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## News from the Old Country: Media Consumption by the Basque Diaspora in the United States

**Abstract**

**This study analyzes the ways in which the Basque diaspora community in the United States consumes news media from their home origin. Using survey data collected from over 400 Basque-Americans with varying generations (first, second, third, etc.), we explore the ways in which surveyed individuals consume media from their ancestral territory of origin, in this case, the Basque Country of Spain and France. This research is exploratory and descriptive of the media habits and behavior of individuals with Basque origins. We find that significant shifts in media consumption occur between first generation immigrants and those beyond the second generation. As we move across generations, we observe that individuals shift from engagement with home-origin media to engagement with Basque cultural activities, such as dancing clubs. Our study suggests that the importance of digital media from the homeland is growing, but that most consumption of information by the Basque diaspora is through social networks. Our findings also suggest that, among those who continue to consume home-origin media, it is mainly through readership of national newspapers (in this case, from Spain) rather than local newspapers (from the Basque Country). This article enriches our understanding of the media habits of the Basque diaspora and raises questions for future research about the effect of transnational media consumption on the political, social and economic behavior of immigrants in the United States.**

**Keywords**

**Diaspora, Basque Diaspora, Media Consumption, Migrant Media, Basque Media.**

### 1. Introduction

“Haitzean jaiok, haitzera nahi.” *What is born on rocks, longs to return to the rocks* is a Basque proverb that echoes many of the sentiments of the modern-day diaspora. A group of individuals with transnational collectivity, dispersed throughout the world, and yet, together seek to revive and rejuvenate (in some ways, return to) the cultural traditions of their immigrant ancestors (Tölölyan, 1991; Dubey, 2010). Like other diaspora groups (Jewish, Armenian, Greek, African) the Basque diaspora within the United States is built on collective memory, “idealization of the homeland,” solidarity among members, and a sense of ethnic collectivity (Garcia, 2016, p. 6). Those who constitute the Basque diaspora seek to create, recreate, and maintain a sense of Basque identity outside the “homeland,” or the Basque

Country of Southern France and Northern Spain. Differences among members of the Basque diaspora do not impede a sense of togetherness or cultural synthesis. These individuals live (and many, are born) in one place and continue to feel connected to the homeland of their ancestral origins. This phenomenon of shared identity and transnational sentiments is a defining characteristic of diasporas.

Analyzing survey data, we consider the ways in which a sample of the Basque diaspora consumes information through media from their country of origin, the Basque Country. Media consumption of homeland news is arguably about more than just information; it could also serve as a social practice. Reading, listening, or viewing the news from a country of origin could be a way in which immigrants and descendants maintain connection and inform themselves about the social, economic, and political realities of the homeland. However, the consumption of media from the homeland could have secondary effects on the social integration and political efficacy of those who form a diaspora group. In this paper, we begin to explore the first notion that media consumption is a form of maintaining a connection. Our empirical method is simple; we explore and describe the media habits of the surveyed Basque diaspora in the United States. Arising from this analysis, we pose multiple research questions for future studies. Specifically, does the Basque diaspora in the United States strengthen their cultural connection through reading (digital) newspapers from the Basque Country? Our study suggests that the importance of digital media from the homeland is growing, but that most consumption of information by the Basque diaspora is mainly through social media networks. Individuals in the second generation are more likely than the first generation to be active in local Basque activities (such as dancing, music events, or cultural celebrations) and less likely to read news from the Basque Country. Our findings also suggest that overtime, among those who continue to consume homeland media, it is mainly through readership of national newspapers (in this case, from Spain) rather than local newspapers (from the Basque Country). Based on our findings, we outline questions for future research about the nature of the diaspora, asking whether homeland information is relevant, how it could map into the activities of the diaspora, and how it may serve to build transnational support for homeland issues.

The term “diaspora” renders a unique impression of an immigrant group, one rooted in a lasting notion of homeland and, regardless of time, built on enduring relationships between origin and residence. Spanning from connotations of a *victim* diaspora to a *mobilized* diaspora to *long-distance nationalists*, this word defines an experience of immigration built on some form of ongoing support or continued communication back to their place of origin (Brubaker, 2005). Varying aspects of diaspora groups have been points of research for scholars, including the economic impact of dispersed groups on the countries of origin (Rana, 2009, p. 362), the creation of transnational networks due to diaspora groups and their cultural celebrations (Goirizelaia & Iturregui, 2018), the social effects of diasporas in their countries of origin (Levitt, 2001), and the involvement of diasporas in home country politics (Koinova & Tsourapas, 2018). However, studies remain limited regarding the practice of accessing transnational news (outside social media) by diaspora groups.

