

GENERATIONAL EXPRESSIONS OF BASQUE NATIONALISM

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ABSTRACT

This work studies the difference in the expressions of Basque nationalism between the Basque youth and the older generations of the Basque population in the Basque Country of Spain, or Euskadi. I hypothesized that the Basque youth would express nationalism banally, or in everyday activities, while the older generations would be intentional and active in their expressions, due to the older generations' experiences with the Franco regime and ETA, the Basque terrorist group. I researched using articles from a Basque newspaper, Euskal Irrati Telebista. I chose key words and searched through articles written in 2017. I also conducted a survey to ask questions pertaining to the respondents' Basque identities, to measure nationalism as an aspect of one's identity. I coded the articles and the survey responses. In conclusion, I found that both the groups were active, rather than banal, in Basque nationalist expressions, though the methods and topics of their nationalist expressions varied. Media was much more important to the youth, appealing to the influence of technology and digital capitalism. I also found that ETA and Franco did not impact the older generations' expressions of nationalism nor their promotion of nationalism to the Basque youth. Independence was addressed more often among the older generations than the youth. Both groups found culture, language, violence, activism, and politics to be important in Euskadi.

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RESEARCH QUESTION

How do the Basque youth express their Basque nationalism as opposed to older generations in the modern-day?

This study will compare the nationalism amongst the common Basque youth to the nationalism expressed by the older generations in today's time. Many of the older generations lived during the Franco regime and all lived during ETA's attacks. Therefore, I am specifically interested in how those experiences potentially shaped their Basque identities, or lack thereof, when compared to the younger generation who did not experience much, or any, of Franco and ETA. I expect the youth's lack of experience with repression and terrorism has allowed the youth the freedom to be banal in nationalist expressions. I hypothesize that the Basque youth will express their nationalism banally, or in everyday, mundane activities (Billig 1995, p. 6), while the older generations will actively express their nationalism.

INTRODUCTION

As globalization has increased, nationalist feelings have resurged, due to fear of homogenization of culture (Dutceac 2004, p. 24). Regionalism works in opposition to globalization by appealing to national ties and identities (Kacowicz 1999, p. 4). The European Union has attempted to integrate European citizens into a European nation. However, instead of unifying as European citizens, this attempted integration has caused the citizens identify with their national identities more (Polyakova & Fligstein, 2015, p. 2). The refugee crisis and the subsequent fear of terrorism has led to an increase in nationalism as nations attempt to protect their citizens and borders (Postelnicescu 2016, p. 203). Thus, nationalism should still be relevant in today's time in the Basque Country, or Euskadi.

Primordialism and constructivism are two concepts used to define nationalism. Primordialism argues that nationalism has been a given in a society since the beginning of time, unchanging and holding power in the society (Smith 2000, p. 21). It further argues that the roots are ethnic, through blood ties, rather than socially. Constructivism argues that nationalism is a modern theory that can change, depending on the social context (Good & Stroup 2015, p. 1-2). I argue that Basque nationalism is constructivist. Expressions and motivations for Basque nationalism have changed over the decades. Generations express nationalism differently. As technology has developed and its influence has increased in society, methods of communication and nationalist expression

have evolved. Therefore, Basque nationalism has changed over time and will continue to do so.

Nationalism is an aspect of one's identity. One can have both a personal identity as well as a public identity, though both are interconnected and affect one another (Owens et al. 2010, p. 480). Personal identities are formed based on one's membership in a social group. A public identity allows one's personal identity to be shared with others, creating a community of people with similar identities. Thus, if one personally identifies as Basque, his or her identification will be expressed publicly in the form of nationalist expression. In my research, I used the newspaper articles to measure public national identity and the survey responses to measure personal national identity. The newspapers illustrated the expressions of a public identity. As I was researching nationalism, I found evidence of Basque public identity expressed through festivals, protests, political platforms, etc. The surveys provided evidence of Basque national personal identities, through explanations of how the respondents identify and their motivations for attending festivals, using Euskera, etc. As nationalism is an aspect of one's identity, then personal identity with a nation will manifest itself in public identities through nationalist expressions.

Through my analysis of the EiTb newspaper articles and the survey responses, I have found that both the youth and the older generations actively express nationalism, rather than banally. However, they express nationalism in different ways. The youth are most impacted by media use, signifying the change in society with the rise of technology and use of digital capitalism to spread nationalism. The importance of media can be seen both in their own use of media and its use by the older generations to reach the youth.

Culture is an important aspect to both the youth and the older generations. Contrary to my expectation that the Franco regime and ETA's terrorism would affect the nationalist expressions of the older generations, most of the older generations stated that they are not affected by either factor today. While both groups express nationalism actively, the youth are more affected by media than the older generations.

Historical Background

The Basque Country of Spain, Euskadi, has long been an enigma. The origin of the Basque language, Euskera, is untraceable. The culture is different from the rest of Spain, which can be seen through celebration of festivals, holidays, and history unique to Euskadi. For centuries, the Basque people, as well as the other regions of Spain, were ruled under the "political system of...*fueros*...which means the right and capacity to organize from within the community" (Edles 1999, p. 322), allowing them to govern themselves autonomously within Spain. The Progressivist constitution abolished the *fueros* in 1837, but the Basque Country did not lose its political autonomy until the defeat of the Carlist Wars in 1876. By this time, Euskera use was in major decline. In the late 1890s, Sabino de Arana y Goiri created the "Basque idea" (Payne 1971, p. 35). He then created the political party of 'Centro Vasco', the first nationalist organization, to unify the Basque people and save the "cultural identity, material development, and [morality] and [religion]" of the region (Payne 1971, p. 36). Basque nationalism was thus born from Arana y Goiri's conceptualization and promotion of the Basque idea.

From Arana's passion grew a stronger fervor for a Basque identity amongst the Basque people. The nationalist party changed to a more formal political party, called Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV), or the Basque Nationalist Party. As Spain began to

exact more control over the region, the Basque people longed for the days of the *fueros* (Conversi 1997, p. 47). The growth of nationalism was hindered for a long time during the Francoist Spain, as Franco repressed the heritage and language of the Basque people. This repression made it difficult for the Basque nationalists to promote their ideals. The nationalists did not stay completely silent, though, as radical nationalism emerged through the Basque terrorist group ETA and caused further tumult in the Basque region. Franco's regime ended in 1977. Today, ETA is all but eliminated and the Basques celebrate their heritage proudly.

THEORIES ON NATIONALISM

A nation is a community that has bonded together over shared values.

Nationalism is the expression of one's national identity, expressed both publicly and privately. Furthermore, nationalism can both be actively expressed and banally lived out in everyday life. Thus, the Basque Country of Spain, or Euskadi, is a community that has bonded together over shared values and express Basque pride. Euskadi operates under a Statute of Autonomy, giving it a degree of independence. Therefore, it is not considered a state in and of itself, but it can be considered a nation separate from Spain.

The expressions and motivations for has changed many times since its conception in the late 1800s. I used Daniele Conversi's book *The Basques, the Catalans, and Spain* to look at common themes throughout history and determine if they are still relevant today. Conversi's book provided insight into the history of Basque nationalism, giving me nationalist themes to look for in today's time.. The book begins with Sabino Arana y Goiri's creation of Basque nationalism and ends in the late nineteenth century.

To understand nationalism, I studied two different concepts: primordialism and constructivism. Primordialism argues that nationalism is a given and has been constant in society since before history (Smith 2000, p. 21). However, contrary to primordialism, constructivism argues that nationalism is a modern phenomenon and can change depending on the social context (Goode and Stroup 2015, p. 1-2). The emergence of a national consciousness, and, thus, nationalism, can be attributed to the rise of print capitalism, which spread vernaculars across communities and unified them (Anderson

1991, p. 37). I used both theories of nationalism to analyze the generational differences of Basque nationalism, or lack thereof.

Nationalism is not always expressed actively but can also be expressed banally, or everyday, mundane ways. Nationalism can be expressed banally through use of small symbols, such as flags and microscopic vocabulary. These symbols remind citizens of nationhood without explicitly declaring nationalism (Billig 1995).

To further analyze Basque nationalism, I chose to focus on the nationalist expressions of the Basque youth as opposed to the older generations. If there are generational differences between the youth and the older generations, then these differences will work against the primordialist theory of nationalism. As I hypothesized that the Basque youth would express their nationalism banally, I found one article discussing banal nationalism of Japanese youth titled “Between banality and effervescence?: a study of Japanese youth nationalism” by Kazaya Fukuoka. Fukuoka’s article explores Japanese youth expressions of nationalism, whether banal or effervescent.

I also hypothesized that the increasing influence of media would affect the nationalism of Basque youth. I used Roy Hiujmans and Trần Thị Hà Lan’s article titled “Enacting nationalism through youthful mobilities? Youth, mobile phones and digital capitalism in a Lao-Vietnamese borderland.” This article uses Anderson’s conceptualization of print capitalism to provide framework for the concept of digital capitalism through mobile phones. This article provided insight into the use of media for advancement of nationalism. Both youth articles highlight the differences in youth nationalism versus the nationalism of the older generations.

Basque Nationalism

Sabino Arana y Goiri, a son to Basque parents, created Basque nationalism in the 1880s-90s. Prior to the creation of Basque nationalism, during his college years, Arana felt led to return to his heritage, unify the Basque people, and separate them from the rest of Spain. After moving to Euskadi to promote Basque nationalism, he founded the first nationalist organization called the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV), meaning Basque Nationalist Party. He also wrote the national anthem and developed a Basque flag (Conversi 1997, p. 54).

