

# Globalism and hierarchical-local identity in emerging Basque planning

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## Introduction

It may be very useful to examine the globalism-localism debate in the context of specific regions of the world. One such promising region could well be *Euskadi*<sup>2</sup> or the Basque Country.

This very interesting region, located along both slopes of the Pyrenees Mountains and extending westward in Northern Spain, is the homeland of Europe's oldest true human people, dating from about 40,000 years ago. Where they migrated from that long ago is not as important as the amazing constancy of parts of their culture, especially as evidenced in their language – which is, for all intents and purposes, unique, unrelated to any modern European language or even to the Indo-European language family.<sup>3</sup> And yet the Basques are now a *modern* people, having been taught by a succession of European cultures and having contributed in major ways to both modern Spanish and modern French cultures.<sup>4</sup> Thus the question of "local identity" was posed in this region long before the globalism of our era.

## Planning behavior as applied to the Basque context

### The general behavior of planning

Planning, in the broadest sense, may be seen as that human activity or behavior of *thinking about doing*, in which *modification of the environment and/or some part of the sequence of possible action*, to better accomplish some purpose or purposes or better solve some problem or problems, is *part of the thinking*, and also *the subject of an important part of the resulting intended action*. Such thinking-action behavior may sometimes be directly observed but it is more frequently evidenced most clearly by inferring thought process, either from the artifacts or calculation, or from observable consequences of such thought-plus-action.<sup>5</sup>

*Planning is, in this sense, a kind of exploratory behavior – a succession of arcs of exploratory thought about what might be done to solve problems or achieve goals and arcs of thought about the present situation and who is doing what in it.* Such a planning behavior phenomenon has probably existed from the time of the appearance of true humans, and maybe in some rudimentary form even earlier. Emphasis has alternated between

planning of environmental changes, sequences of actions by individuals, communities and other organizations.

### Planning behavior among the Basques

The Basque people of Southwest Europe are the descendants of the original Cro-Magnons, if we are to accept the logic of current international linguistic scholarship, as we do.<sup>3</sup> These "paleo-Basques," as we may refer to these very ancient ancestors of today's Basques, displayed a marked tendency toward planning behavior<sup>5</sup> from their beginnings. The first evidences of such forethought among the earliest Basques are of environmental modifications for the purposes of entrapping large mammals as a part of hunting. (The Cro-Magnon proto-Basques differed from the earlier Neanderthals, who appear to have merely opportunistically used existing topography – e.g. cliffs or swamps, bogs, and marshes – for such purposes. Digging a large pit, frequently with sharpened poles at the bottom, displays quite a different order of applying foresight, and postponed gratification, prior to undertaking the action of a hunt itself.

Another aspect of such complex and symbolic anticipation and foresight, applied to hunting behavior, is found in the cave paintings, probably most clearly at France's Chauvet Cave, as indicated by recent scholarship.<sup>6</sup>

Planning for large animal hunts, therefore, may be said to have begun more than 40,000 years ago, when true-human complex environmental planning began to be an important aspect of human activity. We can observe in it from the beginning an important strategic aspect to it to thought about modifying the environment for human purposes, based on the anticipatable behavioral sequences of specific species of animals, as well as of men. Such strategic planning often rose to the primary emphasis, and it no doubt soon became applied to warfare, though the early archeological evidence is scant. Spatial or territorial planning is also evident in the arrangement of the painted caves more than 3,000 years ago.<sup>7</sup> Long after the cave-painting era, sedentary herdsman and farming developed in Basque culture, with strong environmental planning implications.

By the time of the Roman Conquest in 56 BC, the military strategic planning, of several kinds, of the Basques was clearly in evidence – notably the building of fortified cities. Julius Caesar's account of the Battle of *Sos* makes that quite clear.<sup>8</sup>

Strategy remains clearly central to contemporary Basque culture. It is most visible in games such as the famous Basque card game, *mus* and in sports such as *Pelote Basque [Euskal Pilotaren Gogoia]* (called *hai-alai* in the Americas).<sup>9</sup> Environment too is central to much of contemporary Basque thought, one has only to consider the *etxe*, the house – one of the glories of Basque culture – and its extension up or urban settlements and up to regional or national territories.<sup>10</sup>

## “Irreducible Basque phenomenon” and “Basque singularity”

Much has been written by European writers about how “different” the Basques are. But are these attributes of strategic thinking and emphasis on the environment unique to Basque culture, or are they part of a more general pattern in human cultures?

In the first place, Basque environmental planning today could hardly be expected to be substantially unique. After all, more than two millennia of acculturation – from the Gauls (Celts), the Romans, the Catalans, the Bearnese, and the Castillians – have taken place. The most direct borrowing has been in the past 400 years, from the French and from the Castilian Spanish. This borrowing is clear in that there is no general concept of planning in *Euskera*, other than the loan word from other European languages. The word for territorial or regional planning is *antolamendu*, connotes “arrangement” just as it does in the French *aménagement* or the Spanish *ordenamiento*.

If there are uniquenesses in Basque planning, they will be found below the surface. Philippe Oyamburu, in his widely-read book about the supposed “irreducibility” of things Basque, has argued that such fundamental differences do indeed exist, and that they have to do with:

- stubbornness,
- a near obsessive economic calculus,
- an adventuresome optimism, and a
- pragmatism.<sup>11</sup>

There are plenty of anecdotes to support each hypothesis, as well as the combination or traits that are said to comprise the pattern. But there is no systematic empirical evidence. Later research may or may not verify the saliency of some or all of these traits among contemporary Basque planners.<sup>13</sup>

But there is an essentially contrary hypothesis that has been advanced. More recently, one of the leading Basque social scientists has advanced the viewpoint that Basque uniqueness is all relative, not absolute.<sup>11</sup> Pierre Bidart has reviewed most of the writing about “the specificity” of the Basque people and their culture. Bidart’s is a post-modern formulation – a discourse on other discourses – and, by its nature, arrives at few specific conclusions. Rather, Bidart achieves something of a post-modern compendium of discourses about “Basqueness” (virtually all of which he finds somehow wanting): Thus is founded his tentative conclusion about the relativity of Basque uniqueness.

Neither Oyemburu nor Bidart really give us any solid explanation of the supposed universality, or indeed of relativity, of these traits of the residual Basque culture. If there is one such trait, that would be the Basque language, the only cultural trait that has remained largely intact ever the centuries. *Euskara* does have a number of features that make it quite unique in Europe, and indeed worldwide. It is a reflexive language and some of its verbs are quite mathematical in their logic. However, no serious argument has been advanced so far to the effect that planners who think in *Euskara*, arrive at substantially different proposals, through different mental processes, than do the native speakers of other languages. Future research may yet yield evidence of the effect of Basque semantics on planning thought and action, however. (Bidart seems to reject this possibility, but, consistently, he is ambivalent.) But, until such evidence is convincing, we must say that *Basque planning behavior is just human planning behavior, writ small*.

My own empirical research has yielded one other hypothesis about the possible singular uniqueness of Basque planners. It is one that comes from having interviewed a substantial number of Basque planners in the past several years: that *they do have a strong tendency to think concretely about specific places – to the point that they frequently avoid discussing a place unless they know that the person they are talking to has actually been there*. I am not familiar with such a strong tendency to-

ward empirical specificity in any other of the numerous nations where I have had occasion to discuss planning. So the hypothesis is that Basque planners are fundamentally oriented to localities (and this perhaps local identity) in their planning. We shall return to this idea.

## Early Basque human settlement planning; Hamlets to La Hoya

Tens of thousands of years after the “planning imagination” of the cave-painters, the “proto-Basques” are known to have applied their planning propensities, environmental-spatial emphasis, to rural hamlet centers. When the Celts invaded their area about 1000 BC, no doubt, hunting strategies were adapted to military endeavors. There was also some acculturation of Celtic military arts, that came to influence defensive urban settlements. As early as 800 BC and especially after 500 BC, we have archeological evidence of rather sophisticated, and partly defensive, urban planning. The best example is at Spain’s La Hoya, at the southern edge of the contemporary Basque-speaking region, just north of Laguardia. There a rectilinear townsite, with stone-paved streets, definitively oriented and with orderly residential lots, was laid out, with surrounding light walls, about 1.5 meters high. Excavations reveal that there were both late Celtic and early Basque influences in the culture of La Hoya. But it surely was something of a template for the many of the *gotorleku* or *gatzelu* (Latin: *oppidium*, *oppidia*) that dotted parts of the Basque Country when Europeans arrived.<sup>12</sup>

## Early Basque strategic military planning

At the dawn of the historic era, in AD 56, the “proto-Basques” are documented as having engaged in quite sophisticated military planning in the Battle of Sos, to the southeast of what is present-day Bordeaux, probably or near Auch. No less an authority than Julius Caesar, relying on the reports of his general, Crassus, detailed the great military preparations, strategies, and tactics of the Basque-speaking kingdom in that city.<sup>13</sup> Nor was this merely local anticipation and preparation for battle, for Basque-speaking cavalry was brought all the way from Spain for this battle. In the battle itself, the Basques used a strategy of deception to lure the Roman infantry into an ambush involving their cavalry but were in turn overwhelmed by the Roman cavalry. They then retreated into their fortress city and countered attempt after attempt by the Romans to breach the stronghold’s defenses. When the Romans finally broke through the Basques immediately sued for peace. Only during these negotiations did the Basque king, surrounded by a dedicated personal guard of a hundred soldiers, reveal himself. The Romans were deeply impressed and allowed the king to continue to be a leading citizen in the new Roman city, even printing a Roman coin in his name. This kind of respect for the Aquitaine Basques in due course led the Romans to enact special rules for the *novempopulae*, the nine (actually 12 or 13 counting sub-categories) non-Celtic and non-Iberic populations of southwest Gaul.<sup>13</sup>

Basques continued to display elements of military planning, strategic emphasis, during the centuries following the Roman era, most notably at the battle of Roncevalle (Roncevaux) in AD 778, in which Charlemagne’s rear guard was lured into a narrow ravine and then annihilated by a force of hidden Basques. Thereby the *Chanson de Roland* was born, including the erroneous attribution of the massacre to the Moors. More important to us was the evidence of deterioration of Basque military planning between the Battle of Sos and that of Roncevalle (Roncevaux). All that was left was the initial luring of a force into an ambush, and that was done on only the rear guard. There are plenty of other evidences of the decline of Basque military planning, and social organization generally, during the age of barbarian and Moorish invasions.

