport, built in a style that I saw reflected in most of Bilbao. It was just a 15 minute bus ride away from the city, which made it convenient and widely used by most of the Northern Spain public, including those from San Sebastian. It is rarely busy because of its small size, and one could probably walk across the entire airport in

the matter of 10 minutes (OECD). However, the airport numbers are increasing, especially as Bilbao makes its way onto the international scale.

There are few Basque elements of the airport, but there are some. All signs in the airport have the Basque language written first and in bold. Underneath, the Basque phrase is written in both English and Spanish. The signs have images depicting what the phrases mean as well (see Figure 5).

Guggenheim

The most famous part of Bilbao's redevelopment is the Guggenheim, established in 1991 and built in 1997. Constructed with unique architecture and designed by Frank Gehry, the Guggenheim is a large art museum that has seen international recognition (see Figure 6). Building the Guggenheim involved significant levels of public-private collaboration, designed to provide an economic boost and cultural dimension to Bilbao. Those in charge of the redevelopment: Bilbao Metropoli 30, Bilbao Ria 2000, the mayor of Bilbao, and the national planning administrator among others wanted to make sure that Bilbao was seen as a point of reference in cultural circuits and industries on the international scale (OECD). The structure of the Guggenheim is often seen as the key to reurbanization. The Guggenheim has brought many tourists to Bilbao to see the museum and the famous art within. This increase in tourism due to the Guggenheim is labeled by many as the Bilbao Effect. The Bilbao Effect refers to the great revitalization that the implementation of the Guggenheim jump-started, and the craze of creating a "signature building" in a city that was seen thereafter (Bailey). Many people hope to repeat the

Bilbao Effect in their own city, to bring international attention and economic improvement to their own country. The Director of the Guggenheim Foundation, Thomas Krens, admits that he receives inquiries from places like Liverpool to Aalborg who hope to become the “Bilbao of the North” and change their city for the better (González).

There has been a lot of criticism that the creation of the Guggenheim is not quite Basque enough. For example, there is only one piece of Basque art in the entire Guggenheim museum. It is called “The Embrace”, and it is in a place that isn’t exactly a spotlight on Basque culture (Woodworth). However, the lack of local Basque culture was intentional. The creation and implementation of the Guggenheim in Bilbao was meant to get the Basque people to look “forwards” to a more integrated and global world, one that does not idolize Basque identity. It was a feature meant to open the Basque people to the world. It was meant to change headlines about the Basque Country from terrorism to modern art (Pryterch). Despite the hope to open up, there are some very Basque features in the museum. Basque officials ensured that the Basque language would be seen everywhere in the museum. It is the first language on every caption of artwork, and it is the first language of the museum, rather than Spanish (Woodworth).

According to *Basque Country: A Cultural History*, “The Basque Country has embraced trophy architecture famously in recent years. Not only Gehry’s Guggenheim, but Calatrava’s airport and Norman Foster’s metro have totally rebranded Bilbao. A grimy and decaying industrial city has become a must-see destination for connoisseurs of cutting-edge high culture” (Woodworth). Although the metro station, Bilbao’s

redevelopment encapsulated modern and unique buildings that look like artwork, making it a place of innovation and stunning architecture.

Bilbao Metropoli 30 & Bilbao Ria 2000

Bilbao Metropoli 30 and Bilbao Ria 2000 worked together to redevelop Bilbao. Bilbao Metropoli 30, otherwise known as BM 30, was established in 1991 for strategic planning and research promotion while Bilbao Ria managed specific urban revitalization projects, often on disused public lands within the city of Bilbao. (OECD) Bilbao Metropoli 30 and Bilbao Ria 2000 worked on different issues. Bilbao Metropoli 30 planned the redevelopment and brainstormed long term strategies for the metropolitan area. Bilbao Ria 2000 developed specific development projects.

BM 30

It can be argued that Bilbao's redevelopment was so successful because Bilbao Metropoli 30 was a meeting point for all sectors. Bilbao Metropoli 30's director and staff would create a proposal on how to resolve an issue, and invite a working group of public and private organizations to read the proposal. The working group then enriches the proposal with their input to create a plan that would suit everyone's needs. Then, Bilbao Metropoli 30 removes itself from the matter and lets the working group that created the final proposal do the rest of the work for the city. In this way, Bilbao Metropoli 30 has a neutral role, which makes it strategic and long-lasting in nature. Its role was to create a long-term vision for the city and to organize meetings and workshops on the subject.

Although Bilbao Metropoli 30 has been successful, it does have constraints. BM 30 lacks power, and if there was a disagreement among members, there would be a big problem. Additionally, the budget was small. The mission of Bilbao Metropoli 30 was to encourage the recuperation and revitalization of metropolitan Bilbao. Bilbao Metropoli 30 is an “umbrella organization,” it coordinates the actions of a number of people and organizations that operate across both private and public realms. At its creation, the founding members of the organization created the strategic plan. This plan addressed 8 key issues: human resources, advanced services, mobility, accessibility, environmental regeneration, cultural centrality, public-private partnerships, and welfare (Clark).