The Basque people have a language unique to their region called Euskera. Though language is often used to unify people (Anderson 1991, p. 13), the use of Euskera was slowly decreasing. Political officials began to see Euskera “as a national symbol, but they overlooked it as modern means for communication” (Conversi 1997, p. 175). Therefore, Arana made it his mission to study Euskera and cleanse its vocabulary of Spanish-rooted words (Conversi 1997, p. 64). At the beginning of his campaign to promote Basque nationalism, Arana used Euskera to separate the Basques from outsiders. He believed “that the best hope for the preservation of that nationality lay in isolation from the foreign influences of immigrants and the Spanish state” and that one way to do so was through Euskera (Shabad & Gunther 1982, p. 447). However, since not many Basque people spoke Euskera at the time, Basque nationalism began to emerge from non-Euskera speakers in the region.

In 1918, Basque leaders created Eusko Ikaskuntza, a Basque Studies Society to monitor the growth of Basque culture. This “Society created a Language Academy” to “[develop] a rational plan for the ‘restoration’ of Basque” (Urla 1988, p. 383). The Academy used language planning to ensure the language was seen in daily contexts.

Basque nationalist groups also used language planning to ensure the language was seen daily. This method included murals, posters, and graffiti (Conversi 1997, p. 156), through which the nationalist group placed Basque symbols and words in obvious locations to promote Euskera in public spaces. The goal was for Basque people to be reminded of the language and the symbols as they lived out their daily lives, encouraging them to use the language and symbols in social, everyday settings (Conversi 1997, p. 90). Furthermore, Euskera activists believed “that the mother tongue plays a determining role in shaping the individual’s personality” (Urla 1988, p. 385), causing them to emphasize Euskera education for Basque youth.

Catholicism was very prominent in all of Spain and, in Euskadi, worked closely with Basque nationalism. Before the Spanish civil war, the Catholic Church and the Basques had an amicable relationship. Arana believed that in order to be liberated, the Basque people needed to follow Catholicism. “Arana presented the struggle for Basque independence as a struggle for the religious salvation of the Basque race through complete isolation from other peoples, especially Spaniards” (Edles 1999, p. 324). He felt “autonomy...[could] help to protect the Catholic Basques from chill winds already blowing from Madrid” in the new Second Republic in 1931 (Blinkhorn 1974, p. 600). His strong support of the Church led the Church to also support Euskadi. It fostered Basque culture, published newspapers in Euskera, and opened Basque schools, even during Franco’s dictatorship (Ben-Ami 1991, p. 497-503). The Church, in turn, used Basque nationalism as a way promote Catholicism in the region. However, when Francisco Franco came into power in 1939, the Church in parts of Spain outside of Euskadi sided

with him. This led to the breaking the trust of the Basque people and the separation of religion and Basque nationalism (Conversi 1997, p. 94).

After the abolition of the *fueros* in the late 19th-century, Euskadi quickly industrialized. This economic influx caused people from other countries and from other regions within Spain to migrate to Euskadi. The modernization and industrialization caused “the sudden destruction of ancient lifestyles,” as immigrants flooded into Euskadi and hindered the Basque identity (Conversi 1997, p. 47-48). Basque people unified over this influx of immigrants by trying to keep the immigrants out of their nationalism. Arana specifically was against the entrance of immigrants and developed methods to exclude them from the Basque nation.

In response to the immigrants that were pouring into the region due to industrialization, especially the Spanish immigrants, Arana attached to race to promote Basque nationalism and create a barrier to separate the Basque people from the immigrants (Conversi 1997, p. 60). Arana disliked the “Spanish immigrants because they were important agents of change in the traditions and culture of the Basque country” (Medrano 1994, p. 547). Furthermore, Arana chose race because he found that it provided a “communitarian essence” that other shared values lacked in the nation (Conversi 1997, p. 199). However, after the Holocaust during WWII, appeals to race were discredited, requiring the Basque people to discover a different core value to motivate nationalism.

In the 1960s, the Basques began to identify themselves with their actions, allowing even immigrants to identify with the Basque people, so long as they worked for Basque independence. This became known as “voluntary participation” (Conversi 1997, p. 108). In 1952, another youth nationalist group Ekin, meaning “to do,” branched out of

PNV. This group was impatient with the conservatism of PNV, calling for action against the Spanish oppression (Ben-Ami 1991, p. 503). Ekin demanded that Basque culture not only be protected, but also be actively promoted “as a means of expression for a modern community” (Conversi 1997, p. 87). Thus, emphasis was placed on what the actions of Basque people rather than their race.

In 1959, Ekin founded a more radical youth nationalist group. This group grew to become a terrorist organization and called themselves Euzkadi ‘ta Askatsuna, or ETA, meaning Basque Land and Freedom. This group’s “objective was to re-establish and revitalize nationalism through violence” (Santiago 2015, p. 125). ETA also used language planning to spread Euskera. ETA killed members and supporters of the Spanish state and, in turn, were tortured, imprisoned, or exiled (Conversi 1997, p. 89).

Throughout history, Basque people have encouraged and expressed Basque nationalism in a number of ways. At different times, Arana y Goiri attempted to unify people through race, religion, and language. The Basque identity and bond morphed into being based on the actions of the people, allowing even outsiders to be included in the Basque cause. Through this change in unity, ETA was born. It took it upon itself to actively spread nationalism using violence and language planning.

Primordialism

Primordialism argues that “nations and nationalisms possess a special character and occupy a privileged place in history...existing...before history, in nature’s ‘first order of time’” (Smith 2000, p. 5). According to this theory, nationalism is a given and remains constant. These givens stem from the “assumed givens of social existence” such as “blood, race, language, custom” (Smith 2000, p. 21). It appeals to ethnicity. People give

deep meaning to these givens, attributing ancient and instinctive qualities to them.

Primordialism argues that nationalism has existed since before history and, once a person has been born in a community, he or she is joined to that community forever.

Aspects of Basque nationalism can be seen as evidence for the primordialism theory. There are signs of a prehistoric Basque community in caves. Euskera terms were used to identify Euskera speakers and the Basque region centuries before modern nationalism arose. Furthermore, the Basque region was unified under the foral system in Spain, allowing the region to have autonomy in the state (Conversi 1997, p. 45). The prehistoric evidence and the foral system show that “a sense of separate cultural -- and political -- identity had existed in the area for many centuries” (Conversi 1997, p. 44). These element of Basque history can point to primordialist nationalism.

Sabino Arana y Goiri is credited with the founding of Basque nationalism. He encouraged Euskera and favored Basque racial ties, appealing to a primordialist approach to nationalism. Euskera was considered “God-given and crucial to the definition of Basque identity” (Conversi 1997, p. 60). Thus, Euskera had been a defining factor for Basque nationalism since before history. Arana chose to identify Basque as a race because he felt this factor unified people unlike any other (Conversi 1997, p. 199).

If the primordialist theory was correct, then in my research I would see no difference in Basque nationalist expressions between the older generations and the youth, nor a difference in Basque nationalism in general.

Constructivism

Constructivism states that nationalism is a recent phenomenon, emerging during changes in the power of dynasties and religion (Goode & Stroup 2015, p. 2). According

to this theory, nationalism has not been ingrained in the world since before history, but rather began in modern history. Changes in society and different generations can cause nationalist expressions to be manifested differently and cause new nationalisms to arise.

Constructivism can be seen in *Imagined Communities* by Benedict Anderson, which argues that a nation is “an imagined political community” (Anderson 1991, p. 6), both inherently limited and sovereign. Anderson explains that the community is labeled as imagined because the members will never know the majority of the other residents in the nation. Nonetheless, they share a sense of unity. The nation’s territory is defined by boundaries, thus limited. It is not under the jurisdiction of a divinely-appointed ruler. It creates a sense of comradeship amongst its members, causing the community to be willing to kill and be killed for the nation (Anderson 1991, p. 7). Nationalism is the manifestation of the unification and promotion of a nation. By this definition, the Basque region is a national that experiences its own nationalism.

The rise of a nation can be attributed to the advancement of print capitalism, which allowed for the spread of language and ideas. Language unifies a group of people while also allowing them to connect with their ancestors and create a deeper community (Anderson 1991, p. 145). Anderson explains print-capitalism as the emergence of capitalism, which created a rise in the print market (Anderson 1991, p. 145). Capitalism and print thus converged. People were buying and selling print materials to make money, thus spreading language and ideas. Originally, print materials appeared in the languages of the nobility, rather than of the masses. As print expanded, however, it began to be published in the languages of the common people. Printing materials in the vernacular of the ordinary people gave them to a sense of community with people speaking the same

language rather than the language of the larger state. The rise of print-capitalism allowed languages to have influence and meaning (Anderson 1991, p. 67). Though some vernaculars were attacked by the official languages of the government, the promotion of vernaculars gave way to the belief that all languages should be treated as equals (Anderson 1991, p. 84). This phenomenon can be seen in Euskadi's history, through the promotion of Euskera and the use of language planning.

As nationalism flourished, it aimed to create groups of people unified in a community with no self-interest. The interest of the nation was not based on one person, but on the community as a whole. The communities were simply united through naturalities that they could not control, such as physical appearance and ancestry. Since they did not choose these qualities that bonded them, it created around them a "halo of disinterestedness," allowing the nation to ask for sacrifices (Anderson 1991, p. 143). This disinterestedness often resulted in violence. Different groups were willing to die and kill in the name of their shared values and common identities. An example of this aspect of a nation is seen through ETA's terrorist activities in Euskadi.