In this study, we focus on the Basque diaspora in the United States. Undoubtedly, the history of the United States can be characterized as a receptor country of immigrants, where one comes to fulfill their own “American Dream.” A combination of *push* factors from the countries of origin and *pull* factors in the destination country have dominated models of international migration (Mayda, 2007). Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, increased immigration from Spain to the Basque Country led to growing urban and industrial populations. The opposite effect in rural areas led to a wave of Basque emigration to different parts of the world, including the United States. A limited inheritance system for family members, ongoing conflict during the Carlist and Civil Wars, and growing economic problems underscored much of the initial migration which pushed Basque migrants from their

homeland. In contrast, contemporary migration from the Basque Country follows different economic patterns. Today, most Basque immigrants, which create the “Diaspora 2.0,” leave for more lucrative economic and professional opportunities. As of 2018, there were 191 Basque Centers recognized by the Basque Government in international locations (Basque Government, 2018). Today, the Basque diaspora constitutes a network of individuals dispersed throughout the world (Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Australia, Uruguay, Philippines, Germany, England, Canada, and the United States), yet sharing a common connection through ongoing relations with the homeland of origin. Among these international Basque clubs, forty (40) clubs, known each as an *euskal etxea* (Basque home), are located throughout the United States, with the majority in California, Idaho, and Nevada.

Basque immigration to the United States can be divided into waves of movement and places of settlement. Evidence suggests that Basque fisherman first came to the North East Coast of the United States and Canada for whaling and cod fishing purposes (Douglass & Bilbao, 2005). Alongside many other immigrant groups, the Basques returned to the United States with the Gold Rush in California (Toticaguena, 2005). The sheepherding industry served as a reason to stay when the gold became more evasive. During the time spanning 1900–1950, hundreds of Basques traveled to the western United States to work mainly as sheepherders and in agricultural industries, such as farming and dairies (Toticaguena, 2005). This is considered the first major wave of Basque immigration to the United States. Immigration of Basques to the east coast of the United States followed a different narrative of movement. Basque-Americans of the eastern seaboard came for three main reasons. The first immigrated due to economic reasons (as did those to the west), the second immigrated during and after the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), and the third and most contemporary Basques immigrated to play a sport called Jai Alai or for highly-skilled economic opportunities (Douglass, 2013; Goirizelaia, 2018). Among the Basque living in the West, most are third (and beyond) generations with family members that migrated to benefit from the sheep industry. In contrast, Basques living in Florida, New York, New England and the Mid-Atlantic area are mainly first and second-generation immigrants. The 2008 American Community Survey estimated that 58,000 Americans have ethnic Basque origins, heritage, or roots (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). Approximately, 6 percent live in the Northeast, 5 percent in the Midwest, 10 percent in the South, and 79 percent in the West.

The notion of being “Basque” varies across individuals. While some may feel a deep connection to their Basque roots, others may hold a stronger identity to Spain or France. Toticaguena (2005) argues that defining “Basqueness” by ancestry can create notions of exclusivity. Rather, the Basque culture among the diaspora has been one in which individuals constitute their own reality and sense of identity (Bieter & Ray, 2015). While this is certainly happening in the diaspora, it is also likely happening in the Basque Country of Spain and France where identity can be contested and related back to an individual’s social experiences and political inclinations. As the rate of Basque immigration to the United States declines, the number of Americans identifying as “Basque” continues to grow (Douglass, 2016). Among our sample of 400 individuals in the Basque diaspora, 93.8 percent consider themselves to be “Basque.” This corroborates the notion that Basque identity has managed to survive and expand among the diaspora throughout the United States.

This sense of deepening identity suggests that information from and about the Basque Country would be increasingly relevant for Basque-Americans. Furthermore, this could extend beyond the first generation where language fluency would facilitate consumption of homeland media. This is the impetus for our research. While Basque immigrants and descendants (of Basque immigrants) both share a sense of Basque identity, how does that map into their media consumption? In fact, do second generation (and beyond) Basque-Americans consume homeland media? If so, how does this differ from their first-generation counterparts? Finally, how could these media consumption habits impact the political, social,

and economic preferences of diaspora groups? This paper is descriptive in nature due to the current scarcity of information on this matter. We hope that our observations about how the diaspora consumes media from the homeland will lay the groundwork for future research to develop specific models and further test hypotheses about the impact of transnational information on individuals that form part of diaspora groups.