## Centuries of Occitan, Spanish and French domination<sup>14</sup>

The initial king in Navarre's Pamplona dynasty in the early Middle Ages was a Basque, but Euskara was not a written language and kingdoms did require written communication. The language of the Navarre kingdoms was soon dominated by Occitan (whether Catalan or Bearnais), later by imposed French kings and culture, and ultimately (after Henri de Navarre took the Behe (Bas) Navarre into France when he took the French throne as Henri IV) by the Castillian Spanish. After about 1200 it would be probably inaccurate to speak of any broad, autonomous Basque planning, either environmental-spatial or strategic. (The exception would be the planning of the individual household and farmyard, and, in some small valleys, of communities of neighbors, related to seasonal movement of sheep).

The predominant pattern during the succeeding centuries was that of very selective learning by specific individuals of whatever planning was being advanced in Spanish or French culture. And a number of Basques did attain leading positions in both countries, and in a variety of spheres of activity, ranging from religious organizations to military activity, to banking and finance, to the fishing and whaling industries, to manufacturing and to all of the European arts. But none of this was distinctively Basque planning and related behavior but rather the adopted French or Spanish planning by individual, acculturated, Basques – through other cultures, not their own.

This pattern of accommodating to the dominant national cultures was a practical necessity. European nobility generally tolerated Basque distinctiveness, even granting Basque areas special "foral" laws. However, as France and Spain developed national monarchies, there was an increasing tendency to impose somewhat universal linguistic and religious practices on the Basques. *Euskara* was forbidden to be spoken in schools and in various kinds of social circumstances. The first real crackdowns were of a religious nature, in the 16th and very early 17th centuries. In Spain, this was, was an extension of the Inquisition, specifically the suppression of the cultural shamans that had characterized pagan Basque culture from ancient times. That suppression centered on the border village of Ziggarmurdi.

A parallel suppression in Basques in France was that of de Lancre, under the auspices of the Bordeaux parliament and of king Henry IV. Substantial numbers of shamans were tried as witches, and many were burnt at the stake. Less draconian linguistic suppression followed in the 18th and 19th centuries. In France, this intensified after the Revolution, as a Jacobin Committee on languages actively sought the elimination of Basque and other regional languages. Out of this committee's work came the slogan, "Basque speaks fanaticism," pointedly placing the blame for this tendency upon the activist clergymen of the Basque-speaking area. And the priests were doubtless very important in keeping a version of Basque culture and language alive. Except for its use in the Church, Basque was never a written language. One secular writer did produce a book about 1600 in the Basque language, on the history of the Navarre dynasties; but that was very much an isolated incident. Right through the 19th century, and even through World War II, many Basque landowners had not mastered enough French or Spanish to read, and there were practically no reading materials in Euskara. It must have seemed inevitable that Basque culture and language would disappear when, after World War II, large numbers of Basque youth did finally go through the Spanish and French schools to full literacy in the dominant language. In this environment of assimilation, Basque environmental and settlement planning under the Spanish and French, was almost indistinguishable from that of each of the two "host" countries, at least to the late 19th century.

## The rise of the Basque Nationalist Movement

The counter-current that led to the rejuvenation of Basque culture and language began in the late 19th century, based in the Bilbo/Bilbao metropolis. The individual most responsible for this first wave of Basque nationalism since the Roman conquest was Sabano Arano Gori, a journalist who elaborated the idea that all Basque provinces in Spain and France constituted a nation, on a par with the Spanish (and French) states. His principal thesis was that of ethnic Basques constituting a race apart from the Latinized races and that the Basque race therefore deserved a separate nation. Toward that end, Arana Gori helped create the Basque Nationalist Party (which is still active today) and championed the Basque flag (the *ikurrinya*, red with green and white "xs", symbolizing the unity of the seven Basque provinces). Remarkably, many of Sabano Arano Gori's ideas, the political party, and the flag he created have survived with only modest modifications for more than a century.

## Resulting communities of the Basque Country

The Basques seem to have been loosely organized according to localities even in prehistoric times and probably never did function as a truly integrated nation or empire. The first Greek and Roman visitors to the Basque Country recognized, to variable degrees, the local identity of the Basque-speaking peoples they encountered. In what is today's Spain, that recognition was frequently unclear. There was even some considerable confusion, even by Roman authorities, as to which were Celtic-Speaking Gauls and which are Basque-speaking, and the imprecise category "celtibers" was often used. While some writers did attempt identification of specific tongues and cultures, there is always some confusion as to which groups belonged to which language or culture. Most importantly, there seems to have been no general Roman policy in Spain with respect to such local definition.

## The "Novempopulae" in Roman administration of the Aquitaine

The situation was quite different, as noted, north of the Pyrenees. There the Romans elaborated the policy for the *novempopulae* (nine peoples) who were not only Basque, rather than Celtic, in language and customs, but also identifiably distinct from another in dialect and culture as to justify separate treatment. By extension, adding sub-categories and residual populations, we may say that the Romans identified fully 14 distinct local cultures in Aquitania.<sup>13</sup>

Note that all these recognizably distinct local peoples at the time of the Roman conquest received some special administrative treatment that, in effect, speeded their acculturation. Distinctions among them became blurred. Almost all of them had become Occitan-speaking, rather than Basque-speaking, by the end of the 13th century. Only Lapurdum (Baiona/Bayonne) has maintained a consistent Basque character into the present day. Its contemporaneous Lapurdi/Labourd culture remains one of the most distinctive ones in the Basque Country. The Xiberoa/Soule people of today may be considered the descendants of both the *Iloronses* and the *Berneaneses*.

The present-day provinces of Biskaia/Biscay and Gipuzkoa/Gipuscoa are often said to have been the least Romanized areas of Roman Europe, being divided only very generally into the *ager*, where farming was possible, and the *saltus* or the highland forests. Yet there is every probability that the Spanish Basques were just as differentiated as were those on the other side of the Pyrenees.

## Traditional provinces of the Basque nationalism and sub-provincial locality levels

After the end of the Roman occupation, historic experience led to new differentiations by locality of the remaining Basque-speaking people. By the time of the rise of Basque nationalism in the late 19th Century, seven historic, and recognizably distinct, "provinces" of the Basque Country were defined. These provinces are used even today to refer to today's distinct Basque peoples. Each of them had traditional sub-provincial areas, and within these were cities, towns, villages and hamlets. A general listing of these, with somewhat more detail for one province, Lapurdi/Labourd, should suffice. These were:

- **Biskaia/Biscaya**, the large westernmost area of the Basque-speaking region, centering around the largest city, Bilbo/Bilbao, a center of industry and banking. It has a strong hierarchy of medium and smaller cities, many of which also are industrial in character. The main sub-provincial areas are the Bilbo/Bilbao metropolitan area;
- **Gipuiskoa/Gipuskcoa**, the comparably-sized coastal and mountain area, centering around Donostia/San Sebastian, a major beach and summer vacation center for all of Spain, and also having a strong hierarchy of medium and smaller cities. The main subprovincial areas include the **Donostia/San-Sebastian** metropolitan area, with the central city and the port-industrial area;
- **Nafarroa/Navarra**, the even larger easternmost Spanish area, centering on the traditional Basque capital at Iruña/Pamplona but with a somewhat weaker hierarchy of secondary and tertiary cities. Basque is spoken predominantly in the northern portions of this province, with strong minority Basque population in Iruña/Pamplona and other centrally-located cities;
- **Araba/Alava**, centering around the city of Gasteiz/Victoria-Gasteiz, with a minority of Basque-speakers;
- **Labord/Labourd**, on the French side of the border, with the dominant Basque city being Baiona/Bayonne, and with somewhat distinctive sub-cultures;
- **Behe-Nafarroa/Basse-Navarre**, a lightly populated province also on the French side, but historically linked to the Spanish Nafarroa/Navarra. The initial provincial sub-area is **Garazi/Pays-de Cize** (or "Caesar's country" in deference even today to the importance the Romans gave to this defensive and commercial "port" between Spain and Gaul; and,
- **Ziberoa/Soule**, the easternmost of the French areas, lacking in large cities and having a very distinctive dialect that is not easily understandable by other Basques and yet whose culture is highly respected throughout the region

## How Basque planners view their localities

In several years of interviewing Basques who are, in one sense or another, planners, I have come to some strong hypotheses on how they deal with the contrasting pressures to think globally, in relation to their natural tendency to be localistic in orientation. As mentioned above, most Basque planners prefer not to discuss the planning of specific localities unless both parties have been to and "know" that locality. Cultural stereotypes go much further toward polemicizing about this localistic tendency in Basque language and culture. Many Spanish observers (some of them ethnic Basques themselves) have argued for decades that abstraction is not possible in the Basque language. *If so, of course, Basques could not think globally, for the essence of globalism is spatial abstraction to the highest levels.* The emphasis on the concrete also meant that the Basques were localistic in nature, according to both Spanish and French critics. Indeed, if Basques were really so primitive and localistic, and

the Basque language so incapable of dealing with abstractions, Basque planning could scarcely even exist. But they are not, and they do plan..

When environmental and regional planning was given to the Basque Autonomous Community in 1972, and as it developed since, we would have to expect the efforts of the Basques in the Community's government to be an intellectual shambles, weak on abstractions, and almost impossible to translate in Euskara. Quite the opposite is true. As we shall spell out below, when the Basques received the power to do regional planning, they easily mastered everything in the recently developed Spanish socialist approach, including the many abstractions, and added some more of their own. Moreover, through their contact with the international Metropolis they brought in some ideas from elsewhere in the world that were more at the cutting edge of the professional methodology than what was being developed elsewhere in Spain. *Indeed, at first blush, it may seem that the Basques might have erred on the side of globalism in regional and environmental planning. And yet there remains the local specificity characteristic already mentioned.*

How then do Basque planners deal with the different levels of community they have to deal with when planning the territory of the Autonomous Community?