A nation is not an easily measured entity, as it is an imagined community. It can, therefore, unify around any shared value, such as a common language. Anderson shows the use of print capitalism to spread a language and bring people together. These values, as well as others, bond a group into this imagined community, or a nation.

Thus, Euskadi is an imagined nation, both limited and sovereign. There is evidence for a prehistoric Basque community that could be argued to be evidence of primordial nationalism (Conversi 1997, p. 44). However, the Basque people were not truly unified until Arana's work to create for them a culture and community. The Basque

shared values as well as the criteria for identifying as a Basque person changed numerous times under Arana's leadership alone and continues to do so. Foralism is not an argument for primordialist nationalism, but rather an "ideological and political justification for the *fueros*," not for the promotion of a nation (Conversi 1997, p. 46). The primordial characteristics of race and language are not the sole factors to bond the Basques, as Euskera was slowly fading until Arana actively promoted it and cleansed it and race was discredited as a unifying factor in nationalism (Conversi 1997, p. 220).

If constructivism is correct, then there will be a difference in the nationalist expressions of the past and of today. There will also be a difference in nationalist expressions between the youth and the older generations.

a. Constructivist Nationalism amongst Youth

Authors Roy Huijsmans and Trần Thị Hà Lan used Benedict Anderson's explanation of nationalism and print capitalism to analyze nationalism by youth on the Lao-Vietnamese borderland. They chose to focus on youth because they argue that youth media use "has become an important part of 'experiencing and developing a particular consciousness about being young, about youthful-ness'" (Huijsmans & Lan 2015, p. 210). Thus, media is particularly important among the youth. The authors specifically used Anderson's theory of print capitalism to discuss today's digital capitalism age, mainly through cell phone use. They explain that digital capitalism "constitutes a force through which nationalism is enacted and that leads ethnic minority youth in particular to engage more fully, yet not exclusively(!), with the nation" (Huijsmans & Lan 2015, p. 210). With digital capitalism, people in all areas of the country can stay connected to the nation. The cell phone can be used to play popular music, play games, text, and make

calls (Huijsmans & Lan 2015, p. 213). The main company to provide cellular service to both the Lao and Vietnamese clients is a Vietnamese server called *Viettel*. Their analysis of the company's propaganda and marketing shows the evidence of the spreading of Vietnamese nationalism on the Lao side of the border. The Lao youth began to process and grow familiar the Vietnamese texting language without a second thought. They also associated the company with Vietnam as a whole, keeping Vietnam always in mind (Huijsmans & Lan 2015, p. 226). The texts and the company caused the Lao youth to feel a connection to the Vietnamese community.

I hypothesize that since the youth in today's time have grown up with drastic technological advancements, the use of technology and digital capitalism will be an important difference between the youth and the older generations. The youth are in new technological circumstances and are constantly surrounded by forms of technology, especially in the form of media. The older generations were not surrounded by as many forms of technology and media. The importance of media is highlighted by Huijsmans and Lan in their reference to it as "digital capitalism," which further appeals to Anderson's discussion of "print capitalism." Both print and digital capitalism have been used to promote nationalism across people groups by spreading ideas and language. Today, digital capitalism is increasingly more significant than print capitalism. Thus, I expect to see media play a large role in youth Basque nationalist expressions more than in the older generations.

Banal Expressions of Nationalism

Nationalism is not only expressed actively, through protests and festivals, but also through everyday, mundane activities. Michael Billig argues in his book *Banal*

Nationalism that nationalism has become a part of the “natural environment” in some societies. While nationalism may not be explicitly declared and shown, it still exists in daily actions. To see the banal nationalism of the nation, one must “flag,” or indicate, the daily reminders of nationhood (Billig 1995, p. 6). The expressions of nationalism become second nature. The thoughts, reactions, and symbols become habits. Some ways in which nationalism can be seen are through national flags and vocabulary.

A national flag symbolizes “the sacred character of a nation...[and] provides a signal” of the citizenship of nationhood (Billig 1995, p. 39). Billig explains that the flag does not have to be actively waved to express nationalism. Simply hanging the flag in an obvious location reminds the citizens of their nation. The flags’s symbols of nationhood can easily be processed with a quick glance. While seeing the flag may not cause an emotional response of nationalism within the citizen, it subconsciously brings the nation back into focus.

The microscopic words used by politicians and newspapers also remind listeners of nationhood. Words such as “we,” “here,” “this,” and “now” allow “the people” to feel a part of a society and exclude outsiders (Billig 1995, p. 94). This language is not only found among politicians, but also in newspapers. The newspapers use similar language, such as “we,” “here,” and “now,” unifying their readers. “We” does not refer to the newspaper, but to the nation. “Here” refers to the geographic borders of the nation. Furthermore, even the content of the newspapers, such as the weather, reminds the readers of nationhood. The weather of the region only affects the people of the region, thus only members of the nation can relate (Billig 1995, p. 114-118).

Nationalism does not have to be aggressively and purposefully expressed to be considered nationalism. Though some communities do not formally show their nationalism, the nationalist expressions reside in the banal actions and symbols. As Billig shows, nationalism can be shown through national flags and vocabulary used by politicians and newspapers. These symbols of nationalism are mundane, and, therefore, are often overlooked. The banal expressions of nationalism show “the depths and mechanisms of our identity, embedded in routines of social life...continually [reminding] us that we are ‘us’...[and permitting] us to forget that we are being reminded” (Billig 1995, p. 175).

I hypothesize that evidence of Euskera use and Basque symbols and the lack of active participation in Basque activities will show that the Basque youth express nationalism banally.

a. Youth Banal Expressions of Nationalism

Author Kazaya Fukuoka conducted a study to measure the nationalism of Japanese youth and determine whether or not their nationalism was expressed banally or actively. She used both Billig’s theory of banal nationalism and the Durkheimian theory of collective effervescence to look at their level of national pride. As seen above, banal expressions of nationalism are embedded in daily life and practiced without a second thought. This can be seen through the traditional national flags and anthems, as well as through vocabulary. Collective effervescence refers to the “importance of collective excitement as a group because it provides a sense of communal belonging and unites the group” (Fukuoka 2017, p. 349). This form of nationalism is only seen through occasional exciting events. She specifically focuses on youth since “their attitudes are an especially

important element of Japan's memory politics because the issue of apparently rising nationalism has become one of the most critical foreign policy agendas in the region and it continues to haunt contemporary Japanese society" ((Fukuoka 2017, p. 347). Fukuoka's goal was to research whether the use of the Japanese national flag during soccer games was a banal expression of nationalism or of collective effervescence.

Through interviews with Japanese youth and an analysis of historical events, the author found that many of the interviewees claimed sports should not be associated with politics. One interviewee in particular said he would support the athlete whether or not they were Japanese. The author found that the Japanese youth treated their national symbols very casually and apathetically. Nevertheless, the flag does hold historical meaning and represents the country, signifying an expression of nationalism without intention (Fukuoka 2017, p. 356-358). This waving of a national flag creates an exclusive atmosphere and a "we" versus "them" mentality. Many Japanese youth show nationalism without much thought to the deeper meaning behind their expressions.

I hypothesize that, due to today's decrease in violence and repression, the youth are free to live out their Basque nationalism and culture banally. The youth are in new political circumstances and do not have a need to fight for their rights, like the older generations had to do during Franco's regime and ETA's terrorism. Thus, I expect the youth to have a nonchalant, banal approach to nationalism, while the older generations express nationalism actively.

Technology

As seen historically with the rise of print capitalism, the development of technology increases nationalism. The advance of "technology [has] the capacity to

create a nation by enhancing communication” (Charland 1986, p. 197). Technology allows users “to be aware of each other and their already constituted values and identity” by sharing common interests (Charland p. 205). Today, the technology has increasingly become more digital capitalism than print. The impact of digital capitalism has quickened the spread of ideas and values across a nation, creating and unifying a community.

I hypothesize that digital technology will be an important factor in youth nationalist expressions by spreading of Basque ideas and Euskera.

METHODOLOGY

Case Selection

I chose to research the nationalism of the Basque Country in Spain because it is a difficult case. Basque nationalist appeal to their history and language to claim their nation is ancient (Conversi 1997, p. 44). The Basque nationalists have historically attempted to create boundaries to separate the Basque people from the outsiders. However, due to the attribution given to Sabino Arana y Goiri as well as changes in nationalist expressions over time, Basque nationalism appears to be constructivist. Thus, I expected to see generational differences in Basque nationalist expressions through my research, appealing to the constructivism theory.

I chose to research the nationalism in Euskadi rather than Catalonia because recently there has been more of an emphasis on the Catalonia region, due to its recent push for independence. Euskadi has not had an involved independence advocacy in modern years. Therefore, the nationalism in Euskadi has not been dramatized.

I defined “Basque people” as anyone who identified as such. In the newspaper articles, I labeled the Basque people as those who participated in the Basque events, those who lived in Euskadi, and those who held opinions about livelihood in Euskadi. In the survey responses, I the respondents were given the option of identifying as only Basque, only Spanish, or both Basque and Spanish. Therefore, I considered the “Basque people” to be those who identified as only Basque or as both Basque and Spanish.