## 2. Literature Review

A growing body of literature has analyzed the transnational behavior of immigrant groups living in the diaspora. Much of this work has focused on the notion of transnationalism (Basch, Schiller & Blanc, 2005; Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003; Jones Correa, 2001; Totoricaguena, 2005). Transnationalism describes the experience of immigration as one in which lives extend beyond borders and identities are configured to more than one place. Christiansen (2004) builds on this concept of transnationalism, arguing that watching television from the country of origin is, in fact, a transnational experience. The consumption of news and media from an individual's country of origin is a social practice intended to maintain the culture of a migrant and maintain links; a practice that does not differ from sending remittances, making repeated trips, or sending children to a school run or established by the diaspora group. Sun (2005) echoes these results among the Chinese diaspora finding that the consumption of Chinese language media and cultural products reinforce identity and serve as a transnational linkage. Further, Alencar and Deuze (2017) find that exposure to transnational news can be viewed as a strategy for dual integration, both in the country of immigration and the nation of origin. In effect, it is a twofold process of maintaining and creating identity.

Specific studies have focused on the Basque case of immigration and media to facilitate identity. Amezaga (2004) finds that, due to satellite television, this medium of information can have national, pan-national, geo-strategic, linguistic and international coverage. Peñafiel, Casado, Fernandez de Arroyabe and Gómez (2008) argue that transnational television communication sustains and strengthens the relationship between the diaspora and the Basque Country. Oiarzabal (2012) asserts that social media access facilitates common spaces for individuals among the diaspora. In this space, these individuals are able to re-affirm their sense of "Basqueness" and connect with individuals who share this collective, transnational identity. Agirreazkuenaga and Larrondo (2017) claim that traditional media (for example, physical newspapers or radio) is no longer the sole form of accessing information. This is particularly true for immigrant communities where exposure to media content is dual, coming from the country of residence and country of origin. Arguably, this is reinforced through social media availability that effectively combines media, news, and information from dual origins into one platform.

Within the United States, the Basque sense of identity appears to be undergoing a renaissance. Stories of Basque immigrant families follow a similar pattern, one exemplified by the words of historian Marcus Lee Hansen, "what the father wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember" (Bieter & Ray, 2015). Immigrants, in their efforts for assimilate and often in response to negative backlash, sought to build an American identity. As time moves on, their families attempt to reclaim a sense of distinction and cultural identity –known as a roots revival. The experience of descendants of Basque immigrants (particularly the large population in Idaho) is one largely built around *symbolic culture*, mainly through music, dance and food (Bieter & Ray, 2015; Ray & Bieter, 2015). In addition, the establishment of Basque clubs has facilitated language classes and cultural experiences that strengthen the relationship between Basque-Americans and the homeland of their immigrant relatives. While Spanish and French are considered positive attributes for members of the Basque diaspora, the Basque language (Euskara) is, on average, held with the highest esteem (Lasagabaster, 2008). While many do not speak the language, it continues to be a symbol of cultural identity and connection.

In the United States, the diaspora is built around a hyphenated identity spanning generations and geography. Studies of the Basque diaspora in the United States illustrate the increasing importance of culture and a sustained relationship between home and origin. Historically, an exchange of information was part of the Basque diaspora experience. Beginning in the 1950s, Espe Alegria served as the “Voice of the Basques,” hosting a Basque language radio show broadcast throughout Idaho (Bieter & Bieter, 2003). For 26 years, Espe’s voice informed the Basque–American population about events, news and cultural activities in both Spain and their new home. The show was entertaining, social and informative. From announcing birthdays to playing Basque music to reporting news, the “Basque Program” served as an early form of transnational connection between the Basques in the US and the Basque Country. Clearly, transnational media between the diaspora and homeland has served as a linkage between the individual and their ancestry.

### 2.1. Basque Newspaper Background

In this study, we focus on the ways in which the surveyed Basque diaspora consume media from their homeland of origin, more specifically through newspapers readership. Newspapers have long–served a select social role in Basque society, one that we argue, would continue to link diaspora and home country. For this analysis, we ask survey respondents about multiple newspapers from the Spanish and French sides of the Basque Country. Newspapers can be separated by language in this context. Spanish language news sources include *El Correo*, *Diario Vasco* and *El País* and French language news sources include *Sudouest* and *La République*. Spanish and Basque mixed language newspapers include *Deia* and *Naiz*. Only one newspaper is solely in the Basque language, *Berria*. Each of the backgrounds of these newspapers provide some context into the notion of Basque identity among the Basque–American Diaspora. Included in the study are French newspapers, although the majority of the Basque diaspora in the US have origins in the Spanish side of the Basque Country.