In order to improve the quality of life for Bilbao’s inhabitants they created key concepts to integrate into the reurbanization process. The key concepts were as follows:

- Investment in Human Resources: This particularly enhanced education systems including universities and training programs.
- Service Metropolis in a Modern Industrial Region: This created a multi-industrial region in order to better compete against other European countries.
- Mobility and Accessibility: This created a system of internal mobility, highway and railroad access to reach the rest of the continent, a port, and an airport.
- Environmental Regeneration: This ensured that the region had control over its air and water quality as well as its waste policies according to EU standards; regenerated environmentally degraded zones, and included collaboration to fund environmentally friendly technology.

- Urban Regeneration: This included the creation of infrastructures to improve quality of life, system of housing blocks, and creation of city landmarks.
- Cultural Centrality: This created a “new cultural dimension” by improving education and infrastructure.
- Coordinated Movement by Public Administration and Private Sector: Development of multiple organizations in the public and private sector in order to manage growth.
- Social Action: Sought to remove structural causes of exclusion.

A combination of factors influenced the success of Bilbao’s reurbanization. It cannot be credited to one organization or specific freedom in the Basque Country. Specifically, BM 30’s organization as an entity that teams up with public and private sectors was key in city-wide cooperation throughout the reurbanization process, leading to the urban-planning success.

While living in Bilbao, I completed an internship with Bilbao Metropoli 30. The internship was a yearlong program, where I did research for the organization and completed a deliverable report of my experience in the Basque Country and Bilbaino culture. I completed several interviews for the organization, speaking to immigrants and Basque natives alike to speak about their experience in Bilbao and how the city changed after the reurbanization. Every month, I presented a powerpoint presentation to the director of Bilbao Metropoli 30, updating him on my research and my findings. Very few people actually work for the organization, and all have been present since the reurbanization and have seen the changes first hand.

Bilbao Ria 2000

The other major agency, Bilbao Ria 2000 was created in 1992. Bilbao Ria 2000 is publicly owned by SEPES (state-owned land management company), the Bilbao Port Authority, the rail company ADIF and the Basque administration (Basque government, Provincial council of Bizkaia, and Bilbao and Barakaldo City Councils).

Bilbao Ria 2000 was established in order to reverse environmental degradation in Bilbao. It was needed for 3 main reasons: 1) The need to concentrate efforts and carry out coordinated actions for the revitalization of Bilbao; 2) The difficulties of land management and ownership of derelict sites required agreement among many different agents; 3) There were high costs associated with renewal operations, and there was a need for financial self sufficiency. This organization was key in undertaking regeneration interventions, and in recovering degraded land and industrial sites (Clark). The overall aim of the plan was to improve the quality of life for the inhabitants of Bilbao (Strategic Plan for the Revitalization of the Metropolitan Bilbao).

Bilbao Ria 2000 was created to jumpstart development in parts of Bilbao called Abandoibarra and Ametzola. Government authorities owned land in these places and were not getting much use out of it. The mission of Bilbao Ria 2000 is to recover degraded land and/or industrial areas in decline within the metropolitan area of Bilbao to create balanced development and more urban cohesion. In order to do this, Bilbao Ria 2000 coordinates and executes projects related to town planning, transportation and the environment. Bilbao Ria is a non-profit entity and receives European subsidies. The main

areas of activity for Bilbao Ria are Abandoibarra, Ametzola, Bilbao La Vieja, Barakaldo, and Basurto-San Mames-Olabeaga. It is also involved in restructuring the railway system and integrating trains into the new urban framework, constructing FEVE and Renfe stations.

The success of Bilbao Ria 2000 can be attributed to its financing. Bilbao Ria 2000 initially had 1.8 million Euros, but further financing was obtained in a peculiar manner. Shareholders or public companies transfer the land they own in Bilbao to their respective municipalities, they rezone the land, and keep some for development. The rest is sold to private developers, creating large profits (Bilbao Ria 2000).

Abandoibarra

The Abandoibarra area of Bilbao, nicknamed Abando, was a center of the regeneration strategy for Bilbao (see Figure 7). This district is seen as an icon of urban redevelopment and transformation on a large scale. It has also been cited as a model for the 21st century (Woodworth). Bilbao Ria created numerous infrastructure projects, and Abandoibarra was probably the site of most transformation. In Abandoibarra Bilbao Ria created Alameda Mazarredo, extension work on Parque Dona Casilda, Abandoibarra Avenue and Leizalo Street, Universities Avenue, Deusto Library, Zubiarte shopping center, residential buildings, the stairway at Deusto Bridge, Sol Melia Hotel, The UPV University auditorium, Campa de los Ingleses Park, Riverbank Park, The Pedro Arrupe, Pedestrian Bridge, Euskadi Square, Quay repair work, and Iberdrola tower (Three Key Organizations). Architects César Pelli and Eugenio Aguinaga teamed up with Diana

Balmori and created a master plan for physical regeneration in the Abandoibarra district (Abandoibarra).