Newspaper Articles

I conducted an inductive analysis through use of newspaper articles in order to understand the daily events occurring in the Basque Country. The newspapers illustrated what was important at the time. As newspapers would not report on banal expressions of nationalism, I expected to see a lack in youth participation of active expressions of nationalism. I defined banal, or everyday and mundane, expressions of nationalism through seeing common use of Basque symbols and Euskera in social settings.

The literature review gave me insights into what type of expressions I should look into as I began to conduct my research. I knew to search for evidence of language use, print and digital capitalism, violence, religion, symbol use, and involvement in political organizations.

In order to research on the Basque nationalism in Euskadi, I selected a prominent Basque newspaper, Euskal Irrati Telebista, or “EiTB.” I chose EiTB because it was the first Basque communication group created. Its focus is primarily on events in the Basque country and works to promote the Basque language (*EiTB, 2017*). The website of the newspaper allows the articles to be read in Euskera, Spanish, and English, meaning that I was able to access the same resources as the readers in the Basque region. It is a general newspaper that discusses a variety of topics, such as news, sports, culture, and weather. I specifically looked at articles that pertained to Basque nationalism. Since I began my research in the year 2018, I chose to search for articles written in the year 2017, as it was the most recent, completed year.

I then chose key words I expected to signify nationalism to search for relevant articles. I used the articles to find other terms relevant to the topic. I searched “nacionalista” with various words, such as “manifestación nacionalista,” “protesta

nacionalista,” iglesia nacionalista,” “red social nacionalista,” “idioma nacionalista,” and “euskera nacionalista.” Other words I chose that yielded results were “manifestación,” “vascos,” “euskaltzaindia,” korrika,” “korrika jovenes,” “sabino arana,” “euskadi,” “euskadi nacionalista,” “euskararen eguna,” “bakartxo tejeria,” “nación vasca,” “jóvenes vascos,” “go!azen,” “andoni ortuzar,” and “himno nacional.”

I collected 50 articles total. I then analyzed the articles and entered the findings into a spreadsheet before coding them to measure expressions of Basque nationalism. Next, I categorized the codes into more specific groups: Euskera, violence, culture, remembering Basque history, media, religion, politics, activism, a push of independence, and law.

The category “Euskera” refers to use of the language in festivals, rallies, protests, and media, as well as the discussion of the Basque Language Academy, Euskaltzaindia. The use can be both promotional and natural. I define “Violence” as use of force against people. Therefore, the category includes articles about both commemorations of the Basque terrorist group, ETA, and recent expressions of terrorist activity by some Basque youth. The label “Culture” includes use of Basque symbols, celebration of holidays and festivals, memorial ceremonies, mentions of Euskadi, Basque myths, tourism, gastronomy, and prizes specifically for Basque people. “History” includes articles discussing Franco’s regime or Sabino Arana. The “Media” category includes television, social media, and movies. I expected “Religion” to include articles about Catholicism. However, the article I found only addressed the Basque mythological religion.

“Politics” contains mention of some of the most common political parties (PNV, Podemos Euskadi, EH Bildu, Eusko Ekintza, PP, Eusko Gaztedi, Ernai, Elkarrekin

Podemos, Euskal Gaztea, and Geroa Bai). “Activism” is differentiated from “Politics” in that it categorizes moments in which the common Basque people have actively participated in the Basque events through protests, rallies, and voting. The “Independence” category includes discussion of support for the Catalan region, specific mentions of desires for Euskadi sovereignty, and recognition as an autonomous region. Lastly, “law” refers to events in which the law is questioned or changed.

Finally, I further divided all the articles in two categories: articles that specifically mentioned youth involvement and articles that concerned the older generations. I categorized an article as a “youth” if it specifically mentioned youth, whether it be youth actions or projects done by adults for youth. I grouped the articles that did not specifically mention youth in an “older generations” category. I expected to code for an elderly category, but was unable to do so as articles either specifically mentioned youth or did not mention an age group at all. I then coded each article and placed them into the corresponding categories. I determined the percentage of each category that spoke specifically of youth and the percentage that addressed the older generations. This method allowed me to recognize the current important expressions of nationalism to the Basque youth and older generations.

Survey

I chose to conduct a survey for insight into personal identities through explanations and reasons for the events documented in the articles. I expected to find banal expressions of nationalism in the survey, such as through non-enthusiastic responses. I wrote the survey questions with themes from the literature review in mind, such as expressions of culture, language use, and violence.

I made a 24-question survey using a website called Clickworker to ask specific questions about respondents' Basque identities, or lack thereof. Clickworker allowed me to specify to what country I wanted to send the survey, permitting me to have respondents just from Spain. To further request respondents from just Euskadi, I wrote a description at the beginning of the survey explicitly requesting responses from people from Euskadi or from people who identify as Basque. The people who responded already had accounts made with Clickworker and were paid to respond to surveys that pertained to them. These people are referred to as "Clickworkers." The Sally McDonnell Barksdale Honors College and the Croft Institute at the University of Mississippi provided me with the funding for the survey.

After receiving approval from the Institutional Review Board to conduct the survey, I used Clickworker to send the survey directly to "Clickworkers" in Spain. The survey sample size and the paid participation limited me from making generalizations from the responses. It was not a randomized sample of the population, but rather a sample of the people that had access to the website. Thus, the sample is not representative of the Basque population.

The questions were written to address aspects of nationalism I found in the literature review and the newspaper analysis. Questions included the celebration of culture, politics, personal and familial identity, use of Euskera, religion, and use of social media (see appendix). I also listed questions asking whether or not past ETA and Franco events affected the respondents' lives.

I received the requested 250 responses. I eliminated poorly written responses, as well as responses from people who identified solely as Spanish. As I am interested in

expressions of Basque nationalism, the opinions of non-Basque people were not relevant to my research. After these eliminations, I ended with 106 pertinent responses. I divided the responses into two groups: youth (ages 18-29) and the older generations (ages 30-120). I developed a number of codes for each question. I then divided the questions into various codes in order to analyze the responses more thoroughly.

FINDINGS

Newspaper Articles

	% from Youth Articles	% from Articles about Older Generations	% from Total Articles
Media	42%	11%	18%
Culture	42%	39%	40%
Language	33.3%	21%	24%
Violence	33.3%	24%	26%
Activism	33.3%	36.8%	36%
Politics	33.3%	29%	30%
Independence	8.3%	21%	18%
Law	8.3%	13%	12%
History	0%	8%	6%
Religion	0%	3%	2%

Table 1.1 Nationalist Expressions as seen through *EiTB*

Through my analysis of the *EiTB* articles, I found that the majority of articles did not specifically mention a particular age group. Therefore, I classified those articles in the older generations category. However, when an article did mention youth in any capacity, whether it be a program meant for youth or youth participating in a protest, I distinguished it from the older generations and categorized it as youth. Twelve of the fifty articles specifically mentioned youth. In the table above, I have determined the percentages based on how many articles in the youth category mentioned each of the

labels. I also determined the percentage of how many articles in the older generation category discussed each of the labels. The “total articles” column shows how many of the 50 articles I studied dealt with each category.

Articles Pertaining to Youth

a. Media

In the youth articles concerning media, I found that media proved to be one of the most prominent codes, illustrating the importance of technology in the nationalist expressions of today’s youth. 42% of the youth articles pertained to media. Three of the articles discuss a television series called “Go!azen.” The goal of the series is to promote use of Euskera amongst the youth, working under a slogan translated from Euskera as “From heart to lips.” With the assistance of Basque actors, the series creates songs and dances to help Basque youth memorize Euskera words. Go!azen works with EITB and the Basque government’s Department of Culture and Linguistic Politics to encourage the language’s use.

One of the articles discusses the new official television channel of Bilbao’s government. The channel is hosted by two YouTube-famous Basque youth to give youth ideas of how to spend their free time in Bilbao.

The last media article addresses a phone app called Euskalmoji. The app, created by four Basque youth, allows the incorporation of Basque emojis into text messages and social media. There are more than 60 emojis, with designs for Basque festivals, slogans in Euskera, traditional Basque symbols, and more.

b. Culture

Tied with media, culture also proves to be an important factor amongst youth articles, showing the active participation of youth and the expression of their personal identities in the public sphere. 42% of the youth articles addressed culture, whether that be through festivals or protests against tourism. Two articles discuss a leftist youth movement called Ernai, the youth branch of the socialist political party, Sortu. In one of the articles, the movement protested tourism in San Sebastian. They marched under the slogan “your tourism, the misery of the youth.” They wrote “tourists go home” and “tourism kills the city” on walls throughout the city. The Times and BBC called them anarchists. The second article to discuss Ernai is a case of vandalism against the Basque Nationalist Party (PNV) and the People’s Party of Spain (PP). During the night, various headquarters of PNV, as well as Basque flags, were attacked with yellow and red paint with a quote saying, “tell me who you walk with and I’ll tell you who you are.”

A third article takes place during the Aste Nagusia festival. It discusses violence enacted against members of the center-right nationalist Basque youth branch of PNV, Euzko Gaztedi (EGI). Youth identified as members of leftist parties attacked two members of EGI. The EGI member stated that the attack was due to political motive.

In the fourth article, youth met on the Spain’s Memorial Day and asked the adults to begin talking about Euskadi’s violent past. A human rights organization, the Instituto Gogora, hosted a seminar that was attended by 21 youth to discuss the violence. The youth said that terrorism has been a taboo topic so very few youth know what actually happened. They called for an open discussion of the past and acknowledgement of the victims so that they could work to never repeat it.