They somehow move back and forth between the local emphasis – which is always present – and the global approaches – which are also omni-present. *What they do, partly because of the organizing function of the traditional Basque provinces is to think of HIERARCHICAL local identity, that is, with localities being structured in importance, from the village up and through the provinces, with typically a centering large city or a metropolitan area, up to the whole of the Basque area and its corresponding incipient megalopolis (or else multi-metropolitan complex – depending on how much effective planning is done), and from there to the European continent, and finally to the global earth and (perhaps) the idea its corresponding Ecumenopolis, or urbanized earth. Thus local identity is always tempered by the HIERARCHICAL perspective of larger and smaller areal levels.*<sup>14</sup>

We shall return to this question to see if we can add to its understanding. But first let us look a bit more at the empirical reality of Basque planning.

## Existing planning in the Basque Country

Planning in both Spain and France has rather smoothly evolved toward the common approaches to urban and regional planning that have been advanced by the European Community – which are also the state-of-the-art global professional approaches. In that approach, it is assumed that all countries will have national economic, social, environmentally protective and culturally protective plans. This planning is essentially strategic environmental in nature. There is also, of course, strategic planning by national governments and their agencies, by private firms and various other non-governmental organizations, as well as strategic planning by individuals.

## European environmental-spatial planning

European areas will also have regional plans that are, as Sansinenea puts it, "the spatial expression of economic, social and ecological policy" (SANSINENEA, 2001).<sup>15</sup> Regional spatial plans stand higher than urban planning, conceived of as limited to municipal in scope, while regional planning applied to metropolitan and larger areas – up to the nation, or even Europe as a whole. The content of regional spatial planning is "basic for a coordination of existing public administrations, trying to obtain balanced development of regions, of their income, their urban design, etc."<sup>16</sup>

The objectives of such regional spatial planning in the European context are:

- Develop a balanced, polycentric urban system that strengthens association of such urban centers with rural areas;
- Reinforce the polycentric development of the territory with integrated systems of transportation and communication, assuring accessibility;
- Develop and conserve the cultural and natural heritage of the territory.

### Contemporary governmental efforts in the Basque region – Territorial planning in the Basque Autonomous Community

The Basque Autonomous Community, in Spain, was created as a result of the Socialist government's decision to have a new Constitution for the democracy that appeared after Franco's demise. That Constitution (1978) provided limited autonomy for the Basque region (as well as for Catalonia and Galicia, and other areas on request).<sup>17</sup> The entity created to receive Basque limited autonomy was the Basque Autonomous Community. It was given as territory the provinces of Biscaya (Biscaya), Gipuzkoa (Gipúscoa), and Araba (Alava). Excluded was Nafarroa (Navarra/Navarre), the historically central focus in much of Basque history. And, as a Spanish creation, it necessarily excluded the historic three Basque provinces in France. Despite its territorial limitations, the creation of the Autonomous Basque Community marked the first time in more than two thousand years that anything resembling autonomous decision making by Basques, would be possible for even part of their homeland.

Powers given to the Basque Autonomous Party were apparently numerous but in reality quite limited — especially whenever a hostile Spanish central government would be in power. A Basque Parliament was created, but it was restricted by the power both of the Spanish Parliament and of the Spanish national courts. A localized judiciary was created, but clearly subject to the Spanish national judiciary. A Basque executive branch was created, centering on a Basque president (Lehendakari), and there was a vice president. Executive functions, some ten or eleven in number, were concentrated in an array of ministerial-level departments; but what parts of what functions were retained by the Spanish central government was frequently ambiguous and often had to be negotiated or decided upon by Spanish higher courts. Even the supposedly autonomous budget was allowed to become regularly the subject of bitter annual negotiations.

One of the executive clusters of functions was named "territorial planning, housing, and the environment." (In recent years, "housing and social affairs" has been moved to a separate department). The Basque name for the first part of the remaining department is *Lurralde Antzokimendu*, which translates directly into Spanish as *Ordenamiento del Territorio*, and is best expressed in English as "territorial planning." There is a connotation of "arrangement" in all languages.<sup>18</sup> The second half of the cluster of functions is straightforward: *Ingurugiro (medio ambiente)*, [*Environment*]. This part of the department is defined rather comprehensively and compares rather well with the scope of such national agencies elsewhere in Europe and internationally. It covers biodiversity and ecology, water and the coastline, land, air and noise, environmental impact analysis, contaminated sites, waste disposal, and the Basque register of emissions and pollution sources. It has its own thematic cartography division. *The fusion of "territorial planning" with "environment" into a single executive agency suggests that the Basque Autonomous Community has the beginnings of an appropriate way of dealing with planning the Basque inter-urban natural complex.*

By late 1996 a detailed report was debated in the Basque Parliament, and the *Directives of Territorial Planning* (a massive compendium of several hundred pages, profusely illustrated) were published first in 1997.<sup>19</sup> Briefly, the Directives start with a heavy emphasis on the natural environment, its inventory and protection; and then it turns to "arranging" the region's spatial structure toward the achievement of economic and socio-cultural objectives. A key summary output is the "Regional Model" of the future Basque spatial structure, which must be expected to become a powerful decision-tool in future years. The work of the department since the publication of the "directives" has been a deepening of the basic principles and extending the logic into "sectoral territorial plans" (e.g. industrial ruins, land locations for promoting housing, protection of the banks of rivers and streams, and economic activities), and "partial territorial plans," including criteria for provincial and municipal planning. This latter has recently led to an inventory of municipal planning for the region, as well as the initiation of an entirely new Basque local planning and urban design law. (This became a point of controversy at the end of 2003 and is still not fully resolved).

Related to its main thrust of developing the "Territorial Planning Directives," with its summary "Territorial Model" has been its multi-year collaboration with the *Fundación Metropoliti* in sharpening its focus on the proactive urban development aspects of its effort. The report of the *Fundación, Euskal Hiera: Proyecktu*, was published by the Basque government.<sup>20</sup>

The "Territorial Model" has as its dominant element **the Basque polynuclear system of cities, towns and villages**, led by the several metropolitan areas of Bilbo (Bilbao), Donostia (San Sebastian), Gasteiz (Vitoria) [Vitoria-Gasteiz]. The border mini-metropolis of Irun, Hontarribia (Fontarabia), Hendaia (Hendaye) needs to be added. Then, outside the Spanish Basque territory, the B.A.B. metropolis in France, the historically and functionally key Iruña (Pamplona) metropolis, and the external but functionally-linked Longroño complex also must be added. The next level of centers of important market and industrial centers needs to be elaborated more systematically. And the hardest tasks ahead will be that of doing justice to the quasi-urban bridges to agricultural, grazing and natural areas, the small town and villages so central to Basque culture. Overall, this "Model" has the potential of achieving a heavily nature-oriented multi-metropolitan and multi-centric complex, perhaps unmatched anywhere else on the globe. In brief, the Basque Autonomous Community has made a good start at the kind of hierarchical planning that will be required in decades and centuries ahead. It is particularly important that the environmental aspects be well-founded. The neglect of the efficiency facets of settlement structure is to be regretted. However, the needed inputs from economics and the social sciences can easily be added later on by any number of inter-ministerial arrangements.

### Planning Agency for the Spanish Nafarroa/Navarra Autonomous Community

This agency is roughly parallel to that for the Basque Autonomous Community, but for the Spanish province (Autonomous Foral Community of Nafarroa/Navarra). The planning for this area, politically, is tied closely to the conservative Popular Party, however, and is essentially anti-Basque in practice. There will probably be very limited interaction between the two agencies. [Research on this area is not yet complete].

## United Planning Agency for France's Atlantic Pyrenees *Département*

On the French side of the Basque Region, there is one agency that potentially *could* conceivably plan for the entire three French traditional Basque provinces. That is the Urban Planning Agency for the Atlantic Pyrenees *Département*.<sup>21</sup> This agency was created only a few years ago at the behest of *Département* Council, and it has proved itself as an invaluable source of economic, demographic, and mapping studies as well as local plans. (It has done major work for the BAB metropolitan area). This is despite its chronically understaffed situation. It currently has a multi-disciplinary team of three architects, three geographers, one economist, a documentation specialist, a land surveyor/computer specialist and two secretaries.

This agency functions as a kind of public consulting firm, responding to requests from its own *Departmental* elected councilors and to local government elected officials to do whatever research for planning or planning that may be desired.

There are planning agencies in each of the larger municipalities, but none of them is capable of leading area-wide planning of the kind that is likely to be required. This has become clear with the "Eurocity Basque" project that was launched with great fanfare several years ago as a joint venture of the City of Biaona (Bayonne) and the provincial government of Gipuskoa (Guipúscoa), complete with an expensive and, initially, well-maintained web-site.<sup>20</sup>

## The B.A.B. Metro Planning Agency

The second agency to be discussed is the BAB metropolitan planning agency, staffed by professionals provided by the three constituent cities. This agency did not have enough personnel to carry out the key transportation planning study, and had to turn to the *Departmental* agency for that important task. In time, the BAB planning agency should be able to do all of its own work. However, it does not deal with a wide enough scope to be able to work effectively with the agency or agencies from across the Pyrenees for megalopolitan planning.

## Strategic organizational planning

Strategic, organizational planning in the Basque Region is similar to that in most modern nations of Europe and elsewhere. It is most highly developed in the banking and industrial sectors, somewhat less in the services and trade sectors – but with some exception. Not-for-profit organizational planning is widespread, though uneven. Governmental planning is mostly at the quasi-national (Basque Autonomous Community) level, especially in the more economically-oriented sectors. There is also surprisingly well developed strategic planning in the health, education and housing sectors, though occasionally spotty.

## "Plan Ibarritxe": A Basque Autonomous Community strategic framework for future planning?

The Achilles' heel of the entire "territorial planning" initiative of the Basque Autonomous Community has been that it lacks appropriate jurisdiction for the task at hand. The fundamental problem that the effort addressed, again, is the need to promote, for the entire Basque regional territory, modern economic and social development while avoiding the self-defeating horrors of megalopolitan development – resulting in the permanent degradation of a rich and beautiful, but fragile, natural environment. The problem with the planning effort resides partly in the more-apparent-than-real quality of the Community's autonomy in Spain. However, in addition, the Basque Autonomous Com-

munity has jurisdiction, or even hope of meaningful influence, over only a portion of the regional territory. Nafarroa (Navarra/Navarre) and the three French provinces were, up to 2001, quite outside any meaningful planning by the Basque Autonomous Community. Indeed, there was official hostility to things Basque (except folklorish tourism), in both of these jurisdictions. The only available vision to deal with such seemingly intransigent problems to date was the vague intention, frequently stated since 1990, for the territorial planning to be a "pioneering effort" that would inspire parallel efforts in the other jurisdictions. History does not display many instances of such vague hopes, alone, being realized. The outlook was simply not convincing.