The most important change to Abandoibarra was an enlargement of the port, making the entire development of Abando possible. Bilbao Metropoli 30 created the enlargement so that there would be more space for activities along the water and so that people would be able to enjoy the beauty of the waterfront. Additionally, they moved port facilities from their old inner city riverside locations. This enlargement of the port, in addition to transferring industry away from the River Nervión, freed up room for the implementation of many projects created by Bilbao Ria 2000 such as the Guggenheim Museum, Deusto Library, Auditorium of the Basque Public University (UPV-EHU) and the Iberdrola Tower (Abandoibarra).

Ribera Park in Abando has a collection of sculptures called the ‘Memory Lane Sculpture Collection,’ a collection of artwork that serves as a reminder of Bilbao’s industrial past. One of the pieces that is a part of the Memory Lane Sculpture Collection is opposite Bilbao City Hall, and was created by Jorge Oteiza, a Basque artist. The piece called “Variante ovoide de la desocupación de la esfera” is made of corten steel to resemble ships. It is six meters in diameter and almost eight meters in height. In the sculpture, the artist tries to portray the tension between the static and the dynamic (Arte Al Aire Libre)(see Figure 8).

The sculpture “Sitios y Lugares” by Ángel Garraza (see Figure 9) is located between the Euskalduna Palace Conference Centre and Deusto Bridge. The sculpture is made of two pieces of concrete that are covered with ceramic tiles. These pieces of concrete are meant

to be kaikus, which are wooden jugs that were historically used on Basque farms for boiling milk and making cheese. His representation of these jobs is solid and covered in repetitive circles. He has transformed these kaikus into gigantic shapes and made them solid, and has coated them with repetitive circles (Arte Al Aire Libre).

José Zugasti, a Basque artist, has his sculpture, “A la Deriva” located by the Euskalduna Palace and takes on the title of one of Walt Whitman’s poems (see Figure 10). It is meant to represent the industrial past that occurred in the space the sculpture currently occupies. It is made of compact steel rings that are 42 millimeters thick, and gives the viewer the sensation of falling. The sculpture is a metaphor to express wear (Arte Al Aire Libre).

“Dodecathlos”, by Vincente Larrea, another Basque artist, is made of 72 tons of steel (see Figure 11). Larrea hoped this piece would represent the immense effort of industrial workers of Bilbao’s past, and this piece is meant to praise them. This sculpture of a human torso can be found at the entrance of the Euskalduna Conference Center (Arte Al Aire Libre).

Besides creating a more interesting and beautiful city, this artwork is a reminder of Bilbao’s industrial past. This is a way for Bilbao to incorporate its identity in the redevelopment process and to incorporate art of Basque people into its city structure.

Kafe Antzokia

There are redevelopment actions taking place outside Bilbao Metropoli 30’s structure and Kafe Antzokia is one example. Kafe Antzokia is a sanctuary of Basque-ness in the middle of Bilbao, integrated with fun. It is a space that plays Basque music, celebrates the

Basque language with its name, and is a tribute to Basque culture overall. Many people frequent the bar because of its deep cultural connections, quirkiness. Here, Basque musicians would play revivals of traditional Basque music, people in the audience would dance along with traditional Basque dance, and would drink Kalimotxos, a Basque drink consisting of wine and Coca-Cola.

Zenbat Gara, a non-governmental, grass roots community language association that supports Basque language revival in the Bilbaino community, created Kafe Antzokia in 1995. A group of Basque language advocates, known as Euskaltzaleak, who are associated with one of the largest adult Basque language schools of Bilbao created Zenbat Gara. Adult language schools (euskaltegiak) have been vital in teaching the Basque language and the Basque revival movement, but also in challenging the marginalization of Basque in public life. Zenbat Gara was created to promote the Basque language in a new type of space with a new type of strategy, without the constraints of schools and public policy. The goal of the group is to use the Basque language everywhere, and to teach tolerance of other cultures. Basically, they want to make traditional Basque culture, and the Basque language fun. The group raised money in order to buy an old theater, and they completely revamped it. There are spaces to watch concerts and theatrical performances, come for meals, and get drinks at the bar. Additionally it has offices, language classes, activities for young people, a radio station, a publishing house and may make a travel agency. All of them are completely hidden during the night (Urla).

In the actual bar, there is nothing about it that is overtly Basque, no Basque flags, extremist sayings, or traditional Basque items. However, all of the staff speak Basque, in addition to Spanish. Kafe Antzokia gives a stage for artists that speak Basque, although they do also host groups from all over the world. Kafe Antzokia rejects the idea of “Euskaraz eta Kितto!”, a phrase used frequently in the Basque revival movement. The strategy of this phrase is protectionism, to shelter the Basque language and remove all outside influences in order to keep it moving and keeping Basque in a safe space away from everything else. With Kafe Antzokia, Zenbat Gara hoped to create the normalization of the Basque language without drawing boundaries. Zenbat Gara hoped to attract people towards the Basque culture rather than forcing it upon them in schools. They got this idea from an influential book called “Un Futuro para Nuestro Pasado,” where language revitalization is taken out of an alienated space and put into a better purpose with less polarization. The major goal of Kafe Antzokia is to connect people through Basque culture. Zenbat Gara wanted to create a place that was full of life and love, with cultural development, performances and humor. They hoped to create a space for people who speak Basque, who kind of speak Basque, and who want to be closer to Basque culture, while also being global citizens and celebrating the Basque Country’s place in the international perspective. They hope to reanimate a language movement that was stopped by political conflict (Urla).