The last article was also discussed in the media category: the Euskalmoji. The Euskalmoji celebrates and normalizes Basque culture by designing the emojis in Basque outfits and with Euskera expressions.

c. Violence

Violence is relevant in among the youth, both in remembrance of Euskadi's violent history and in recent exhibitions of youth terrorism. Violence constitutes 33.3% of the youth articles. One of these articles discuss a protest against the imprisonment of youth. The youth were detained on account of possible terrorist acts. Protestors declared the imprisonment was unjust and that the youth should be freed. The protest was canceled by the Government Delegation.

A second article discussing violence involves a program that has been created to educate the youth about radicalism and help them learn to combat its messages. The program was created by the governments of Gipuzkoa and Ertzaintza.

The last two articles concerning violence were also addressed in the Culture section. One of which is the article about the youth asking for the adults to discuss the violent past. The other article addresses the attack by leftist youth against two EGI members.

d. Language

Euskera continues to be an important aspect in Basque nationalism, especially among the youth, as seen in Euskera promotional television series and common use of Euskera in society. Language, or use of Euskera, also makes up 33.3% of the articles. These articles overlap with both Media articles and Culture articles. The one article of

this category not analyzed prior is an article pertaining to the imprisoned youth. The protestors used signs written in Euskera saying “we want justice.”

Three of the four articles discuss the television series Go!azen. The show’s purpose is to encourage daily Euskera use. They produce songs in Euskera for the youth to memorize, making them familiar with the use of the language.

e. Activism

Contrary to my hypothesis, Basque youth are active in their nationalist expression through protests and discussions of Basque history, rather than banally. Activism also appears in 33.3% of the articles. One of the articles discusses a group called Gure Esko Dago, meaning “our right to choose.” The Basque nationalist group called for a protest in Bilbao in support of Catalonia’s effort to secede from Spain. Many of the groups participating in the protest are youth movements, such as Ernai, EGI, and others.

The other three articles have been mentioned previously. The first concerned the protest Ernai enacted against tourism in Spain. Another discussed the Memorial Day seminar the Instituto Gogora hosted for the youth to discuss the violent past. The final article addressed the protest against the imprisonment of the Basque youth.

f. Politics

Basque youth are involved in politics, through participation in the youth branches of larger parties. Politics are mentioned in 33.3% of the youth articles. All of these articles have previously been discussed. Two of which are the articles concerning Ernai’s actions, one protesting tourism and the other, vandalizing PNV headquarters. A third article reports the violent attack against the EGI members. The last includes many youth

movements who were participating in the Catalan-support protest planned by Gure Esko Dago.

g. Independence

The direct mention of independence was only mentioned in regards to the independence of Catalonia. The subject of independence was mentioned in only 8.3% of the articles youth articles. This percentage consists of one sole article, which has been previously mentioned. The article discusses the rally in support of Catalonia's independence by Gure Esko Dago.

h. Law

The Basque youth articles do not often discuss the law. There is one article that concerns, or challenges, the law, making up 8.3% of the youth articles. This article is the protest against the imprisonment of the Basque youth. Through this protest, the Basque people are demanding a change in the law and the decision of the lawmakers.

i. History

The past of the Basque region, such as Sabino Arana y Goiri or the Francoist regime, was broached in none of the articles.

j. Religion

Religion was discussed in none of the articles with mention of the youth population of the Basque Country.

Articles Pertaining to the Older Generations

a. Culture

Culture is the most important topic broached in the articles concerning the older generations, illustrating expressions of public identities. In regards to the articles

concerning the older generations, discussion of culture appears in 39%. Three of the articles speak of speeches made about Euskadi by the president of Euskadi, Iñigo Urkullu. One of these speeches concerns the recognition of Euskadi as a state. He declares that the Basque Country will continue following its own path with the goal of being recognized as a nation internationally. The second article to discuss a speech by Urkullu was given on Christmas Eve about the upcoming year of Euskadi. He spoke on how the Basque community can be more helpful and work to promote human rights. The last article takes place on the International Day of Euskera. Urkullu made a speech announcing the intentions of Basque institutions to promote use of Euskera. Urkullu celebrated that Euskera-speakers have greatly increased in recent years and that the language is gaining prestige. To celebrate the Day of Euskera, regions throughout Euskadi hosted parties and used the hashtag #euskarareneguna, meaning the Day of Euskera.

Three articles discuss ceremonies held in remembrance of victims of ETA. One homage takes place on Memorial Day. The article made a point to note that all the political parties save for the People's Party of Spain (PP) participated. The homage took place in front of a sculpture dedicated to the victims. They brought flowers and had a moment of silence. A second article is another homage to eleven ETA victims in Zaragoza on the thirtieth anniversary of their death. The mourners congregated around a monolith and sang "death is not final." The final article reports on an homage specifically for the death of an ETA victim 20 years ago, Miguel Ángel Blanco. He was a member of the People's Party. All the political parties participated in the homage.

Two other articles take place during the festival of Aberri Eguna, a festival around Easter with ties to nationalist movements. One of which reports on four Basque nationalist parties promoting peace in light of the recent disarmament of ETA. The four parties to participate were PNV, EH Bildu, Podemos Euskadi, and Eusko Ekinzta. They marched in the cities of Bilbao, Gernika, and Durango, declaring that Euskadi should be a free nation. The second article to address Aberri Eguna also discusses the protests done by the political parties, but more specifically discuss EH Bildu, who was joined by a group called Independentistak. They called for sovereignty and the right to decide.

Furthermore, two articles address a race throughout the Basque Country called “Korrika” held yearly in support of Euskera. The first article explains the race that was to happen throughout the neighborhoods of Bilbao. It was to last four and a half hours. The second article explains that, in the week before the race, those in charge of the Korrika put on cultural events to promote Euskera. These events include poetry, a documentary screening, and music, all in Euskera. The person in charge of the Korrika, Asier Amondo, explained that throughout the race, a person will carry a secret message written in Euskera to be read at the end of the race.

There are two articles discussing awards given to Basque people, one of the which is called the Sabino Arana awards. The award is given annually in celebration of the birth date of Sabino Arana y Goiri and is awarded to Basque people and entities working toward a better world. One of the winners in 2017 was the campaign “no is no” in combat against sexual assault of women. Another was Kooperera, a group that fights for protection of the environment. A third winner was Abel Barriola, a 19-year player and 30-time crown winner of the Basque sport, pelotari. The other Basque award is specifically for

Basque journalists, organized by two Basque journalist organizations, to recognize the work the journalists do inside and outside Euskadi.

Three newspaper articles tell of three different television programs. One of the series is called “Todos los apellidos vascos,” which translates to “All the Basque Surnames.” The purpose of the show is to discover the history of a person’s Basque last name, as well as their genealogy. In this article, the person on the upcoming show was a famous chef, Eneko Atxa. The second television series concerns a show that shares stories of Basque mythology and religion, called “Baskoniako Historia Bat,” or “One Basque History.” The show researches the origins of these myths that were believed by pre-Christian Basques. The third program, “Con la Calle a Cuestas,” visits various towns to discover what the common Basque people eat.

b. Activism

According to articles concerning the members of the older generations of the Basque population, the older generations are very actively in their expressions of Basque nationalism, through protests, Euskera promotional events, and voting in elections. Activism is addressed in 36.8% of the articles. Three of these articles were protests against the imprisonment of ETA members. In one, the group “Kalera Kalera” congregated in the center of Bilbao to demand the liberation of the prisoners. They stated that there cannot be a change in the states with the Basque prisoners incarcerated in outside of Euskadi. The second article was an interview conducted with a group called Sare that was discussing its intentions to hold a protest for the ETA prisoners. In this article, the members of Sare explain that the protest is for the Basque people to express their anger at the Spanish government for their unnecessary retaliation against ETA

members through imprisonment. The Basque people are celebrating the disarmament of ETA, but say they cannot fully do so with some of their people still behind bars outside of Euskadi. The third article reported on Sare again. They protested under the slogan “we are willing” and had already set the date for the next year’s protest. The march was meant to reflect a society working for peace and resolution. Sare hopes that with the liberation of the prisoners, the people can move past the past violence. One article discussed ETA, but this was the article discussed in the Culture section, the homage to Miguel Ángel Blanco.

One article addresses a protest against the crimes of the Franco regime. An organization called the “Basque Platform against the Francoist Crimes” demanded an end to the impunity of the Franquism. The speakers state that there have been 40 years of silence about the crimes committed during the Civil War and the Francoist dictatorship.

Two articles report on groups and events in support of Euskera. One reports on Euskaraldia, the 11-day initiative to promote social use of Euskera and break the inertia of Euskera. Their slogan is “11 days in Euskera.” Municipalities and entities are encouraged to label themselves as “Ahobizi,” those who speak and understand Euskera, or “Belarriprest,” those who at least understand Euskera and encourage its use. The second article discusses the joining of five groups to march in support of Euskera, linguistic rights, and workers rights.

Four articles address the push for independence happening in Catalonia. One article reports on a protest in Bilbao in support for Catalonia. They also protest against the enactment of Article 155, which gives Spain control over Catalonia’s finances. The second article concerns similar matter. In this article, leaders of Catalanian nationalism

parties thank Euskadi for supporting them. They also acknowledged that similar circumstances, like the enactment of Article 155, could easily happen to them. The last article is based on a survey conducted by EiTB. Based on the survey, the Basque people empathized with Catalonia, but did not want to follow its footsteps. Even so, the respondents believed more in the Catalanian cause than in the Spanish king. The last article first discusses EH Bildu branching out to have its own military and governmental representatives. At the end of the article, the coordinator of the survey declared that Spain had no right over Euskadi and that they support Catalonia's fight.