Into this problematic situation there appeared, without much warning, a remarkable potential strategy for Basque national development and inter-jurisdictional dialogue among Basques. This was the highly controversial "Plan Ibarritxe," named after the present Basque President (*Lehendakari*), Juan Jose Ibarretxe. This plan-for-planning, or meta-plan, was announced about the time of his presidential inauguration in mid-2001 and has later become elaborated into a full-fledged proposal. "Plan Ibarritxe" has been the subject of heated debate for the past two years and is finally due to go to the Basque Parliament and then, very probably, as a non-binding "consultation" referendum to the entire Basque electorate. A key part of the proposal is for a new political statute for the Basque homeland, stipulating that the Basques have a right to decide their own future, and posing a new model of relationship to Spain – based on the principle of "free association." The new statute would replace that of 24 years ago, with the aim of improving "living together" with Spain, broadening self-government, and improving the well-being of all Basques. The "Plan" has three premises:

- That the Basque people are a European people, with their own history;
- That the Basque people have a right to decide their own future, in conformity with the right of self-government of peoples, as proclaimed by the Basque Parliament and internationally recognized;
- That in exercising the right to decide their own future the citizens of the Community of *Euskadi* [the Basque homeland], of Nafarroa (Navarra/Navarre) and the Basque provinces of France, respectively, have the right to be consulted in referendum, and their will should be respected.<sup>22</sup>

It is on these three premises that the Basque people would ask for a new political statute of free association with the Spanish state. That would clearly change the game of autonomy, with the implicit possibility of a future referendum for total separation from Spain. The third premise would allow for future joint decision making between the Basque Autonomous Community and Basques residing outside the territories. Both are seen as threatening by supporters of the status quo.

Clearly enough, the "Plan Ibarritxe" would require an amendment to Spain's 1978 Constitution, and strong forces in various parts of Spain are arrayed against any such fundamental change. On the other hand, should the "Plan" gain approval by the Basque electorate, the result would very probably be some kind of compromise and the grant of greater and clearer autonomy. However, whatever the outcome, "Plan Ibarretxe" will probably stand as one latent expression of "what the Basque people want" for decades to come. As such, it may well provide the basis for negotiations between Basque leaders in the Basque Autonomous Community of Spain and those in France and Nafarroa (Navarra/Navarre).

## Future Basque planning required: Territorial and settlement planning

Territorial and human settlement (Ekistic) planning has been spelled out above. There is a pretty clear view of the kind of natural environment to be preserved and enhanced. And, espe-



cially, in the Basque Autonomous Community, there is movement in the direction of appropriate methods for attaining it. The relation to socio-economic programming is so far incomplete – as it is everywhere. But there are promising signs that the planning will, over time, come to congruence with the nature of the future environment of the urbanized region. A few specific problems remain as to the appropriate planning behavior.<sup>23</sup>

### Achieving the appropriate global-to-local community focus for planning

In discussing how Basque planners view their localities, we noted their specificity concerning local places, combined with a general orientation to fit what they propose and implement with the best in international practice. We suggested that this was a constant issue in good planning for complex urban-regions such as is the Basque Country. This proposition has major implications for improved planning in the future, both in the Basque region and elsewhere.

### For a specific community: Problem-goal nexus vs. current activity

At the level of a specific community, there needs to be first of all the full understanding of what is specific about a locality. That suggests a concentration on what we call the problems-goals nexus of a community, and the exploration of alternatives out

from that. That is, an exploration of what might solve the key problems of achieving the key objectives. On the other hand, it needs to carefully analyze what the community is doing now and how that might be extended out toward alternative ways of doing things. In other words, what else could be done by the community and for the community? The appropriate strategy for the community would be found when there is a tangency or overlap between the extending arcs of the explorations of problem-solving or goal-attainment alternatives with the arcs of the explorations of the “what else could we be doing” arcs. This is the essence of a “behavioral theory of local and regional planning,” using the insights from organizational planning and the “behavioral theory the firm” (fig. 1).

### Selecting the appropriate focal community level: Global vs. local

The same way of thinking should be used by planners at regional levels in thinking about the appropriate level of community on which to focus. In this case, the exploratory arcs extend out from the emphasis on the lower of two possible community levels, such as the town or neighborhood, and the broad “state-of-the-art” of worldwide planning. I have suggested that this is how the Basque planners today arrive at their choice of community-level focus. The theoretical implication is that this could be done more systematically if the nature of the kind of planning behavior were to be fully recognized (fig. 2).

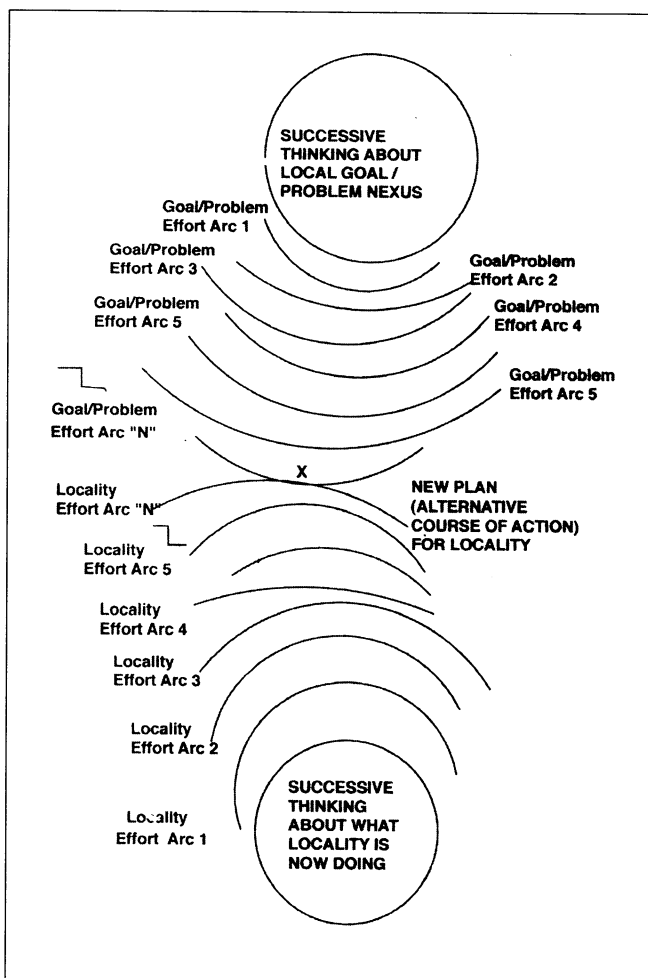


Fig. 1: Planning behavior at the level of a specific locality.

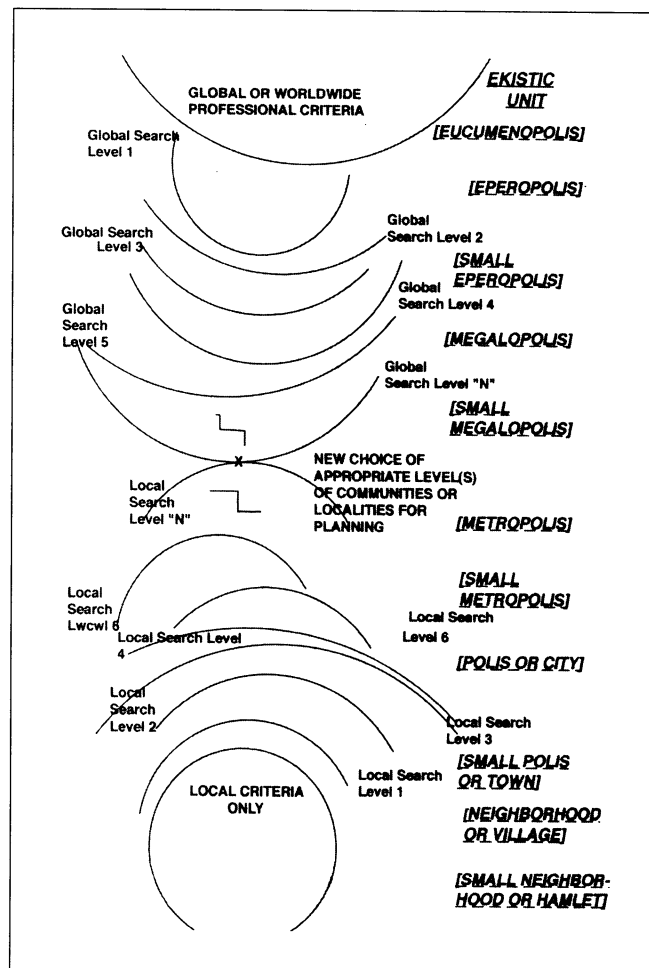


Fig. 2: Planning behavior in choosing appropriate level for analysis and proposing courses of action.

This behavioral planning of appropriate community level is done not locality by locality but rather by viewing each locality as part of a hierarchy. Thus hamlets relate to the larger world not directly but rather through a hierarchy of centers: the village, the town, the small city, the large city, the metropolis and then, in urbanized regions, to the megalopolis or multi-metropolitan complex – and perhaps to whole continents and the globalized urban world. And each village, town and city relates to the hierarchy of places above it. It is also probable, I believe from my interviews of Basque planners, that those who think of localities from the top-downward use a kind of *inverse hierarchy of localities*, in which one moves from the largely urbanized earth progressively to localities of successively smaller size and importance – until one reaches the appropriate community level for planning purposes.