Bilbao’s redevelopment was a success, not only because it improved living conditions but because it revived Basque culture and identity. In Bilbao’s airport, the use of the Basque language first on all signs created pride in the Basque Country and its native language.

Similarly, the use of the Basque language as the primary language of the Guggenheim was a huge step for reasserting Basque culture and history back into Bilbao. In Abandoibarra to support cultural reassertion, Basque artists were commissioned to create pieces that represented Bilbaino history and identity to remind its citizens of where the city used to be and how far it has come. Kafe Antzokia, a tool used to make Basque language and culture mainstream while also incorporating global values is a look into the future of Bilbao. It shows a new way for Basque identity, one that appreciates global cultures while embracing the Basque culture which was lost with Francisco Franco. This redevelopment was a reassertion of pride after a demoralizing blow to Basque-ness. Nearly every detail of its redevelopment attempts to make Basque culture mainstream once again, and to remove the Spanish influences on the city.

Redevelopment and Challenges to the Basque Identity

Bilbao's redevelopment was a way to reassert Basque identity into Bilbao after a period of cultural oppression, however Bilbainos faced many challenges in regards to immigration and global integration while trying to strengthen their individual identity. To assess Bilbao's redevelopment, I will first discuss its relation to Basque cultural identity concerns. Basque separateness and a history of isolation have shaped a culture that polarizes the Basque Country's relation with Spain. Francisco Franco's oppression of the Basque people during his rule has only polarized this Spanish and Basque relationship more, creating more tension and bringing more people to call for independence. Many people in the Basque Country make it clear that they do not feel that they are Spanish, they are Basque. There are many ways in which the Basque vs Spanish polarization shows up in Bilbao's society.

In the Basque Country, you will not see Spanish flags anywhere. It is almost as if you have entered a completely different country. Most things are written in Basque in the city, and the streets are called “kaleas,” not calles. People greet you in Spanish, but as you leave, you usually get an “Agor”. Many Basque people love talking about how they are Basque, and if you refer to them as Spanish they will most likely correct you. They’re not Spanish, they’re Basque. Once, I asked someone if they were “half Basque” because their mother was Basque and their father was not. They immediately got offended. They were completely Basque, they were born in the Basque Country, they identified as Basque. There is no such thing as half Basque.

In the Basque Country everything has a Basque name and a Spanish name. The name that you use is a political choice. Basque Country: A Cultural History examined the situation perfectly, ‘The very names of the provinces, indeed the names of almost every town and district, are contentious. Should we speak of the province of Guipúzcoa (Spanish), or of Gipuzkoa (Basque), and its capital San Sebastián (Spanish) or Donostia (Basque)?’ Casco Viejo, the town in which I lived was once marked on my metro stop. However, towards the end of my time in Spain, the metro said Casco Viejo/Zazpi Kaleak instead of its usual Casco Viejo. Zazpi Kaleak is the Basque name for the old part of the city, but I had never heard it before. This is one of the ways for Basque people to reclaim their space after Franco. Another metro stop has two names, Sopela and Sopelana. Sopelana is the Spanish name for the stop, Sopela is the Basque name. On the metro, the name Sopela

always had a piece of tape at the end of the word. I learned that this was to cover up the extra “ana” that makes it Spanish.

The polarization is so evident in everyday life that my professor had two different email addresses. He did not have two separate emails for two separate professions, or one for personal reasons and one for work. The two separate emails were so that there could be one that ended in .eus, for Euskadi or the Basque Country, and one that ended in .es for Spain. He pointed this out in a disgruntled manner when I asked him why he had two different email addresses.

Even substituting the very Spanish “c” for a “k” in writing is a political choice in the Basque Country. *Basque Country: A Cultural History* explains: “It is often sufficient to substitute a “k” for a “c” in a Spanish name or noun to make it defiantly basque. So the Spanish Conchita becomes Kontxita. With the radicalization of Basque nationalism, substitute “k”s have passed into international Spanish as an indication that your radicalismo is truly “radikal” (Woodworth).

One of the major indicators of a radical nationalist, or the Basque VS Spanish, polarization is the existence of the PNV, or the Basque Nationalist Party. Sabino Arana is the founder of the PNV, and he came from a Carlist family in Bilbao. He had a loathing for immigrants and was a zealous Catholic. He believed that the Basque “race” was superior to the Spanish. He founded the party in 1894 and left behind an ideology, a flag, an anthem, and a name for the Basque Country: Euskadi. He stated that the goal for this

party was total independence from Spain, but also accepted that “maximum autonomy” under the Spanish state would be preferable. Currently the PNV appeals to two different types of Basques, those who want more autonomy in the country, and those who want to sever links with Madrid (Woodworth). The PNV still exists today, and many in Spain still find the existence of immigrants in the Basque Country demoralizing. There is much backlash against the Spanish, and anything that isn’t labeled as truly Basque (Woodworth).