One article reports on a survey conducted by EiTB to pre-determine the status of the elections the Autonomous Basque Community. Based on the survey, PNV will win seats again and tie with EH Bildu.

The last Activism article also addresses voting. In these votes, the organization Gure Esko Dago encouraged the Basque across Euskadi to vote on whether they did or did not want to separate from Spain. 95% of the voters wanted to be independent from Spain.

c. Politics

The Basque members of the older generations are involved in politics through their advocacy for recognition of Basque history and celebration of Basque people. Politics are addressed in 26% of the articles. Some of these articles have previously been mentioned, such as the article concerning Miguel Ángel Blanco, the nationalist parties' celebrations of peace during Aberri Eguna, other nationalist organizations' protests for independence, the support EH Bildu had in expanding their reach, and the article foreshadowing PNV's win in the upcoming elections.

One article reports on the coming together of representatives from all but two political parties in support of the disarmament of ETA and for the Basque labor unions. One of the two parties not in attendance was PP, who claims they were not invited nor were they sent the document that was to be read at the meeting.

The next article also concerns the People's Party. The government decided to change street names from Sabino Arana, but chaos ensued. Therefore, PP retracted the decision so as to not divide the Basques. The party originally wanted to change the name, claiming that Arana y Goiri was a nationalist racist and does not deserve to be honored. PNV agreed with PP's thoughts on the street, calling the history an embarrassment. EH Bildu, on the other hand, called PP's beliefs extreme and rightist and told the people to hold fast against them.

An article on July 31 reports on PNV's celebration of its 122nd anniversary. Members of the party reunited in front of a statue of Sabino Arana. Children dressed in traditional Basque outfits, people danced Basque dances, and flowers were laid at the feet of the statue.

The Parliament of Navarra extended a new Euskera Law to 44 more localities to include them in "mixed" zones, meaning both Spanish and Euskera-speaking. It was extended in recognition of the regions' competition in regulating and encouraging Euskera. A representative of the Basque political group Geroa Bai said this was a great day because it acknowledged Euskera as a treasure instead of an imposition.

The last article of the section discusses the PNV honoring the women who have worked hard for the party and for nationalism on World Women Day. The event was

attended by around 500 women. The speakers said that it was the women who began the first anti-Franco network by visiting husbands in prison and relaying messages.

d. Violence

In the articles concerning the older generations of the Basques, violence is discussed in remembrance of the past terrorism and current ETA prisoners. Violence is addressed in 24% of the articles. All of these articles have been previously discussed. The aforementioned articles concern memorial ceremonies in honor of ETA victims, such as the article about the honoring of Miguel Ángel Blanco, the article in which victims were honored on Memorial Day, and the article about the 11 victims in Zaragoza. Three other articles concern the protests to demand the return of the ETA prisoners, two of which are protests organized by Sare, while the last is by Kalera Kalera. Two articles celebrate the disarmament of ETA and promotion of peace. One article is a march against the crimes during the Francoist regime.

e. Language

Euskera is prominent in the articles discussing the older generations of the Basque people highlighting the importance of language in the unification of a nation. Language is also used in 21% of the articles. All but three of the articles have been mentioned before. One of the new articles introduces a television series called “Euskalduna naiz, eta zu?,” meaning “I am Basque, and you?.” The purpose of the series is for the Basque to speak about themselves, instead of having outsiders speak about them. The show covers various topics, such as money and love, to hear stories from famous Basque people. A YouTuber draws cartoons of the guest speaking. The show allows the Basque to laugh at themselves.

The second article yet to be analyzed is about the UZEI Euskera dictionary, *Atzekoz aurrera*. Originally published in 1994, it has been recently updated and uploaded online. Euskera has evolved since the first publication and the dictionary needed to adhere to the standards of the Euskaltzaindia, the official Euskera association. It now has more than 53,000 entries.

The third article addresses the new scale that has been implemented for determining the level at which a person knows Euskera. The scale follows that of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: B1, B2, C1, and C2.

Four of the previously mentioned articles concern protests. One of them concerns Sare's protest of the imprisonment of ETA members. They use Euskera in their slogan: "Prest gaude," meaning "we are." The second protest was held by the organizations Independentistak y Gernika Batzordea in support of independence for the Basque Country. The third is a protest in Bilbao against Article 155, which allowed Spain to take over Catalan's economy in response to their rebellion. The last article concerning protests calling for normalization of speaking Euskera, linguistic rights, and rights for workers.

Two articles discuss the Korrika, as it is an event held to promote Euskera. Two other articles concern different television shows: "Todos los Apellidos Vascos," concerning the Basque genealogy, and "Baskoniako Historia bat," about old Basque mythology. One article celebrates "Euskaraldia," the 11-day initiative to encourage using Euskera in social settings. Another article similar to this article is the one that discusses the Basque president's urges to increase the use of Euskera. The last article discusses the extension of the Euskera Law in Navarra to 44 localities in recognition of their fight for and promotion of Euskera.

f. Independence

The topic of independence is broached in more articles mentioning the older generations than the articles addressing the youth, through rallies for independence and discussions of Catalonia's independence push. Independence is also addressed in 21% of the articles. Two of the articles have not been aforementioned, both of which discuss president Urkullu. In one of the articles, Urkullu meets with three leaders of political parties, the most notable being Pedro Sánchez of the socialist workers' party. The leaders want to reform the Spanish Constitution so that it states that Spain is a "nation of nations" in order to give Spain political stability. At the end of the meeting, the leaders concluded that Euskadi had a good economic and political climate.

In the other, Urkullu is criticised by the president of the Basque People's Party, Alfonso Alonso. Urkullu has been known to talk about the "vía vasca," or the "Basque Way," which Alonso says sounds more educated than Catalonia's plan, but will lead to the same end: the death of Spain. He also said, however, that he wants to work to find a way to make every citizen happy.

Three of the previously discussed articles are about Catalonia. One was the protest in Bilbao in solidarity with Catalonia's attempts. The other first discussed the support for EH Bildu's new direction of having military and representatives. It concludes stating that Catalonia's battle is also that of Euskadi. The final of the three shows a survey conducted by EITB in which it is found that, while the Basque want to be independent, they do not want to follow Catalonia's model.

Two other aforementioned articles take place on Aberri Eguna. In one, PNV and other political parties celebrate the disarmament of ETA and peace. In the other, Independentistak and another political party call for Euskadi's independence.

In one article, Gure Esko Dago conducted a poll asking questions to determine whether or not the Basque wanted independence. It was found that 95% of voters did want to be independent. In the final article, Urkullu asks Spain to recognize Euskadi as a nation to continuing growing in and of itself.

g. Law

Law is mentioned in 13%. All of the articles have already been analyzed. Three of these concern protests for the return of the ETA prisoners, in which the law is asked to change. One article speaks of the extension of the Euskera Law in Navarra. The last article discusses the changing of the street name from Sabino Arana and address the Historical Memory Law.

h. Media

Media is not as prominent in the articles mentioning the older generations as the articles mentioning the youth, showing the recent change in expression and spread of nationalism. Media is addressed in 11% of the articles. All of these articles have been previously discussed. The first being the television series "Todos los Apellidos Vascos," which traces genealogies. The second addressing the show "Baskoniako Historia bat" that tells the myths and religions of past Basques. The third "Euskalduna naiz, eta zu?," in which famous people speak on various topics. And, finally, "Con la Calle a Cuestas," discussing the food regular Basque people eat.

i. History

Euskadi’s history of Franco and Sabino Arana were not mentioned often, contrary to my expectation that Franco’s regime would have a continued effect on the older generation’s nationalist expressions. History is dealt with in 8% of the articles. All of these articles have been described. The first is the march against the Francoist crimes. The second is the decision to keep the street name as Sabino Arana. The third is PNV’s celebration of their 122nd anniversary.

j. Religion

Religion is mentioned in one article, signifying the drastic decrease of religious importance in Basque nationalism since the beginning of the Franco regime. Religion is discussed in 3% of the articles concerning the older generations. This article has also been previously discussed. However, it did not discuss Catholicism, as I assumed it would based on its history. Rather, it addresses a television series, “Baskoniako Historia bat,” about the mythological gods of the Basque people.

Survey Responses

	% of Youth Responses	% of Responses from Older Generations
Basque Identity Only	25%	17.6%
Spanish & Basque Identities	75%	82.4%
Attend Festivals	75%	72.5%
Do Not Attend Festivals	25%	27.5%
Affected by Franco	45%	31.4%
Not Affected by Franco	40%	60.8%
N/A on Franco	15%	7.8%
Affected by ETA	25.5%	29.4

Not Affected by ETA	38.2%	51%
N/A on ETA	36.3%	19.6%
Speak Euskera	89%	75%
Do Not Speak Euskera	11%	25%
Religious	5%	29%
Not Religious	95%	63%
N/A Religious	0%	8%
Political	35%	27%
Not Political	55%	73%
N/A Political	10%	0%
Use Social Media	95%	90%
Do Not Use Social Media	5%	10%

Table 1.2 Nationalist Expressions as seen through the Survey

Of the 106 relevant survey responses I received, 55 of them were from people ages 18-29. I classified these as “youth.” The rest of the 51 respondents answered that they were ranges within the ages 30-120. I labeled these responses as “older generations.”

As nationalism is an aspect of one’s personal identity, I asked questions to determine how the respondents identified. Through their responses, I was able to examine how the respondent interacted with his or her community and Basque culture in his or her personal identities.

Youth Responses

a. Identity

The majority of the Basque youth stated that they identified as both Basque and Spanish, rather than solely Basque, illustrating the youth’s personal identities. Out of the 55 youth respondents, only 25% of them identified as solely Basque. They attributed their

identities to a host of reasons. Half of the explanations dealt with the Basque culture and traditions. The second most prominent justification for feeling Basque was that the respondent does not feel connected to Spain, for various reasons. Another explanation was that the respondent was born in Euskadi.

However, 75% of the respondents identified as both Basque and Spanish. The most popular reason for this dual identity was that the respondent was born and/or raised in Euskadi. However, they were compelled to identify as Spanish in addition to Basque either because he or she has family that are not Basque, or he or she simply identifies with the larger Spain rather than Euskadi. Participants often reasoned that Euskadi is simply a region inside of Spain often. Some respondents stated that within Spain they say they are Basque, but internationally they identify as Spanish.

b. Festivals

The majority of youth respondents stated that they attend Basque festivals, whether purely for fun or for cultural tradition, showing expression of their public identities in the Basque community. 75% of the youth respondents said that they attend Basque festivals. A lot of the respondents said they attend the festivals simply because they are fun and have a nice atmosphere. However, other respondents went into more detail. Multiple stated that they enjoy celebrating Basque culture and keeping it alive. Others participated because it had been their tradition for many years now. Lastly, some respondents said they participate in order to stay connected to their culture.

25% said they do not attend Basque festivals. They did not go into detail of why they do not participate, but rather simply stated that they do not. Only one person gave a

reason, explaining that she does not live in Euskadi currently, therefore cannot participate.

c. Franco

Contrary to my expectation that the youth are not affected by Franco, many youth respondents claimed to feel the effects of Franco's regimes still in today's time. 45% of the youth respondents declared they are still affected by the Francoist regime. One of the most prominent explanations was that the Francoist regime negatively affected Euskadi as a whole. Another important explanation given was that it negatively affected Spain as a whole. A third reason was the negative perceptions outsiders now have of Euskadi and the Basque people. Another example given by the respondents was that the elders in their family cannot speak Euskera, as Franco worked against its use. Lastly, some respondents elucidated that it was not them that were directly affected, but a family member that was negatively affected by the Francoist regime. One person's grandfather was murdered by a Francoist group.

40% of the respondents stated that they are not affected by the Francoist regime. All respondents attributed this to their youth, explaining that they were not alive during the Francoist regime. Furthermore, 15% of the youth selected the "prefer not to answer" option. They did not give more explanation of their choice.

d. ETA

In accordance with my expectation that ETA would not affect the nationalism of Basque youth, a small majority responded that they have not been affected. 25.5% of the respondents stated that they are still affected by political strategies of nationalist groups, from the 1950s to now. Most of the effects of these groups was a change in ideologies of

the people in the Basque country. The changes in ideologies can be seen through laws and through the manner in which the older generation now teaches the youth. These changes were attributed by some respondents to remaining fear. However, it can also be seen on a personal level, such as through the person who said she is now more radical. Another stated effect was that it is frowned upon to claim Spain as an identity over Basque. Furthermore, an explanation was the imposition of Euskera on the population.

38.2% of the youth said they were not affected by those nationalist groups. Most of these respondents did not give further clarification to their response. One person, however, said he or she was not affected because Euskadi did not win independence. Another person said he or she was not affected because nationalism is not alive currently.

Lastly, 36.3% of the respondents preferred not to answer the question. Most of these respondents did not further explain. However, two people said the topic was difficult to discuss for them and their family, therefore they would rather not speak on the situation. Another person simply stated frustration and indifference to the topic.

e. Euskera

Euskera is still an important aspect of Basque nationalism in today's time. The vast majority of youth respondents said they speak Euskera, and many of them said they speak it in social contexts. 89% of the Basque youth responded that they do speak Euskera. The majority of respondents said they speak Euskera with family and friends. Many of the respondents said they speak Euskera in academic contexts or at work.

Only 11% of the respondents said that they do not speak Euskera. Most who said no did not elaborate. Three of the respondents clarified that they know a few random words and expressions in Euskera, but do not hold conversations.

f. Religion

Almost every respondent stated that he or she does not practice any religion, highlighting the loss of importance Catholicism had on Euskadi during the rise of Basque nationalism. 95% of Basque youth stated that they do not practice a religion. Those who elaborated simply stated that they are either agnostic or atheists. One person explained that she used to be a Christian but has since left and become an atheist.

5% of the respondents said they do practice a religion. The few who answered yes clarified that they are Christians.

g. Politics

Political parties are not as important to personal identities as it seemed in the newspaper articles, as the majority of respondents claimed they did not identify with any political parties. Only 35% of Basque youth said they identify with a political party. The most mentioned political party was Podemos, a leftist political party. The next two parties were each mentioned twice: PNV, the nationalist party founded by Sabino Arana y Goiri, and EH Bildu, a leftist and nationalist party. The following parties are left-wing parties that were mentioned once: the Candidatura de Unidad Popular and the Izquierda Unida party. The following are right-wing parties that were also each mentioned once: Vox, Partido Popular, and the Ciudadanos. Two socialist parties were also each mentioned once: the Partido Socialista Obrero Español, or the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, and the Batasuna party. A social-liberal party was also mentioned, called the Unión Progreso y Democracia party. The last party to be mentioned was Pacma, an animalist party.

55% of respondents said they do not identify with a political party. If elaborated upon, most respondents said they have not found a political party that accurately represents them.

10% of respondents preferred not to respond to the question. The only person to elaborate said that she changes her vote depending on each parties' discussions about legislature.

h. Social Media

The vast majority of youth respondents stated they use social media in many different forms, appealing to the theory about the importance of media, or more broadly, technology, on nationalism. 95% of the youth responded that they use social media. The most common social media outlets mentioned were Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram. Some respondents mentioned Whatsapp and YouTube. A few respondents mentioned LinkedIn, Snapchat, and Google+.

5% of the youth said they do not use social media. They did not elaborate.

Responses from Older Generations

a. Identity

The vast majority of the respondents identified as Basque and Spanish for a variety of reasons, showing their personal identities and providing background for how they interact with the Basque community. Of the 51 responses people older than 29, only 17.6% identified as Basque. Some of these respondents simply stated that they did not feel connected to Spain. Another reasoning was Euskera, as well as the traditions and culture of the region. Furthermore, some respondents identified as Basque because they were born and raised in Euskadi.

82.4% of the respondents identified as both Basque and Spanish. The most prominent reasoning for this dual identity was that Euskadi is a region of Spain, it is not a separate country. Many of these people declared a pride or a love for both the Basque region and Spain as a whole. Another popular reason was familial ties, either that the respondent is Basque but has family outside of Euskadi, or that the respondent does not live in Euskadi, but his or her parents are from there.

b. Festivals

The majority of respondents from the older generations answered that they attend Basque festivals for its culture and the entertainment, illustrating the public identities of the respondents. 72.5% of the respondents stated that they attend festivals. Much like the youth, many of the respondents simply stated that they participate because they like them. Others explained that they participate in order to be a part of the culture and share it. Some said they participate to feel connected to family members. Others attend to spend time with friends.

27.5% said that they do not attend festivals. Most did not clarify why they do not participate. Two people, however, simply stated that they do not like parties.

c. Franco

Contrary to my expectation that the older generations of the Basque population are still affected by Franco's regime, most of the respondents from the older generations said that they are not still affected by Franco. 31.4% of the respondents said they are still affected by the Francoist regime. The most given explanation for this response was that the country as a whole has been negatively affected and is still overcoming 40 years of backwardness. Another popular effect is indirectly, through familial ties. Some people

responded that their parents were taught under a strict education and still suffer from that at times.

60.8% said they are not affected by the Francoist regime. The majority of respondents did not clarify why they feel this way, though many were emphatic about their response. Others explained that they have not been affected because they were not born at the time.

7.8% of the respondents preferred not to answer the question. One of the two of those who expounded on why they would prefer not to answer said it was due to prejudices, while the other simply said Spain should get rid of the Francoist ideologies.

d. ETA

Like the responses concerning Franco, most respondents said they are not affected by violent actions of nationalist groups, such as ETA, displaying a lack of personal identity in Euskadi's violent past. 29.4% of the general respondents stated that they are still affected by political strategies of nationalist groups, from the 1950s to now. These respondents said they were affected by fear, discrimination, threats, and deaths. The families of some people were affected. Three people responded in favor of the groups, stating their situation now is better thanks to them. One person expounded that there is now better education, health, and industry.

51% of the respondents said they were not affected by those groups. The majority did not give further detail, though a few said there is still tension and fear surrounding the subject.

19.6% preferred not to answer. Most of these respondents also did not clarify. Nevertheless, one said there is still fear and one said that politics always affect people one way or another.

e. Euskera

Euskera is still relevant in Basque culture today among the older generations, appealing to the importance of language in a nation. Most respondents said that they do speak Euskera, many of them in social contexts or at work. 75% of the respondents from older generations said they speak Euskera. The majority of these respondents said they speak Euskera with family and friends. Others responded that they speak Euskera at work. A few said they use it at stores and bars. One person said he speaks Euskera simply to not lose the custom.