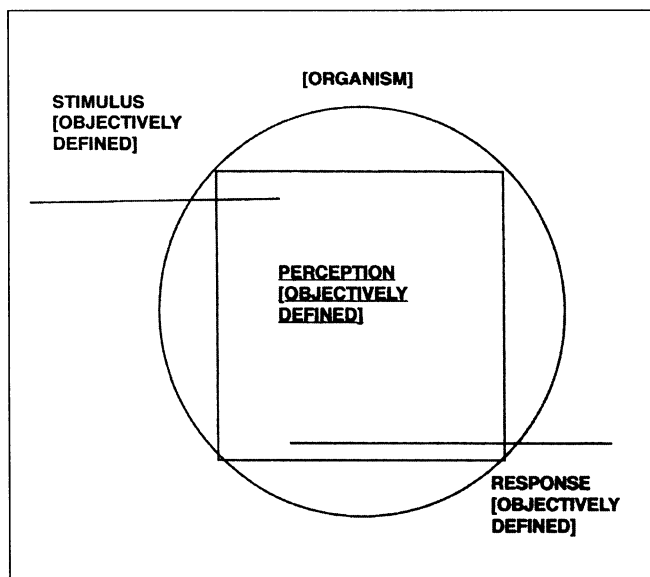
## Conclusions

### Generalized theoretical conclusions

This empirical generalization coincides nicely with the Simon's behavioral theory of planning, that real-world planners make their decisions by kinds of successive approximation, with search arcs moving out from one side of the problem and the other side of examined current behavior. Moreover, this behavioral planning applies, not only to plans for any given level of community, but also for selecting the appropriate level of planning within the hierarchy of localities – or the reverse hierarchy when viewing from the global perspective.

• **Integrating strategic planning with spatial planning:** The regional planners of the Basque Autonomous Community have tried hard to date to put spatial planning in a strategic approach involving economic, social, and cultural objectives and problem solving. Such integration of strategic and spatial planning needs to continue to improve.

All this, as a minimum, must be reflected in future Basque planning if it is to accomplish what it needs to in our complexly urbanizing world. There will be political constraints on how much of such planning can be adopted, as well as how much of what is planned can be implemented by specifiable government agencies and private firms.



**Fig. 3:** Classic behavioral psychology formulation: Stimulus-response arc. (Sources: Watson, Hujll, B.F. Skinner, *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* and work cited there).

• **Recapitulation and generalization for a behavioral theory of strategic Ekistics:** My theoretically-relevant conclusions derive directly from my empirically-derived hypotheses about, first, how Basque planners view planning at any given community level. Secondly, they are about how these planners view the tasks of deciding upon the appropriate focus of local identity – to which they are deeply committed – vis-à-vis the global professional criteria, including those concerning systems of cities, towns, and villages – to which they also deeply subscribe. I have come to hypothesize more broadly from this analysis that most *planning behavior* itself is most appropriately viewed as *exploratory* in nature; that is, that the planning behavior needs to be the initial concern. And I dare to suggest that a theory of strategic, ekistic planning may prove to be extremely useful in the further development of this field. I sketch such a behavioral theory of strategic ekistics, though (so far) only at the most elementary, single- individual planner.

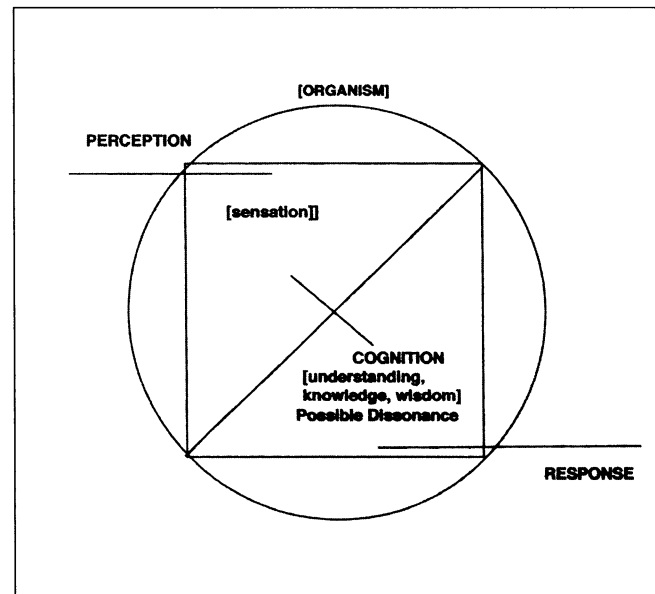
The implications of these initial formulations are presented in a series of graphics about the behavior of planning.

I begin with a diagram to show how I think planners view the question planning for a specific urban community (fig. 1). Then I examine in another diagram how I think planners decide on the appropriate focal level of a community in a hierarchy of communities, in both the physical and the strategic sense (fig. 2).

I firmly ground my approach in classic behavioral theory (stimulus response arcs) asymmetrically related to positive and negative reinforcement (fig. 3). This anchors my approach to the body of thought most generally known in the work of B.F. Skinner in his *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971), his utopian, novel, *Walden Two*, his *Science and Human Behavior* (1953) and many other works. His work in turn is founded upon the scientific experimentation of Ivan Pavlov and John B. Watson, as well as the philosophic behaviorism of Bertrand Russell. Rigorous contemporary behavior theorists included the American, Hull.

Next, I illustrate the reformulation of behavioral theory around "cognition" (especially in humans, "cognitive dissonance"). These theoretic formulations are related to the psychological work of Tolman and Postman and, later to, Leo Festinger (fig. 4).

Then I present the extremely key conceptualization of the



**Fig. 4:** Reformulation of classic behavioral psychology theory according to cognitive theory. (Sources: Postman, Festinger, et al.).



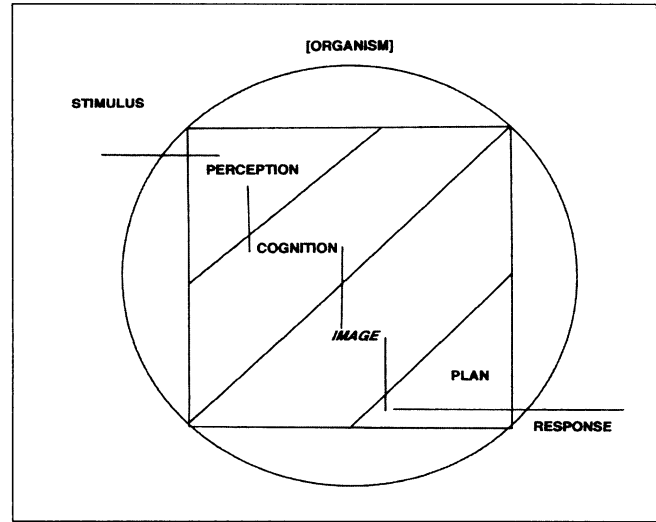
"TOTE Unit" (test-operate-test-exit) as the atomic level of behavioral analysis, with the centrality of testing in planning, behavior and the addition of the crucial operational concepts of "image" and "plan" in behavioral analysis. This formulation is due to the psychologists, George Miller (an experimental theorist), Karl Pribram (a brain psychological theorist), and Eugene Gallanter (an educational psychologist), in their book, *Plans and the Structure of Behavior* (1959).

This work has been largely neglected by planning and ekistic theorists, other than in the work of Richard Meier in his *Development Planning* and in some of my own writings. It merits major new attention, which I am initiating now (fig. 5).

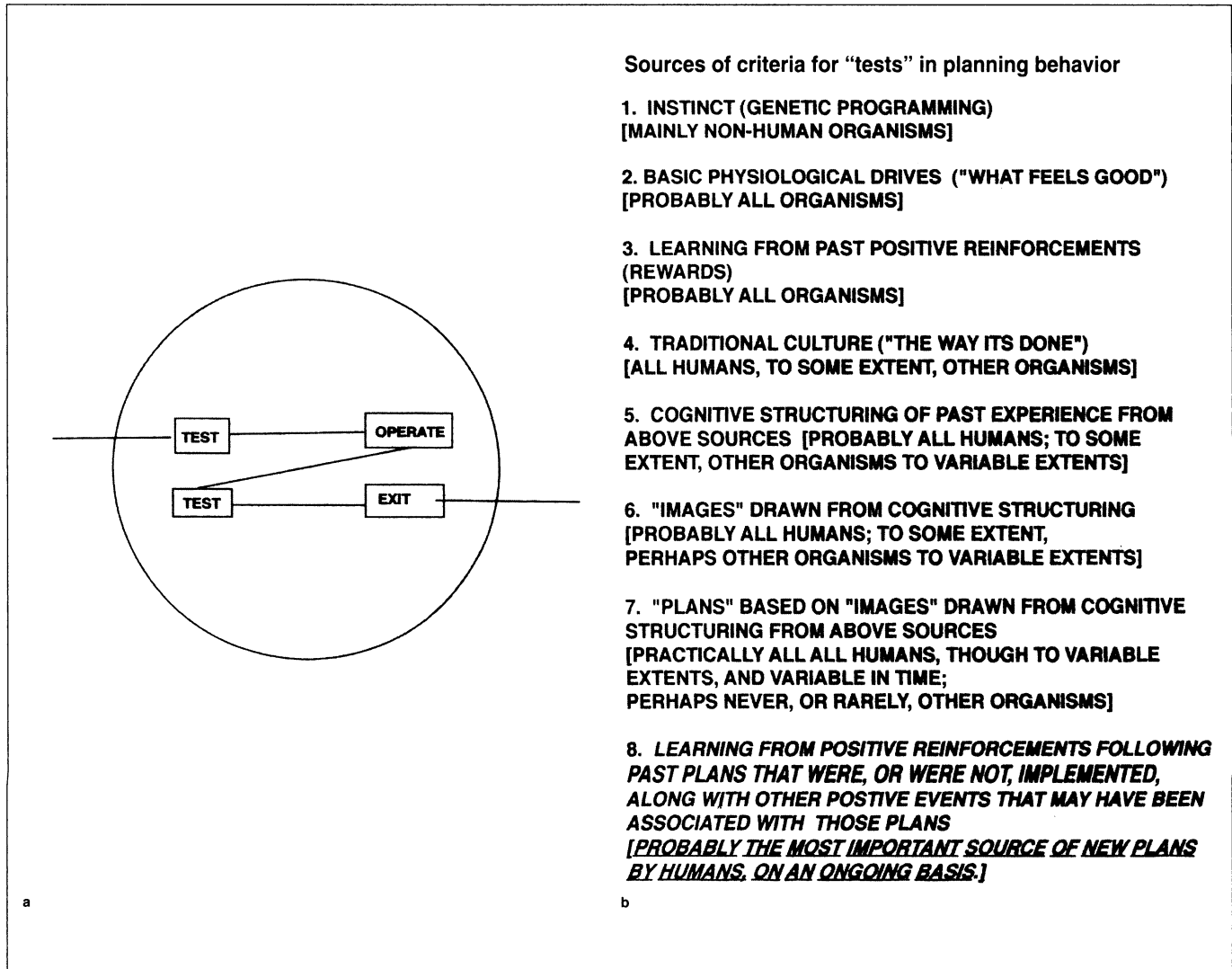
Separately, I show where the criteria for the "tests" typically come from in a range of behavioral situations, starting with instinct in animal (and some human) behavior to the more sophisticated kind of delegated human planning (fig. 5).