Basque reurbanization was a way to recreate Basque identity in a post-Franco era. It was a way for the people of the Basque Country to reassert their culture, and to create something beautiful and separate from the rest of Spain. With this rebuilding of the city, more immigrants came to the Basque Country. With more immigrants, comes more backlash. The Basque Country is overall not a very diverse place and people appear mostly uniform. It is easy to spot those who are not Basque. Due to all these reasons, there is much backlash against immigration in the Basque Country, even though Bilbao Metropoli 30’s new plan is to increase Bilbao’s stage in the global context. Immigration has occurred throughout Bilbao’s history, and it is continuing to grow in our increasingly globalized world.

According to Basque nationalists and traditionalists, when Bilbao grew it diluted indigenous culture of the region, and maybe even poisoned it (Woodworth). Immigration has changed vastly since the 90’s, before the revitalization. From 2004-2009, the number of people born outside of Spain and living in the Basque Country has increased from

50,000 people to 115,000 people. In 2009, a total of 601,541 residents in the Basque Country were not born in one of the Basque provinces. This accounts for 28.2% of the population. With respect to 1996, there was a drop in 73,365 people born in other Autonomous Communities and an increase to 95,767 people who were born outside of Spain. The largest group of people are from South America, making up 42% of the total (The Number of Residents Born Abroad Increased to 115,000). This change from largely skilled to unskilled labor and rich countries to impoverished countries along with the large increase in immigration rates has changed immigration completely in Spain, and many people have different reactions to these changes. Many people have a stigma towards immigrants from abroad. A Bilbao native noted in an interview,

Sometimes the economy could be bettered with immigrants if they are scientists, scholars and doctors, professions like this. But immigrants now are not of high standards educationally, usually. Most of the people coming here do not have a high level of education. Hard workers might help to build the society but against what the politicians say... they bring crime. There is a good level of wellbeing here, which brings a call to immigrants. They are well protected. If I stay without working, I get benefits: this is the mindset of immigrants. We pay out taxes for those people. They get a salary higher than the minimum salary without working. I think it's great to welcome people, but they should adapt to the society as far as working. Much like in other parts of Europe, there is a notion among some that immigrants bring crime to the country they are immigrating to, and that they use up resources and tax money.

For other residents of Bilbao, immigrants are not as much of a problem or a nuisance, as long as they don't hurt others. In an interviewee's opinion, "If you work or study you can continue your lifestyle and your habits and routines, and as long as you don't break the law or do anything to hurt anyone, that's not a problem for me." Due to the relatively uniform population of Bilbao, it is very evident when someone is an immigrant, or even a tourist. An American living in Bilbao for a number of years commented, "I think you

notice it [immigration] a lot here because it is so homogeneous. So for them when they see someone who doesn't look like them, there is automatically a stigma towards them.”

When a Bolivian interviewee was asked if he got treated differently in Bilbao because of his Bolivian origins, he responded, “Yeah, sometimes...I guess some people can be mean if you are a foreigner...older people...you can feel it by the way they look at you...they use derogatory words.” A student in Bilbao from Malaysia and of Chinese descent has also described her experience as a minority in Bilbao. She says, “I do get looks...it's mostly just people sometimes catcalling but it's targeted specifically because I'm Asian. So people will say “Ni hao” or “Konichiwa”...there are a lot of kids too who ask me if I'm Chinese or from Asia.” When asked if she feels as if she's looked down upon in Bilbao's society she said no, and believes that the reactions come out of a place of curiosity. She believes that these reactions may come because there is less of a global education with a lack of diversity taught in schools.

In schools, immigrants usually are integrated in a different model of education than typical Basque students. Model D is the track that Basque students living in Bilbao usually take. It is taught mostly in Basque, with one English class and one Spanish class. In contrast, there is Model A, usually taken by immigrants. It is mostly taught in Spanish, with one Basque and one English class. The American immigrant, a teacher at a Bilbaino school, outlines the difference in education between Model A and Model D students in an interview.

I think they're funded the same, but who wants to work with Model A and who wants to work with Model D are very different. In the class I had, there was a huge variety of students from all different backgrounds and different countries. Model D are the Basque kids. And I've said to people,

there are still plenty that are poorly behaved; it's not different because they're Basque kids. So the idea is if it's Model A they're a bad group to have. They're harder to manage.

The tracks that immigrants take are thought of as the "bad classes" and the tracks that natives take are thought of as the "good classes." There are obvious flaws in the education system, favoring those who speak the Basque language.

However, sometimes even if you speak the Basque, you can be discriminated against.

According to *Basque Country: A Cultural History*, "The fracture which distorts Basque civil society today is not ethnic-it is primarily an ideological fault line" (Woodworth,). If you speak the dialect Batua that is taught in schools, you could be seen as "less Basque."