*El Pueblo Vasco*, meaning the Basque Town (or community), was founded in the early 1900s and intended as a voice for the independent right, or liberal conservative, community (Estornés Zubizarreta, n.d.). This paper was eventually closed by the Spanish Republican Government in 1936, just before the Spanish Civil War due to politically conservative stances. In 1937, the newspaper was reopened and renamed *El Correo* (Español). After the reopening, it was mainly seen as the official newspaper of the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (Traditionalist Spanish Phalanx and of the Councils of the National Syndicalist Offensive), the main party of the Francoist state in Spain (*El Correo Español*, n.d.). This party was characterized as a fascist and national syndicalist political movement (Salvadó, 1999). *El Diario Vasco* was founded in 1934 by conservative writers in San Sebastián, Spain. This newspaper was also closed by the Republican Government 1936 to be later reopened by the Falange controlled owners of *El Correo* (Noci, 2012). Among popular opinion, it is generally considered a neutral–progressive news source.

The newspaper with the highest readership in Spain is *El País*. It was founded in 1976 during the transition to democracy in Spain and considered itself to be a pro–democracy and center/left news source (“Definición”, n.d.). Considering the timing of event, this was the first newspaper to be founded without the influence of the Francoist ideology. *Sud Ouest* is the third largest newspaper in France and is considered a neutral source of information and news (Noci, 2012). *La République* is a regional newspaper serving the Pyrenees region of Southern France, which forms part of the Basque County.

The year 1977 is considered by many as the year of the “Basque Newspaper.” This was the year the *Deia* (part of the Noticias Group) and *Egin*, two Basque language newspapers, were created. During the years under the Franco dictatorship, the Basque language was prohibited from use (Salvadó, 1999). After the death of Francisco Franco in Spain, and supported by the Basque nationalist movement, these newspapers were founded and distributed partially using

the Basque language, Euskara (Amezaga, Azpillaga & Arana, 2008; Noci, 2012). While only about two percent of the newspapers were in Basque, its presence was related to the sense of Basque identity, as well as the political circumstances post-dictatorship (Amezaga, Azpillaga & Arana, 2008). Founded with a nationalistic perspective, *Deia* is written almost entirely in Spanish, with occasional news in the Basque language. Politically, it is considered to be a newspaper with moderate, centrist (and often nationalistic) leanings.

In 1990, another Basque newspaper was created, *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*. For the next 13 years, this was the only newspaper written fully in the Basque language (Noci, 2012). Eventually, *Egin* and *Egunkaria* were closed by the Spanish Government with the justification that these news sources were related to the armed group, Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA) (Noci, 2012). The closure of *Egunkaria* has remained controversial as no evidence has been found linking the editorial board to ETA (Noci, 2012; Yoldi, 2010). However, among Basques, the closure of this newspaper served as a factor in their continued commitment to this source of information. In 1999, a Basque and Spanish language newspaper was founded, *Gara*. This was followed by a Basque language newspaper, *Berria*, in 2003. Each of these newspapers were established due to the local support and fundraising efforts with the Basque community (Noci, 2012). Today, both are considered progressive newspapers.

All newspapers in this study have an online presence. Starting in 1995, the online presence of Basque newspapers made homeland information more available to the diaspora (Ayerdi, Noci, Ureta & Aliaga, 2010). In 2012, *Naiz* was founded as the digital version of *Gara* and published content in both Spanish and Basque. Like *Gara* and *Berria*, *Naiz* is considered a news source with sympathies for the *abertzale*, or Basque nationalism, movement within the Basque Country (Noci, 2012). Among the Basque Community, excluding Navarra, readership is highest for *El Correo*, followed *El Diario Vasco*, *Deia*, *Gara* (*Naiz*), and finally, *El País* (CIES, 2017).

### 3. Method

The objective of this research is to describe and explore the consumption of homeland media by the surveyed Basque diaspora. Following the literature, we argue that news consumption of diaspora groups is a transnational experience that could potentially have effects on the social and political participation in the country of residence. First, we ask a basic question: do second (and beyond) generation Basque-Americans consume media from the homeland? If so, how does this differ from first generation immigrants? To begin to answer these questions, we utilize survey data of 400 respondents with Basque ancestry regarding their habits and preferences for news from the “old country.”

