

Kazetaritza II Saila

NAZIOARTEKO DOKTOREGO TESIA INTERNATIONAL DISSERTATION

DIASPORAK NAZIOARTEKO HARREMANETAN: komunikazioa eta harreman transnazionalak Euskal Herriaren eta Estatu Batuetan diren Euskaldunen artean

DIASPORAS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: communication and transnational relations between the Basque Country and the Basque communities in the United States



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Tesi portadan agertzen den irudia gure aitxitek, Luis Altunak, egin zuen 1937 urtean, italiar hegazkinek Durango bonbardeatu eta bere aita erahil ondoren, ama eta amonarekin Frantziara joan behar izan zuenean.

Tesi lan hau ez da bakarrik Espainiar Gudu Zibilean sorterrria atzean utzi eta erbestean bizi behar izan zutenei buruz. Lan honetan kabida dute arrazoi desberdinengatik jatorrizko herritik berri batera joan behar izan dutenek, herri garatu eta multikultural bat sortzeko bidean, inoiz euren identitatea ahaztu ez eta loturak mantentzen jarraitzen dutenek.

Migrazio mugimenduek mundu global eta konektatu bat sortzen dute, non, batzuk mila kilometrora egon arren, bihotzetik gertu dauden (BTX).

**Mila esker portada hau egiteko (eta beste hainbeste gauzetarako) bere denbora oparitu didan lagun min Ismeneri.*

The image on the cover was made by our grandfather in 1937, when he found his father dead after the Italian airplanes bombed Durango. Along with his mother and grandmother, he then had to leave the Basque Country for France.

This work is not just about those who had to emigrate during the Spanish Civil War and live in exile. It is also about anyone who for any reason had to leave their homeland, but still maintains a connection to their home country and their identity.

Migratory movements help in the construction of a global world, in which, even though we are sometimes far away from home, we are connected within our hearts.

*Zuori,
Aita eta Ama*

*Izan ere, "...urrunago ikusteko aukera izan badut, erraldoien sorbaldetan
igota nagoelako izan da"*
-Newton

Lan hau aurrera eramateko Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko euskara errektoreordetzak eskeintzen duen doktorego aurreko ikertzaileentzako beka bat izan dugu 2015 urteko azarotik 2019 urteko otsailera arte. Bide honetan Bitartez Ikerketa Taldearen laguntza ezinbestekoa izan da, ekarpenak nazioarteko kongresuetan aurkezteko eta argitalpenak aurrera eramateko.

Ezin izango nuke inolaz lan hau egin, nire zuzendari den Leire Iturregigatik izango ez balitz, zeinek, beka lortu baino lehenagotik ere, nigan sinesten zuen.

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Eskerrak

Zorteduna naiz.

Zorteduna naiz lagundu didaten guztien izenak orri hauetan sartzen ez direlako.

Banekien euskaldunok langile, laguntzaile, eskuzabal eta leial izatearen fama geneukala. Enekien, ordea, leialtasun eta laguntasun hori zein puntutara arte iritsi zitekeen. Lan honek erakutsi dit euskal mundua ez dela inondik inora geografikoki Euskal Herria kokatzen den lurretara mugatzen. Euskal mundua, mundu osora zabaltzen dela, eta horrela egiten dutela baita ere, arestian aipatu ditudan ezaugarriok. Duda barik, euskal diasporako kideei zor diet lanaren parte handi bat, beti laguntza eskatu diedanean eman didatelako, bai elkarrizketak egiterakoan, bai kontaktuak ematean eta erraztean, bai lana zabaltzean, bai euren elkarrekin parte izaten uztean eta baita ere euren etxeetako ateak zabaltzean. Bostonen, New Yorken, Boisen, Kalifornian, Danian edota La Platan betirako lagun bihurtu zareten horiei. Tesi hau egiten lagundu eta zabaltzeagatik....Thank you, muchas gracias. Esker bereziak Bostoneko lagunei, Kattalina eta Briani, zuon munduko parte izaten uzteagatik. Dania Casinoko pilotari eta euren bikoteei lana dibertimendu eta dibertimendua lan bihurtzeagatik. Bizirako esperientzia ezinhobe eta ahaztezina oparitzeagatik.

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Nire kuadrilari eta lagunei, entzuteagatik eta ez entzuteagatik, baina batez ere, behar izan dudanean nirekin kalimotxo hori hartzeagatik. Nire ekarpen txikiak beti arretaz irakurri eta konpartizeagatik.

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Nire zuzendari, lankide, lagun, mentore eta erreferenteari: Leire. Nigan sinesteagatik nik egin dudana baino askoz gehiago. Guztiari alde positiboa ikusteagatik eta zure ahotik beti hitz positiboak eta aurrera pausuak emateko aukerak irten direlako. Konklusioak ateratzeko zure gaitasunari eta guztiz goitik behera dagoen mundu batean ordena topatzeagatik.

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“Amar es dejar crecer”. Maitatzea, hazten uztea da. Zuri Ander, hasteko behar izan ditudan hegoak emateaz gain, beti nire alde bultzatu duen haize izateagatik.

HASTEKOAK

Sarrera

The New Colossus

1

*Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"*

Emma Lazarus

November 2, 1883

¹Statue of Liberty-ra heltzean Emma Lazarusen poesia hau ikusi daiteke.

LEHEN ATALBURUA

SARRERA

***“Thanks to you, the whole world has become a little more Basque,
and we Basques, belong more to the whole world”***

(Ardanza Lehendakaria, 1995 urteko Euskal Kolektibitateen Mundu
Biltzarrean)

This is a study about how cultural and local relations affect the global world relations. 80-90 years ago, people left their homes in Europe and travel mostly to the United States. People capted those cultures to their lives in countries all over the world, and as we develop a global economy, those ties to local cultures are the natural ties though which the global economy develops.

They are the natural way to make communication happen and they can also strengthen and there are the natural vehicle for the development of a global economy but also strengthen the local culture in the original. This thesis focuses on the Basque Country and its connections to the United States, but the Basque situation very strong resembles to many other communities that

would also use these ancient ties to enforce the actual relations, such as the Armenian, Greek, or Croatian communities that starting in the late 19th and early 20th century left their home countries in search of a better life.

Identity and culture are seen to be as the catalyst in other kind of relations that affect the global world. Using different kind of activities such as cultural centers, language schools, churches, festivals and relief organizations...these communities maintain their culture but also develop a global culture being part of the new country. They would be both part of the old and new country as transnational people. This study shows the importance of these cultures and how years later, they still serve as connectors.

Ikerketa honen helburu nagusia da Euskal Herriaren eta kanpoan den euskal komunitatearen artean izan den komunikazioaren azterketa egitea. Migrazioa beti egon da presente Euskal Herriaren historian. Migrazio hori bi erataraz egaratu ahal izan dugu, hau da, Euskal Herria herri jasotzaile moduan (immigrazioa), non Bizkaiako ezker aldea, bere industriarekin Altos Hornos, kasu, izan den protagonista; edota Euskal Herria migrazio igorle moduan, emigratu egin duenean, batez ere, eskuin aldea eta nekazaritza zonaldeak. Bizitako emigrazio horren ondorioz, euskal komunitateak sortu diran mundu zabaleko hainbat lekutan. Harreman guztietan komunikazioa beharrezkoa eta ezinbestekoa da, eta kanpoan bizi diren euskal komunitateen eta Euskal Herriaren kasuan ere, berdina gertatu da. Horrela, beti izan da bai alde batetik zein bestetik komunikazio hori mantentzeko beharra eta interesa. Ikerketa honen helburu nagusia kanpoan bizi diren euskaldun horien eta Euskal Herriaren arteko komunikazioa nolakoa izan den aztertzea izango da. Horretarako komunikazio hori Euskal Herriatik sortu denean eta komunikazio hori diasporako kideen eskutik sortu denean aztertuko da.

Totoricaguenak (1999) dio komunikazio globalak Euskal Herriatik diasporarako komunikazioa erraztu duela bai Euskal Herriarekin bai eta beste diaspora batzuekin (komunikazio horizontala). Bere hitzetan komunikazio horretan berebiziko garrantzia izan dute Euskaltelebistak, Euskal Etxeak aldizkariak eta korrespondentzia pertsonal elektronikoen bidezko komunikazioak (Totoricaguenak, 1999). Ikertuko ditugun tresnen artean Totoricaguenak aipatzen dituen horiek daude.

Horrela, ikerketa lan honen bidez munduan zehar bidaiatzea planteatzen dugu eta euskal migrazioaren nondik norakoak ezagutzeko aukera ematen dugu. Gainera, Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko komunikazioaren eboluzioa eta komunikazio honetan Eusko Jaurlaritzak, euskal komunikabideek eta kanpoan bizi den euskal komunitateek, internetek eta sare

sozialek nolako eragina izan duten azalduko dugu. Horrez gain, Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunak irudikatzeko aukera emango dugu eta hauek Estatu Batuak eta Euskal Herriaren arteko harremanean izan duten eragina aztertuko dugu. Euskal diasporako kideek antolatzen dituzten harreman publikoetako ekintzen bidez, diplomazia publikoko agente bihurtuko direla ikusi al izango dugu eta horretarako aztertuko ditugu errealak eta eguneratuak diren adibideak. Amaitzeko, ikerketa esploratorio bat proposatzen da, zeinetan, lan osoan zehar aztertutakoa aplikatuko den Estatu Batuetan diren euskal komunitate desberdinak aztertzeke.

Ikerketa lan honetan aurretik egin ez den lan bat egin da eta batera jarri dira diaspora, harreman publikoak eta diplomazia alorrak. Hiru gaiak uztartzen dituen erreferenterik ez dagoenez, lanak bere zailtasunak izan ditu, baina era berean, erronka polita izan da. Ez da erraza izan metodologia zehaztea lehen aldiz planteatzen delako hiru ikerketa eremuko elkarlana eta, hori dela eta, planteamendu berritzailea da hau. Lan honek tesiari balio handia eman diola uste dugu, metodologia balidatzen du eta, gure azken atalburuan euskal kasuarekin egin dugun moduan, etorkizunean beste diaspora batzuekin egin daitezkeen lanetan lehen pausuak eman ditzakeela uste dugu.

1.1 Helburuak

Ikerketa lan honek helburu nagusi bat du, hau da, Euskal Herriaren eta Estatu Batuetan den euskal diasporaren arteko komunikazioa eta harremana aztertzea. Euskal Herriari buruz ari garenean, batez ere Eusko Jaurlaritza eta euskal komunikabideei buruz arituko gara, eta, diasporari buruz ari garenean, diasporako instituzio eta indibiduoek buruz.

Helburu nagusi horretatik irtengo dira gure gainontzeko helburuak:

1. Ezagutu Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunen profila, Euskal Herriarekin duten lotura eta hauen arteko komunikazio tresnak identifikatu, kategorizatu eta aztertu, bai Euskal Herriatik diasporara zuzendurikoak zein diasporatik jatorrizko herrialdera bideratuak.
2. Ikertu Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko harremanean zein paper jokatu duten harreman publikoetako ekimenek, adibidez, Estatu Batuetako euskal komunitateek antolatzen dituzten jaialdiak eta Euskal Herrian antolatzen diren kongresuak.
3. Ezagutu Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunek Euskal Herriko albisteak jasotzeko interesik duten, nola jasotzen

dituzten eta zein komunikabide eta egunkari kontsumitzen dituzten.

4. Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko harremanean eta komunikazioan internetek izan duen eragina ezagutu.
5. Euskal diaspora sareak aztertu eta sare desberdinek nola interaktuatzen duten ezagutu.
6. Ikertu euskal diasporak zein paper jokatzeko duen Euskal Herriak Estatu Batuetan duen irudian eta ikusi diplomazia publikoko agente kontsideratu daitekeen.

1.2 Hipotesiak

Ikerketa lan hau aurrera eramateko ondorengo hipotesiak planteatu dira:

1. Estatu Batuetan euskal jatorria duten gehiengoak hirugarren belaunaldikoak dira eta Bizkaikoak.
2. Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunek Euskal Herriarekin duten lotura, batez ere, familiarra eta kulturala da.
3. Harremana eta komunikazioa mantentzeko interesa egon da bai Euskal Herriko zein diasporako kideen eskutik eta azken urteotan eboluzio bat eman da, batez ere, instituzioen eskutik burutu diren ekintzetan.
4. Harreman publikoetako ekimenak eta, batez ere, kongresuak eta jaialdiak garrantzitsuak izan dira Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko komunikazioan. Aipagarria izanik Boiseko Jaialdia.
5. Estatu Batuetako euskaldunek interesa dute Euskal Herrian gertatzen diren albisteetan eta albisteak, batez ere, nazioarteko telebista kateen eta Interneten bidez jasotzen dute (Sare sozialak eta medio digitalak).
6. Teknologia berriak eta, bereziki Internetek, euskal diasporaren eta Euskal Herriaren arteko komunikazioa areagotu du.
7. Diasporako kideek Euskal Herriaren eta Estatu Batuen arteko harremanean laguntzen dute.
8. Estatu Batuetan euskal komunitate desberdinak daude eta kokapenaren eta belaunaldiaren arabera, Euskal Herriarekin duten lotura eta burutzen dituzten ekintzak desberdinak izango dira.
9. Euskal diaspora Euskal Herriko diplomazia publikoko agente da.

1.3 Metodologia

Ikerketa hau aurrera eramateko gure galderak hoberen erantzungo dituen metodologia diseinatu dugu. Ikerketa honetan datuak bildu eta hau ikertzeko metodo soziologiko eta antropologikoak erabili ditugu. Aurretik batera ikertu ez diren hiru gai aztertzen dira: diaspora, harreman publikoak eta diplomazia eta, horregatik, planteatutako helburuak lortzeko metodologia desberdinak erabili dira. Ikerketan teknika kualitatibo eta kuantitatiboak erabili dira, izan ere, Belottik (2014) dioen moduan bi teknikak konbinatzeak emaitza eta ikuspuntu desberdinak ekarri ditzake. Teknika bat baino gehiago erabiltzen dugunean triangulazio metodologikoa erabiltzen ari gara; datuak lortzeko era desberdinak, ikerketa desberdinak, teoria desberdinak eta tresna intra metodologiko desberdinak, hala nola, metodo kuantitatibo eta kualitatiboak (Denzin, 1978).

Mario Small-ek (2011) datu motak, datuak biltzeko moduak, eta datuen analisisa *mixed method study* bezala identifikatzen ditu. Datu mota desberdinak (transkribatutako elkarrizketak, inkesten erantzunak, landa lanean hartutako notak, eta grabatutako elkarrizketak) bilduko dira ikerketarako; datu horiek biltzeko bilketa moduak (elkarrizketak eta behaketa partehartzailea) eta, amaitzeko, datuak analisatzeko erabiliko ditugun metodoak dira bildu ditugun datuei zentsua emango diotenak.

Kadushin-ek (2008) dio triangulazioa dela fenomeno bera neurtzeko datuak biltzeko era desberdinak erabiltzea (baieztatzea); eta beste batzuk diote datu ezberdinak erabiltzearen emaitza positiboena dela informazioa biltzeko mota batzuk beste batzuen ahultasunak betetzen dituztela (osagarria) (Brewer & Hunter 1989; 2006; Scrimshaw 1990).

Ikerketa hau aurrera eramateko, beraz, datu kualitatibo eta kuantitatiboak erabili dira.

1.3.1 Datu kualitatiboak

1.3.1.1 Literatura irakurketa, dokumentuak eta artxiboko datuak

Hasteko, edozein ikerketa lanekin bezala, jada eginda dagoen lana ez errepikatzeko eta gure bidean erraztasunak izateko, euskal migrazioa eta euskal diaspora gaiaren inguruan idatzi diren liburu, artikuluko, aldizkari, dokumental, eta film-en inguruko lanak aztertu dira, bai akademiko zein ez akademikoak (Hollstein, 2011). Horri esker ikusi ahal izan dugu zeintzuk izan diren,

batez ere, ikertu diren gaiak eta ea gure gaia oraindik ikertu gabe dagoen. Lanak irakurtzen joan garen bitartean, horiek gaika banandu eta *Refworks* plataforman sartu ditugu. Lan horrek asko erraztu digu erabilitako dokumentuak antolatuta edukitzea.

1.3.1.2 Elkarrizketak

Ikerketa lan honetan erabili den tekniketarikoa bat sakoneko elkarrizketak izan dira: hurbilketa lortzeko modurik egokiena da eta ikerketa kualitatiboen metodoen artean komunena (Belotti, 2014:69). Elkarrizketak modu aproposa dira oraindik ikertu gabe dagoen gaia ezagutzeko eta pertsona konkretu batzuekin hitz egiteko aukera izateko (Hollstein, 2011:14).

Olabuénagak (1996) dioen moduan, elkarrizketaren lehen ezaugarria galdetzen duen pertsonaren eta erantzuten duenaren arteko interakzioa da eta horri esker informazioa lortzeko teknika bat garatzen da bi pertsonen arteko elkarrizketa profesional baten bidez. Ikerketaren parte handi bat sakoneko elkarrizketetan oinarritu da, gaia ezagutzeko bide apropos izan delako eta gainera lehen eskuko eta perspektiba desberdinetako informazioa eman digulako. Gure analisiaren parte handi bat elkarrizketetan oinarrituta dago.

Gainera, *Snowball* teknikari esker, elkarrizketatu ditugun horiek gure ikerketarako interesgarriak izan daitezkeen beste pertsona batzuen kontaktua erraztu dizkigute.

Guztira 83 sakoneko elkarrizketa egin ditugu gure ikerketarako garrantzitsuak izan diren pertsonekin. Ia elkarrizketa denak aurrez aurrez izan dira eta gero transkribitu egin dira. Izan dira, baita ere, e-mailez bidalitako elkarrizketa batzuk distantzia geografikoa arrazoi. Elkarrizketatuen artean daude euskal diasporako kideak (ez bakarrik Estatu Batuetan), euskal diaspora gaia ikertzen duten akademikoak eta euskal diasporarekin lan egiten duten adituak daude. Horrez gain, Eusko Jaurlaritzako Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritza Nagusiko langileak ere elkarrizketatu ditugu, ordezkari instituzionalak, eta diasporako elkarteetako ordezkariak. Elkarrizketa hauek gaiari buruz ikuspegi sakona eman digute. Diasporako kideez gain, beste komunitate batzuetako diaspora kideak ere elkarrizketatu dira, hala nola, greziarrak, kroaziarrak eta armeniarrek. Amaitzeko, Harvard eta Northeastern Universityko irakasleekin ere solasaldi ugari izan dira gaiaren inguruan.

Hauek izan dira burutu ditugun elkarrizketak:

Homeland diaspora communication

Jatorrizko herrialdetik diasporara bideratutako komunikazioa aztertzeko egindako elkarrizketak:

- a) Medio eta Komunikabideak:
 - a. Komunikabideen bertsio digitalen arduradunak

2016 urteko ekainean zehar bost euskal komunikabidetako bertsio digitaleko arduradunei elkarrizketak egin dizkiegu. Elkarrizketa guztiak e-mailez egin dira bat izan ezik, aurrez aurre egin zena. E-mailez elkarrizketatutako en artean Deia, Naiz, Berria eta El Correo egunkarietako bertsio digitaletako arduradunak daude. Aurrez aurre egindako elkarrizketa, ordea, EITB digitaleko arduradunari egin zitzaion EITBko Bilboko egoitzan. Elkarrizketa guztiak formatu eta galdera berdinak izan dituzte eta hauen bidez ikusi nahi izan genuen zein den komunikabideok diasporako gaien inguruan duten jarrera.

- b. EITBren nazioarteko kateak

EITBk nazioartean zabaltzeko ideia izan zuenean Jose Felix Azurmendi zegoen horren arduradun. Jose Felix Azurmendi EITBren Nazioarteko Harremanetako Zuzendaria izan zen eta horren aurretik Karakaseko Unibertsitateko irakaslea eta bertako euskal etxeko kide izan zen; Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko irakasle; Egin egunkariako zuzendari eta Deia egunkariako zuzendariorde izan zen. 2017 urteko uztailaren 3an Jose Felix Azurmendirekin bildu ginen bere etxean. Elkarrizketa aurrez aurre egin zen eta grabagailua erabili zen elkarrizketa guztia grabatzeko. Grabatutako hori transkribatu egin zen gero. Elkarrizketan, batez ere, EITB nazioarteko kanalaren sorrera nola izan zen, zergatik egin zen eta atzerrian nola zabaldu zen ezagutu nahi genuen. Hala ere, elkarrizketa askoz aberatsagoa izan zen eta gai horrez gain diasporarekin zerikusia duten beste hainbat gai uztartzeko aukera izan genuen. Elkarrizketatuaren jakinduria eta ibilbidea ezagutzeko aukera izan genuen.

- c. ORIGEN Saioa

2016 urteko otsailatik apirilera New Media Produktorak produzitutako "Origen" saioan parte hartzeko aukera izan genuen. Telesai hori EITBn emititu zen eta gaia Euskal Herritik arrazoi desberdinetatik emigratu behar izan zuten euskaldunetan eta horien oinordekoetan zentratzen zen. Telesaiak

euskal migrazioaren nondik norakoak ulertzeko eta euskal diaspora ezagutzeko parade eman zuen. Elkarrizketak aurrez aurrekoak izan ziren eta grabatutako guztia gero transkribitu egin zen. Elkarrizketetan, batez ere, euskal diasporako kide sentitzen ziren, Euskal Herriari buruz zuten ezagutzari buruz eta Euskal Herriak euren herrialdeetan zuen presentziri buruz aritu ginen.

d. Irratia

Euskal Herritik kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunekin izan den komunikazioaren eboluzioa aztertzean, ikusi genuen izan zela Euskaditik emititzen zen irrati programa bat. Horren buruz jakiteko, irrati programa hori “Vascos en América” zeraman Floren Torrelledórekin elkarrizketa egin genuen 2017ko ekainaren 13an. Komunikazio horrek nola eboluzionatu duen urteetan eta 1970-1980 urteen inguruan burutu ziren ekimenen berri eman zigun.

e. Euskalkultura.com

1989 urtean Euskal Herriaren eta kanpoan ziren euskaldunen arteko komunikazioa hobetzeko Euskal Kultur Fundazioak Euskalkultura aldizkaria sortzea pentsatu zuen. Medio horren arduraduna Joseba Etxarri izan da eta berarekin biltzeko aukera izan genuen 2017 urteko urriaren 25ean. Elkarrizketa Zuatzu Poligonoko taberna batean egin genuen eta ia hiru orduko elkarrizketa grabagailuarekin grabatu zen, gero hori ordenagailuan transkribatzeko. Etxarri aditua eta aritua da gaien, beraz, elkarrizketan hainbat gai jorratu ziren. Zein den euskal diasporaren egoera, zein den Eusko Jaurlaritzak duen jarrera euskal diasporarekiko, eta ze proiektu burutu ahalko liratekeen kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunen eta Euskal Herriaren arteko komunikazioa eta harremana hobetzeko. Horrez gain, kazetariaren ibilbidea nolakoa izan den eta Euskalkulturaren sorrera eta eboluzioari buruz hitz egin genuen. Elkarrizketatutako beste batzuekin bezala, Joseba Etxarriekin dudan harremana ez zen egun horretan gelditu, izan ere, hainbat izan dira gure arteko telefono deiak eta emailak.

b) Gobernua

a. Instituzionalak

Eusko Jaurlaritzak Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritza Nagusia du eta bere parte da Euskal Etxe eta kanpoan den Euskal komunitatearentzako Zuzendaritza. Zuzendaritza hori sortu zenean lehen zuzendarietako izandako Josu Legarretari sakoneko elkarrizketa egin genion 2017 urteko maiatzean.

Elkarrizketa hori aurrez aurre egin genuen Algortako kafetegi batean, grabagailua erabili genuen eta gero esandako guztia transkribitu. Ia hiru orduko elkarrizketa aberasgarria izan zen non hainbat gai ikutzeko aukera egon zen. Elkarrizketa horretan, batez ere, zuzendaritza sortu baino lehenago eta zuzendaritza sortu eta kanpoan den euskal komunitatearekin harremana regulatzen duen legea sortu ondoren, euskal diasporarekin komunikazioa nolakoa izan den ezagutu dugu. Komunikazio horren eboluzioa nolakoa izan den ezagutzeko aukera eman zuen baita guretzako eta Zuzendariarentzako interegarriak diren gaiak sakontzeko ere. Harremana ez da elkarrizketa horretan gelditu, izan ere, elkarrizketa horren ondoren ugariak izan dira Josu Legarretari egindako telefono deiak, eta bidalitako e-mailak eta What-sappak.

Ikerlariak Bostonen egindako egonaldian, Estatu Batuetan Eusko Jaurlaritzako delegatua izan den Ander Caballerorekin elkarrizketa egiteko aukera izan zuen. Estatu Batuetako euskaldunen egoera, historikoki nolakoa izan den diaspora eta egun nolakoa den, Smithsonian Folklife Festival-a, Euskal Herriaren eta Estatu Batuen artean sortzen diren harreman enpresarialak eta Estatu Batuetan dauden euskal komunitateen arteko desberdintasunei buruz hitz egiteko aukera izan zuen.

Bizkaia Talenteko arduraduna den Ivan Jimenezekin sakoneko elkarrizketa egin genuen, Bizkata Talententzat diaspora zer den ezagutzeko eta diasporak euren sare horretan duen papera ezagutzeko.

Diaspora Homeland communication

Esan bezala, diaspora kideen eskutik ere izan da Euskal Herriarekin harremana eta komunikazioa mantentzeko gogoia eta beharra. Horregatik honen inguruan diasporako kideei edota ekintza hauetan parte hartu dutenei galdetu diegu.

- a) Diaspora ekintzak
 - a. Jaialdiak, Harreman Publikoak

Kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunak ekintza desberdinak burutu izan dituzte euskaltasuna mantendu, identitatea gogortu, euren nortasuna bizi diren herrialde horretan erakutsi eta Euskal Herriarekin harremana mantentzeko. Ekintza horien artean oso ezagunak dira Estatu Batuetan eta Argentinan antolatzen dituzten euskal-amerikar eta euskal-argentinarr Jaialdiak. Aztertu diren jaialdi horien artean, besteak beste, Estatu Batuetan bost urtean behin

antolatzen den Boiseko Jaialdia eta 2016 urtean antolatu zen Smithsonian Folklife Festival-a dauzkagu. Boiseko Jaialdiaren antolakuntza, helburu, etorkizun eta gizarte amerikarrean duen eraginari buruz jakiteko sakoneko elkarrizketak egin dira: Euskal Etxe eta Kanpoan den Euskal Komunitatearentzako Zuzendaritzako teknikari den Benan Oregiri, Boiseko Jaialdiko arduradunak diren Ana Mendiolar eta Ana Mendiola, Amy Hormaechea Wray and Rod Wrayri eta Estatu Batuetako EITBko korrespontsala zen Mikel Reparazi egin zaizkie elkarrizketak. Elkarrizketa horiek 2016 urteko otsaila eta martxoa bitartean egin ziren eta e-mailez osatu ziren. Horren arrazoia elkarrizketatutakoen artean bi Estatu Batuetan zeudela izan zen. Benan Oregi eta Ana Mendiolak, Amy Hormaechea Wray eta Rod Wrayek Boiseko Jaialdia nola sortu zen, zeintzuk diren bere helburuak eta komunikazioan nola eragiten duten kontatu ziguten. Mikel Reparaz kazetariak, ordea, Boiseko Jaialdia Estatu Batuetan nola ikusten zen, nola eboluzionatu duen eta kazetariak nola kubritzen duten esan zigun.

2016 urtean euskal diasporako kideek hasitako prozesu baten ondorioz Washingtonen urtero antolatzen den Smithsonian Folklife Festivalen Euskal Herria eta euskaldunak izan ziren protagonistak. Honen inguruan ezagutzeko Smithsonian Folklife Festivalen antolakuntzako parte izan ziren diasporako bi kide eta Euskal Herriko ordezkari instituzional bat elkarrizketatu ziren. Elkarrizketa guztiak aurrez aurre egin genituen eta gutxienez bi orduko elkarrizketak izan ziren. Grabagailua erabili genuen eta gero elkarrizketa ordenagailura transkribatu genituen.

Gloria Totoricaguena eta Argia Beristaini egindako elkarrizketei esker ikusi ahal izan dugu nolakoa izan den diasporaren parte hartzea jaialdi honen antolakuntzan eta zein garrantzitsua izan den diasporaren papera gerora bi herrialdeen artean harremanak sortuko dituen Jaialdi honetan. Beste aldetik, Iñaki Goirizelaiari, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko errektore ohia, egindako elkarrizketari esker jakin dugu zein emaitza izan ditzakeen horrelako ekimen batek Euskal Herriaren eta Estatu Batuen arteko harremanean hainbat esparrutan.

Estatu Batuetan antolatutako jaialdi euskal-amerikarrez gain, Argentinan ere badago urtero antolatzen den jai esanguratsua. Jaialdi horren izena Semana Nacional Vasca da eta urtero euskal etxe desberdin batek antolatzen du. Ez dago gai honen inguruan egindako lan akademikorik, horregatik, lehen Semana Nacional Vasca nolakoa izan zen, zergatik antolatu zen eta egun zergatik antolatzen den eta honek dakartzan emaitzei buruz Xabier Zubillaga eta Mikel Ezkerrori galdetu zitzaion. Bi elkarrizketa hauek e-mailez egin

behar izan dira elkarrizketatuak Argentinan bizi direlako eta elkarrizketatzailea Euskal Herrian. 2016 urteko azaroan egin dira eta oso baliogarriak izan dira ikerketan. Beste batzuekin gertatu bezala, gure arteko harremana ez da hor amaitu eta ikerlariak Argentinan dagoen euskal diasporari buruz dudak izan dituenean bi erreferente hauengana jo du bai Facebook edo e-mail bidez.

b. Udalekuak

Diasporatik euskaltasuna mantentzeko, kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunen arteko harremana estutzeko eta Euskal Herriarekin konexioa izateko euskal diasporako gazteei zuzenduriko udalekuak antolatzen dira. Udaleku hauek Estatu Batuetan NABOk (North American Basque Organization) antolatzen ditu eta Argentinan euskal etxe desberdinek.

NABOK antolatzen duen udalekuaren inguruan informazioa izateko udalekuko antolakuntzako kide den Maite Maisterrena eta NABOk ordezkaritza den Kate Camino elkarrizketatu ditugu baita ere Euskal Herritik, Zuberoatik, udalekura dantza ikastaroa ematera joandako Elodie Arangaray. Elkarrizketa hauek 2017 urteko ekaina eta abuztua bitarte egin ziren eta kokapen geografikoa dela eta, e-mailez egin ziren.

Argentinako euskal diasporaren kasuan udaleku desberdinak ospatzen dira, hala nola, Hator Hona edo Chascomuseko udalekua. Horren inguruan Hator Honako arduraduna den Juanchi Yaicomo eta Chascomuseko Udalekuan urte askoan zehar antolatutza ibili den Paula Berasain elkarrizketatu ditugu 2017 urteko abuztuan zehar.

c. Blog

Internet eta sare sozialei esker asko erraztu da kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunen eta Euskal Herriaren arteko komunikazioa, eta horretan, tresna aipagarriak dira Blogak. Estatu Batuetako euskaldunen artean badaude aipagarriak diren blog bi zeintzuk Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunek eta Euskal Herriko euskaldunek irakurtzen dituzten. Blog horiek “A Basque in Boise” Boisetik eta “Hella Basque” Kaliforniatik dira.

Bi blog hauen atzean dauden Henar Chico eta Anne Marie Chiramberro elkarrizketatu genituen 2017 urteko ekaina eta uztaila bitartean. Henar Chicori elkarrizketa e-mailez egin zitzaion, hala ere, Euskal Herrira etorri zen uztailan eta berarekin bildu ginen. Eta Anne Marie Chiramberro elkarriz-

keta aurrez aurre egin nion Bilboko Sandwich Caffee tabernan. Elkarrizketa hauei esker jakin ahal izan dugu nola ikusten duten komunikazioa eta harremana, zergatik hartzen duten blog bat sortzeko erabakia, eta nongo irakurleak dituzten.

Lehen kontaktu eta elkarrizketa horretatik, hainbat izan dira beraiekin izandako elkarrizketak, eta, beti blog-ari edo diasporari buruz zerbait galdetu nahi izan diegunean, pozik eta azkar erantzun digute.

b) Diaspora eta komunikazioa

2016 urteko maiatza eta ekaina bitartean Argentina eta Estatu Batuetako diasporako kideei Euskal Herriarekin komunikatzeko, euskal komunikabideen kontsumoari eta euskal gaien inguruan informatuta izateko erabiltzen zituzten medioei buruz galdetu genien. Elkarrizketa horretan jaialdiak eta Eusko Jaurlaritzak sortutako Global Basque Network sarearen inguruan ere galderak egin genituen. Elkarrizketa guztiak berdinak izan ziren eta e-mailez bidali genituen.

2017 urteko otsailetik aprilera ikerlariak Boise State Universityn ikerketa egonaldia egin zuen. Egonaldi horretan diasporako hainbat kide elkarrizketatzeko aukera izan genuen. Elkarrizketa horietan Euskal Herriarekin eta euren euskal familiarekin izan duten komunikazioak nola eboluzionatu duen, euskal gaien inguruan nola infomatzen diren, Euskal Herriarekin duten lotura, euskal-amerikar Jaialdiak eta euskal diaspora sareei buruz hitz egin dugu. Elkarrizketa guztiak Boise hiriko kafetegi, museo eta jatetxe desberdinetan egin dira baita, nola ez, Boiseko euskal etxean. Guztiak grabagailuarekin grabatu dira eta gero transkribitu egin dira.

2018 urteko urtarrila eta uztaila bitartean ikerlariak beste ikerketa egonaldi bat egin zuen Harvardeko unibertsitatean, Bostonen. Egonaldian zehar Massachusetts eta New York inguruetan bizi diren Euskaldunekin elkarrizketak egin ditugu.

2018 urteko maiatzean zehar Floridako euskaldunen egoera ezagutzeko helburuarekin ikerlariak egonaldia egin zuen Miami inguruan dagoen Fort Lauderdale herrian. Helburua bertan bizi diren euskal Jai Alai jokalarien bizia ezagutu, baita ere euren emazte eta seme-alabena; Floridan nola antolatzen diren jakin eta Euskal Herriarekin duten komunikazioa eta harremana nolakoa den ezagutzea zen. Horretarako, sakoneko elkarrizketak

egiteko aukera izan dugu, euren egunerokotasuneko parte izan ginen, frontoira joan ahal izan dugu, eta aurrerago baliogarriak izan diren harremanen lehen hazia jarri genuen. Bertan egondako denboran 6 sakoneko eta banakako elkarrizketa egin genituen eta bi taldeko elkarrizketa: bat lau pertsonekin eta bestea 5 ekin. Horrez gain, nahiz eta elkarrizketa formalak izan ez, egunero euren biziei buruzko elkarrizketa interesgarri eta edukiz beteak izan genituen.

Estatu Batuetan dauden diaspora komunitate desberdinei buruz informazioa lotu ahal izateko, 2018 urteko urtarrila uztaila bitartean 7 sakoneko eta aurrez aurreko elkarrizketa egin ditugu Armenia, Grezia eta Kroaziako jendearekin. Elkarrizketa hauek Kroaziarren elkarteetan, Greziera irakasten duten zentroetan edo Armeniarren elkarteetan izan dira eta elkarrizketatutakoak euren komunitatea antolatu eta aurrera eramateko ekintzak burutzen dituzten pertsoanak edo ikertzaileak izan dira.

c) Basque Affinity Diaspora

Euskal diasporako kideak elkarrizketatzeaz gain, Boisen egindako egonaldian arrazoi desberdinengatik euskal munduarekin lotura duten amerikarrak elkarrizketatu ditugu. Amerikar horien *Basque Affinity Diaspora* moduan aurkeztu ditugu eta eurei egindako elkarrizketei esker ezagutu ahal izan dugu zein den euskaldunek amerikar gizartearentzako duten irudia eta zergatik amerikar batek euskal komunitateko kide izan nahi duten.

Amerikarraz gain, euskal diasporako kideak *Affinity Diasporaren* inguruan zer uste zuten ezagutu nahi nuen eta euskal diasporako kide batzuk elkarrizketatu ditu amerikarrek euskal komunitatearen mantenuan duten garrantziari buruz zer uste duten ezagutzeko.

1.3.1.3 Behaketa partehartzailea

Nahiz eta iraganean behaketa metodoak bakarrik erabiltzen ziren gai antropologikoetan, gaur, metodo horiek mugimendu sozialak (Mische, 2008; Broadbent, 2003), elkarteak (Provan and Milward, 1995) eta komunitate etnikoak (Dominguez and Watkins, 2003; Menjivar, 2000) aztertzeke ere erabiltzen dira (Hollstein, 2011:13) . Gu ere komunitate etnikoak aztertzen ari garelez, teknika hau erabili dugu.

Behaketa beste era bateko data osotzeko erabiltzen da: “It serves to access the field (actors, content of relationships, forms of interaction); also in complementing and checking data from other sources. Repeated observation over

extended periods of time is an appropriate strategy for ensuring good data quality” (Menjivar, 2000; Dominguez and Watkins, 2003; Mische, 2008).

Gabarrónen & Hernández Landaren hitzetan, ikerketa partehatzailea gizarte zientzien krisialdian sortzen den ikerketa mota bat da zein 70 hamarkadan Hego Ameriketara eta Europan sortzen den (1994:17). Ikerketa zientifikoa burutzeko metodoa da eta kolektibitate eta komunitate antolatuen partehartzeak gizarte errealitatearen analisi objektibo eta erreala egiteko aukera ematen du (Gabarrónen & Hernández Landaren, 1994:19).

1.3.1.4 Diaspora sareen analisia

Sareen analisia gero eta erabiliagoa da akademikoen artean. Analisi honekin posible da hainbat eratako harremanak aztertzea adibidez ikasleen arteko harremanak eta “how friendship networks are important factor influencing social and academic success” (Roger Gould); “the intersection of economic and civic social networks shapes the strategic choice and possibilities for mobilization of key organizational actors” (Sean Safford, 2004); gazteek bizi diren lekuaren arabera nola egiten dituzten harremanak (Chan Tack, Anjanette & Mario L. Small, 2017); eta inmigrante eta talde transnazionalak (Levitt 2001 & Menjivar, 2000). Hollsteinek, ematen ditu sare sozialak ikertzeko erabiltzen diren teknika kualitatiboen adibideak (2011:2).

Gure ikerketan diaspora komunitateak eta euren jatorrizko herrialdearen artean sortzen diren sareak ikertuko ditugu. Harvard-eko soziologia departamentuan irakasle den Mario Smallek esan zuen modua bere klaseetako baten: “How do you know you are studying networks? Because you are studying relations” (2018 urteko martxoa). Eta hori da gu ere egiten ari garena, hau da, Estatu Batuetako leku desberdinetan kokatuta dauden euskaldunen eta Euskal Herriaren arteko harremanak aztertzea. Hala ere, sareen analisia egitea ez da lan arina, izan ere hainbat ekintza egin behar dira hori lortzeko: “Network analysis is now in easy reach of the average investigator-whether the methods used include participant observation, survey, use of historical archives, censuses, or a combination of different sources and methods” (Gould, 2003:5). Kasu honetan, datu kualitatiboak (Belotti, 2014:71), artxiboko datuak (Hollstein, 2011:15) eta lan etnografikoa (Hollstein, 2011:12) egin dugu sareen analisia burutzeko.

1.3.2 Datu kuantitatiboak

Analisirako portzentajeak ateratzeko helburuarekin Estatu Batuetan dauden euskaldunen artean inkesta bat zabaldu genuen Euskal Herriarekin komunikatzeko eta harremana mantentzeko dituzten tresnak ezagutzeko.

1.3.2.1 Inkesta

a) Komunikazioa eta harremana

2018 urteko apirilean erantzun nahi genituen galderekin inkesta bat prestatu genuen. Inkesta zabaltzen hasi baino lehen, Florida, Nevada, Boise, Boston eta Kaliforniako 5 euskalduni bidali genien inkesta euren feedback-a izateko. Euren erantzunak jasota, galdera batzuk aldatu genituen. Oso feedback interesgarria izan zen, izan ere, galdetutako horien artean hainbat belaunaldikoak zeuden, Euskal Herrian hainbat urtez bizitakoak, eta Iparralde eta Espainiako Euskal partekoak. Horrek hasieran kontutan hartu ez genituen gauza batzuk aldatzeko aukera eman zigun, adibidez, Frantziako egunkariak gehitzea.

Behin inkesta prestatuta, bere distribuzioarekin hasi ginen. Lehen inkestak Floridan zabaltu genituen. Maiatzean Floridan egindako egonaldian bertan bizi diren Jai Alai jokalaririk aktibo eta erretiratuak eta hauen familiak elkarrizketatu genituen. Elkarrizketak egin baino lehenago, inkesta ematen genien, eta zerbait aldatzea beharrezko ikusten bazuten galdetu. Bostonera bueltatzean online distribuzioa egiten hasi ginen. Hasteko, ikerketako 3 urteotan ezagutu dugun jendearekin elkarbanatu genuen eta hauek euren euskal etxeetako Facebook orrialdetan elkarbanatu zuten. Horrez gain, Estatu Batuetako diasporako kideen artean ezagunak diren bi blog-ek ere elkarbanatu zuten inkesta. Harrigarria izan zen ikustea nola, bi egunetako epean, hainbat eta hainbat izan ziren inkesta elkarbanatu zuten Facebook orri eta pertsonak: Elkoko Euzkaldunak Euskaltzeko Facebook-ak, Lagun Onari Las Vegas, A Basque in Boise, Identity 2.0, NABO Euskaraz, 8 probintziak... Facebook orrialde hauek ezagunak dira Euskal Herrikan kanpo bizi diren euskaldunen artean orokorrean eta Estatu Batuetan bizi direnen artean konkretuki (aldatu hori esateko era). Horri esker inkestaren zabalpena oso arrakastatsua izan zen eta bigarren egunean 200 erantzun izan genituen.

Ondoren, Euskaletxeak.net webgunea erabilita Estatu Batuetan dauden euskal etxe guztien zerrenda bat egin genuen eta bertako zuzendariei e-mail bat bidali genien inkesta euren kideen artean zabaltzeko eskatzen. Erantzun hori ez zen sare sozialena bezain positiboa izan.

Inkestaren emaitza oso positiboa izan da, izan ere, ekaina amaieran 400 erantzun baino gehiago izan ditugu eta guztira, ikerketarekin amaitzean 423 erantzun dauzkagu. Metodologia hau tesian babesten dugunaren isla perfektua da. Hau da, sareen bidez zenbat gauza lortu daitezkeen eta diaspora kideak konektatzeko sareek duten indarra. Argi geratzen da, diaspora bat ikasteko internet eta sare sozialak laguntza ezinhobea direla.

1.4 Gaiaren egoera

“En estos últimos veinte años, como señalamos, no sólo se han multiplicado el número de estudios realizados y de publicaciones editadas sobre esta temática, que nos han permitido ampliar el campo de nuestros conocimientos; sino que también se han diversificado las posibilidades de análisis, y sobre todo se ha venido a constituir un incipiente, aunque prometedor, núcleo de investigadores centrados en las investigaciones de los vascos en el exterior. En apenas dos décadas, incluso la terminología ha cambiado: frente a viejos conceptos que manejábamos allá por la década de 1990, la idea de <<las emigraciones vascas>> como objeto preferente de análisis, ahora estamos estudiando la formación de las colectividades vascas, sus instituciones sociales, recreativas, culturales y políticas, la prensa vasco-americana, la cultura, la economía e incluso cuestiones como imagen e identidad” (Álvarez Gila, Angulo & Marcilese, “Los vascos en la Prensa Americana”, Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2007 urteko Kongresuko Aktak, 2008:115).

Euskal diasporaren inguruko dibulgazio lanetan eboluzio bat izan dela ikusita eta gero eta gehiago direla kontzeptu hori erabiliz, ikerketak egiten dituztenak.

1.4.1 Euskal migrazioa

Euskal diasporaren gaiari erreposoa egiterako orduan erreferente da William Douglass antropologoa edo batzuk dioten moduan: “Mr. Basque”. William Douglasssek euskal migrazioa eta euskal diaspora ikertzen ditu, eta bera izan zen Jon Bilbaorekin batera *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World* liburuaren egilea. Douglassen liburu eta lanak oinarritzaileak dira euskal migrazioaren arloan, zeintzuetan, batez ere migrazioaren arrazoiak, emigratutako herrialdeak eta horietan burututako lana aztertzen dituen. Liburu hau idatzi zutenetik ugari izan dira euskal emigratioaren gaia jorratzen hasi diren autoreak, bai Euskal Herrian bertan, bai itsasoz bestaldean. Horien artean Totoricaguena (2001, 2002, 2003, 2007), Urza (1999), Zulaika (1994,1999), Álvarez Gila (1995, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2010), Oiarzabal (2005, 2014), Bieter anaiak (2005), Bieter&Ray (2013), Yursa, Irujo (2007), Saitua (2016), Iraizoz (2017), Echeverria (1984, 1999), Camus Etchecopar (2008), Azcona (1992), San Sebastian (2014, 2018), Mignaburu (2016), Legarreta (2016), Laxalt (1957, 1972, 1989, 2000), Zubiri (1998), Elustondo (2007, 2012), eta Ugalde (1995, 1996, 2000, 2006) daude. Aipatzekoak dira, Eusko Jaurlaritzak 2003 urteko uztailean abian jarri zuen Urazandi Bildumaren lana, atzerrira joan behar izan zuten euskaldunen testigantzetan oinarrituta herrialde desberdinetan bizi diren euskaldunei eta euskal etxeei buruzko ikerketa egiten duen; 1980 urtetik 2010 urtera Alexander Ugalde eta Jose Luis de Castrok Eusko Jaurlaritzako Kanpo Harremanei buruz ateratako

urtekaria, baita ere Renoko Center for Basque Studiesek argitaratutako liburuak, non Euskal Herria, euskal migrazioa eta euskal ikasketak uztartzen dituzten liburuak argitaratzen diren.

Amerikanuak liburua eta gero, Euskal Herriaren eta euskal komunitateak dauden herrialdeetako unibertsitateen arteko harremanak sakontzen hasi ziren. Horrela, Nevadan Center for Basque Studies eta Jon Bilbao katedra sortu ziren Renoko Unibertsitatean; University of Massachusetts Amherst unibertsitatean William Douglass katedra; New Yorkeko Cuny City Universityn Bernardo Atxaga Katedra; Chicagoko Unibertsitatean Koldo Mitxelena Katedra; eta Boisen Basque Studies eta Elois Garmendia katedra sortu ziren. Harreman hauei esker ikerketa gehiago egitea sustatu da, euskal migrazioaren gairako ekarpenak ekarri dituelarik. Agitxu Camus-ek Euskal Kultur Erakundeak 2015ean egindako elkarrizketan esaten zuen Renon, 1967tik bada Euskal ikergune bat unibertsitatean, eta horren eragina ere sentitzen da: "Bakersfielden ere horretan hasi berriak dira, Boise Idahon ere bai, Santa Barbaran talde ttipi bat muntatua da..."²

Euskal migrazioa ikertzen duten lanen errebisioa egin eta gero, ikusi ahal izan dugu, batez ere, migrazioaren arrazoiak, emigratzen zutenen profila, emakumeen papera boarding houston, emigratzeko herrialdeak eta herrialde horietan burututako lana, identitatea, harreman instituzionala eta euskal etxeen nondik norakoak aztertzen duten lanak daudela. Horrez gain, diasporen eta jatorrizko herrialdeen arteko komunikazioa azertu duten autoreak nortzuk diren ikusi dugu. Horrek euskal migrazioaren testuinguruan kokatu gaitu eta diaspora gaia jorrazteko beharrezko informazioa eman digu.

a) Arrazoiak

Gehien ikertu den gaietako bat orokorrean euskal emigrazioaren arrazoiak izan dira. Hau da, zergatik euskaldunek erabaki zuten euren sorterrira atzean utzi eta beste herrialde batera joatea. Gai hori ikertu dutenen artean Douglass (1986, 2003), Santiso González (1998), Euskal Arkeologia eta Etnografia eta Kondaira museoak 2001 urtean egindako ikerketa, Totoricaguena (2002), de Borja (2005) edo Azcona, García Abil Gil de Biedma, eta Muru Ronda (1992) daude. Horien lanak laburbilduz, emigrazioaren arrazoiak Euskal Herriko oinordekotza sistema; lan bila atzerrira joatea, adibidez Ameriketa-

² 2015ean Euskal Kultur Erakundeak Argitxu Camus-i egindako elkarrizketa:
http://www.eke.eus/eu/kultura/lekukoak_lekuko/argitxu-camus?set_language=eu

ko Estatu Batuetara artzain joatea; militantzia lanak ekiditea; gerra karlista eta gerra zibila izan ziren (Douglass, 1986; Santiso González, 1998).

Douglassek baita ere, Lymond eta Zulaikarekin batera (1994) Europan sortu zen emigratzeko sukarraren arrazoiak zeintzuk ziren azaltzen zuen. Camus Etchecopar euskal emigrazioan aditua ere bat dator Douglass, Lyman, Stanford eta Zulaikarekin eta aurretik joandako emigranteen testimonioek Zuberoko euskaldunengan izan zuen garrantzia nabarmentzen zuen Euskal Kultur Erakundeak egindako elkarrizketa batean³. Emigratzeko arrazoiak aztertu dituen beste autore bat Sonesson (2008) da, zeinek Venezuelara joandako euskaldunei buruzko liburua argitaratu zuen. Toticaguenak, bere doktorego tesian ere aztertu zuen emigratzeko arrazoiak zeintzuk ziren, eta Doyagak eta Renteriarekin batera idatzitako *The Basques of New York* liburuan ere hori azaltzen dute:

“Until the beginning of the 1800s, trade, military and religious conquests were the reason for Basque emigration, an emigration that took place both inside the Basque trans-Kingdom of Navarre and later inside the framework of the Hispanic empire” (Toticaguenak, 2003:45).

Migrazioaren arrazoiak aztertutako autore gehienak hiru puntutan datoz bat (Sonesson, 2008): baliabide urriak zirela eta sufritutako presio demografikoa, arrantza tradizioa eta oinordekotza zatikatua debekatzen zuen oinordekotza sistema (sistema tronkala). Emigratzeko arrazoiak gain, emigratu zutenen profila eta euskal emigratioa jaso zuten herrialdeak zeintzuk ziren ere ikertu da, eta emigratzen zutenak, oro har, gazte ezkongabeak izaten ziren; migratio oinordekotza bako eta lan bako jendea, eta baita enpresari eta bizitzeko modu berriak nahi zituztenak (Azona Pastor, García Albi Gil de Biedma & Muru Ronda, 1992).

b) Profila

Leku bakoitzera joandakoen profila eta herrialde horietan burututako lanak aldatuz joan dira Douglassek (2003) emigratzen zuten euskaldunen profila aztertzen du eta bi emigratio modu zeudela dio: kualifikatua bere familiarekin joango zen, eta kualifikatu gabea, ordea, bakarrik (Douglass, 2003). Kualifikatu gabea, normalean, lan fisikoa egitera joango zen, batez ere, artzain. Toticaguenak ere profila aipatzen du bere ikerketetan, eta Douglassekin bat dator:

³ Euskal Kultur Erakundeak 2015ean Argitxu Camus-i egindako elkarrizketa: http://www.eke.eus/eu/kultura/lekukoak_lekuko/argitxu-camus

“The typical emigrant was a single male between 15-25 years old, sent for by relatives in the New World who needed agricultural laborers or going in search of relatives hoping they needed laborers”.

“Single male sojourner seeking stake which to return to Europe, rather than a permanent foothold in an adopted land (Butler, Canefe, Cohen, Douglass, Laguerre, Safran...., & Totoricagüena (2007))”.

Azconak, García Albi Gil de Biedma eta Muru Rondak (1992) baita ere emigranteen profila aztertu zuten eta emigratzen zutenen ehunetik 58 bizkaitarrak, 28 gipuzkoarrak eta 14 arabatarrak zirela zioen (Azcona, García Albi, Muru Ronda, 1992).

c) Norakoak eta burututako lana

Arrazoiekin batera, emigratzeko herrialdeak zeintzuk ziren ere sakon ikertu da. Liburu batzuetan emigrazioaren mapa orokorra aztertzen da (Douglass, & Bilbao, 1986; Douglass, Lyman, Zulaika 1994; Douglass, Urza, White, Zulaika 1999; Douglass, 2003; Totoricaguena, 2007) eta beste batzutan herrialde zehatzetan jartzen da arreta (Azcona, García Albi Gil de Biedma, & Muru, 1992; Bieter, & Ray, 2013; de Borja & Douglass, 2005; Caro Baroja, Addis, 2009; Cierbide Martinena, 1997; Douglass, 1996; Douglass, 2015;; Echeverria, 1984; Echeverria, 1999; Echeverria, 2001; Euskal Arkeologia, Etnografia eta Kondaira Museoa; Azcona Pastor; Iberlin & Romtvedt, 2011; Santiso González, 1998; San Sebastián, 2018, Camus Etchecopar, & Mallea-Olaetxe, 2015; eta Totoricagüena, (2002, 2003)).

Gehienetan helmuga herrialdea zein zen ikertzeaz gain, herrialde hortan euskaldunek burutzen zuten lana zein izaten zen ere aztertzen dute. Liburu berean euskal emigrazioaren jomuga izan diren hainbat herrialde aztertzen dituzten artean arestian aipatutako Douglass eta Bilbaoren *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World* liburua dago. Euskal emigrazioaren azterketa orokor bat eta euskaldunak emigratutako herrialdeena egiten dute. Douglasssek 1986an euskaldunek emigratzeko herrialdeez gain, herrialde horietan burutzen zituzten lanen azterketa ere egin zuen. Douglasssek baita ere, Urza, White eta Zulaikarekin *The Basque Diaspora* liburua argitaratu zuen 1999.urtean, non, euskaldunek emigratzen zuten herrialdeak zeintzuk ziren esaten zuten, baita Estatu Batuetarako bidaia nola egiten zuten ere. Txile, Argentina, Uruguai, Mexiko eta Ameriketako Estatu Batuetarako emigrazioaz hitz egiten dute. Koldo San Sebastiánek, argitaratu duen azken liburuan *NewYorktarrak*, batez ere, New Yorkeko euskaldunei buruz idazten du baina, euren fokua jarri baino lehen, errepasso bat egiten die Filipinas, Kuba, Manila, Liverpool eta Australiara joandako euskaldunei.

Herialde zehatzetan kontzentratu direnak ere izan dira eta Kuba, Filipinas, Txina, Estatu Batuak, Venezuela, Australia eta Argentina helmuga bezela zuten euskaldunen azterketa egin dute. Douglass da herrialde zehatzen ikerketetan gehienetan agertzen den autore. Argitalpen batzutan bera izan da autore bakarrik (*Azúcar amargo: vida y fortuna de los cortadores de caña italianos y vascos en la Australia tropical* 1996); beste batzuk, ordea, koautoriak izan dira (*Vascos en Cuba* 2015, hainbat autorerekin argitaratutakoa).

Mapa orokorra alde batera utzita eta euskaldunen jomuga bezala Amerikar kontinentean zentratuz, Latinoamerikara (Kuba, Venezuela, Argentina, Mexiko) eta Ipar Ameriketara (Estatu Batuak eta Kanada) joandako euskaldunei buruzko ikerketak daude. Latinoamerikako herrialdeetara izan zen Euskal Herrian profesionalki garaturiko pertsonak joan ziren herria (medikuak, abokatuak...) (Douglass, 2003). Ikerketa horien artean Santiso Gonzálezek 1998 urtean argitaratu zuen *Cien años de torrente migratoria hacia América. Diáspora vasca y enganchadores (1830-1930)* liburua dago. Nahiz eta liburuaren gai nagusia hori ez izan, emigratzeko herrialdeak zeintzuk izaten ziren dio. Gainera, bere hitzetan emigrazio hori posible egiten zuten *enganchadores*⁴-en figura aztertzen du eta horretara dedikatzen ziren enpresen azterketa egiten du.

Hego eta Erta Amerikarekin jarraituz, Douglasssek Kuban zeuden euskaldunei buruz idatzi zuen, hauek horra joateko arrazoiak zeintzuk izan ziren eta euskaldunek Kubara bideratutako esklabutzaren trafikoan izan zuten pape-rari buruz. Liburuan euskaldunak Rio de la Platara eramaten zituzten enpresak zeintzuk ziren azaltzen du: <<Compañía Transatlántica S.A.>>, <<Compañía Sota y Aznar>> eta <<Manuel María de Arrótegui>>, eta Bilbotik Ameriketara joandako itsasontzien izen batzuk ematen ditu: Larache, Alfonso XII eta México ziren (Douglass, 2015; Azcona Pastor, García Albi Gil de Biedma & Muru Ronda, 1992). Hauek *enganchadores* deritzenak ziren eta Santiso Gonzálezek (1998) eta Azcona, García Albi eta Muruk (1992) ere Douglassen moduan, hauei buruz hitz egiten dute (Euskal herritik atzerrira langileak eramaten zituzten enpresei buruz).

Argentinaren kasuan, ikerketa orokorretan aztertutakoaz gain, Azconak, García Albi Gilek Muru Rondak eta Marcelino Irianik emigratzeko herrialdeak zeintzuk ziren azaltzen dute. 1886 urtera arte oraindik euskaldunen helmuga Kuba, Puerto Rico edo Filipinas zen. XIX.mendean Bilbotik ez ziren Rio de La Platara joango ziren itsasontziak ia irtetzen; bai, ordea, Pasaia,

⁴ "Enganchadores"-ak emigranteak bilatzen zituzten, Ameriketara joateko bidaia ordaintzen zieten eta askotan, lana bilatzen zieten herrialde berrian (Santiso González, 1998).

Bordele eta Baionatik. Hori Santisoak (1998) ere dio Euskal Herritik, batez ere, Río de la Platara emigratu zutela, Pasaian barkuratzera egin eta Argentina eta Uruguai hondartzetara heldu. Hego eta Erta Amerikarekin jarraituz, Txile (Winnipeg⁵ itsasontzian) eta Mexikora ere euskaldun ugari joan ziren, batez ere, gerra zibilaren garaian. Txileri buruz ari garenean, Txilera joandako euskaldunen ikerketak egin dituztenak daude (de los Fayos, 2005; Camus Argaluz, 1991; Etxarri, 2004; Laborde, 1991). Mexikoko euskal komunitateari buruz Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo (2006); San Sebastian (1993) eta Euzko Deyak Euskal mexikarrei buruz idatzitakoa dago.

Ipar Ameriketako kasuan, Joseba Etxarrik, Kanadan eta Ternuan bale- eta bakailao-arrantzara joandako euskaldunak daudela adierazten du. Saint-Pierre eta Miquelon euskaldunen gustuko leku ziren eta biztanleen %30a euskal jatorrikoak direla dio. Aipatzekoa da 2017ko ekainean St Pierre eta Miquelongo euskal etxea onartu zela Eusko Jaurlaritzako Erregistroan. Koldo San Sebastianek ere argitaratu duen azken liburuan aipatzen diru Ipar Ameriketara joandako euskaldunak:

“Un número importante de los marinos vascos que llegan a Estados Unidos lo hacen a partir de 1918. Pero, comienzan a hacerse visible en la década de los 1850 de la mano de comerciantes y hombres de negocios como Navarro, Latasa o Satrustegi” (San Sebastian, 2018:27).

Jomuga Estatu Batuak zuten euskaldunei buruz hainbat liburu argitaratu dira eta batzuk orokorrean Estatu Batuei buruz dira, beste batzuk, estatu edo hirika banandu dira. Jeronima Echeverriak (1984) laburki aipatzen zuen euskaldunak zein herrialdetara emigratzen zuten. Etxarrik zioen bezela Echevarriak ere Kanadara joandako euskaldunei buruz hitz egiten du eta bakailaoa eta balea arrantzatzeko euskaldunak Terranova eta Labradorrera joaten zirela dio. Gerora, emigrazioa Kanadan zentratu ordez, Estatu Batuetako mendebaldean kokatuko da.

Jomuga desberdina izango da, baita herrialde berrian burututako lana ere. Bakailao eta bale arrantzaleetatik urre bilatzaileetara pasatuko dira euskaldunak. Echeverriak eta Toticagunak dioten moduan Estatu Batuetako mendebaldean kokatu ziren euskaldunak lehenik Hego Ameriketara joandako euskaldunak ziren (Echeverria, 1984).

Nahiz eta hasiera batean urrearen sukarrak erakarri, laster ikusi zuten horrek ez zuela etorkizunik eta artzain hasi ziren. Echeverriak (1999) aurrerago Douglasssek esan duen moduan Mundu Berrira joaten ziren euskaldunak

⁵ 1939an Txilera 2000 espainiar errefuxiatu baino gehiago eraman zituen itsasontzia.

nak artzain arituko ziren. Artzain ez zirenak, hotelak zabaltzen zituzten artzain horientzako.

Echeverriak hotelak zabaltzen zituztenei buruz hitz egiten du eta zona horretan izandako hotelen erreposoa egiten du (Douglass, Urza, White, Zulaika 1999; Zubiri 1998; Echeverria 1984). Hotelen gaia ere Totoricaguenak aztertzen du. Nancy Zubiriak (1998) Estatu Batuetako herri desberdinetan zeuden euskaldunei buruz idatzi zuen (California, Ventura Country, Fullerton, La Puente, Chino, San Diego, Nevada, Winnemucca, Idaho Boise, Oregon eta Washington, Ontario, Seattle, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming eta Montana, eta East Coast). Totoricaguenak ere Boiseko Euskaldunei buruz idatzen du bere *Doers and Dreamers* liburuan eta Boiseko Euskaldunei buruz, baita ere, John Bieter eta Mark Bieter *Un legado que perdura* liburuan. Estatu Batuetako mendebaldeaz gain, izan ziren Europatik zihoan itsasontzitik jaitsi, eta mendebaldera eramango zituen trena hartu barik, Nueva Yorken gelditu zirenak eta etorkizuna Ekialdean egin zutena. Totoricaguenak, Emilia Doyaga eta Anna Mari Aguirreren laguntzarekin Nueva Yorkera joandako euskaldunek burutuko zuten lanari buruz idatzi zuten.

Ipar Ameriketara emigratutako euskaldunak eta bertan burututako lanaren azterketa ere Koldo San Sebastianek 2015ean argitaratutako liburuan biltzen du, non, Estatu Batuetako mendebaldera joandako 10.000 immigranteren testimonioak biltzen dituzten. Anna Mari Aguirrek⁶, baita ere, Koldo San Sebastian lagundu du *NewYorktarrak* liburuarekin, non, oraindik egin gabe zegoen lana egin duten eta New Yorkeko euskaldunei buruz den dena idatzi duten.

Kontinentez aldatuz, Douglasssek Australiako kasua ere aztertzen du, Australiako Iparraldera joandako euskaldunak azukrearen negozioan egiten zuten lan eta hegoaldean konstrukzioan. Douglass 1996 urtean Australiara-ko emigrazioan zentratu zen eta *Azúcar amargo: vida y fortuna de los cortadores de caña italianos y vascos en la Australia tropical* liburua atera zuen. Euskaldunen, eta batez ere, Lekeitio-ko (Douglass, 1996) gizonen helmuga moduan garai batean Australiako Queensland zonaldea izan zela esaten du eta bertan burutako lanaren ikerketa egiten du.

Asiako kontinentera emigratutakoen artean Filipinen kasua dago, De Borjak 2005 urtean Filipinetara joandako euskaldunen ikerketa egin zuten, zeini

⁶ Andoni Aguirreren (Filipinatatik New Yorkera joandako euskalduna, New Yorkeko ordezkartzan lan egiten zuen) eta Irene Renteriaren (Aguirre Lehendakariaren idazkaria izan zen New Yorken) alaba. New Yorkeko euskal komunitateko pertsona aktiboa.

esker badakigun 1512.urtetik Euskaldunak aurki ditzakegula Magallanesen espedizioan. Filipinak konkistazera joandako horiei esker, harreman komertzialak hasi zituzten. Europearrak Manilara iritsi baino lehen, artxipiela goan bazeuzkaten iada harreman komertziala Txina, Indiar eta musulmandarrekin. Legazpik⁷ zeta eta portzelana bidali zituen Mexikora. Galindez, Abrisqueta eta Irujok argitaratutako liburuan (1984) Filipinara joandako euskaldunei buruz hitz egiten dute.

“It was the start of a lucrative commercial venture that would guarantee the survival of the Spanish colonist in Manila for over two centuries. The Basques became actively involved in four main exports of the Philippines at that time: sugar, abaca, tobacco, and coffee” (De Borja & Douglass, 2005).

Emigratzeko herrialdeez eta bertan burututako lanaz gain, emigratzen zuten euskaldunen identitatea zein zen ere aztertzen dute hainbat autorek. Ondorengo puntuan zehaztuko da nortzuk, ze obra idatzi zuten eta ze azpipuntu aztertzen zituzten.

d) Identitatea

Identitateari dagokionean Totorikaguenaren (2000) doktorego tesia da, duda barik, gai hau sakonki jorratzen duena. Bere doktorego tesian Uruguai, Argentina, Estatu Batuak, Australia, Belgika, eta Peruko euskaldunen azterketa egiten du. Amezagak (2004) ere nazioarteko kateek euskal diasporako kideen identitate sortzean duten paperaz hitz egiten du eta dio Euskal Herriaren kasuan, badaudela euren identitatea Canal Vasco edo EitbSat bezelako kateak ikusten indartu dutenak, baita ere sare sozialen bidez edota Euskal Herriko komunikabide digitalei esker (2004). Pedro Oiarzabalek eta bere anai Agustin Oiarzabalek (2005) ere *La identidad vasca en el mundo* liburua argitaratu zuten eta euskal komunitatea dagoen 16 herrialdeetan euskal identitatea nola bizi zuten aztertzen dute. Pedro Oiarzabalek baita ere, Andoni Alonsorekin argitaratu zuen *Diasporas in the New Media Age* liburuko azken kapituluari “Basque Diaspora Digital Nationalism: Designing “Banal” Identity” kapituluari atera zuen, non identitatea mantentzeko euskaldunek atzerrian erabiltzen zituen sinboloen azterketa egiten duen.

Bestalde, generoarekin lotuta, asko idatzi da euskal gizon emigranteen irudiari buruz, oso gutxi, ordea, emakumeek garai horretan izan zuten paperaz, eta hauen garrantziaz nahiz eta, Laxaltek zioen moduan, emakumeak ziren herrietako heroinak: “Though all attention is focused up-

⁷Legazpi eta Urdaneta, Elcano, Juan de Garay, Bruno Mauricio de Zabala eta Domingo Martinez de Iralarekin batera, XVI. mendeko euskal nabigatzaile eta konkistatzaileak ziren.

on the fishermen this day, it is the wives who are the unsung heroes of a fishing village” (Laxalt, 2000:19).

Hutsune horren aurrean, Camus Etchecoparrek (bere doktorego tesian) eta Toticaguenak idatzi dute, baita Echeverriak *Home away from home: A history of basque boarding houses* (1999) eta Gabacciak *From the other side: Women, Gender and immigrant life in the United States 1820-1990* (1994) ere.

Camus Etchecoparek bere doktorego tesian Estatu Batuetako euskal instituzioen ikerketa egin zuen, baina bere ikerketaren zati bat emigratu zuten emakumeetan zentratu zuen. Emakumeak emigrazio eta immigrazio literaturatik kanpo gelditu zirela ikusi eta gero, bere ikerketan bai emakumeek zein gizonen aipaturako instituzioetan zuten papera aztertu zuen. Toticaguenak emigratutako emakumeek euren burua “just wives” moduan aurkezten zutela ikusi ahal izan zuen (Toticaguena, 1999). Euren burua ordezkatzearre zela uste zuten: “Oh, just nothing we just take care of the txikis” (Toticaguena, 1999:293). Horiez gain, Jeronima Echeverriak (1999) boarding house edo hotelak aztertu zituen eta horietan emakumeek egiten zuten lana. Boardinghouse-etan lan egiten zuten emakumeak hotelarak ziren, eta bertan pasatzen zuten egun guztia. Hotelarak hoteletara joaten zirenak euren oinordeko bailiran tratatzen zituzten eta konpainia behar zuten (Echeverria, 1999)

Donna Gabacciak (1994) Estatu Batuetako emakume immigranteen ikerketa egin zuen, eta horien artean euskaldunak zeuden. Gabacciak emakume horiek boarding housetan egiten zuten lana ikertzen zuen:

“The hoteleros responsibilities tended to be the barroom, cardroom, cancha and outside employment contacts; the hoteleras were in kitchen, dining hall, laundry and rented rooms, as well as tending to the family needs” (Donna Gabacciak, 1994).

Laxaltek bere liburuan *The Basque hotel: nacido en America* (1989) emakumeen paperaz hitz egiten du. Laxalt-ek bere amak French Hotelean egiten zuten lana gogoratzean burura ekartzen du Crawford-ek 1977an egindako ikerketa bat. Ikerketa horretan Crawford-ek herri arrantzaletako emakumeek zuten botereaz eta erantzunkizunez hitz egiten du. Gizonen itsasoan igarotzen dituzten hilabete guzti horietan emakumea bait da etxearen arduradun nagusi bakarra. Kasu honetan, gizon artzain eta arrantzaleen emakumeen papera antzekoa dela esaten du, eta hauek lanean bai mendian zein itsasoan dauden bitartean, emakumeek duten papera azpimarratzen du. Hala ere, Toticaguenak (1999) gogoratzen duen moduan, emakumeek egoera txarrak bizi izan zituzten, ez zuten hizkuntza ezagutzen eta etxean ematen zuten ia egun osoa. Horregatik Emakume Abertzale Batza elkarteak sortu zuten Argentinan eta Aitzan Artean Estatu Batuetan. Toticaguenak hauen berri

ematen du eta Euskal Herriaren eta bertan ziren euskaldunen artean emakumeek zuten garrantzia azpimarratzen du: “Emakumeak ziren Euskal Herria eta bizi ziren herriaren arteko komunikazioa mantentzen zutenak” (Totoricaguena, 1999:294).

Egin da azken urtean Boiseko Museoaren eta Boise State Unibertsitatearen esutik *Inner Strength: Portraits of Basque Immigrant Women*⁸ erakusketa Boise State Universityko Students Unionen. Erakusketa honetan mendebaldera joandako emakumeen argazkiak agertzen ziren eta argazki horien ondoan Estatu Batuetara emigratzearen arrazoiak, bertan egindako lana, euren jatorrizko herria etab. Erakusketa 2017 urteko martxoaren 8an egin zen, Elois Garmendia Bieter Etxepareko emakume izena duen lehen katedraren aurkezpena eta emakumearen eguna zela aitzakiatzar harturik. Estatu Batuetan diren diasporako emakumei buruzko ikerketei dagokionez, berriki jakin izan dugu Renoko eta Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatearekin elkarlanean badela Edurne Arostegi deritzen euskal amerikarra Estatu Batuetako diasporako emakumei buruz tesia egiten ari dena.

Hala ere, oraindik, Totoricaguenak eta Camus Etchecoparrek esan zuten moduan, ez dago emigratu zuten emakumei buruz lan askorik. Eginda daudenak, Ipar Ameriketako emakumei eta eurek boarding housetan izan zuten paperari buruz dira. Baina, zer gertatu zen boarding housetan lan egiten ez zuten emakumeekin edo Ipar Ameriketara barik beste herrialde batzuetara joan ziren emakumeekin? Ikerketa interesgarria izan daiteke etorkizunean egiteko.

1.4.2 Diaspora, euskal diaspora, affinity diaspora eta euskal affinity diaspora

Hainbat izan dira diaspora zer den zehazten saiatu diren adituak (Brubaker, (2000, 2005); Newland eta Plaza, 2013; Ben-Rafael, 2013; Safran, 1999, 2004; Cohen, (2007, 2008); Clifford, 1994; Tötöylan, 2012, Butler eta Kim 2001; Kenny, 2013 eta Ionescu, 2006; Georgiou, 2006, 2010) daude. Hala eta guztiz ere, ez dago oraindik diaspora kontzeptuaren definizio adosturik. Gainera, diaspora hitza, Brubakerrek (2005) dioen moduan aldatzen joan den kontzeptu bat da, eta ““diaspora” diaspora” kontzeptua definitzen du diaspora hitzaren dispersioa azaltzeko. Aikins & White, (2011:31-40); Kuznetsov, (2006), Newland, Terrazas & Munster, (2010); Aikins, Sands & White,

⁸ Boiseko Euskal Museoak erakusketari buruz idatzitakoa:

<https://basquemuseum.eus/see/traveling-exhibits/inner-strength-portraits-basque-immigrant-women-traveling-exhibit/>

(2009); eta Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin-ek, (2009) ere diaspora kontzeptua azaltzen dute eta gero munduan zehar dauden diaspora sareen berri ematen dute.

Euskal diasporari buruz ari garenean, askotan, nahiz eta giza talde berari buruz hitz egiten ari, euskal diaspora barik kanpoan den euskal komunitatea edo euskal migrazioa esan zaio. Adibide moduan, 1999 urteko euskal kolektibitateen Bigarren Mundu Biltzarrean lau urteko planean ondorengoa esaten zuten euskal identitateari buruz: "Identidad vasca: evitar la utilización de la palabra <<diaspora>>, por designar pueblos que carecen de territorio" (Eusko Jaurlaritzak, 1999 urteko Kongresuko Aktak, 2000:59).

Gerora hasi dira euskal diaspora terminoa erabiltzen eta hori erabili dutenen artean Toticaguena eta Oiarzabal daude. Hala ere, Carlos Garaikoetxea Lehendakariak 1984 urtean atera zuen hitzaldi batean diaspora hitza erabili zuen:

"Dentro de lo que consideramos diáspora existen necesidades contempladas en otros apartados de este informe. Sin embargo trataremos de incluir aquello que tenga relación con una asistencia continua a los vascos que viven en el exterior y que necesitan sentirse atendidos por las instituciones y por los vascos que vivimos en Euskadi . Varias son las acciones que pueden emprenderse, (tales como) formación de monitores de grupos de baile, enseñanza del txistu, organización de coros, giras de conferenciantes, giras deportivas, potenciación de campeonatos y ayuda a los Centros Vascos e Ikastolas..." (Legarreta & Mignaburu, 2016:112).

Alcaez Gila, Angulok eta Marcilesek 2007 urteko Euskal Kolektibitateen Mundu Biltzarran aurkeztu zuten hitzaldian esan zuten moduan: "Ya no hablamos tanto de emigrantes, como de la diáspora vasca o de la "octava provincia". Hor aipatzen dutena horrela da, 1990 urtean inguru egiten ziren ikerketetan euskal emigrazioa zen agertzen zena, urteak aurrera egin ahala eta gero eta ikerketa gehiago egiten hasi ahala diaspora kontzeptua sartu zen kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunei erreferentzia egiteko. Beraz, ez dira asko kontzeptu hau definitu dutenak. Horrez gain, ikerketa lan honetan affinity diaspora eta Basque affinity diasporaren kontzeptua definitu nahi da.

Affinity diaspora kontzeptua definitu dutenen artean Aikins, White, Adrien, Boyle, Kitchin, Sim eta Leit daude. Gehienak Eskoziak, Irlanda eta Ingalaterrako affinity diasporak ikertu dituzte. Autore hauen hitzetan affinity diasporak izango dira nahiz eta herrialde bateko kide izan ez, herrialde horrekiko maitasun, erakargarritasun edo interes bat dutenak:

“Is a collection of people, usually former immigrants and tourists or business travellers, who have a different national or ethnic identity to a nation state but who feel some special affinity or affection for that nation state and who act on its behalf, whilst resident in the state, after they return home, or from a third country” (Adrien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009:14).

Euskal affinity diasporaren kasuan ez da oraindik kontzeptu horren definiziorik egin, beraz, ikerketa honek ekarpen hori ere izango du.

Behin diaspora, euskal diaspora eta *Basque affinity diaspora* kontzeptuak ikertu dituzten autoreak nortzuk diren jakinda, diaspora eta jatorrizko herrialdearen arteko komunikazioa nork aztertu duen ikusiko da. Hasteko orokorra munduan zehar dauden diaspora eta jatorrizko herrialdearen arteko komunikazioa ikertu dutenak nortzuk izan diren ikusiko da, eta gero Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko komunikazioa zentratuko gara.

1.4.3 Diaspora, harreman publikoak eta diplomazia

Gure ikerketan diaspora, harreman publikoak eta diplomaziaren gaiak ikertzen dira. Hauen arteko eragina nolakoa izan den eta nola diasporako kideak, harreman publikoetako tresnak erabiliz, diplomazia publikoko agente bihurtzen diren. Ez dugu akademia mailan hiru esparru horiek batera aztertzen dituen ikerketarik topatu.

Harreman publikoei buruz egindako ikerketak kontzeptuaren historia eta eboluzioaz (Xifra 2011; Tye 1998; Bernays 1997; Coombs & Holladay 2010 eta Cutlip, 1962) harreman publikoen zereginez edota harreman publikoek dituzten betebeharrak desberdinez izan dira. Askotan, baita ere, harreman publikoen gaia protokolo eta hainbat esparrutako (instituzional, empresarial, politiko...) ekintzen antolaketarekin lotu dira. Ez dugu topa, ordea, harreman publiko eta diasporari buruzko ikerketarik.

Diplomaziaren kasuan bai topatu dugu diplomazia publikoa eta diaspora lotzen dituen ikerketarik (Aldecoa & Keating, 2001; Jiménez-Ugarte, 2006; Murrow, Noya, J. 2006; Oviacionyi Iyamu, 2004; Leonard, 2002; Nye, 2008; Fortner, 1994; De Lima, 2007; Cornago, 2009; Henrikson, 2000; Waller, 2007; Malone, 1985; Ryniejaska, 2009; eta Rasmussen, 2009; Ho & McConnell, 2017). Diaspora diplomazia da hau. Testuinguru zabal batean diasporaren eragin-kortasuna ikertu dutenen artean daude (Trent, 2012; Migration Policy Institute, RAD Diaspora Profile; Riddle, 2008; McConnell, 2017; Bjola, 2016; Jay Gonzalez Joaquín, 2014 eta Stead & Smewing, 2002).

RADek (Migration Policy Institute) Estatu Batuetan dauden diaspora desberdinen egoera ikertzen dute, hala nola, Etiopia, Kolonbia eta Mexikoko diasporak. Riddlek (2008) diasporak herrialde baten garapenean onuragarriak izan daitezkeela esaten du: “By investing their capital in existing business and setting up new ventures in their countries of origin” (Riddle, 2008:39). Aipatutako diasporaren eraginkortasunearen adibide erreal moduan, Jay Gonzalez Joaquín (2014) Filipinako diasporaren garrantziaz hitz egiten du. Orokorrean munduak Filipinei buruz duen irudia nahiko negatiboa izaten dela dio: sumendiak, atentatuak, eskandalu politikoak. Diasporari esker, irudi hori hobetzen da:

“Diaspora diplomacy enables the Philippines and other diaspora states to influence another country’s cultura, politics and economics. The primary drivers of diaspora diplomacy are the basic needs of home and family, as opposed to economy and security. Most migrants meet their family obligations while at the same time contributing to the betterment of their homeland” (Jay Gonzalez Joaquín, 2014).

Tigauk (2014) dio merezi duen garrantzia eman behar zaiola diasporari:

“Ya pasó o debe pasar la época en la que las diásporas eran ignoradas y deslegitimizadas por sus países de origen dentro de determinadas coyunturas históricas, precisamente porque eran consideradas “desnacionalizadas” –es decir, fuera del imaginario colectivo naciona” (2014:425).

1.4.4 Komunikazio (bideak)

Beti izan da diasporaren eta jatorrizko herrialdearen arteko komunikazioa mantentzeko gogoia eta beharra. Komunikazio hori, Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin-ek (2009:14) dioten moduan diasporatik jatorrizko herrialdera zuzendutakoa eta jatorrizko herrialdetik diasporara zuzendutakoa izan da.

1.4.4.1 Homeland diaspora

Jatorrizko herrialdetik diasporara bideratutako komunikazioan instituzioen lana eta instituzioetatik kanpo, gizarteak egiten duen lana dago. Jatorrizko herrialdetik egiten diren komunikazio tresnak ere Gsir & Mescoli-k (2015) ikertu dituzte. Gamlen-i (2006, 2008) erreferentzia egiten diote esanez: “In order to build their diaspora, countries of origin celebrate national holidays abroad, honor emigrants with awards, provide national language history education, etc”. Kenny-k (2013) jatorrizko herrialdeek diasporekin harremana eta komunikazioa mantentzeko burutzen dituzten ekintzen berri ematen du. Hauek ere esaten dute jatorrizko herrialdeek jaialdiak antolatzen dituztela herrialdea atzerrian zabaltzeko:

“In general terms we can state that countries of origin are keen to promote their culture abroad. They organize national or religious celebrations, cultural events or encounters including exhibitions, various artistic performances, seminar and discussions (e.g. the Germany China Tibetan Culture Week was a cultural event co-organized by Germany and China in Berlin and Munich)”.

Ikerketa honetan baita ere aipatzen dituzte zeintzuk diren jatorrizko herrialdeetatik bideratzen diren ekintza kulturalak (Gsir & Mesoli, 2015:21) eta Instituto Cervantes, Goethe Institutes eta Dante Alighieri bezalakoei garrantzi handia ematen die. Zentro edo instituto kultural hauek diplomazia kultural bezala ikusi daitezke.

Badaude diaspora sareei buruz ikerketak egin dituzten autoreak (Kuznetsov, 2006; Aikins & White, 2011; Ionescu, 2006). Diaspora sareei buruz hitz egiten denean Kingsley Aikinsen izena agertzen da gai hau ikertu dutenen artean erreferente bezala.

Autore hauek hainbat herrialdetako diaspora sareak ikertzen dituzte, hala nola, India, Armenia, Txina eta Hego Afrika. Ionescuk ere diaspora sareak aztertzen ditu eta bere lanean alde ekonomikoaz gain, sare hauetako parte diren alde soziala, humanoa, afektiboa, finantziora eta enpresariala ere aztertzen ditu (2006:9). Brinkenhoffek ere gai hau ikertzen du eta diaspora sareen garrantziaz hitz egiten du (2010:43). Kingsley Aikinsek eta Martin Russelek diasporarekin harremana mantentzeko eta sare horiek sortzeko arrazoiak zein zen esan zuten 2003 urtean “European Strand of the Global Diaspora Forum”-eko sarrera artikuluan. 25 arrazoi ematen dituzte diasporarekin harremana izatea beharrezkoa dela erakusteko. Pedro Oiarzabalek ere gehitzen du diasporarekin harremana mantentzeko arrazoiak sare transnazionalak sortzen direla da:

“Diaspora associations create transnational networks that maintain varying degrees of personal, institutional, cultural, social, economic, political and business ties with the homeland and with other countries where there is Basque presence: a globe-spanning network of attachments and allegiances” (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010:339).

Aikins ere Oiarzabalekin ados dago eta bere hitzetan sareek ez dituzte bakarrik pertsonen arteko komunikazioa eta trukea, jakinduria eta kapitala garatuko, horrez gain, garapen ekonomiko, politiko eta sozialean ere laguntzen dute (Aikins, Russel, 2013:15).

Kuznetsov-ek (2006) indiar eta txinatar diasporarekin sareak sortzeko beharra argi ikusten du bere ikerketan. Autore gehienek diaspora sareak zer diren azaldu eta gero, diasporako kide batek sare horretako parte izan nahi izateko jatorrizko herrialdeak diaspora estrategia bat izan behar duela esaten

dute. Diaspora estrategia ekimen politiko bat da estatu edo gizarteak aurrera eramango duena eta zeinen helburua jatorrizko herrialdea eta diaspora edo affinity diasporaren arteko harremana den (Ancien, Boyle, & Kitchin, 2009:14). Diaspora estrategia bat zer den aztertzen duten autoreen artean daude Aikins & White, 2011:31-40; Newland, Terrazas & Munster, (2010); Aikins, Sands & White, (2009); eta Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, (2009) daude.

Ikerketa gehienetan hasieran diaspora eta affinity diaspora hitzaren definizioa zehazten dute. Gero diaspora estrategia zer den definitzen dute, diaspora estrategia bat estatu edo gizarteak aurrera eramango duen ekimen politiko bat da zeinen helburua jatorrizko herrialdea eta diaspora edo affinity diasporaren arteko harremana den (Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009:14). Aikins & White, (2011: 2) ere ados daude diaspora estrategia kontzeptua azaltzean eta helburua jatorrizko herrialdearen eta diasporaren arteko harremanean duen ekimen politiko edo ekimen politikoen seriea direla diote. Diaspora estrategia bat Aikinsen hitzetan: “An explicit systematic policy initiative or series of policy initiatives aimed at developing and managing the relationships between homeland and diaspora populations” (2009:3).

Instituzioetatik kanpo burututakoak, badaude diasporari zuzenduriko komunikabideen azterketa egin duten autoreak, eta horien artean, Karim, (1998, 2003); Mowlana, (1997); Ogunyemi, (2015); Riggins, (1992); Fogt & Sadvik, (2008); Goitom, (2010); Oyeleye, (2010); Gordano, (2009); Tandian, (2010), Smets (2011,2013), Leurs & Ponzanesi (2011), eta Georgiou, (2003) daude. Orokorrean diasporak euren jatorrizko herrialdearekin maila transnazionaleko harremanak izateko komunikabideak nola erabili dituzten ikertzen dute. Karimek diasporari zuzenduriko telebista kate batzuk aztertzen ditu, adibidez, Estatu Batuetako komunitate juduak idatzitako egunkaria, Zimbabweco diaspora egunkariak eta Bulgarian daude errumaniarren diaspora egunkaria.

Karimek dio medio digitalak diaspora eta jatorrizko herrialdearen arteko harremana estutzeko tresna direla. Horren harira, Bozdog, Hepp and Sunak ere diaspora medioa ikertzen dute: “Diasporic media as the media that are produced by and for migrants and deal with issues that are of specific interest for the members of diasporic communities” (2012:96) eta Ogunyemik ere berdina dio (2015:1). Ogunyemik bere liburuan diaspora mediaren kontzeptualizazioa egiten du beste autore batzuetan oinarrituta. Horrez gain identitate hori lortzeko komunikabideek duten papera oso garrantzitsua dela diote: “This implication is also possible today thanks to the extension of media coverage” (Gsir & Mesoli, 2015:17). Hori erakusteko diasporarekin

zerikusia duten hainbat komunikabide aipatzen dituzte (Gsir & Mesoli, 2015:18).

Diasporako kideek burutzen dituzten ekintzak nazioarteko harremanetan duten garrantzia aipatzen dute eta herrialdeak diasporaren garrantziz konturatzen ari direla diote (Paschalidis, 2009; Gsir, & Mesoli, 2015:23). Badaude jatorrizko herrialdetik diasporarekin komunikatzeko erabili diren komunikazio tresnen ikerketak egin dituztenak, ez da topa, ordea, horrenbeste ikerketa diasporatik jatorrizko herrialdearekin komunikatzeko egindako gauzena.

Era orokor batean diaspora eta jatorrizko herrialdearen arteko komunikazioa nola materializatu den ikusi ahal izan da. Euskal diaspora eta Euskal Herriaren artean ere, bi norabide topa ditzakegu komunikazioa: Homeland Diaspora, non erakundeek eta Euskal Herriatik burutzen diren ekimenak aztertuko ditugun; eta Diaspora Homeland, non diasporako kideek burutzen dituzten ekimenak aztertuko ditugun. Autore desberdinek euskal kasuan komunikazio bide hauei buruz esan dutena aztertuko dugu ondoren.

Gaira hurbilduz: Euskal Herriaren kasua

Euskal Herriatik kanpoan diren euskaldunei zuzenduriko komunikazioan erakundeen eskutik egindakoak eta erakundeetatik kanpo egindakoak daude. Euskal Herriatik diasporarekin harremana mantentzeko egindako ekintza instituzionalen ikerketak Ugalde eta de Castro Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko irakasleak egin dituzte: Kanpo Harremanetako urterokoa (2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008-2009, 2010, 2011-2012). Hor Kanpo Harremanetako ekintzen artean, euskal diasporara begira egiten diren ekintzen berri ematen dute: diasporari zuzenduriko diru laguntzak, euskal etxeentzako diru laguntzak, Gaztemundu Programa, bisita instituzionalak...2014, 2015, 2016 eta 2017 urteetan *Informe de la Secretaria General de Acción Exterior al Parlamento Vasco* argitaratu da, batez ere, Europan eta Europar Batasunaren baitan Euskadik duen partehartze eta lekuari buruzkoa baina ez da kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunei edo euskal etxeei buruzko urtekaririk idatzi Ugalde eta De Castroren azken urtekaritik.

Totorikaguenak ere jorratzen du gai hori eta diplomazia publikoa eta paradiploiazia aipatzen ditu. Boise State Universityko Bieter eta Ray irakasleek (2015) ere egin dute harreman honi buruzko ikerketarik.

Nazioarteko katea ere komunikatzeko bide esanguratsua izan da. Nazioarteko kateei (Canal Vasco, EtbSat) buruz idatzi dutenen artean Amezaga, (2004, 2008); Peñafiel, (2008); Gomez, (2008); Casado, (2008) eta Arroyabe, (2008) daude. Batez ere, euskal kateen nazioartekotzeaz hitz egiten dute, horiek kontsumitzen dituztenei egindako elkarrizketan bidez kateek izan zuten eta duten erabilgarritasuna ikertu dute. Peñafielek, Casadok, Fernandez de Arroyabek eta Gomezek GALEUSCA TVren ikerketa egin zuten. ETB, TV3 eta TVGrekin batera Ameriketako HISPASATen bidez emititzeko aukera aztertu zen, proiektu honen izena GALEUSCA TV izan zen, eta 1996 urteko abenduan hasi zen.

Amezagak satellite bidezko telebistei esker “komunikazio bidea zabaldu eta eremu nazionalak, pannazionalak, geostrategikoak, linguistikoak, diasporikoak eta globalak daudela dio” (Amezaga, 2004). Amezagak, baita ere, Canal Vascoren azterketa egiten du eta: “Nazionalismoaren garapenean prentsak izan duen garrantzia aipatzen duen bezalaxe ukaezina da hedabideak, oro har, komunikazi eremu estatu-nazionalaren eraikuntzan bitartez, nortasun prozesuetan izan duten eragina” (Amezaga, 2004:191).

Ikerketa honetan Euskal Herriaren eta kanpoan diren euskaldunen eta horiek bizi diren herrialdeen artean sortutako sare akademiko, kultural, familiar, eta enpresa artekoak aztertuko dira. Sare akademikoari dagokionez, Oiarzabalek badu Nevadako Center for Basque Studiesi buruz 2007an egindako lan bat *A Candle in the Night: Basque Studies at the University of Nevada: 1967-2007*. Center for Basque Studiesen sorrerari buruz da eta sare akademikoa uztartzen da. Liburua hiru partetan zatitzen du, lehen zatian Basque Studiesen historia kontatzen da, bigarrean zelan Basque Studiesen eboluzioa eta azkenekoan USAC-en sortzea eta honen eboluzioa. Hala ere, ez du hau sare akademiko baten sorrera moduan aurkezten.

Bestalde, lan horrez gain, ez dago euskal diaspora sareak aztertzen dituen lan akademikorik.

Insituzioetatik kanpo burututako ekintzen artean:

Euskal Herriatik diasporara begira egin dira hainbat ikusentzunezko produkzio. Asko kanpoan diren euskal komunitatera joan, grabatu eta Euskal Herrian horren berri emateko egin dira. Asko izan arren produkzio horiek, oraindik ez da egin horren inguruko ikerketarik. Lan honen beste ekarpenetako bat hori aztertzea ere izango da.

Euskal migrazioari buruz idatzi diren argitalpenei buruz egindako errepa-soa egin ondoren ikusi ahal izan dugu zeintzuk izan diren orokorrean emi-

grazioaren gaia ikertu dutenak, eta gure ikerketa gaira hurbilduz idatzi diren lanak. Ikusi ahal izan dugunez badira oraindik ikertu gabeko gai batzuk, eta gure helburua horiek aztertzea izango da. Ikertu bako gai horien artean, gure ikerketa gaia den Euskal Herria eta euskal diaspora komunikatzeko erabiltzen diren tresnak daude.

1.4.4.2 *Diaspora Homeland*

Kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunek Euskal Herriarekin eta beste herrialde batzutan zeuden edo dauden komunitateekin komunikatzeko hainbat era izan dituzte. Horien artean medio tradizionalak, jaialdiak, euskal etxeak, elkarteak eta diaspora ekintzak daude.

a) Komunikabideak

Komunikatzeko medio tradizionalak aztertu dituzten autoreen artean Andrés de Irujo, (1954); Amezaga, (2004, 2008); Peñafiel, (2008); Casado, (2008); Fernandez de Arroyabe, (2008); Gomez, (2008); Etxarri, (2001); Totoricaguena, (2001, 2007); Echeverria, (1984); Douglass, (1986,1999,2003); Urza, (1999); White, (1999) eta Zulaika, (1999); Azcona, (1992) eta García Albi Bil de Biedma(1992); Muru Ronda, (1992) daude. Guztien ikerketa lerroa ez da komunikazio bideak aztertzea, hala ere, zertzeladak ematen dizkiote atzerrian argitaratutako aldizkariari edo egunkariari.

Komunikatzeko bideen artean gehien ikertu dena atzerrian argitaratu diren aldizkariak eta egunkariak izan dira. Totoricaguenak egindako doktorego tesian aipatzen du 1885an Los Angelesen euskaraz idatzitako lehen egunkaria *Escualdun Gazeta*. Etxarrik (2001) Ameriketan zeuden euskal egunkarien berri eman zuen baita gerra garaian zabaldu ziren argitalpenei buruz ere. Javier Díaz Nocik (2012) euskal kazetaritzaren errepaso egiten duenean atzerriko euskal aldizkarien berri ematen du. Azconak, García Albik eta Muru Rondak ere Argentinara joandako euskaldunei buruz idatzi zuten liburuan (1992) badute “Diaspora eta Prentsa lokala”ri buruzko kapitulua. Aznar Soler-ek (2006) “Escritores, editoriales y revistas en el exilio republicano de 1939” en ere aldizkari horiek aipatzen ditu. Andrés de Irujok (1954) Ekin argitaletxearen nondik norakoak aztertu zituen “La editorial vasca Ekin de Bueno Aires” ikerketan. Koldo San Sebastianek 2018 urtean argitaratutako *NewYorktarrak* eta *Pagar por vivir, biografía de Jon Bilbao Azkarreta*-n New Yorken argitaratutako Euskal aldizkariak ere aipatzen ditu, adibidez, *Ambos Mundos*.

Atzerritik emititutako irratiei buruz badago egunkariko albistirenbat Radio Euskadi sortu zenekoa eta atzerritik izan zuen ibilbidea aztertzen duena. Iberlin D eta Romtvedt Dek (2011)an Buffalos KBBS Irratian Euskara Ordua entzuteko aukera zegoela esaten zuen (Iberlin & Romtvedt, 2011). Leire Arrietak Radio Euskadiren ikerketa egin zuen.

b) Jaialdiak, kongresuak eta biltzarrak

Gure ikerketan harreman publikoetako ekimenak euskal diasporaren eta jatorrizko herrialdearen arteko komunikazioan eragina dutela esaten dugu. Harreman publikoen munduan hainbat ikerketa egin dira harreman publikoen profilaz, euren eginbeharrez, komunikazio arduradunez, edo komunikazio instituzionalean harreman publikoek duten garrantziaz, ez da aurkitu, ordea, diaspora eta harreman publikoak biak batera uztartzen dituen ikerketarik.

Euskal diasporaren kasuan, badira jatorrizko herrialdea eta euskal diaspora konektatzeko antolatzen diren harreman publikoetako ekimenak, horien artean daude, jaialdiak eta kongresuak edo biltzarrak.

Jaialdiak dira diasporak bideratutako komunikazio motetariko bat. Euskal diasporak antolatzen dituen jaialdi esanguratsuenen artean Argentinako Semana Nacional Vasca eta Boiseko Jaialdia daude. Boiseko Jaialdiari buruz Douglasssek, (2003); Fdz. De Larrinoak, (1991) Bieter eta Ray-k (2013); Totoricaguenak, (2000); Echeverriak, (1999); Elustondok, (1998) eta Zubiriak, (1998), Goirizelaiak eta Iturreguik (2016) idatzi dute. Lan gehienetan Estatu Batuetan sortutako lehen jaialdia noiz sortu zen, nork hartu zuen parte eta helburua zein zen ikertu da. Aipatzekoa da, lan akademikoaz gain, hainbat dibulgaziorako lan egin direla Boiseko Jaialdiari buruz (EITBko dokumentalak eta argitalpenak egunkari eta aldizkarietan). Autore gehienek 1959.urtean Sparks-en antolatu zen jaialdia 1987 urtetik aurrera Boisen antolatzen den Jaialdiaren aurrekoa bezela ikusten dute. Fernandez de Larrinoak *The Western Basque festival* liburuan honen berri ematen du. Douglasssek eta Jon Bilbaok ere *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World* liburuan jaialdi hauek aipatzen dituzte.

Douglasssek, Urzak, Whitek eta Zulaikak (1999) euskal diaporarekin antolatu diren kongresuak, baita euskal-amerikarrek biltzeko antolatzen zituzten jaialdiak Estatu Batuetako mendebaldean azaltzen dituzte. Horrez gain, Douglasssek ere, lehen euskal jaiari buruzko informazioa ematen du. Zubiriak (1998) Estatu Batuetako jaialdi edo ospakizunen azterketa egiten du eta 2016 urtean Mignaburuk eta Legarretak urteetan zehar antolatu diren euskal-argentinak kongresuen bilketa egiten dute.

Boiseko Jaialdiarekin aldaratuta, oso gutxi idatzi da Argentinan antolatzen den *Semana Nacional Vasca* edo *Buenos Aires Celebra al País Vasco* buruz. Semana Nacional Vasca urtero antolatzen den jaialdia da eta Erta eta Hego Ameriketako 50 euskal etxeetako ordezkariak, mundu osoko euskaldunak eta ordezkari instituzionalak biltzen dira. Hala ere, gutxi idatzi da horri buruz eta are gutxiago, edo ezer, maila akademikoan. Posible da garai horretako aldizkarietan begiratuz gero, *La Basconia* eta *Euzko Deya* bezalakoetan Argentinako Euskal Aste Nazionalaren inguruan idatzitako berriak aurkitzea. Bestalde, aurkitu ahal izan dugun artikulua bakarra Eduardo Torryren (2012) "La semana nacional vasca: una tradición del colectivo vasco argentino" izan da non Euskal Aste Nazionala informazioa ematen duen.

c) Euskal etxeak eta Elkarteak

Nahiz eta Euskal etxeen lehen helburua ez izan Euskal Herriarekin komunikazioa mantentzea, lortu duen zerbait da. Horrez gain, euskaldunak Argentina eta Estatu Batuak bezalako herrialde handietan zeudelez, distantziak handiak ziren eta ez zen erreza herrialde berean zeuden euskaldun eta euskal etxeen arteko komunikazioa. Horregatik elkarteak sortu ziren komunikazio horizontal hori errazteko. Elkarte hori, Estatu Batuetan NABO (North American Basque Organization) deituko zen eta Argentinan FEVA (Federación de Entidades Vasco Argentinas). Estatu Batuetako NABOri buruz ikerketak egin dituztenen artean Argitxu Camus (*A Historical Comparative Study of Basque Institutions in the United States*, 2008) eta Totoricaguena dauzkagu; eta Argentinako FEVAri buruz idatzi dutenen artean Josu Legarreta eta Magdalena Mignaburu (2016).

d) Komunikazio 2.0

Komunikazio 2.0 eta interneten erabilerari dagokionez, Fogt-ek eta Sadvik-ek (2008) internetek eta teknologia berriek kanpoan bizi diren herritarrak euren jatorrizko herrialdearekin komunikatzeko balio dutela diote. Goitomek (2010) interneten garrantzia azpimarratzen du eta dio minoritieak behartuta daudela komunikabide digitalak erabiltzera euren jatorrizko herrialdeari buruz informazioa jasotzeko: "Parents expect the digital media to construct the identity and sense of belongingness among their children" (Goitom in The Journalism of Diaspora Symposium, University of Lincoln Friday 10 September 2010). Amezagak berdina esaten zuen Canal Vascok Hego Ameriketako herrialdeetan zuen eragina ikertu zuenean.

Beraz, badaude diaspora digitalak (Laguerre, 2010; Gajjala, 2003), diasporeri zuzenduriko webguneak (Bernal, 2005) eta teknologia berriek diasporarengan duten eragina (Brinkenhoff) aztertzen dutenak. Pedro Oiarzabalek (2013) ere euskal diasporako elkarteak internetera egin duten saltua eta diaspora digitalaren garapena ikertzen du.

Ponzanesi & Leursek diote:

“Little is known about the impact of new communication technologies on the lives of migrants in Europe or wanting to reach Europe. There remains a dearth of nuanced research on digital diasporas in Europe, providing in-depth contextual accounts of their social, cultural, political and economic dimensions in everyday practice” (2014:11).

Euskal diaspora digitala aztertu dutenen artean Oiarzabal da autore esanguratsuen, honek euskal diaspora eta Internet eta sare sozialen arteko ikerketa egin du. Oiarzabalek urteak daramatza gai hauek aztertzen, eta bera izan zen Facebook erabiltzen zuten euskal diasporako elkarteen lehen ikerketa akademikoa egin zuena *The Online Social Networks of the Basque Diaspora. Fast Forwarded, 2005-2009*, 2011.

Koldo Bizkarguenagak ere ikertu du honen inguruan. Bizkarguenaga eta García-k (2015) “Transnacionalismo vasco e internet: Análisis del uso de blogs y Facebook en la diáspora” argitaratu zuten eta euren ikerketan esaten zuten nahiz eta euskal diaspora ikasia izan den, teknologia berriek, oro har, migratzaile euskaldunengan duten eragina ikertu dabe dagoela. Euren lanean jatorritik kanpo den euskal gizarteak blog eta Facebook-i esker euren euskal identitatea nola sortzen duten ikertzen dute. Hala ere, ikerketa hau, batez ere, *Erasmus* programa egiten dagoen jendearekin egin dute, eta hori, gure marko teorikoa kontuan hartzen badugu, ez da diasporako kidea.

Ez dago oraindik, ordea, diasporako euskaldunek sortutako blog-en lan akademikorik ezta Instagram sare sozialera elkarte hauek egin duten saltoari buruz ere ez.

Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko komunikatzeko tresnen eta komunikabideen arteko ikerketak egin badiren ere, badaude oraindik ikertu gabe dauden gai batzuk. Gaur egun euskal etxe batzuk irrati programak dituzte eta euskal gaiak emititzen dituzte, adibidez La Platako euskal etxeak *Raices Vascas* saioa emititzen du euskal gaien inguruan eta Boisen *Boiseko Taupada* Irrati saioa dago. Ez dago ikerketarik egungo irrati programa horiek ikertzen dituenak. Horrez gain, egun arte egindako ikerketetan nazioarteko

euskal kateek diasporan izan duten eragina aztertu da baina ez da haratago joan, eta ez du komunikabideen digitalizazioak izandako eragina aztertu.

Sare sozialen gaiekin lotuta, eta Oiarzabalen lana jarraituz, ez da oraindik Instagram erabiltzen hasi diren euskal elkarteei buruzko ikerketarik egin. Ez da egin Euskal Herritik diasporari buruz egin diren dokumentalak eta filmen ikerketarik egin. Ez da egin, ezta ere ez, diaspora sareen ikerketarik. Gai intresgarriak izan daitezke etorkizuneko ikerketetarako.

1.5. Lanaren antolaketa

Ondorengo puntuan gure lana nola antolatuko den azalduko dugu. Lana lau ataletan banatuko da: lehen atala sarrera izango da; bigarrena, "Ulertzekoak" deituko dugu eta marko teorikoa azalduko dugu; hirugarrena, "Aztertutakoak" edo analisia eta, laugarren eta azken atala, "Commencement", hau da, konklusioak eta ekarpenak izango dira.

Lehen parte sei ataletan banatu dugu: sarrera, helburuak, hipotesiak, erabili den metodologia, gure gaiaren inguruan idatzi dena, hau da, gaiaren egoera eta azkenik lanaren antolaketa.

Sarreran irakurlea testuinguruan kokatu nahi dugu, zergatik aukeratu dugun Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko komunikazioaren azterketa gaia, zeintzuk diren lanaren helburuak eta hipotesiak, eta ikerketa honen bidez egin nahi dugun ekarpena zein den. Ondoren, hori lortzeko erabili dugun metodologia azalduko dugu zehatz. Egun arte hainbat autorek euskal diasporaren gaiaren inguruan egindako lanen erreposoa egin dugu, etorkizun batean irakurleak gaiaren inguruko ikerketarik egin nahi izanez gero, gaiaren erreposoa oso lagungarria izango zaiola uste dugu. Ekarpen aberasgarria eta lagungarria da.

Azkenik, irakurleak erraztasunez interesgarriak zaizkion puntuak topatzeko lana nola egongo den antolatuta azaltzen dugu. Atal hau euskaraz da baina lehen atalburuaren amaieran ingeleseko bertsio labur bat gehitu dugu.

Bigarren partean, "Ulertzekoak" deritzena, ikerketan zehar erbiliko ditugun kontzeptuak azalduko ditugu. Zati hau hiru ataletan banatuko dugu eta ingelesez izango da (2,3,4 atalburuak). Gure ikerketa hiru kontzepturen inguruan izango da eta kontzeptu horiek diaspora, harreman publikoak eta diplomazia publikoa izango dira.

Hasteko, diaspora kontzeptua definituko dugu. Diaspora kontzeptuaren ibilbide historikoa, definizioa eta honen ezaugarriak zeintzuk diren. Diaspora bat sortu ahal izateko, lehenik migrazio bat egon behar izan da; bigarren zatian migrazio hori emateko arrazoiak zeintzuk izan daitezkeen aztertzen da eta horren ondorioz sortzen diren diaspora-motak. Diaspora moten barruan, interneten ondorioz sortu den diaspora digitala ere aztertuko dugu. Behin diasporaren kontzeptu orokorra aztertuta, euskal diaspora definituko dugu, hau da, zein autorek eta nola definitu duten euskal diaspora.

Beharrezkoa ikusten genuen euskal jatorria izan ez arren diasporako kide izan nahi duten horiek definitzea, horregatik, affinity diaspora eta euskal affinity diaspora kontzeptuak ere ikertu ditugu.

Bigarren partean harreman publikoen esparruan sartuko gara. Gure marko teorikoan harreman publikoen errepaso historikoa egin dugu, kontzeptuari eman zaizkion definizio desberdinak, ekintzak eta harreman publiko motak aztertu ditugu. Harreman publikoen eta iritzi publikoaren arteko harremana eta amaitzeko, nazioarteko harreman publikoen kontzeptua ikertu dugu.

Eta amaitzeko, hirugarren atalean diplomazia publikoaren kontzeptua aztertuko dugu. Nola izan den diplomazia tradizionaletik diplomazia publikorako saltua, eta zeintzuk diren diplomazia tradizional eta diplomazia publikoaren hitoak, definizioak, ezaugarriak eta ekintzak. Ondoren paradiploiazia, diaspora diplomazia eta protodiplomaziaren kontzeptuak ikertu dira.

Ikerketaren hirugarren partea egindako landa lan guztiaren emaitza izango da, hau da, gure lanaren analisisa edo "Aztertutakoak". Aztertutakoak blokearen barruan egongo da eta hori bost atalburutan banandu dugu (5,6,7,8 eta 9 atalburuak). Hirugarren atalean Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko komunikazioa nolakoa izan den aztertuko dugu. Botgarraren atalburuan Estatu Batuetara izandako euskal migrazioaren nondik norakoak azaltzen dira eta Estatu Batuetan diren euskaldunei buruzko datu kuantitatiboak ematen dira. Ondorengo bi atalburuetan (6 eta 7) jatorrizko herrialdetik diasporara eta diasporatik jatorrizko herrialdera komunikazioa eta harremana mantentzeko burututako tresnen azterketa egingo dugu. Zortzigarren atalburuan diasporatik eta diasporarako sorturiko sareen azterketa egingo da "*diaspora networks from the diaspora*" eta "*diaspora networks for the diaspora*" deitu ditugu. Horien artean aztertuko ditugu, alde batetik, era naturalean Euskal Herria eta Estatu Batuen arteko sare akademiko, enpresariak, kultural eta familiarra nola sortu diren eta zein emaitza izan diren; eta, bestetik, instituzioek sortu dituzten diaspora sareak: Eusko Sare, Pentsamendua, Global Basque Network, Basque Diaspora Akademikoa eta

Bizkaia Talent. Atal honen azken atalburuan (9.atalburuan), ikerketa esploratorio konparatibo bat egin da. Analisi osoan erabili den metodologia Estatu Batuetan diren euskal komunitate desberdinei aplikatu zaie eta ikusi nahi izan da emigratutako arrazoi eta helmugen arabera, jatorrizko herrialdearekin komunikatzeko erak nolakoak diren eta Euskal Herriaren eta dauden estatu horien arteko sareak desberdinak diren. Metodologia hau beste diaspora talde batzuk ikertzeko metodologia bezala erabili daitekeela uste dugu.

Laugarren eta azken partean, “Commencement” deritzena, ekarpenak, konklusioak, proposamenak eta bibliografia izango ditugu. Gure helburuak bete badiren ikusiko dugu eta errealitatean aplikagarriak izan daitezkeen ekarpenak egingo ditugu. Horrela deitu dugu, amaiera hasiera izango delako, eta ikerketa honen konklusioek etorkizuneko ikerketetarako ateak zabalduko dituelako.

Amaitzeko, lana burutu ahal izateko erabilitako autoreen zerrenda eta gai honen inguruan interesa duten edonontzako baliogarria izango den bibliografia gehitu du.

1.6 Synopsis or abridgement in English

This research project examines the evolution of communication between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora in the United States.

Objectives

This research project examines the evolution of communications between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora in the United States. When we are talking about the Basque Country we will be talking mainly about the Basque Government and the Basque media and, when we are talking about the Basque diaspora, we will be talking about diaspora institutions and individuals.

From this objective, the rest of the objectives emerge:

1. Understand the profile of the Basques living in the United States and the connections they have with the Basque Country, and identify, categorize and study how the diaspora institutions and the Basque Country institutions communicate (from the diaspora and from the Basque Country).

2. Investigate the role of public relations activities in the relations between the Basque Country governmental institutions and the Basque diaspora, concentrating on the festivals organized by the diaspora institutional members and the conferences organized in the Basque Country.
3. Ascertain whether the Basques living in the United States want to know what is going on in the Basque Country, how they get news from the Basque Country, and which media or newspapers they consume.
4. See what strategies and technological tools members of the diaspora and the Basque Country use to communicate with one another.
5. Analyze the Basque diaspora networks and how they interact.
6. Research the role of the Basque diaspora in the image of the Basque Country in the United States and determine whether diaspora members can be considered agents of public diplomacy.

Hypothesis

According to the contextualization of this project the hypotheses are:

1. The majority of the Basques in the United States are third generation and they come from the province of Biscay.
2. The links that the Basques living in the United States have with the Basque Country are mostly familiar and/or cultural.
3. There has always been interest both from the diaspora and from the Basque Country in having a good relationship and, in recent years, we have seen an evolution in institutionally supported activities designed to facilitate this relationship.
4. Public relations activities and above all conferences and festivals have been important in the communications be-

tween the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora. The case of the festival in Boise is remarkable.

5. The Basques in the United States are interested in current events in the Basque Country, and they get that information mostly via international television channels and the Internet (social media and digital media).
6. New technologies, notably the Internet, have increased the communication between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora.
7. Diaspora members help strengthen the relations between the Basque Country institutions and the United States academic, cultural and business institutions.
8. There are different Basque communities in the United States and, depending on the generation and the geographic location, there are differences in their link to the Basque Country and the ways they organize as a community.
9. The Basque diaspora members in the United States are agents of public diplomacy for the Basque Country institutions and reputation.

Methodology

The methodology that we have used aims to identify the best method to answer our research questions (M.Beltrá, 1985 & Bericat, 1998). This study combines sociological and anthropological methods of data collection and analysis and we research three distinct topics: diaspora, public relations, and public diplomacy. Therefore, we primarily employ qualitative and quantitative techniques, because: "Combining qualitative and quantitative analyses can take very different shapes depending on the research in question" (Belotti, 2014).

Qualitative data

The qualitative data that we have used has been collected from literary review, documents and archival data; from in-depth interviews, observatory research and network analysis; and the quantitative data from two surveys that have been distributed among people from the Basque Country and diaspora members in the United States.

First of all, we have read both academic and non-academic books and journal articles and watched documentaries, films and every work (Hollstein, 2016:15) related to the Basque migration, beginning in the 1600s and continuing on to the current Basque diaspora. Among those documents there were also letters, newspapers, institutional documents and historical documents from the Basque Museum and Cultural Center in Boise and the Albertson Library's Special Collections in Boise State University. One of the main techniques used in this research are the in-depth interviews, which are understood to be the most suitable approach and one of the most common qualitative research methods (Belotti, 2014:69). Interviews are a useful way of becoming familiar with the field under study and for accessing certain populations (Hollstein, 2011:14). A big part of our analysis is based on interviews as a useful way of becoming familiar with the field, having different perspectives and also getting firsthand information. Apart from that, thanks to the *Snowball technique*, we have reached many key people for our research.

In total we have conducted 83 in depth interviews. We first identified individuals that could be pertinent to our research and then we did standardized interviews with all of them (all the interview questions change slightly depending on the person interviewed). We have done all the interviews; almost all were face to face and in-depth interviews, recorded and then transcribed. Some of the interviews were done by email due to distance.

Interviewees are members of the Basque diaspora, academics who research the Basque diaspora and professionals who work with the Basque diaspora. Apart from that we also interviewed workers in the Foreign Affairs Department of the Basque Government, institutional representatives, and representatives of U.S. associations who work with the members of the Basque diaspora. These interviews provided a deep insight into the topic. We have also interviewed members of other diasporas in the United States, such as the Croatian, Greek and Armenian diaspora and well known professors from Harvard and Northeastern who are researching immigration, diasporas and transnationalism.

On the one hand, we have conducted interviews with people involved in the activities directed from the homeland to the diaspora. Among those: the managers of online newspapers in the Basque Country; the former manager of the International TV Channels of the Basque Public Television (EITB); a journalist conducting radio programs about the Basques in America; the protagonist of the TV program called "ORIGEN"; and the head of the diaspora specialized media: Euskalkultura.com. We have also done institutional interviews with

Basque Government workers; the former Director for the relationship with the Basque collectivities abroad and Basque centers, Josu Legarreta; the former Delegate of the Basque Government in the United States, Ander Caballero; the former provost of the University of the Basque Country, Iñaki Goirizelaia, and the head of Bizkaia Talent, Ivan Jimenez.

On the other hand, we have also interviewed people involved in the activities directed from the diaspora to the homeland: organizers and people related to the Basque festival in Boise and the Smithsonian Folklife Festival; diaspora members and people from the Basque Country involved in the summer camps organized both in the United States and in Argentina; and the creators of two Basque American blogs.

Moreover, during May and June 2016 we conducted an online interview with members of the Basque diaspora in Argentina and in the United States. We wanted to understand the strategies they used for communicating with the Basque Country and people from the Basque Country, which Basque newsites and media they consume, and how they stay informed about what is going on in the Basque Country. Apart from that, we wanted to know what they thought about the festivals organized by the Basque diaspora and the diaspora network created by the Basque Government, Global Basque Network.

From February to April of 2017 the author did a research stay at Boise State University. During that research we had the opportunity to conduct interviews with 11 people from the Basque diaspora in that part of the United States. We asked them about the relationship they have with the Basque Country, how communication has evolved over the years, how they get informed about the things going on in the Basque Country, which Basque news sites and media they follow, and what they think about the Basque American festivals and about the Basque diaspora networks.

From January until July 2018 we conducted interviews with members of the Basque diaspora living in the Northeast and Southeast areas of the United States. We conducted 6 in depth interviews in Massachusetts and New York. Those interviews were done in the interviewees' houses, Basque centers, workplaces or at Harvard University.

During the month of May, we moved from Boston to the state of Florida with the objective of conducting interviews with active and retired Jai Alai players and their partners. During the time that we spent there we became part of their community and we had the opportunity to do 6 in depth interviews and

two group interviews with 4 and 5 people in each group. In total, we got the testimonies of 15 people recorded, but many more were part of our daily conversations.

Apart from the Basque communities living in the United States, we have also interviewed members of other diasporas living in the United States, such as the Croatian, Armenian and the Greek. It was very enriching and interesting work. We visited their centers and they let us be part of their community while we were doing the research. We conducted 7 interviews: 3 from Greece, 2 from Armenia and 2 from Croatia. The interviewees were members of diaspora institutions, university professors or academics in the United States.

We wanted to interview also people who take part in Basque cultural activities even though they don't have Basque ancestry. Those people constitute the Basque affinity diaspora. We wanted to understand the image the Basques project to the greater American society, and why outsiders would take part in these activities. We also interviewed Basque American people to understand what they thought about the importance of the Basque affinity diaspora in the maintenance of their culture and identity. We did 12 in depth interviews related to the Basque affinity diaspora with Basque and non-Basque Americans.

Even though previously, observation methods were only used in anthropological studies, today, they are employed in research on social movements (Mische, 2008; Broadbent, 2003), organizations (Provan and Milward, 1995) and ethnic communities (Dominguez and Watkins, 2003; Menjivar, 2000; Smilde, 2005). (Hollstein, 2011:13) As we are studying ethnic communities, we also used that technique. Observation is used to complement other data: it serves to access the field (actors, content of relationships, forms of interaction); it is also used for complementing and checking data from other sources. Just before starting this dissertation, the author was an intern for one year in the Basque Government, working with the Basque communities abroad. As we already knew we were going to start with this research, we did observatory work while we were working there.

Network analysis is something more and more common among scholars. With this analysis, it is possible to study different kind of relations, for example, studies about immigrant groups and transnational groups (Levitt, 2000 and Menjivar). In this case, we are going to study the networks among the diaspora communities and the country of origin; in order to do the network analysis, we used qualitative interviews (Belotti, 2014:71), archival data (Hollstein, 2011:15) and ethnographic work (Hollstein, 2011:12).

Quantitative data:

In order to make use of numbers and percentages in our research, we also use quantitative data that we collected thanks to 2 surveys. One is about people's understanding of the Basque diaspora, compiled during December 2015 and January 2016, and the other is about the communication and relationship between the Basque people living in the United States and the Basque Country.

The second survey was the important one for our research. During the month of April, we prepared a survey with the questions we wanted to consider. In order to validate the methodology and the survey, we chose five members of the diaspora and sent the survey to them. Once we had their feedback we started distributing it. The first surveys were distributed among Basques living in Florida while we were doing the in depth interviews there.

After that we contacted the people we knew and asked them to share the survey. They shared it on their Facebook pages and on the Basque centers' Facebook pages. We also shared the survey on our own Facebook wall and many people shared it from there. Apart from that, we also talked to the persons in charge of two blogs that are known among the Basques in the United States as well as Basques in other parts of the world: Hella Basque and A Basque in Boise. They agreed to share the survey in their blogs and many people shared it from their Facebook pages. The survey was also shared by: Elko Euzkadunak, Lagun Onak Las Vegas Club, A Basque in Boise blog, 8 probintziak, NABO euskaraz, Basque Identity 2.0, and by many other individuals. Those Facebook pages are widely known among the Basques living in the United States, so by accessing those pages, we were to reach many more Basque people living in the United States.

After that, we emailed all the presidents of the Basque centers in the United States (38) and asked them if it was possible to distribute the survey among their members. Apart from that, we have contacts in the United States that are not related to any Basque center so we also talked to them and asked them to answer the questions. We are very happy with our results as we received 423 completed surveys, from both members and non-members of Basque centers. All these answers give us a broad understanding of the communication and relationship between Basques living in the United States and the Basque Country.

This methodology is also a perfect example of the networking and community-building we are discussing in this dissertation. The work realized during

the last three years has helped us to build a network with Basque people all over the world and, consequently, this had positive results on both our survey and our interviews. This is confirmation of our hypothesis that diaspora networks exist, and that they are important for building community.

Literature review

It is possible to see that there has been an evolution in the research about the Basque diaspora and that recently, the concept of “Basque diaspora” has been more widespread in academic works. Also, during these last three years that we have been researching, we have seen an evolution in the works, primarily on TV, in which the members of the Basque diaspora are the protagonists.

Basque migration

After doing a review of the works written about the Basque diaspora, we can see that the anthropologist William Douglass, or, as some people name him “Mr. Basque” is a key resource. He was, together with Jon Bilbao, the author of the book *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World*, one of the first books that delved into the Basque migration and settlement in the Americas. Since then, he has published several books and articles about this topic, all of which are important and well-valued in the Basque migration and Basque diaspora academic world. His books are mostly about the reasons for the migration, the countries where Basques emigrated, and the work they did in those countries. Since those books came out, many others have studied this topic: Toticaguena, (2001, 2002, 2003, 2007); Urza, (1999); Zulaika, (1994,1999); Álvarez Gila, (1995, 1998, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2010); Oiarzabal, (2005, 2014); Bieter brothers, (2005); Bieter & M.Ray, (2013); Ysursa, Irujo, Saitua, (2016); Iraizoz, (2017); Echeverria, (1984, 1999, 2001); Camus Etchecopar, (2008); Azcona, (1992); San Sebastian, (... , 2015, 2018); Mignaburu, (2016); Legarreta, (2016); Laxalt, (1957, 1972, 1989, 2000); Zubiri, (1998); Elustondo, (2007, 2012); and Ugalde, (1996, 1999, 2006, 2012, 2014). There is also the work done by the Basque Government in 2003 and the Urazandi Bilduma project, based on testimonies of Basques who emigrated and information from Basque centers abroad. From 1980 to 2010 Alexander Ugalde and Jose Luis de Castro, both professors at the University of the Basque Country, published the Foreign Affairs Yearbook of the Basque Government, and finally, the Center for Basque Studies in Reno has also published many books regarding the Basque migration and diaspora.

When analyzing the existing body of work on the Basque migration, we can see that the majority of the works are related to the following topics: reasons for migrating; profile of migrants; host countries and the work migrants did in those new counties; the role of the women in the boarding houses; identity; institutional relations and Basque centers.

Among those who have studied the reasons why Basques decided to leave their home country and move to another one we have Douglass, (1986, 2003); Douglass, Lymond and Zulaika, (1994); Santiso González, (1998); Totoricaguena, (2002); de Borja, (2005); Azcona, García Abil Gil de Biedma and Muru Ronda, (1992); San Sebastian, (2018) and Sonesson, (2008). If we summarize their work, the reasons for migrating were the limitations of the traditional inheritance system; the possibility of looking for a job in a new country; avoiding military service; and the Karlist and Civil Wars (Douglass, 1986; Santiso González, 1998).

Apart from the reasons why people emigrated, the profile of those who emigrate has also been studied. Common profiles include a single young man without work, a businessman, or someone who wanted to enjoy a new way of living (Azona Pastor, García Albi Gil de Biedma & Muru Ronda, 1992). The profile of those who emigrated has changed over the years and Douglass (2003) says that there are two types of profiles: qualified people who migrate with their families and unqualified people, migrating alone. Totoricaguena agrees with Douglass and says that: "The typical emigrant was a single male between 15-25 years old, sent for by relatives in the New World who needed agricultural laborers or going in search of relatives hoping they needed laborers" (Butler, Canefe, Cohen, Douglass, Laguerre, Safran, ..., & Totoricaguena, 2007)". Azcona, García Albi Gil de Biedma and Muru Ronda (1992) also studied the profile of those who emigrated.

Together with this information, the next question is: "To which countries did the Basques migrate?"

In answer to this question, there are some books that study the general map of the Basque emigration (Douglass & Bilbao, 1986; Douglass, M.Lyman, Zulaika, 1994; Douglass, Urza, White, Zulaika, 1999; Douglass, 2003; Totoricaguena, 2007; and among those who concentrate in certain counties (Azcona, García Albi Gil de Biedma, & Muru, 1992; Bieter, & M.Ray, 2013; de Borja & Douglass, 2005; Caro Baroja, Addis, 2009; Cierbide Martinena 1997; Douglass, 1996; Douglass, 2015; Echeverria, (1984, 1999, 2001); Euskal Arkeologia, Etnografia eta Kondaira Museoa; Azcona Pastor (Ed.); Iberlin & Romtvedt, 2011; Santiso González, 1998; San Sebastián, Camus Etchecopar &

Mallea-Olaetxe, 2015; Totoricaguena, 2002, 2003). Apart from the general emigration, there are also some books which study migration to specific countries. Those countries are Cuba, the Philippines, China, the United States, Venezuela, Australia and Argentina. Douglass has studied the emigration to specific countries. In some publications he is the only author, such as in *Azúcar amargo: vida y fortuna de los cortadores de caña italianos y vascos en la Australia tropical* 1996; and, in others, he published in collaboration with other authors (*Vascos en Cuba* 2015). Azcona, García Albi Gil, Muru Ronda and Marcelino study the Basque emigration to Argentina. If we continue with South and Central America, many Basques emigrated to Chile and Mexico, almost all during the Spanish Civil War. De los Fayos, (2005); Camus Argaluz, (1991); Etxarri, (2004); Laborde, (1991); Rubila Araya Ariztía, (2006); and Salazar Gonzalez, (1991) study about Basques in Chile and about Basques in Mexico. Jesús Ruiz de Gordejuela Urquijo, (2006); Koldo San Sebastian, (1993) and the publications in *Euzko Deya*. In the case of North America, the director of Euskalkultura.com, Etxarri (2001), has written something about Basques in Canada and Newfoundland. And Koldo San Sebastian, in his last book *NewYorktarrak* (2018), concentrates mainly on the Basques in New York, but also studies the Basques in the Philippines (Manila) and Cuba, Australia, Liverpool and other parts of the United States. Basques also emigrate to the state of Maine in the United States. Instead of a book, in the year 2017, the documentary *Elkarrekin-Together* was presented in the *Zinemaldi of Donostia / San Sebastian International Film Festival*, which is about the Basques who went to the island of Placencia in Maine, and how they interact with the locals. Koldo Sansebastian has also published (2015) a more general book about migration to the United States that is based on the testimonies of 10,000 immigrants.

From the books about Basques in the North of the United States, Jeronima Echeverria (1984) gives a brief summary about where Basques emigrated. Echeverria also wrote about the boarding houses or the Basque hotels; other authors who also discuss the boarding houses at some point include Douglass, Urza, White, Zulaika, 1999; Zubiri, 1998; Echeverria, 1984 and Totoricaguena. Nancy Zubiria (1998) wrote about the Basques in different parts of the United States (California, Ventura Country, Fullerton, La Puente, Chino, San Diego, