Historicity of the Semantics and the discourse about Ethnicity, Nation-State and Racism in the Basque Country

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1. Presentation

There are two key words which the team at the University of the Basque Country wish to concentrate on this first report: **ethnicity** and **national difference**. It is through their analysis that we shall study the particularities that mark the public debate on racism, antiracism and tolerance and its accompanying academic traditions in the context of the Basque Country.

Thus, if one of the central aims of this first WP report is to analyse the historicity of these three categories, as well as that of the intellectual traditions that transmit this historicity, the purpose of this report in each one of the research contexts is to draw up a genealogy for the latter on the basis of verification of the centrality of two questions in the Basque context: in the first place, the concern for the construction of a certain idea of national difference; in the second place, the reflection, more or less sustained over time, on the ethnic and the ethnic question. This centrality finds expression in a significant academic production, which both reflects and frames an intense public debate that is at present conditioning the coordinates within which (1) reflection is made on the figure of the other, (2) integration policies in the fields of work and education are discussed and designed.

In synthesis, and to close this brief presentation, if the aims are (1) to define a local and/or national grammar according to which the public and intellectual debate concerning the issues of difference, antiracism and tolerance is arranged; (2) to detect the historical processes according to which this local and/or national grammar can be explained. In the Basque Country, the key to answering the questions arising from both aims is found in the reflection on national difference and ethnicity. In the final instance,

both questions sustain the particular local representation of the idea of citizenship, and explain the marked sensitivity existing in the Basque Country concerning the issues of the other and the policies that should be pursued for his integration[1].

In the first place, we will provide some elements that serve for defining the historical coordinates within which the production of the social sciences on the questions cited above is forged. In the second place, we will indicate the main lines of academic production on these questions.

2. The Basque Country and the Intense and Protracted Reflection on *the Other*: Race and National Difference in Peripheral Nationalism

The particularity and the interest of the Basque case for this project involves, as we have indicated, the singularities of the process of socio-historical construction of the idea of citizenship and how this construction here is intensely traversed by reflection on national difference and ethnicity[2]. Even though both questions are characteristic of nearly every collective imaginary based on the idea of the nation, the specificity of the so-called peripheral nationalisms[3] is the dissociation between nationality and citizenship, where the former lacks the administrative endorsement that is held by nationalisms with a correlate affirmed in the form of the nation-state. Such dissociation leads, although not always, to the adoption of a position on the answers to "who we are" that might merit the adjective reflexive. This is the case of the Basque Country, a place where reflection on the we, what constitutes it as such, what differentiates it from the others, is a constant factor of such intensity that it is possible to affirm, without risk of error, that it forms part of the most determinant characteristics of the local representation of national identity. Hence, identity in the Basque Country is largely built through thinking about its own identity.

Nonetheless, this identity is not reflexive per se, and it must be placed in context, its historicity must be realised. In order to do so, and as a consequence to put the categories of tolerance, racism or antiracism in their place, it is necessary to put into practice a work of genealogy that considers how the national We and its Others are constructed. We have identified three moments in the recent history of the country, three stages in the history of the representation of local and national difference in the

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[1] It should be clarified from the beginning of this report that the Other that is of interest in the Basque Country and, in more general terms, in peripheral nationalism, is not always the distant Other of extra-state emigration or the old colonies of the equally old metropoli; it is, on the contrary, the close Other of intra-state migrations.

[2] To a lesser extent, the level of the public administration in charge of managing ethnic difference – that is, not state-level but different registers of the local instead – also conditions this question. However, for the purposes of this first report, we will only take account of what is indicated in the body of the text.

[3] On the peripheral nationalisms in Spain *cf.* Moya, 1984; Pérez-Agote, 1986.

Basque Country. They are not phases of the objective history of Basqueness[4] but instead milestones of the route through which what is one's own is defined as a singular fact, as a more or less exclusionary we. All along this route the Other, the different Others, appear at times as close by, at others as distant, on occasions as an integrable entity, on others radically not. What is different is considered, in nationalism, from reflection on the collective self.

The stages of this small genealogy are, as we have said, three in number[5]:

A **first stage** of foundation in which Basque nationalism establishes a strong communitarian closure of its frontiers, which are situated on a site that is uncrossable: race and biological difference (XIX century and early XX century).

A **second stage**, the flowering of nationalism, which runs between the end of Francoism and the first political institutionalisation of post-Francoism (1960-1983). In this phase, unlike the first, the opening up and extension of the limits of the national community assembles an idea of Basqueness that authorises a possibility that is relevant to the central issues of this research: it is possible to become Basque through processes of voluntary ascription to the community that is now defined by language, not race. Thus, another community, subjects proceeding from internal emigration, essentially from the South of Spain, can now adhere to the original community, at least as a logical possibility.

A **third stage** – institutional stabilisation (1983-…) – is that of the juridical-political institutionalisation of Basque nationalism. Fundamentally, this stage can be defined as a process of construction of a powerful institutional framework that is born from the nationalist imaginary but that separates from it to become synonymous with citizenship. That is, the mechanisms of construction and reproduction of the identity of nationalism crystallise in institutions that are responsible for defining, to a large extent at least, the policies of managing the Other, including the distant Other, that proceeding from exterior emigration.

Throughout these three moments, the figure of the Other has been gradually opening up a way for himself and, at the same time, it has become possible for him to be incorporated into the Basque entity, into which it was not at first possible to become integrated, and which is today built on a definition of inclusive citizenship, resting on

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[4] A task for which the following sources can be consulted: SIADECO (1979), Tejerina (1992: 73-137), Dávila (1995: 17-45), Ramírez Goicoechea (1991).

[5] These three stages are developed in more detail in Gatti, 2007, a work that in its turn is based on those of Paulí Dávila (1995: 17-43), Paulo Iztueta (1995: 79-97) or Nekane Arratibel (1999: 20-26). It should be said that when it comes to distinguishing milestones in the history of nationalism, any of these periodisations considers two key questions in TOLERACE: 1) The representation of the other; 2) The possibility of integrating that other into the national we. For reflection on both questions, the Basque language is always the cornerstone.

ascriptions that are not based on birth but on administrative questions such as residence. It is therefore worth considering this process in some detail.

2.1. Basque Being and Race

In the first stage, national difference was considered in terms of a biologically based community. Hence, every other is a radical other and his incorporation is logically and sociologically impossible; **it makes no sense to define any type of integration of any agent who is not previously signalled out as a member of the group delimited by the possession of race.** In the discourse of Sabino Arana, the *alma mater* of ideological nationalism, and today the quintessential representation of the most exclusionary nationalism, the site that establishes the frontier between the community and the other is race, and the frontiers between communities are, as a result, rigid and uncrossable. The work of representation of identity developed in this period is extremely efficient: it gave a community its name, sketched out the limits of its map and gave form to some of the essential supports of the "sacred canopy" of Basque nationalism, since it *established the possibility of thinking about Basqueness as difference.* In short, it helped both to establish a precise frontier between the national We and the Other from which the former distinguished itself, and to think of Basqueness as unity, as a unanimous community.

2.2. Language, Ethnicity and the Will to Be

In the 1960s, there was a radical change in nationalism's strategies for managing what was its own and what was different. The *extension* of a close Other is the key and, with it, an important redefinition of Basqueness: it is no longer the race but knowledge of the vernacular language that is read from now on as the *empirical correlate of a differentiated community*. Thus Euskera, and nothing else, marks the difference. If one does not know it, a willingness to learn it will be the indicator signalling the territory where each one's identity is located. Thus Jean Haritschelhar, a philologist, in the introduction to the significantly titled volume *Ser vasco* [Being Basque], writes the following, emphasising the language as the diacritic that marks national difference and identity:

> *All the inhabitants of the Basque Country are Basques. All countries have a part made up of foreigners. But the Basque Country, as it is not a state, only takes 'nationality' into account and not citizenship. Being Basque is to consider oneself a member of the Basque nation, although one has French, Spanish or American nationality; it is to be fully conscious of forming part of a people, of a social, spiritual and affective community to which we are united by links of blood, mind and heart. The linguistic community marks the difference. (1986: 23)*

The causes for this change can be found in the deep renovation of national consciousness carried out by the generation that becomes politically visible in the 1960s; or in the potent novelties that appear in the nucleus of nationalist discourse;

also in the abandonment of some aspects of ethnic nationalism; or in the positive evaluation of what the Francoist repression reviled… In this context, the language appears as a symbol of community and as a demarcation of the frontiers of belonging: it is the "great catalyst of collective identity, a compendium summarising the emergence of the demand of Basque difference, the genuine touchstone that generates solidarities and processes of intense identification" (Ramírez Goicoechea, 1991: 1124). It has a virtue that *race* lacks: its polysemy, which coincides with more open readings of identity and difference.

2.3. *Citizenship and identity with an administrative basis*

In the period that opens in 1983, that of the stabilisation of a community that is politically defined by its administrative delimitation, and culturally signified by its language, ethnicity becomes *citizenship*: everything, the *everything* that includes what has already been agreed upon as an obvious fact, passes through the sieve of the administration. Thus the nationalist imaginary was institutionalised, the mechanisms by which it is reproduced and maintained were also institutionalised. Following that involved in the passage from race to language, a second redefinition of Basqueness is seen, that of the **rationalisation of belongings**; now, identity is no longer only built in the places – historical, political, also sacred – of the national community, but also in the colder, less connoted spaces of institutionalisation and in what the latter prescribes for defining citizenship: **residence**. Nationalism, formerly racially exclusionary, opens up the way for the construction of an inclusive definition of identity.

It is a powerful transformation, as it involves a change with respect to that epic that characterised the flourishing of nationalism in the 1960s. What is sought is the *administrative consolidation* of identity; a move takes place from the opening of the community's frontiers to its institutionalisation. In this way, agents who were formerly alien to that community which has transformed itself into an institution can join it through standardised procedures that are close to being bureaucratic.

Thus, in the stage of foundational nationalism, when race was the feature that made differences objective, there was no room for integration; later, in the 1960s, it was possible to conceive of processes of integration into a community whose main frontier, although not its only one, was the language; today, in the dominant architecture of Basque identity, it is administratively defined citizenship that makes it possible, *a priori*, to conceive of the possibility of incorporating the other into the dominant we.

In any case, an idea of identity and difference, of what is one's own and tolerance for what is alien, has been shaped over the course of this historical trajectory,

which, today, raises a **representation of citizenship with a strong ethnic stamp**: to be a citizen, at least according to the letter, is not associated with race or birth, but instead, firstly, with *willingness to be* **(language)** and then with *willingness to reside* **(residence)**. In any case, there is a strong opening up of the range of interpretations of Basqueness, which is no longer monolithic, but which accepts different readings, some of them ethnic, others political, and yet others cultural; some of them exclusionary, others deconnotated, and many of them complex. Basqueness has without doubt become more established and more of a routine, but it is also somewhat more undefined than formerly. The representations of identity gestated in the 1960s and 1970s affirm and increase their diacritical power, but at the same time, the administration of that power shifts. It passes from having an exclusive control of the evaluative, symbolic and associative framework of the nationalist community to that of the institutional spaces and the figures characteristic of citizenship.

3. Social-scientific Production in the Basque Country concerning Tolerance, Racism and Antiracism. The State of the Question

A *sociology of the social sciences* in the Basque Country, after considering the historical coordinates in which these sciences were forged, must then concentrate on the debates that give them content. While the thread of the argument developed in the previous section indicated three milestones in the history of the imaginary of identity in the Basque Country and, as a result, in the reading of national difference, in this section we will continue the same line of argument to consider two great fields of intellectual production related to the issues of interest in TOLERACE. Firstly, with respect to the work of the social sciences in the stage of foundational nationalism, we will consider the **production of culturalist anthropology on the concept of race[6]**, and, more than that, the reflection undertaken by academically based Basque anthropology on its own history, as a discipline with a certain direct influence on well established aspects of the imaginary relating to an exclusionary idea of Basqueness and difference. Secondly, with respect to the other two milestones of the history of the national imaginary, we will pay attention to the **production of sociology itself and to that of political science, considering their capacity to construct categories with an enormous performative strength for authorising a more inclusive reading of Basqueness, supported by non-racialised representations of identity and citizenship**.

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[6] We are referring above all to the works of J. M. De Barandiarán and T. Aranzadi, two figures of this anthropological current and also of Basque nationalism itself.

3.1. The Work of Representation in Anthropology: Culture, Race and Authenticity

Throughout the first half of the XX century, the practice of representation of local anthropology helped to shape an idea of identity that was closely associated to images of authenticity, considered as origin. On this basis, what was Basque would endure, without great transformations, over the course of time and its transformations would only be apparent. As Joseba Zulaika points out, the scientific discourse of anthropology carried out the *narrative closure* of Basqueness and it did so with a powerful rhetoric: establishing a principle and providing a foundation for the myth of the autochthonous character of the race (1996: 112-113). Thanks to that, it managed to prescribe the *original moment* of Basqueness, to construct an historical narrative linking that moment to the present and, with respect to what interest us, to identify, firstly, a **subject associated with that origin** (rural man, non-Romanised, linguistically and biologically autochthonous…) and, as a result, to define by negation, **who is not and cannot be Basque**. Analysed in this way, anthropology worked as an "ideology shaping the vision of reality of the peoples, that is, as a legitimating weapon of a political praxis" (Azcona, 1984: 32).

In this way, **Basqueness was situated in a time (the era of prehistoric man), to which a space was associated (the remnants of that primigenial time that are expressed today in the subsistence of the race and culture in the rural area).** Producing an extraordinary "'illusion of sequence' by which it was legitimate to assume that the Basques proceeded directly from the man who painted in [the prehistoric cave of] Ekain, and one could even imagine that the existence of Euskera as the only pre-Indo-European language was enigmatically related to that autochthonous evolution" (Zulaika, 1996: 95), the Basque anthropological narrative constructed the myth of autochthonous origin. In reality, there is nothing singular about it: it would be unusual to find collective imaginaries (whether national or not) with a certain stability, in whose construction there has not been, in one way or another, a work of scientific objectivisation, and in whose naturalisation as shared fact science, converted into an ethno-science, has not played a role. It intervenes, helping to categorise identities, marking the limits of what exists, in our case the limits of what is and is not Basque. Jesús Azcona writes as follows:

> The results and content that are reached by the science of Basque issues and which […] are appropriated and constructed by Basque nationalism, are, besides being scientific or purely theoretical elaborations, results and content that exercise a great force on the differentiating construction of social reality, and this is so in two ways: on the one hand, the delimitation of what is Basque establishes the limits of thought and action within the community itself for its own members; on the other, it establishes a difference facing those who are not Basques (1984: 160-161).

The elaborations concerning racial, ethnic or linguistic singularity made by some linguistics (the case of Sánchez Carrión, 1980) and anthropologists thus authorise the construction of the narrative plot of national identity: they provide it with its foundations, its origins and its continuity. They sketch out an origin, that of an immaculate collective subject, conceived from the addition of biological, linguistic, cultural and ethnic substance, the native, the incarnation of those qualities, the centre and model of that origin, and in the final instance the guarantee of its endurance. And a referent for which every other will, necessarily, be radical and irreconcilable.

What is certain is that those works, almost foundational in Basque nationalism, have been deeply revised by the current representatives of the same disciplines that had participated in it. Manuel González Portilla's works within social history or the some anthropologists' analysis of the fictions that structure the nationalist imaginary (Aranzadi, 2001; Azurmendi; 1988) are a very brief example.

3.2. The Work of Representation in Political Science and Sociology: Identity, Ethnicity, Citizenship

As far as sociology and political science are concerned, their work comes into play at those moments when the questions about Being (*what does it mean to be Basque, and not to be Basque?*) are succeeded by others more characteristic of a certain constructivism, prevalent in the Academy since the 1980s, sensitive to questions arising from readings of Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner or Anthony d. Smith: How are identities imagined and differences conceived? How are the figures of the Other, the foreigner, the stranger, the alien socially managed? Through what institutions is difference to be administered?

Indeed, the questions above only become thinkable for the academic world starting in the 1980s, coinciding with the *administrative consolidation of Basque nationalism*. This was a period when several novelties appear. One is the *invention* of new institutions to administer difference and provide space for the processes of integration of the "Other" into a community that was formerly represented as exclusionary. A second novelty is the opening up of the range of possible readings of Basqueness, more disaffected, dissociated from a communitarian ethos that was formerly rigid and unavoidable. And another is the eruption of the social sciences, which, in the progressive process of their administrative and academic institutionalisation, and over and above their different vocations – from serving as an instrument of legitimisation for taking political decisions to making a sociological novelty, the Basque Country, objective as an administrative reality – have one feature in common: their strong **performative power**.

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Hence, both from the work of socio-statistical representation (Ruiz Olabuenaga, 1983 and 1984; SIADECO, 1979) and from more genuine academic reflection, through an imposing deployment of statistics, maps and measurements, books and articles, in short, work of social-scientific representation, a contribution is made to the **imaginary and institutional consolidation of a more porous idea of what is Basque than had been contributed to the imaginary by the cultural anthropology of the early XX century**[7]. In that constructivist turn we can identify three especially significant milestones. These are arranged around three concepts: **identity** (and, associated to this, those of **community** or **diaspora**); **ethnicity**; and, finally, the more recent contributions that reflect on the idea of **citizenship**.

The work on the concept of identity, relatively recent in the history of the social sciences (Lévi Strauss and Benoist, 1973), finds an extremely prolific hotbed in the Basque Country. It takes shape in the departments of sociology of the University of the Basque Country through a work of progressive systematisation of the concept, supported by numerous works of empirical research. These are applied above all to nationalist subjectivity, whether working on this as a whole (Pérez Agote, 1984, 1987 or Gurrutxaga, 1983) or, with the passage of time, approaching more specific aspects of the mechanisms of production of identity and difference that are characteristic of nationalism; hence: language (Tejerina, 1992), the education system (Arpal *et al.*, 1983), the teaching of Euskera to adults (Gatti, 2007). Considered as a whole, these works have the common denominator of a sensitivity that is attentive to the processes of subjectification, to the mechanisms of construction of representation of the we and the others.

The Other that is considered in these works is that constructed by nationalism: the ideological Other (Gurrutxaga, 1983), the emigrant proceeding from internal emigration, a personage who marks the frontiers of difference. Indeed, the work of the social sciences is almost always directed towards nationalism and to its representations, to the ideas of the other, of race or of tolerance, which are built from this imaginary. Within this panoramic, the emigrant is a novelty, whom even research directed at the study of migrations approaches as part of a "social world", that of the emigrant himself, who is read as a cultural novelty in the panorama of the old Basque Country (Aierdi, 1989, 1992). The works of Blanco (1994, 1995) are in this respect pioneers of a **sensitivity towards emigration that is not hetero-determined by its relations with the nationalist world**, degree zero of all analysis in the Basque

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[7] On the processes of conversion of social-scientific constructions into categories of ethnic ascription *cf.* the works of Urla, 1993 and Gatti, 2008.

Country in the 1980s: the emigrant is no longer a passive object but instead the active bearer of transformations with respect to the receiver community.

In recent years, what is in many respects the postscript to this line of research (the postscript not as a theoretically more finished expression of these developments, but as the reflection of a sensitivity that is today established by *other* identities and *identities and others*) is provided by a growing interest in **the *Basque diaspora***. The diaspora is an expression of identity in which the old certainties of the modern world are put at risk: the reference to the nation-state ceases to be central; the territory loses weight; authenticity vanishes; the Other is a more solid fact than the One. That diaspora is, in the Basque Country, the product of a long-term phenomenon, but it has been dispersed until very recent times; in any case, reflection was not carried out on it in terms that were any different from those used to reflect on what was happening, and how meaning was constructed, in the places of origin.

Nonetheless, in recent years there has begun to be talk of the constitution of a "new Basque diaspora" (Douglass, 1999), a population with a certain administrative correlate, and increasingly thinkable as **a *community of awareness***. However, its singularities merit new reflections, wrenched away from the burdens of the old sociology of nationalism, more sensitive to the lability and mobility of belonging, and to its eminently constructed and reflexive character. In that respect Douglass, 1999; Totoricagüena, undated; Pérez Agote *et al.*, 1997; Irazuzta, 2001, amongst others, are outstanding.

With respect to **the concept of ethnicity**, it itself appears at the time of the culmination of the first radical transformation of the representations of Basqueness, which began in the 1960s, during the full flowering of nationalism, and closes in the early 1980s. This is a period when identity is thought about, when the very concept is questioned: from being a reflection of essences, it comes to be conceived as a process of construction of differences, the construction of what Frederick Barth has called "ethnic frontiers", that is "lines of demarcation between members and non-members" (Poutignat, Streiff-Fénart, 1995: 166), between we and them. These are frontiers concerning which it is not analytically important to know which feature has been selected as marking distinction, nor to know the content of what is distinguished; the important thing is the very fact of distinction: the selection of a feature is arbitrary, historical and contingent. But the existence of a cut to which agents can turn to orientate their practice, necessarily involves the selection of that feature, the necessary condition for the differentiation of a We and, as a result, for the strengthening of the community of equals. The attention of research into identities shifts to an interesting site, the *frontiers* that define communities as differences (Barth, 1976: 17); not the

features but their objectification and their instrumentalisation by the agents; not the question of the *what* of identity but the question of the *how*.

The study of these features, of the processes of their selection – language, history, football, heritage, territory, home, music, race, spirit, colour, customs, character… – is a source of disquiet for researchers like Azcona (1984) or Tejerina (1989, 1992), in works that are sensitive to the keys explaining **the selection of language as the marker of inter-communitarian differences.** Also for Gatti, who, much later (2007), analyses the singularity of the forms of identity (***weak identities***) that are shaped in the places of transit between communities, differences due to ignorance or knowledge of the language. And, above all, for Eugenia Ramírez Goicoechea, who in 1991 tackled **the definition of Basque ethnic identity when it confronts an increasingly polysemic classificatory system**, which houses strategies of construction of meaning that appeared in the Basque Country in the 1980s and 1990s, especially amongst the youths. In her work, she pays special attention to analysing the normative and classificatory matrices that are mobilised by first generation and, above all, by second generation emigrants (an emigration always proceeding from the Spanish state itself). It is a line of work that Ramírez Goicoechea herself continued in 1992, analysing the ethnic markers used to stigmatise the emigrant population of some industrial areas of the Basque Country.

With respect to the idea of citizenship, its presence as an analytical key and site of interest to the social sciences is recent and, as far as the issues of interest to this report are concerned, still scant. It certainly emerges late, very much as a result of the process of administrative institutionalisation of the nationalist imaginary and harnessed to three of the social processes that accompany this: the **opening up of the range of definitions of identity, community and alterity; the growing demand for administrative endorsement for those definitions of identity, community and alterity; the crystallisation of an institutional framework with "target groups" for the application of social policies of a different stamp, amongst others, a growing – from the 1990s onwards and above all in the first decade of the XXI century – emigrant population**. In that context, the work of social-scientific definition of two disciplines that had barely entered into the game of academic reflection on identity and alterity intervenes; these are political science and the wide range of disciplines that come under the heading of "social work". Both assume a task: first, to provide politico-administrative concretion to the community of the close Other (that is, emigrants, non-nationalists…) until then only scantly considered in academic work obfuscated in understanding the *nationalist world*; next, to begin to think of the Other when he is distant.

Due to their very character – in many cases these are reports for the administration – one could give an account of a colossal number of them. However, we will only refer to a few. In the field of political science, the work of Francisco Llera (1989) on the relations between cultural communities, political ascription and voting in the Basque Country is pioneering. Many consequences derive from this line of research, from the performative work of socio-statistical representation of the Basque Institute of Statistics (EUSTAT), where questions about the identity and alterity of the citizens and their translation into political positions are a constant factor, to more far-reaching research, such as that of Moreno (2000). This author employs theoretical keys that are sensitive to non-communitarian conceptions of citizenship, and bases himself on analytical perspectives that are critical of a supposed univocality in the relationship between voting and ethno-national ascription. In the broad, almost multidisciplinary, field of social work, sensitivity has increased in recent years towards policies of integration of vulnerable groups, amongst others, non-Spanish emigrants, and towards the public policies to be developed towards them (for example, Vicente [2007 or 2008] or Canto [2008]). "Integration", "risk of exclusion", "diversity", "rights" or "tolerance" are some of the new key words that are employed at the expense of concepts like ethnic group, nationalism, race, racism, language. To these, although much more recently, have been added some studies that are no longer orientated towards thinking about the tensions that emigration introduces into the nucleus of national identity. The new Other is, now, the foreign emigrant and he is considered, as in other places in Europe, in terms of the possibilities of thinking about him in terms of *citizenship* (*cf.* Hierro Esnarriaga, 2004, who thinks, as a specific process within the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, that the notion of citizenship is not orientated towards the national or ethnic components of a society, but rather towards the relationship that some residents establish with regard to the territory they occupy and in which they develop their lives), or depending on an issue of great scope today, the management of identity in multicultural contexts (Pérez Agote *et al.*, 2010). The ethnic, national or cultural key is starting to cease being either the axis of fundamental concern or the problem to be dealt with in order to think about identity.

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