

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the main points discussed in the thesis. This summary briefly reviews the effects of social processes in American society on ethnic landscapes and how the landscapes of ethnic festivals have become spatial expressions of ethnicity. Then, this summary recapitulates reasons affecting the development of Basque landscapes in the United States. Finally, this summary reiterates the conclusions from the analysis of the festival landscape for Jaialdi '95.

- **Synopsis**

The landscapes created by ethnic groups in the United States express the effects of social processes such as assimilation on ethnic groups in American society. Traditionally, cultural landscape studies have researched ethnic signatures in areas to reveal the presence and contributions of ethnic groups to the cultural landscapes. Ethnic groups in the United States form an ethnic landscape by establishing a wide range of ethnic institutions, such as restaurants and stores, to support the ethnic population living within an area. These ethnic institutions not only produce an ethnic landscape reflecting the cultural traits of the ethnic group, but also demarcate the boundaries of the geographic zone controlled by the ethnic group. Although the migration social process, especially chain migration, has supported the ethnic institutions that maintain the control over the ethnic zone and ethnic landscape, ethnic groups constantly experience assimilation, a process in which ethnic group members become more similar to American society. As a result, ethnic group members, generally later generations, move out of the ethnic zones

exposing the ethnic landscapes to other groups. Ethnic landscapes, then, are spatial expressions of the effects of social processes that influence ethnic groups in American society.

As spatial assimilation decreases the density of ethnic group members living within the ethnic zones, other groups encroach upon and vie for control of these zones. One way in which ethnic groups have responded to this challenge for control of the ethnic zones has been to transform the ethnic landscapes from the functionality of a common landscape that serves the everyday needs of people to the experience of an extraordinary landscape that is designed to express specific messages. For example, ethnic groups often attempt to create the idealized image of the ethnic group by embellishing the landscape with ethnic symbols, establishing museums for the ethnic culture, and opening businesses selling ethnic related merchandise. By transforming the ethnic landscapes, ethnic groups attract crowds both members and non-members into the ethnic zone to experience the ethnic culture. Thus, extraordinary ethnic landscapes are a way for ethnic groups to retain control their over the ethnic zones without having to sustain a large ethnic population in the zone.

Although not all ethnic festivals in the United States are held within an ethnic zone, many ethnic festivals utilize extraordinary landscapes of ethnic zones as the foundation for the festival landscapes. Ethnic festivals are special occasions in American society in which members of the ethnic group and non-members take “time out” from their normal routines to celebrate the ethnic culture. This celebration inverts the social order of society, even to the point of transgressions, in order to generate a memorable experience. Ethnic festivals, for example, transform regions of

rationalized spaces in the local community into “festival space” and transfigure the landscapes of these spaces to construct a festival landscape. In this festival landscape, ethnic festivals incorporate a melange of cultural performances and symbols to project an image of the ethnic group. Since cultural performances and symbols manifest the essence of the ethnic group within a discernible form, the landscapes of ethnic festivals have become metaphors of ethnicity. The landscapes of ethnic festivals, then have become a spatial expression of ethnic groups in response to the social processes in American society.

Despite more than a century of migration to the United States, the Basques often have not established a wide range of ethnic institutions. The extensive involvement of Basques with rural occupations, especially sheep herding, has influenced greatly the spatial distribution patterns of Basques in the United States. Most Basque immigrants historically have migrated to the sheep districts of the American West via a chain migration process to become sheep herders. Another factor influencing the Basque spatial distribution has been the practice of transhumant sheep husbandry by many Basque herders, which has scattered Basques across the American West. This involvement with rural occupations generally has prevented an ethnic concentration of Basques. Also, Basques residing in urban areas have been reluctant to form ethnic institutions. Instead, the Basques traditionally have relied on one ethnic institution, the Basque hotel, to serve their needs. Basque hotels have provided a number of services to Basque communities such as boarding house, employment agency, recreational center, and hospital. Although many Basque hotels have closed over the past several decades, a relatively new ethnic institution the Basque

social club has assumed the role as the ethnic institution. Because the Basques have not established a wide range of ethnic institutions, there are only a few Basque ethnic landscapes in the greater American cultural landscape.