The American immigrant who teaches English outlines, "If they speak to someone in Batua...and it's someone from a pueblo in Gipuzkoa, they're going to be like "What are you saying?" Almost like, "You're not Basque." This differentiation occurs because it shows that the student didn't learn Basque at home, which in turn makes them "less Basque." It shows that they are different from the Basque people, and different isn't always good in Bilbao. In fact, for many immigrants as well as migrants, it is difficult to make friends in Bilbao once you are of a certain age. This is because of the Basque friend group or Kuadrilla. Kuadrillas are groups of friends that Basque children make when they are young, and keep until they are old. These are friends for life, and there isn't much room for anyone else once these Kuadrillas develop. The American interviewee further describes her experience with Kuadrillas,

You even see it with their groups of friends, they call it their Kuadrillas. They're tight circles of friends from the time that they're little kids to the

time they're adults. So you just look at that as kind of a connection and it's like they're very much closed off in many senses.

For foreigners, it is a long, grueling process to find belonging and kinship in Bilbao with Basque people. A Bolivian interviewee says "Most of the people I know are Basque. But I think if you're foreign, it's more difficult to make friends." In fact, a Bilbaino interviewee acknowledged that "outside these groups [Kuadrillas], it's very cold."

However, there are many groups of people who don't fit inside the Kuadrilla bubble.

These people, though sometimes Basque, are considered "outside the norm" of the social life in Bilbao. They are usually the people who become friends with immigrants, learn new languages, and are interested in global cultures and adapting their processes. In all, most young people with a global mindset are open to immigrants, as long as they don't hurt others. Some believe they should adapt at least a bit to the culture in Bilbao.

However, one of the many reasons for some Basque people's distaste for immigrants may be for the preservation of their culture and language. The Basque way of life has survived through centuries, conforming and changing as time has moved on to make sure it survives. The Basque culture and language is what make Bilbainos distinct. In fact, in large part, the Basque identity is shaped around being unique. In the Basque mentality, Basque people are different from Spaniards, they are different from Europeans, they are Basque. They are a culture surviving for centuries, a culture more historic than Spain itself. They fear that immigration may change this identity, and may change this culture. Their concerns may be valid. However, if a culture has survived for so many centuries, who's to say that a wave of immigration will change it for the worse?

DISCUSSION: WHY WAS BILBAO'S REDEVELOPMENT SO SUCCESSFUL?

Monica Degen's work, "The Transformation of the 'Barcelona Model': An Analysis of Culture, Urban Regeneration and Governance" is an interesting comparison to Bilbao's regeneration. Both the Basques and Catalans have their own languages, and are highly nationalistic, and both languages were suppressed under Francisco Franco's rule. Like Basque, in Barcelona it is necessary to speak Catalan in order to access a public servant position, and schools are taught mainly in Catalan. Both regions are also significantly richer than the rest of Spain and had a huge flow of people from the South come into their communities during the time of industrialization. One major difference between Catalonia and the Basque Country is that the Basque Country levies its own taxes and contributes to the Spanish government with a quota, while Catalonia contributes taxes straight to Madrid. In this way, the Basque Country was able to levy its own taxes to fund the redevelopment. Barcelona on the other hand got much of its funds from hosting the Olympic Games. Both Catalonia and the Basque Country integrated cultural material and activities into their reurbanization. Additionally, Barcelona's urban renewal had the integration of public-private partnerships involved in decision making related to its redevelopment, much like Bilbao's Bilbao Metropoli 30. However, it is important to note that Barcelona's redevelopment occurred from 1976-2008, a span of over 30 years. Bilbao's redevelopment occurred much later and was overall a much shorter process, spanning from the early 1990s to the mid 2000s, and may be seen by some as a much more drastic redevelopment overall. However, both Bilbao and Barcelona emphasized

integrating their own culture throughout their reurbanization to make sure that the renewal of the region was uniquely theirs (Degen).

In Barcelona, cultural industries such as museums or events are regarded as a important part of the economic development of Barcelona post-industrially. The Basque Country placed similar importance on cultural aspects of the redevelopment with Basque museums, artwork, and other cultural centers spread throughout the city after the redevelopment. Also like in the Basque country, these cultural strategies have been used to attract internal and international investors in the region. Barcelona on the other hand, is perhaps more successful in this realm.

Additionally, Barcelona's redevelopment has been part of a greater discussion of social inequality within the city. While this may be the focus of Barcelona's redevelopment, Bilbao has stayed away from the concept of social inequality and has instead placed importance on becoming a part of the international system. Becoming a part of the international system and attracting investors to the Basque Country is part of the second phase of redevelopment in Bilbao that is currently occurring. This second phase of redevelopment hopes to make Bilbao more prominent on the global stage, it is called Metropolitan Bilbao 2035: Looking to the Future (Degen).

Barcelona's redevelopment began after Franco's death in 1975, and democratic planning and civic design was the first step of the redevelopment. In 1979 Catalonia's local government was put back in place. It drew on strong civic ideals and involved local

communities and neighborhood associations in the design of its urban policy. This involvement of the neighborhood associations was crucial in the 'Barcelona Model,' one that involved its community to create a redevelopment that truly enveloped the culture of the region. This regeneration program also coincided with larger Spanish programs which provided the implementation of national welfare policies that favored education, training, and health. The redevelopment of Barcelona, or the 'Reconstruction of Barcelona,' as it was labeled officially, was the opportunity to build a reinvented local culture and identity that was shown in local spaces (Degen).