After that, I recapitulate by showing how "learning theory" – the core of the behavioral approach – can be reformulated in the broader conceptualizations. The result is that the centrality of learning in the behavioral theory of planning is made clear (fig. 6).

The behavioral theory of planning can be shown as a whole (fig. 7).



**Fig. 6:** Reformulation of classic behavioral psychology theory according to T.O.T.E. unit, images, and plans. (Source: Miller, Galanter and Pribram, *op. cit.*).



**Fig. 5:** The T.O.T.E. (Test-Operate-Test-Exit) unit: The "Atom" of Human Planning Behavior (Source: Miller, Galanter and Pribram, *Plans and the Structure of Behavior*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).

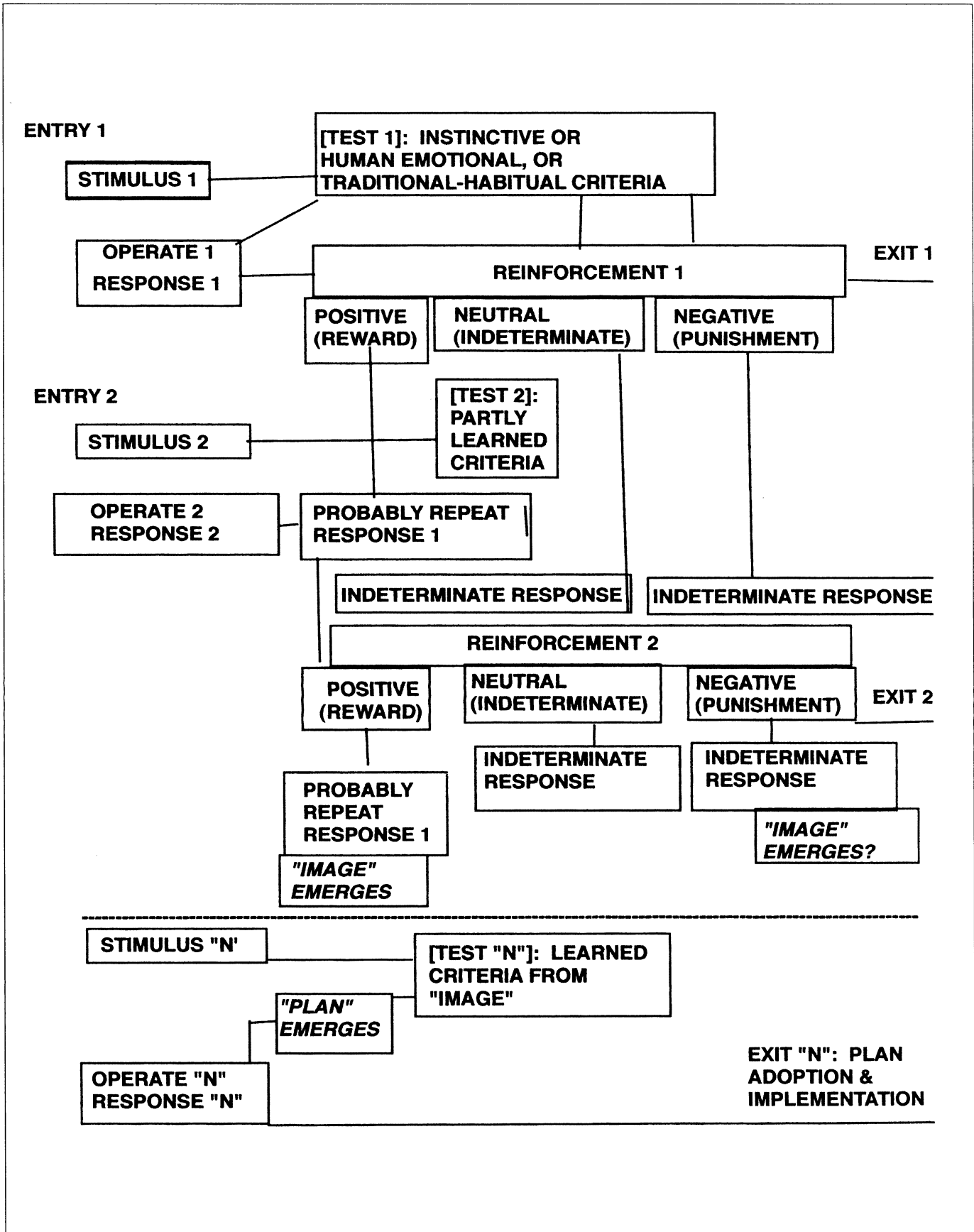


Fig. 7: Psychological learning theory reformulated in terms of T.O.T.E. units and "image" and "plan" in human behavior. (Sources: Miller, Galanter and Pribram, op. cit., and B.F. Skinner, Beyond Freedom and Dignity, and literature cited there).

"The law of anticipated reaction," originally suggested by the political theorist C.J. Friedrich decades ago, is presented as one example of possible further elaboration in a behavioral theory of strategic ekistics (fig. 8). It is shown here only to suggest the many ways that behavioral theory can be extended to many kinds of situations relevant to planning.

The subject into which we intend to extend this behavioral theory is referred to as "strategic ekistics" (or urban and regional planning) as a way of assuring more dynamism to the subject matter. There is a sense in which practically all ekistic planning behavior is in some way implicitly "strategic" in that it seeks to

accomplish objectives or solve problems through ongoing processes. I seek to make that explicit.

The next steps in the extension of the behavioral theory of strategic ekistics will involve the crucial discussion of moving beyond planning by an individual person, to joint-planning, then in delegation within small group processes, then in larger groups and whole communities, at different levels. Important here will be the successive extension of goals and objectives (or otherwise problems) to some consensus at different levels. Emphasis will shift from the psychology of behavior, to the social-psychology, then to the sociology and political science of

### **FRIEDRICH'S "LAW OF ANTICIPATED REACTION" FOR PLANNING BEHAVIOR IN FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS**

**"In any formal organization, in which the formal leader has written formal powers and has on at least one occasion implemented any of these powers fully, then in each subsequent situation, all members of the organization will act as if the formal leader were going to implement such formal powers"**

**COROLLARY: "In any formal organization, in which the formal leader has written formal powers and has on no occasion implemented any of them, then, in each specific subsequent situation, all members of the organization will act as if the leader were not going to implement such formal powers"**

**OBVERSE COROLLARY: "In any formal organization, in which the formal leader has formal written powers and has on no occasion implemented any of these powers, then in each subsequent situation, all members of the formal organization will act as if the leader were not going to implement such formal power or powers"**

**LEARNING COROLLARY: "In any formal organization, in which the formal leader has formal written powers and has an inconsistent record in some situations implementing a specific power and in others not implementing a power, members of the organization will behave according to the tenants of asymmetric learning theory, depending on whether positive or negative reinforcement followed each occasion, according to which members had anticipated the leader's action or inaction – with patterns of positive reinforcement resulting in predictable behavior by organization members and negative reinforcement resulting in unpredictable behavior by organization members."**

**Fig. 8:** For the main "law," see the various publications of Carl J. Friedrich subsequent to his *The New Image of the Common Man*, 1940. For an earlier version of the corollaries, see Lawrence D. Mann, "Planning behavior and policymaking activity," in George Sternlieb and Robert Burchell (eds., 1979), *Planning Theory for the 1980s*, Rutgers University Center for Urban Policy Research, New Brunswick, NJ.

behavioral decisions and realizations. There will always be an economic dimension of these questions. And, since we shall be dealing with territorial and spatial aspects of these behaviors, all must be seen within a geographic framework. It will be a stern, but necessary, test of the interdisciplinary capabilities of the ekistic frame of reference.

## Cautionary conclusions

• **Politics as obstacle to Basque planning and realization:** All regional planning, including megalopolitan planning, is politically problematical – if only because a multiplicity of governments are involved and the implementing agencies are not the same as those doing the planning. It is always important to involve governments at a high enough level, for otherwise the plans may be made and no government is in a position to implement those plans. In the case of the Basque region the politics are necessarily more difficult.<sup>24</sup> [For a more complete, though now outdated, analysis of the unique politics of the Basque region, see my *Political Aspects of Planning the Basque Coastal Megalopolis*, *op.cit.*]

• **The “bottom line” on political impediments to Basque planning:** The successive governments led by the Basque Nationalist Party since 1999 have shown that:

- It is in fact possible to build a strong domestic agenda, including meaningful environmental and social housing policy.
- The hostile politics of the Basque Country is probably the main impediment to good planning of metropolitan areas and their polycentric incipient megalopolis regional economic and environmental planning is what has to be seen as one of the most hostile environments for reasonable decision making in recent human history. Moreover, they have made advances in housing and social policy as well.
- Accomplishments in the past three years do, however, offer the basic concrete hope that such planning, though difficult, can be done.

If it can be done, the center of action-oriented planning for the entire Basque-speaking region should be on calculation of trade-off forecasts for each urban and environmental and socio-economic project. The methodology for completing it largely exists, in methods of distributional cost-benefit analysis. Some tricky valuation questions remain, and these would have to be resolved by the Basque planners.

The existing spatial structure of the Basque Country lends itself to this kind of local and regional planning. We identify five or more metropolitan areas of importance, the existing and potential linkages among them, and the appropriate treatment of the interstices for environmental protection and agricultural productivity. It is in these interstices that the key strengthening of the settlement of smaller places needs to be planned – a key part of megalopolitan planning as we have come to understand it.