One of the few Basque colonies to delineate an ethnic zone and establish an ethnic landscape in the United States has been the colony around Boise, Idaho. Historically, the Basque landscape has consisted of numerous Basque hotels along Grove, Idaho, Seventh, and Ninth streets creating “Basque town” in downtown Boise. This traditional landscape, however, has experienced significant changes after all the Basque hotels closed due to the decline in Basque immigration and the landscape fell into decay. Even though the Basque hotel era has come to an end in Boise, the Basques of Boise have rejuvenated a section of Basque town along the six-hundredth block of Grove Street. Between 1983 and 1992, the Basques have transformed this block into an extraordinary landscape by opening a Basque style restaurant, establishing the Basque Center & Cultural Center, preserving the historic Uberuaga boarding house, and saving one of two traditional *fronton* courts. The Basques of Boise, thus, have transformed the ethnic landscape into an extraordinary landscape to reassert a territorial claim over a section of their traditional ethnic zone.

Over the past number of decades, the landscapes for Basque festivals have become spatial expressions in response to the social processes within American society. Similar to other festivals, Basque festivals transform regions of rationalized spaces into festival space and transfigure the landscapes of these spaces for a festival landscape to present a melange of cultural

performances and symbols. These cultural performances and symbols not only display the essence of Basque culture, but also manifest the *indarra/sendotasuna* complex of the Basques. This presentation of cultural performances and symbols provides a reason for Basques of different colonies to come together for the common purpose of celebrating the Basque culture. The landscapes for Basque festivals, then, have become powerful spatial expressions that project an image of the Basques to both themselves and the rest of American society.

As a celebration of both Basque cultural diversity and common experiences shared by the American Basque community, the landscape of Jaialdi '95 contributed to the ethnic boundary maintenance for the American Basque community. While the landscapes of the annual Basque festivals provide the opportunity for Basques from different colonies to interact as an ethnic group to celebrate Basque culture, the attendance patterns for the festivals tend to reflect the tripartite distinction in the American Basque community. The landscapes for Jaialdi festivals, on the other hand, were highly structured productions that projected an image of the Basques to themselves and American society. Jaialdi '95 held a number of festive affairs such as a festival, block party, and public dance as well as several more formal occasions including cultural symposiums, *Festa'ra*, and a special Mass. This diverse range of events allowed Jaialdi '95 to have a melange of cultural performances and symbols not only to display French and Spanish elements of the Basque culture, but also to show common experiences shared by the American Basque community. Thus, the image projected by the cultural performances and symbols in the landscapes for Jaialdi '95 reinforced the ethnic boundary for the American Basque community.

The festival landscape of Jaialdi '95, in addition to contributing to the maintenance of the ethnic boundary of the American Basque community, reasserted the territorial claim for the Basques of Boise over the Basque Block. Historically, a number of factors such as the scattering of Basques throughout the American West and the extensive involvement of Basques with rural occupations prevented the Basques from establishing ethnic landscapes in the United States. The Boise colony of Basques, on the other hand, was one of the few colonies in the United States to create an ethnic zone and landscape. While this landscape fell into decay after all the Basque hotels closed, the Basques reclaimed and transformed a section of the landscape to reassert their territorial claim over this area. Jaialdi '95 helped the Boise Basques reassert their territorial claim by sponsoring many events and especially the block party in this area. The events utilized the extraordinary landscape as part of the festival landscapes and incorporate cultural performances and symbols to substantiate the claim. As a result of incorporating the extraordinary landscape with several festival landscapes, Jaialdi '95 contributed to the ethnic boundary maintenance of the Boise colony by reasserting the territorial claim of the Basques over this geographic area.

Along with maintaining the ethnic boundary for the Boise colony and the American Basque community, the festival landscape for Jaialdi '95 contributed to the symbolic ethnicity for many assimilated American Basques. While a number of factors including the extensive involvement with sheep herding and the network of Basque hotels traditionally delayed the assimilation of Basques such as the extensive involvement with sheep herding and network of Basque hotels, the later generations of Basques have become more similar to the rest of American

society. As a result, the later generations no longer depend on the Basque culture or institutions, such as the social club or hotel, for survival in American society. Many of these individuals, however, have a desire to express a Basque identity in suitable ways. One popular way to express this identity has been through Basque festivals since these individuals experience Basque culture, through the festival landscapes, without having to abide by the Basque value-system or spend extra time being ethnic. Since the festival landscape of Jaialdi '95 delicately balanced cultural performances and symbols to celebrate the sundry aspects of Basque culture, Jaialdi '95 provided an ideal opportunity for many assimilated Basques to experience the total Basque culture.