Barcelona developed public spaces in order to promote social cohesion and to fulfill civic groups' wishes that spaces should be created for civic and political participation. There was much social segregation in Barcelona, especially since the middle classes of Barcelona moved into a new district called Cerda's bourgeois ensanche. Working class people were left in what is called the Old City and other peripheral neighborhoods. During the 1980s, the economically segregated areas were linked through public spaces. They brought people together through parks and plazas, and people from all over the city had some common ground which created more social cohesion. A new urban identity was formed with greater social diversity and an identity placed around being a citizen of Barcelona. While incorporating leaders of active neighborhood associations, Barcelona's redevelopment addressed many deficits that the city had. On the working class side, there were many deficits in education and health services. The city as a whole was lacking cultural and public spaces (Degen).

The large-scale urban redevelopment of Barcelona was based on the *Plan General Metropolitano* in 1976. This was urban planning that brought together governing bodies of various tiers in Barcelona. The plan specifies a legal framework. There were also mini plans, ones that were implemented at a neighborhood level that were called PERIS. These projects hoped to correct the imbalance of neighborhoods and to create more cohesive spaces for Barcelona's citizens. At this time, people associated themselves strongly with neighborhood identities (Degen).

The second period of Barcelona's redevelopment began in 1986 when the city was nominated to hold the 1992 Olympic Games. A physical renewal was already in the works, and the Olympic Games provided resources to finance large scale public works projects in Barcelona. Barcelona then created sports facilities, renovated the seafront, improved transport infrastructure, improved communication infrastructure, and distributed new civic facilities. Through all of this, Catalanian planners continued to follow the objective of the First Strategic plan and create social cohesion. One major difference is that the private sector such as commerce, real estate developers, banks and hotel owners were being encouraged to invest in the regeneration of the waterfront portions of the city. Urban design during this second period was intensified to express local culture in architecture. There was selective conservation of historic buildings, development of flagship architecture, opening the city to the sea, and redevelopment of the old port. The Olympic Games were successful and promoted Barcelona as a city of production, consumption and high quality of life that highlighted key cultural features of the region (Degen).

After the Olympic period of redevelopment ended, the period of “Cultural strategy, public-private partnerships, and economic growth” began. This was the time period of 1995-2008. At this time politicians began to engage with private actors, who would drive urban redevelopment by financially promoting it. This led to the creation of private municipal companies. Rather than looking at Barcelona holistically and developing social change, the growth model gave construction, tourist, and service sectors the forefront. The service sector began dominating, and Barcelona labeled itself as a ‘knowledge economy’.

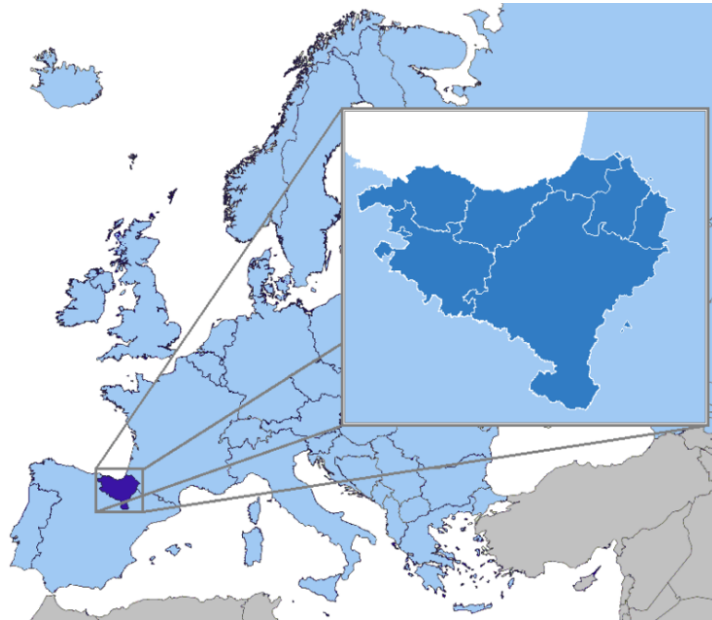
Unlike the rest of Spain, the Basque country has the right and freedom to levy taxes, and put the tax money towards whatever cause the Basque government sees fit. This is a unique part of the Basque Country’s autonomous community, a feature unlike every other. Some autonomous communities have significant freedoms, such as Catalonia, which has its own police force. However, the absence of the freedom to levy their own taxes has been criticized by the people of Catalonia, and is a major reason why they look to secession (Degen).

Because the Basque Country has the right to tax its own people and only pay a quota to Madrid, the Basque Country had the ability to focus taxes on the specific cause of Bilbao’s reurbanization. This freedom of allocation of funds and overall fiscal autonomy was a key factor in Bilbao’s successful reurbanization because the Basque Country was able to invest in the projects that are most of interest to the region. For example, Bilbao’s

strategic plan did not begin or end with the implementation of the Guggenheim Museum. However, taxpayers needed to pay for the Guggenheim to come into their community. Although there was much skepticism from voters and politicians, the regional government took on the brunt of the cost, and levied the taxes needed to add this iconic piece of architecture to Bilbao. These high taxes that the regional government had the chance to levy made Abandoibarra and the rest of Bilbao into the city it is today (Degen).

Both Barcelona and Bilbao underwent a process of Community Economic Development, a process that places social development over economic advantage. This Community Economic Development is a popular model for urban redevelopment around the world. The main goal is to attain social objectives, and to raise the standard of living in the communities. There is a dual focus in Community Economic Development on economy and community. It encourages community empowerment and encourages employment, equality, and a sense of identity (Chan). Community based organizations help in solving these local problems together with the government and development organizations. This model may be why Bilbao and Barcelona were so successful in their redevelopment, besides their funds and economic advantages.

Figure 1: The Basque Region. This map shows Europe with the Basque Country in Spain highlighted.



Wikimedia Commons “Euskal Herria Europa” Accessed April 12, 2018 from https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Euskal_Herria_Europa.png&oldid=202072874

Figure 2: Bizkaia and the Basque Country. Light shaded part is the Basque Country, dark shaded is Bizkaia region.



Wikimedia Commons “Bizkaia Euskal Herrian” Accessed April 12, 2018 from https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Bizkaia_Euskal_Herrian-2.jpg&oldid=190231870

Figure 3: Casco Viejo. This is a map of part of Bilbao, with the area of Casco Viejo highlighted.



Bilbao Turismo “Casco Viejo” Accessed April 13, 2018 from <http://www.bilbaoturismo.net/BilbaoTurismo/en/casco-viejo-area/casco-viejo-old-town>

Figure 4: Abando Walking Area. This photo is of the Abando walking area.



Photo by Paige Miller

Figure 5: Bilbao Airport. This is a photo of Bilbao Airport's interior, demonstrating the different languages on signs.



Accessed April 12, 2018 from <http://is-group.es/es/proyectos/punto-informacion-turistica-del-aeropuerto-bilbao>

Figure 6: Bilbao's Guggenheim. Photo of Bilbao's Guggenheim.



"File:Museo Guggenheim Bilbao (Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao) (6937383633).jpg." *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository*. 27 Jan 2018, 04:46 UTC. 13 Apr 2018, 02:30
<[https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Museo_Guggenheim_Bilbao_\(Guggenheim_Museum_in_Bilbao\)_&oldid=283093304](https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Museo_Guggenheim_Bilbao_(Guggenheim_Museum_in_Bilbao)_&oldid=283093304)>.

Figure 7: Abandoibarra. This is a photo of the Abandoibarra region from above.



"File:Bilbao 05 2012 Guggenheim Panorama 2014.jpg." *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository.* 23 Sep 2017, 19:02 UTC. 13 Apr 2018, 02:34
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Bilbao_05_2012_Guggenheim_Panorama_2014.jpg&oldid=259559967>.

Figure 8: Variante ovoide de la desocupación de la esfera. This is a photo of Variante ovoide de la desocupación de la esfera.



"File:Bilbao - Variante ovoide de la desocupación de la esfera.JPG." *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository.* 23 Nov 2016, 13:53 UTC. 13 Apr 2018, 02:36
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Bilbao_-_Variante_ovoide_de_la_desocupaci%C3%B3n_de_la_esfera.JPG&oldid=218180702>.

Figure 9: Sitios y Lugares. This is a photo of Sitios y Lugares by Ángel Garraza.



"File:Bilbao - Parque de Ribera Abandoibarra (29209787746).jpg." *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository*. 25 Jan 2018, 20:11 UTC. 13 Apr 2018, 02:40
<[https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Bilbao_-_Parque_de_Ribera_Abandoibarra_\(29209787746\).jpg&oldid=282776979](https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Bilbao_-_Parque_de_Ribera_Abandoibarra_(29209787746).jpg&oldid=282776979)>.

Figure 10: A La Deriva. This is a photo of Jose Zugasti's 'A La Deriva'.



"File:Bilbao - Palacio Euskalduna Jauregia (28622890213).jpg." *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository*. 25 Jan 2018, 19:33 UTC. 13 Apr 2018, 02:42
<[https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Bilbao_-_Palacio_Euskalduna_Jauregia_\(28622890213\).jpg&oldid=282771329](https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Bilbao_-_Palacio_Euskalduna_Jauregia_(28622890213).jpg&oldid=282771329)>.

Figure 11: Dodecathlos. This is a photo of Dodecathlos by Vincente Larrea.



Commons, the free media repository. 24 Aug 2012, 08:11 UTC. 13 Apr 2018, 02:45
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Larrea;_Vicente._Dodecathlos._2001._Palacio_Euskalduna._Bilbao05.-I%C3%B1aki_Otsoa._CC._By.__ShA._-.jpg&oldid=76506748>.

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