Our analysis is based on an online survey conducted during May and June 2018 from which we have more than 400 respondents from all over the United States. Respondents were required to have a history of familial immigration from the Basque Country to the United States. Respondent ages ranged between 13 to 94 years of age. Of the sample, 18.6 percent of respondents were first generation immigrants, meaning they themselves had lived the experience of immigration. Among first generation immigrants, the majority are in their 30s. Of the sample, 81.3 percent of respondents were second generation and beyond immigrants, meaning they had an immigrant family but were born in the United States. We refer to this group as the second+ generation. Among this group, the majority are in their 20s, 30s and 40s. Responses are nationally distributed, coming from Arizona, California, Idaho, Illinois, Massachusetts, Montana, New Jersey, Nevada, Colorado, Utah, New York, Florida, North Carolina, Illinois, Washington, Maryland, Ohio, Oregon, Texas and Wisconsin. The largest group of respondents are in Idaho, followed by California. The majority of respondents have family that immigrated from Bizkaia, a province in the Spanish side of the Basque Country.

Table 1 outlines the descriptive statistics of each generational group. Across the generational groups, average age hovers around 44-45 years of age. We find that 100 percent

of the first-generation group considers themselves to be Basque. This only drops to 97 percent among the second+ generation group. Among the first-generation sample, 36 percent are members of a Basque club, while among the second+ generation group 61 percent are members. In the survey, we also asked respondents about their engagement in traditional Basque activities including being a member of a Basque Club and being involved in a variety of other activities. For these questions, zero (0) indicates inactive in Basque events and five (5) indicates very active in Basque events. Engaging in traditional Basque dancing is higher among the second+ generation, with a higher proportion of respondents indicating more regular involvement in this activity. This is also true of activity in playing *Mus*, a Basque card game involving team play. In contrast, the first-generation sample reports higher activity in Basque sports, music, language and food. Among the first-generation sample, the three highest reported activities are food (3.61), language (3.41), and music (2.98). Among the second+ generation sample, the three highest reported activities are food (3.53), dance (2.90), and music (2.84).

**Table 1:** Basque Diaspora Generation Group Descriptive Statistics.

<b>First Generation Sample</b>					
Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Age	75	44.60	14.78	17	81
Consider Basque (yes=1)	75	1.00	0.00	1	1
Member of Club (yes=1)	75	0.36	0.48	0	1
Involved in Dance	33	2.03	1.07	1	5
Involved in Sports	38	2.84	1.44	1	5
Involved in Music	43	2.98	1.28	1	5
Involved in <i>Mus</i>	36	1.81	1.19	1	5
Involved in Language	44	3.41	1.45	1	5
Involved in Food	49	3.61	1.20	1	5
<b>Second+ Generation Sample</b>					
Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Age	321	44.91	16.88	13	94
Consider Basque (yes=1)	324	0.97	0.16	0	1
Member of Club (yes=1)	327	0.61	0.49	0	1
Involved in Dance	240	2.90	1.32	1	5
Involved in Sports	192	2.10	1.21	1	5
Involved in Music	225	2.84	1.27	1	5
Involved in <i>Mus</i>	197	2.13	1.25	1	5
Involved in Language	213	2.74	1.28	1	5
Involved in Food	273	3.53	1.10	1	5

These descriptive statistics provide us with a statistical snapshot of each sample group. Like many diaspora groups, we find a decline in language use between the first and second+ generations. However, as we move across generations, we find that other cultural activities grow in relevance for the diaspora community. Basque dance, a highly visible aspect of culture, grows substantially moving across generations. *Mus*, a card game played in groups and typically organized through a Basque club, also increases among the second+ generation group. Yet, underlying these shifts in activities, we find that food remains a particularly relevant activity (in whatever form that may take) among the surveyed Basque diaspora.