There exist in the Basque Country, in both the Spanish and the French parts, agencies that are promising both for local and regional planning. These agencies are not yet, however, properly oriented to the most likely pattern of urbanization to emerge in this and successive centuries. The kinds of planning that will be required are clearly suggested.

The particularly violence-anchored and hostile form of political activity that characterizes the Basque Country must be seen as the principal obstacle to good planning. However, the remarkable efforts of the current Basque government hold promise that, even in this extreme political climate, good local and regional planning can still be advanced.

We shall be privileged in years ahead to see how the territorial planning of the Basque Autonomous Community, with what-

ever results from “Plan Ibarretxe,” may result in actual development of the Basque multi-level complex of metropolitan areas and smaller centers. It will be especially interesting to see how accurate the “Territorial Model” may be realized, and especially how much nature is preserved in the interstices of the several metropolitan and smaller centers. Or will it all fail, leaving the Basques with one huge, inefficient, ugly, messy megalopolis, and, quite possibly, with political anarchy?

## Notes and references

1. This paper grows out of research into the past, present and future of planning among the Basques, both in Spain and France, that I have been doing since 1999. It is expected to lead to a book on the subject in 2007, but a series of papers on it have already appeared in the *Ekistics* literature since 2000. Parts of this paper, in a more extended version, were presented at the University of Toronto/World Society for Ekistics symposium on “The Natural City,” June 25, 2004. It is available from the author at [ldmann1113@aol.com](mailto:ldmann1113@aol.com), and appeared in a special edition on the Toronto conference in *Ekistics*, in 2004. The present paper should be seen as one of two emphases developed from that larger work. It puts stress on how strategic, not necessarily spatial or environmental planning, relates to the phenomena of globalism, on the one hand, and those of localism, on the other. The original paper’s emphasis is, under the title, “Planning the Emergent Basque Megalopolis as a Natural Multi-Metropolitan Complex,” to be published in the *Ekistics* journal in a special issue on the Toronto conference in 2006. The entire effort, starting with the Toronto effort, grew out of my earlier work during the past several years on the question of Basque planning, developed in the Ekistics framework. Thus the Toronto paper grew as a companion piece and a partial updating of my paper, Mann (2004), “Political aspects of planning the Basque Coastal Megalopolis,” in the special issue of *EKISTICS* Magazine devoted to the work of Jean Gottmann. Even earlier, I presented several papers on the subject at Ekistics meetings: (1) Mann (2001), “Euskal Herriok Ekistica,” June 2001 (Čelákovice, Czech Republic); (2a) Mann (2001-3a), “Basque Planning and the Future of Human Settlements in Europe’s Western Pyrenees Region: Updating the Euskal Herriok Ekistika Project,” October 2001 (Berlin, Germany) [Revised April, 2003]; (2b) Mann (2002-3b), “Basque Planning and the Future of Human Settlements in Europe’s Western Pyrenees Region,” May 2002 [a derived short-paper]; (2c) Mann (2002-3c), “Completing the Transition of Ekistics to the ‘Applied Science of Human Settlements’,” May 2002 [a derived short-paper, with revisions]; and (2d) Mann (2002-3), “Summary Conclusions and Synthesis for the Future of the Basque Homeland and Other Regions.”
2. Writing about the Basques requires some flexible movement among the several main languages in which the literature is written. My usage is to give the word for a place or an idea, first, in the Basque language (Euskara) and then in Spanish, French, German or English, depending upon the context. Thus the *Euskadi* in the text refers to the area where the Basque language is spoken: *Pais Vasco* in Spain, *Pays Basque* in France “the Basque Country” (or, less commonly “Basqueland”) in English, or *Baskenland* in German. This usage is extended to provinces and to rivers. For interim source, I have used *Eusko Juarlaritzako Hezkuntza Sailak onetsia* (1994). My ultimate authority on Basque place names, however, has been “The Whole Basque Place-Name List,” available on the internet at [www.geocities.com/CollegePark/5062/topo2](http://www.geocities.com/CollegePark/5062/topo2). It is identified as having been compiled by *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*, a Basque daily newspaper and approved by *Euskalitzindia*, the Basque Language.
3. For a statement the modern scholarly consensus view on the antiquity and wide distribution of Basque-speaking populations throughout Europe, see the work of the German specialist on Basque linguistics, **Theo Venemans**. His seminal edited collection, *Europe Vasgondica – Europa Semetica* (2002), Berlin, Mouton of Guyter, is a good introduction to this well-developed scholarly literature.
4. For perhaps the best general surveys, though older works, remain Jacques Alliers (1999), *Les Basques*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France (*Que Sais-je* series), 6th ed. And Philippe Oyamburu (1980), *L’Irréductible Phénomène Basque*. Paris, Etente. However,

- for an even broader and more complete review of anything relating to Basque history, see Gonenechea (1998-2003) *op.cit.*
5. This broad concept "planning behavior" comes from the work of a number of American and European scholars, starting early in the second half of the 20th century. Included are Martin Meyerson and Edward Banfield, who conceptualized planning behavior as formulating alternative prospective courses of action that were expected to lead to goals or ends sought, were thought to be feasible, and that some specific individual or organization intended to do. Such behavior, which required some concept of a "public interest," was seen as an alternative to reliance on spontaneous processes, whether they be psychological, cultural, sociological, political or economic. Moreover, planning that was attempted according to rational processes was posited to be more effective and efficient than simply traditional or intuitive "feeling"-based procedures. (See their "Conceptual Scheme" in their (1955) *Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest*, Glencoe, IL, The Free Press). An even broader, but less specific, behavioral concept of "planning" was that of Y. Dror, who defined the behavior as "action-oriented thought" which could be categorized according to an array of specific dimensions (see his "Dimensions of Planning," *Public Policy*, 1959). The most completely behavioral of the concepts of "planning" was that of Herbert Simon, who, in his various writings about human administrative behavior since about the end of World War II, eschewed any formal models of attempted rationality and, rather, relied on ways of planning that involved search for satisfactory solutions to problems, starting from full understanding of any problem and a careful knowledge of what current pre-problem action is like. More recent writing on the concept of planning behavior remains consistent with all or part of these initial concepts. See the work of the German Scholar, Andreas Faludi and the behavioral writings in the Mandelbaum & Burchell collection. More recent writing on the concept of planning behavior remains consistent with all or part of these initial concepts.
  6. See J. Bronowski, *The Ascent of Man* (Boston & Toronto, Little Brown & Co., 1972) for a general appreciation of the centrality of foresight applied to hunting in the interpretation of European cave paintings. For a more specific understanding of the dynamics of such anticipation in perhaps the most important recent discovery, see Jean Clottes, et al., *La Grotte Chauvet: L'Art des Origines* (Paris, Seuil, 2001). The documentation of the cave painters as very early Basques is provided in Manex Goyhenetche, *Histoire Générale du Pays Basque*, vol. I, ch. 1. Donostia (San Sebastian), Spain and Baiona (Bayonne) France, Elkarlanean, 1998, and in many other recent European sources.
  7. For an earlier attempt to systematize such difference in style in cave painting as well as other prehistoric art, see A. Leroi-Gourhan, *Treasures of Prehistoric Art* (New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1967) (translated from the French: Paris, Editions d'Art Lucien Mazenod). The best contemporary appreciation is provided by Jean Clottes in *La Grotte Chauvet: L'Art des Origines, op.cit.*
  8. See Julius Caesar, *Commentaries, Book I, passim.*
  9. For a remarkable discussion of strategy in *mus*, see *Le Guide de Rotard: Pays Basque (France, Espagne), 2004-5*, pp. 38-39. Excerpt: "*Mus* is almost a religion... It is a game of diabolical subtlety... The most merciless game is of two teams of two players... It is well understood that any of the four players can bluff. ... Each phase is worth a [token], but anyone can raise. .... In the game of four players, signals, very much encoded, are authorized (eye winks, sticking out the tongue, lip gesture). You have to give your partner a signal without being seen by an adversary (but one can desire to be seen to announce a play, which makes it possible to simulate the rest. It is formally forbidden to give false signals, though it is completely authorized, and even recommended to speak and lie by word. A good table of *mus*, then, is comprised of four liars. A player who passes cannot demand to see the cards of a winner; so he is always able to doubt that he really lost. The impassive public admires the knowledge of the adversary and of the play of the best players." For a thorough discussion of strategy in Pelote Basque, as well as in related Basque sports, historic and present, see Jakes Casaubon and Pierre Sabalo (2002), *Euskal Pilotaren Gogoia eta Arzain Jokoak/Mémoire de la Pelote Basque et des Jeux de Bergers*, Baiona/Bayonne, Exé Haritza.
  10. On the subject of the centrality of the traditional Basque house to the entire culture, see Jean-Claude Lasserre, Michel Duvert, et al. (1980), *Etxea, ou la Maison Basque*, St-Jean-de-Luz (France), Lauburu (Cahiers de la Culture Basque).
  11. Philippe Oyemburu (1980), *L'Irréductible Phénomène Basque, op.cit.*; and Pierre Bidart (2001), *La Singularité Basque: Généalogie et Usage*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
  12. The first of these, *Gotorleku*, is the generally (and probably quite ancient) Basque name for any strong or fortified place. The second is an obvious Basque version of the Latin, *castellum*, or fortified building. It also appears, both as in the family names *Gastellum* and *Castro* and the language name Castellano, in Castillian Spanish and chateau in French. *Oppidium* is the term Caesar used for a fortress city, which term, interestingly enough, was borrowed by neither the Basque nor the Spanish languages, though it was adopted in French and English.
  13. These distinct peoples were (with approximate locations of contemporary French towns and cities) the Boates (centered at Buch), the *Vasates* (centered at Bazas, just South of Bordeaux), the *Lactoates* (centered at Lectour), the *Elusates* (centered at Eauze, which had the status of a "metropole"), the *Ausci* (centered at Auch), the *Conserani* (centered at Lizier), the *Convenai* (centered at St. Bernard de Comminges), the *Bigerri* (centered at Tarbes), the *Beamenses* (centered at Lescar), the *Taurusates* (centered at Aire-sur-Adour), the *Tarbelli* (centered at Dax), the *Iloronenses* (centered at Oloron), and the *Lapurdi* people near the Castellum at Lapurdum (present-day Bayonne). See Goyhenetche, *op.cit.*, pp. 56-59.
  14. My discussion of Basque spatial structure parallels that of Pierre Laborde (1994), *Le Pays Basque: Economie et Société en Mutation*. Donostia/San Sebastian and Baiona/Bayonne, Elkar. Laborde's is a pre-2000 discussion of the French Basque Country only. I have tried to extend it to the larger Spanish Basque Country, and to Nafarroa/Navarre province.
  15. See Gabriel Sansinenia Ichaso (2001), "La Eurocuidad Bayona – San Sebastian, *LURRALDE: Investigación y Espacio*. #24. Donostia (San Sebastian): Instituto Geográfico Vasco/Euskal Geografi Elkargoa (INGEBA).
  16. Sansinenia, *Ibid.*
  17. Some of the other traditional regions (including Nafarroa (Navarra/Navarre) and Galicia later did opt for autonomous status under the provisions of the 1978 Spanish Constitution. However, only the Basques and the Catalans have demonstrated really serious nationalistic intentions, backed by a nationalistic party (or parties) in power, of ever achieving national independence.
  18. A more questionable translation would be "regional planning," for as I explain elsewhere, there is really no concept of "region" in the term. However, even Basque government officials continue to translate this term as "regional" rather than "territorial" planning. For my original insight (some decades ago) into the problems of translating *aménagement de territoire*, see my "French Regional Planning," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, (April 1964). Housing in Basque Autonomous Community is the focus of much social policy. Late in the last government, a new Housing and Planning Law was presented. There was no fundamental objection to it by any of the political parties, although the Popular Party objected to so much emphasis on low cost housing. But, because of Plan Ibarritxe, there was a desire on the part of all opposition parties to demonstrate that the PNV coalition could not get its way on any broad area of policy. Thus the Housing and Planning law was prevented from going to a final vote. It is one of the matters that needs to be brought up by the new (2005) government, though it has yet to be introduced. The votes of the new EHAK (Basque Communist) senators may turn out to be crucial this time.
  19. *Euskal Autonomia Ergedegoko Lurraldean Antolamendrako/ Directrices de Ordenación Territorial de la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco* [Directives of Territorial Planning of the Basque Autonomous Community]. *EuskoJaudaritzaren Argitalpen Zeritzu Nagusia(Servico Central de Publicaciones)[Basque Central Publications Service for EuskoJaudaritz Lurralde Antolamendu Etxebizitzia Salia (Gobierno Vasco, Departamento de Ordenación del Territorio, Vivienda, y Medio Ambiente)[Basque Government, Department of Territorial Planning, Housing, and Environment], Gasteiz(Vitoria)[Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain, 2001 (2nd ed.) 335 pp. (illustrated), in Euskara and Spanish.*
  20. *Fundación Metropoli, Euskal Hiria: Proiectua/ Ciudades Vascas: Proyecto*; [Basque Cities: Project]. Bilingual editions: Euskera-Spanish, Euskera-English, etc. ]. *EuskoJaudaritzaren Argitalpen Zeritzu Nagusia(Servico Central de Publicaciones)[Basque Central*

*Publications Service* for EuskoJaudaritz Lurralde Antolamendu Etxebizitzia Salia (Gobierno Vasco, Departamento de Ordenación del Territorio, Vivienda, y Medio Ambiente)[Basque Government, Department of Territorial Planning, Housing, and Environment], Gasteiz(Vitoria)[Vitoria-Gasteiz, Spain, 2002. 245 pp. (illustrated).

21. Readers who are unfamiliar with the national and local structure of government in France will need to know that the *département* is a localized unit of national government, rather than a local government *per se*. It is thus an agency of the national government for areas about the size of a county in Britain, the United States, or other countries. (The *commune* or *municipalité* is the, generally weaker, truly local level of government.) The *départements* created by the centralizing Jacobins after the French Revolution, and then given force under Napoleon I, to destroy any vestiges of provincial regionalism by making the respective territories of the *départements* either much smaller or much larger than the culture-centered provinces. (The monarchy since the time of Henri IV had, for nearly two hundred years been trying to suppress regional provincialism with only very limited and uneven results.) The Jacobins and Napoleon were intent on doing a more effective job. Thus it is no accident that the Atlantic Pyrenees *Département* contains virtually all of the traditional Basque-speaking provinces, plus the whole of the Occitan-speaking Beam into a single district of the national government. The purpose was to prevent either the Basques or the Bearnese from having an effective unit of government that could concentrate on articulating any residual cultural agenda that might remain.
22. President Ibarritxe, in his first two posits does not go much further than to provide a modern re-statement of the principal ideas that lead to the creation of the 19th century Basque nationalism movement. However, the new element in the first point is that of "association" of the Basque community with the Spanish state; in the second point, the legitimizing criterion of having the Plan passed by the Basque Senate. The third point, with its idea of negotiations between the Basque Autonomous Community with Basque minorities in Navarra and France (as well as, potentially, Basque communities in other nations) could provide the basis for various kinds of joint or multiple decision making. Since the elections (in early August 2004), Jon Imaz, President of the Basque Nationalist Party has issued a long statement, giving essentially the same principles as those of the Party, without mentioning the Plan Ibarritxe. The one possible change may be in advocating "shared sovereignty" in place of the right to end a "free association" with the Spanish state. The difference may be more apparent than real; for "shared sovereignty" was one of the implicit alternatives if the Basques ever did end their "free association" with the Spanish state. In any case, "shared sovereignty" is currently the focus of political debate, moving attention away from Ibarritxe and his Plan – at least nominally and at least temporarily.
23. The political situation has changed fundamentally since the Popular Party lost to the Socialists in mid-2003. The latter have proved open to negotiation with the autonomous communities, including the Basques. The Basque Nationalist Party and its two allies called new Basque elections in May 2005. The gamble was that the coalition would gain a large enough majority to push the Socialist Spanish government to include major parts of the Ibarritxe Plan into a new statute for the Basque Autonomous Community. That did not happen. The votes that the moderate nationalist Coalition had counted upon to join it as a consequence of Spain's outlawing the ETA-oriented *Batasuna* Party rather went to a new Party, the Basque Communist Party (*EHAK*, for those words in *Euskara*) who got nine seats in the Senate (compared to the seven that *Batasuna* had in the last parliament). These *EKAK* people were all virtually unknown candidates, with no traceable links to ETA or to *Batasuna*, but who have shown since that their sympathies nevertheless lie in that radical-nationalist orientation. (They are under constant attack by

the Popular Party for being mere surrogates for the outlawed *Batasuna* Party, and ultimately for ETA. The Socialists refuse to prosecute them under the "Law of Parties," citing insufficient evidence). The PNV-EA combination lost four seats, while the Socialists gained four, and the Popular Party lost four. The 2005 legislature thus has 39 Basque-nationalists, 3 members of the former Spanish Communist party who tend to vote with the Basque-nationalists, and just 33 Spanish-nationalist members. But only 29 of the Basque-nationalist are moderates, the other 9 being the left-radicals of *EHAK*. (On the Spanish-nationalist side, the Socialist party should be considered moderate, and will advance somewhat greater Basque autonomy; but they will probably never vote with the Basque-nationalists on any key issue that seriously threatens Spanish constitutionalism. The right-wing Popular Party must be viewed as frankly anti-Basque and anti-autonomy). The nationalist cause lost two votes, but the hostility of the increased *EHAK* group to the PNV will make it even harder for coherent Basque-Nationalist policy to be put forward. The shift in parliamentary strength enabled the Socialists, supported by the Popular Party, to advance an Spanish-nationalist candidate for president/ *lehendakari* who came seemingly very close to defeating Ibarritxe's attempt to be re-elected. Twice there was a tie between the Basque-nationalists and the Spanish-nationalist for the presidency. *EHAK* members withheld their support for Ibarritxe until the very last minute, when just two of them gave him just enough votes to repeat as leader. (Obviously, *EHAK* could have given all nine of their votes had the Spanish-nationalist challenge been any stronger). The narrowness of the differences in stated policy of the two different Basque-nationalist approaches do not make it any easier for the moderates and the left wing radicals to work together. *EHAK* promises to behave exactly the way that the *Batasuna* had done in the prior government giving the Basque Nationalist Party just enough support to keep some other party from governing, but no more than that. The path ahead for the Plan Ibarritxe and for moderate nationalist policy will be challenged at every point, both by the more radical nationalists of *EHAK* and the *Españolistas* of the Socialist and Popular parties. The violence of ETA seems to be temporarily restrained, though incidents of major property damage continue sporadically, and the street violence of teenager ETA-recruits (*kale borroka*) is an increasing problem. Perhaps the radical-left will be content to mute the violence that they have used as a way of agenda-control recently, doing that instead by the 9-vote bloc in the parliament. But it would be naive to suppose that the violent aspect of Basque nationalism is at an end, for incidents of non-mortal violence continue to be almost a daily occurrence. Much of my research on the political context of Basque planning has been done through a daily monitoring of Spanish Basque and some French Basque newspapers, largely through the internet. While I do not cite each of the multitude of newspaper references supporting my detailed narrative on Basque politics in the original version of my papers, the original references do exist and are available on request and at cost. The reader can get many of them on the web, at [www.elpais.es](http://www.elpais.es), under "temas," and then "La Ofensiva Terrorista" or "ETA". Supplementary information is at [www.elcorreo.electronico.es](http://www.elcorreo.electronico.es) and [www.eldiariovasco.es](http://www.eldiariovasco.es), plus [www.eldiariodenavarra.es](http://www.eldiariodenavarra.es). For the French Basque area, see [www.sudouest.fr](http://www.sudouest.fr) and [www.semainebasque.fr](http://www.semainebasque.fr). All are, however, in the Spanish, French or *Euskara* languages, respectively.

24. Joel A. Cohen, "A global garden in the 21st century," in Phi Beta Kappa, *Key Reporter*, Spring 1998. (Based on a talk by Cohen to the syndics of Columbia University in March 1997 at Biosphere 2, Oracle, Arizona, USA. [10 Lawrence D. Mann (1998), "Planificación del Futuro Urbano de las Américas," in his *Conferencias sobre Planificación Comparativa en las Américas* (Tucson, Arizona, USA and Panama City, Panama: Programa Arizona-Panama). This document is available in Spanish from the author.