25% of the respondents said they do not speak Euskera. One woman still clarified that she uses it with family. Another said he uses it in informal contexts. The rest of the respondents did not elaborate.

f. Religion

Though not as drastic as the youth responses, most respondents from older generations said they do not practice a religion, illustrating a lack of personal identity in religion. 63% of the respondents from older generations said they do not practice a religion. The majority said they simply do not believe in anything. Some expanded, saying they are either atheist or agnostic.

29% of the respondents said they do practice a religion. Five of the respondents clarified that they are Catholics. Two respondents practice Christianity. Another practices

Buddhism. Other respondents explained how they practice their religion, such as through prayer, attending mass, and being a good believer.

8% preferred not to answer. One of these respondents still explained that he or she is protestant. Another respondent said that she would prefer not to answer for freedom of doing so. The others did not elaborate.

g. Politics

Similar to the youth, the majority of respondents said they do not identify with a political party, often explaining that they do not feel represented by the parties. Only 27% of the survey respondents from older generations said they do identify with a political party. Two of the most common parties mentioned were PNV, a Basque nationalist party, and Podemos, a leftist political party. Other political parties mentioned were EH Bildu, a leftist and nationalist party, and the leftist parties in general. Parties with just one mention were as follows: People's Party, Ciudadanos, Pacma, and PSOE. One person stated he identifies with the nationalists in general.

73% of the respondents said they do not identify with a political party. Most of the respondents did not clarify. Some said the political parties do not represent them. Two of the respondents later stated they identify with Podemos. One respondent said she identifies with PSOE. One person said he identifies with the centrist ideologies. Another said he identifies with leftist parties, but not with one specific party.

h. Social Media

Media is also present among respondents from the older generations through a variety of social media platforms, showing the prominence of the rise of technology and digital capitalism in today's time. 90% of the older generation said they use social media.

The most popular were Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. Whatsapp, Telegram, Messenger, Pinterest, Tumblr, and LinkedIn were briefly mentioned by a few people.

10% said they do not use social media. They did not elaborate.

DISCUSSION

Through my research I found that both the youth and the older generations of the Basque people actively express Basque nationalism, through celebration of culture, use of Euskera, and participation in protests and rallies. However, the youth technology has had more of an influence on the youth than on the older generations. Furthermore, ETA's terrorism and the Franco regime did not have continued impacts on the nationalist expressions of the older generations.

The use of media, or digital capitalism, to promote Basque heritage was more prominent in articles concerning the youth than the older generations. As seen in my research and the article written by Roy Hiujmans and Trần Thị Hà Lan, digital capitalism is a significant method through which to influence youth. The youth also recognized the power of media in the promotion of culture, as seen in the development of Euskalmoji. The youth developers used media to advance use of Euskera and Basque symbols.

Much of the media was created by adults to educate the youth. The adults used media, such as the television series *Go!azen*, to reach the youth and encourage Euskera. They also used the media to promote tourism in Euskadi and to discourage violence. Though youth participated in a large percentage of the media articles, they were developed by adults. The vast majority of survey respondents said they use social media, 95% for youth and 90% for the older generations. These findings show that the

advancement of technology and use of digital capitalism has been used to promote Basque culture and stimulate Basque nationalism.

Culture is a popular expression of Basque nationalism among both the youth and the older generations, as seen in both the newspaper findings and in the survey responses, showing a public display of one's personal identity. Over 70% of the respondents from both groups said they attend festivals. Many of those who said they identified as Basque in the survey explained that they felt more connected to the Basque traditions and culture over the national culture of Spain. They also said they participate in festivals to keep the culture alive and share it with others. The newspapers showed that festivals were often sites for protests and rallies to advance Basque platforms.

The importance of language on nationalism remains constant today among both the youth and the older generations in nationalism, through the promotion of the language and its subsequent unification of the people. Euskera is used traditionally, during festivals and on signs during protests, and educationally, as in Euskera promotional events and television programs. 89% of youth survey respondents said they speak Euskera. Many of them said they speak Euskera in academic contexts or with family and friends. 75% of the older generations said they speak Euskera. They also said they speak Euskera with family and friends. They also speak Euskera in work contexts. Thus, Euskera is used to facilitate the imagined community.

According to the newspaper articles, political parties are important among both the youth and the older generations. Many formal political parties have created parties for youth. These youth parties appear to be extremely active in the advancement of their platforms. The parties for the older generations also advance platforms. The majority of

survey respondents stated that they do not identify with any political party. This contradiction in findings show that newspaper articles report on the events occurring, rather than on citizens not participating.

Though history shows an importance of Catholicism on Basque nationalism due to the support the Catholic Church gave Basque nationalism, religion proved to no longer be an important factor. Catholicism was an extremely important part of the Basque identity during Arana y Goiri's promotion of Basque nationalism. However, as seen earlier, support of the Church from the Basques decreased when the national churches sided with Franco. Today, Catholicism appears to have very little to do with Basque nationalism.

Both Independence and the Law were mentioned more often in articles concerning the older generations of Basques than the youth, but even so were not mentioned often. When independence was discussed among the youth and older generations, it was seen in both support of Catalan and in demands for the independence of Euskadi.

History was not important in neither the newspaper articles nor the survey responses. Franco was mentioned in one article. The newspaper articles did discuss ETA often, though ETA is not very historical as it was only recently formally disbanded and some of its members are still incarcerated. When asked about the regime and ETA in the survey, most said they are not affected by them. However, more youth answered that they are still affected by Franco than the older generations. I hypothesize that more youth are affected by Franco than members of the older generations because they have no time period to which they can compare Franco's effects. Contrarily, the older generations

either experienced Franco's regime or the immediate after effects of his regime, causing the effects of today to seem irrelevant. More people than I expected preferred not to respond, which could signify resentment towards the groups.

The Basque youth are not inherently banal in their nationalist expressions when compared to the older generations. As shown in the amount of newspaper articles discussing protests, rallies, and voting in order to advocate for their platforms, activism is an important part of the lives of the youth and the older generations. Both groups were willing to display their desires and objections about a topic to demand change. Franco and ETA did not seem to have lasting effects of the older generations, meaning their promotion of nationalism among the youth was not impacted by historical events. Furthermore, media is more important among the youth than the older generations, showing a change in today's society and an easier method through which to spread ideas and bond a community.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of my research, I expected to find a dramatic difference between the youth expressions of nationalism and the expressions from that of the older generations. I hypothesized that, due to the oppression of the Franco regime and the ETA terrorism, the older generations would be much more active and conscientious in their expressions of nationalism, through promotional events and protests. I expected that the youth would express nationalism banally, through everyday use of the language and symbols, since they had not been raised under an oppressive regime nor during the majority of ETA's terrorism. Furthermore, I expected the older generations to be intentional in their encouragement of the youth about Basque nationalism.

Through the newspaper articles and survey responses, I have found that while there were some differences in the groups' expressions of nationalism, both the youth and the older generations actively express Basque nationalism. Both groups were involved in Basque culture, could speak Euskera, and were active in protests and rallies. Contrary to what I expected, the older generations did not seem impacted by the Franco regime nor ETA's terrorism. Thus, they were not more active in nationalist expressions nor were they more intentional in spreading Basque nationalism to the youth due to a traumatic history. The youth were more affected by media, showing the prominence of digital capitalism and technology in today's time. Independence was more often discussed in articles concerning the older generations than the youth. The results show that Basque nationalism has evolved over centuries and continues to do so with the development of

technology and changes in society, thus causing differences in nationalist expressions across generations.

LIMITATIONS

I encountered a few limitations in my research. As I was not in Spain when I began my research, I could not observe nationalist expressions for myself. This specifically hindered my understanding of banal expressions. I also had the limitation of money. To make my survey specific to my desired sample, Clickworker charged more money than I had available. Thus, I could not ensure that my survey reached respondents from the Basque region, requiring me to eliminate over half the responses. Furthermore, I had the limitation of time. I could only skim the surface of nationalist expressions in the newspaper and the survey. Had I more time, I could have explored concepts and results much deeper. Due to these limitations, my research is not as accurate as someone could complete with more time and money.

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APPENDIX: Translated Survey Questions

1. How old are you?
 - a. 18-29
 - b. 30-44
 - c. 45-59
 - d. 60-120
2. Of what country are you a citizen?
3. Where do you live?
4. If you stated you live in Basque Country, for how long have you lived there?
5. Do you identify as only Basque, only Spanish, or both?
 - a. Only Basque
 - b. Only Spanish
 - c. Both
6. Why do you identify as such?
7. How does your family identify?
 - a. Only Basque
 - b. Only Spanish
 - c. Both
8. What do you believe it means to be Basque?
9. If you stated that you identify as only Basque or as Basque and Spanish, how do you express your identity?
10. Do you speak Euskera?
 - a. Yes, fluently
 - b. Somewhat
 - c. A little
 - d. No
11. If so, in what context do you use it?
12. Do you participate in Basque festivals? (Aste Nagusia, Aterri Eguna, Tamborrada, etc.)
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Sometimes
13. If so, why do you participate in Basque festivals?
14. Have the political strategies of Basque nationalist groups, from the 1950s to now?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Would prefer not to respond
15. If so, how have they affected you?
16. Does the time period of Francoist Spain affect you today?
 - a. Yes

- b. No
 - c. Would prefer not to respond
17. If so, how has it affected you?
18. Do you practice a religion?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Would prefer not to respond
19. If so, in what way do you practice your religious belief?
20. Do you identify with a political party?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Would prefer not to respond
21. If so, with which one(s) do you identify?
22. Do you use social media?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
23. If so, what social media do you use?
24. With what gender do you identify?