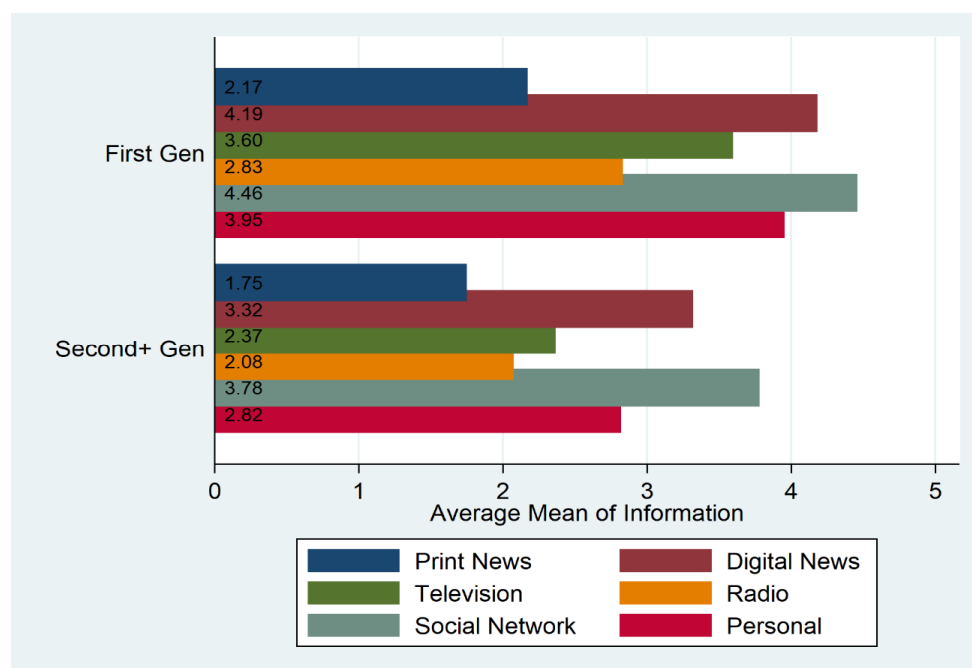
#### 4. Analysis

In the following section, we provide an analysis of the data collected through the survey. Due to limitations with this data, we provide simple descriptive analytics of readership among the surveyed Basque diaspora in the United States. First, we describe the habits of media consumption among the surveyed respondents. Second, we provide bivariate correlations to evaluate the hypothesis that media consumption changes over generations within the diaspora.

Figure 1 shows the results of basic descriptive analysis among generations. First, we analyze how our survey sample of the Basque diaspora in the United States access information. Among the first-generation group, we find that most information is consumed through social media, followed by digital news. The same is true for the second-generation group; likely reflecting the general population and consumer trends. The main difference between these groups is that information through personal relationships is a phenomenon experienced more by the first-generation group, than through the second and latter. This is understandable as this group would likely have more interpersonal relationship that exist across seas compared to the generation of self-identified Basques in the United States.

As individuals move from the first to the second generation, we find that consumption of media declines. However, there is variation in this consumption. First, we find that among first generation Basque immigrants to the United States, the three most common newspapers read by individuals are *El País*, *Diario Vasco* and *Berria*. The last being a Basque language newspaper. However, among the second-generation sample, the most read newspapers (*El País*, *Diario Vasco*, *El Correo* and *Deia*) are Spanish language. This is understandable as we observe a decline in language usage, presumably Euskara, among the second-generation group. Respondents are asked about their use of language on a range of frequency (0=not at all, 5=everyday). The average response of the first-generation group in language use is between often and always. Among the second-generation group, language use drops to few (times). Figure 1 outlines the forms of media consumption between generations of the surveyed Basque diaspora in the United States.

**Figure 1:** Basque Diaspora Generations by Average Means of Information Acquisition.

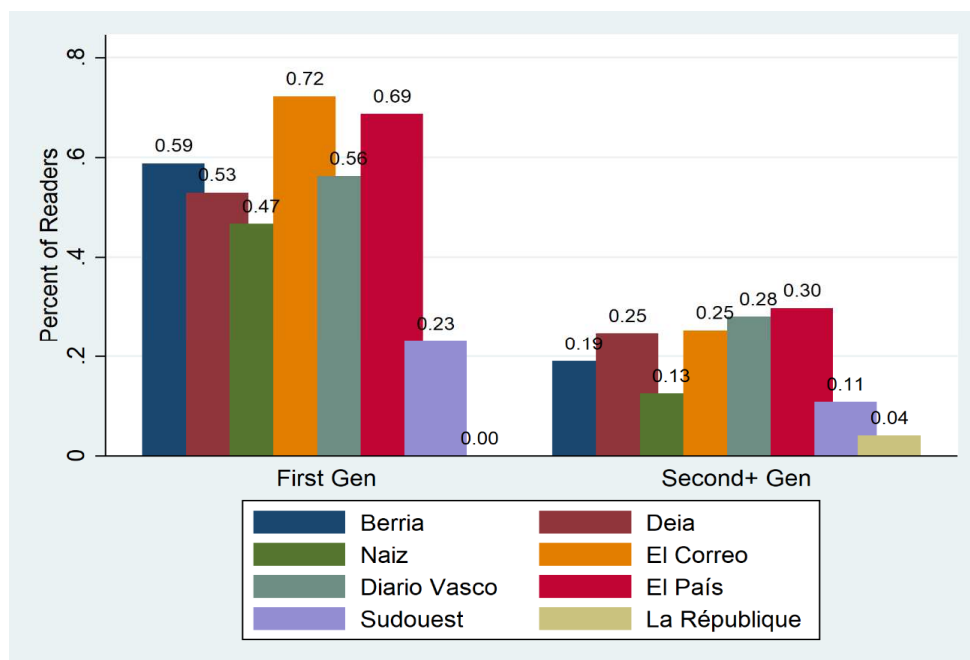




Among each of the sample, the most commonly read newspaper on average is *El País*, a national Spanish newspaper. The higher readership for this newspaper could be due to extensive online presence, as well, as larger national interests by those in a diaspora rather than highly localized news. *El Diario Vasco* is the second most commonly read newspaper among the first-generation group. The same is true for the second+ generation group. This newspaper is a Basque newspaper in the Spanish language but considered a neutral news source compared to other newspapers in the Basque Country. The largest shift that we observe between the two generational groups is the decline in readership of the newspaper *Berria*, the only news source in the Basque language. Among the first-generation sample, *Berria* is the third most common news source for individuals in the surveyed Basque diaspora. However, this is not the case for the second+ generation sample. *Berria* readership among this group is below *El Correo* and *Deia*.

There could be two underlying causes for this decline in Basque language news consumption. The first is simply that Basque language usage declines between the first and second+ generations in the surveyed Basque diaspora. Individuals in this second+ generation are not consuming news in the Basque language due to low language acquisition. Lasagabaster (2008) supports this finding. In addition, current Basque language newspapers are using Euskara Batua (standardized Basque). Most immigrants from the Basque Country, including their families, continue to speak and learn varying dialects of the Basque language. In contrast, readership in Spanish language newspapers is relatively high among this group. Among the second+ generation, this could result from language acquisition of Spanish which serves multiple purposes in American society, outside of a connection to the Basque culture. The third most common news source among the second+ generation group is *El Correo*, a Spanish language newspaper with roots in the Spanish conservative movement. Figure 2 displays the rate of average readership for each Basque newspaper by generational group.

**Figure 2:** Basque Diaspora Readership Averages by Newspaper.



In the following section, we provide bivariate Spearman correlations between key variables in the survey. First, we analyze the relationship between movement across generations and variables, such as following the news, considering oneself Basque, and being active in Basque activities. First, we find that there is a strong negative correlation between

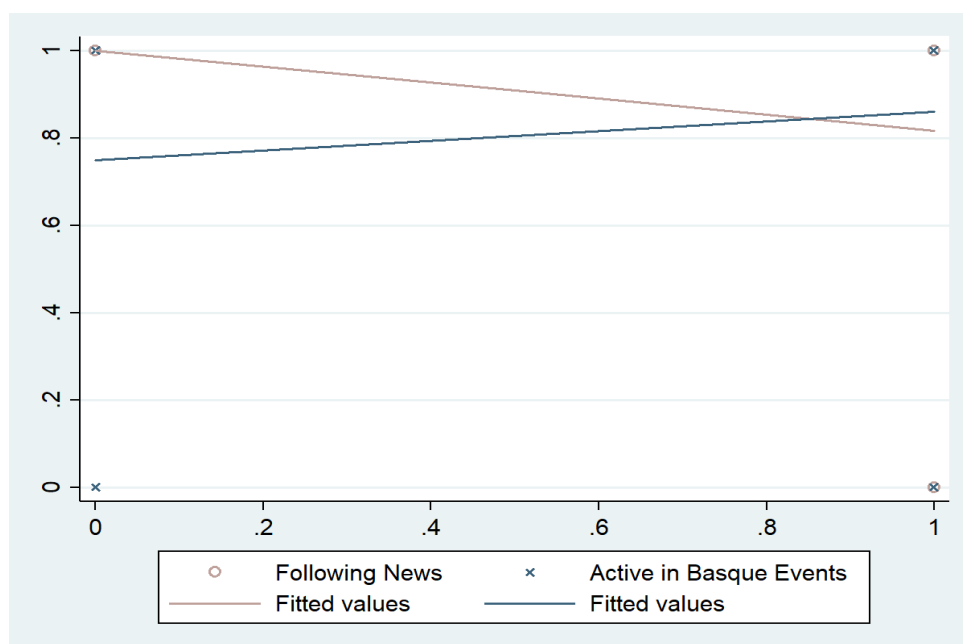
generational movement from first to second+ groups in the surveyed Basque Diaspora in relation to following homeland news. This indicates that individuals in the second generation are less likely than the first to follow news for the Basque Country. Second, we find a strong positive correlation between generational movement from first to second+ groups in the surveyed Basque Diaspora in relation to activity in Basque events. This indicates that individuals in the second generation are more likely than the first to be active in local Basque activities (such as dancing, music events, or cultural celebrations) and less likely to read news from the Basque Country. Table 2 outlines the correlation between generations in the surveyed Basque diaspora and key variables, including spearman's rho and significance level. Statistically significant correlations are in bold.

**Table 2:** Spearman Correlation Results.

Variable	Generation (First to Second)	Follow News	Consider Basque	Active in Basque Events
Follow News	<b>-0.19</b> <b>0.00</b>	-		
Consider Basque	-0.07 0.17	0.05 0.28	-	
Active in Basque Events	<b>0.15</b> <b>0.00</b>	0.06 0.22	0.08 0.11	-

Finally, we analyze the relationship between activity in Basque events and news readership. We find that as we move across generations (first to second+), the likelihood of following homeland news declines. However, engagement in activities increases. It could be that moving across generations, transnational activities tend to take on a different form, moving from consuming information about the homeland to recreating parts of the homeland in the new country of residence. The cultural symbolism of being active in events and activities is more significant for the latter generations of the surveyed diaspora, compared to keeping up with the news of the homeland. Figure 3 displays the inverse relationship between news consumption and activity in cultural events as we move across generations.

**Figure 3:** Bivariate Correlation between Activity in Basque Events and Following News.



## 5. Conclusion

In this study, we analyze the case of the Basque diaspora in the United States to consider the relationship between homeland media consumption and movement between first and second+ generations. This research is done through a sample of 400 Basque-Americans throughout the United States. This research highlights the differences in transnational information consumption as communities reside over longer time periods in the country of residence. In particular, we find that homeland news readership declines between generations. Both groups are more likely to access information about the Basque Country through social media, with digital news following in second. Furthermore, we find that the most significant shift (decline) between groups in terms of media consumption is in readership of Basque language digital news, specifically *Berria*. This is likely related back to the loss of language acquisition of the Basque language between generations. Furthermore, we find that news readership is highest among a national, Spanish newspaper –which covers the entire Spanish state rather than only the Basque Country. This could indicate that for immigrant groups, interest in news shifts from local to national, as they reside in another country.

There are limitations to this study. First, the generalizability of this study is limited using an online survey with a small sample of individuals. The sample is likely affected by an unequal distribution and knowledge of the survey. This limitation also results in a small sample of 400 Basque-Americans, a mere 0.01 percent of the total diaspora population. Second, the news consumption patterns and inferences are determined by an incomplete selection of news sources. It could be that we missed the places where individuals seek their homeland news. However, we argue that the news and media patterns found in this study provide theoretical relevance for future work on immigrant populations and the role of news in a variety of social contexts. From this work, we begin to ask further research questions about the ways in which changing news consumption affects immigrant groups. For example, how does homeland news read by an individual in a diaspora group affect their perceptions and engagement in local, national and transnational politics? What do the news sources where diaspora groups consume information say about their political, social and economic positions in the society where they reside? Finally, how could news sources in the homeland benefit from a strong sense of transnational identity to increase readership and potentially, impact understanding or sympathy about international topics and issues? We seek to begin answering these questions in future studies.

The Basque diaspora in the United States is a group long-noted for their strong sense of identity –one that encompasses the many Basque identities in the old country. Indeed, census counts continue to reflect a growing and pronounced shift to a generic identity of “Basqueness” (Douglass, 2016). Furthermore, this sense of identity does not necessarily lend itself to increased sympathy or understanding of local Basque politics and issues –a phenomenon reflected in the findings of this study. It could be that an interest in local politics and homeland information varies across other diaspora groups. However, it begs the question of how moving to another country shapes your understanding of the country of origin and how that further maps into your interest in homeland issues and your participation in the society where you reside.

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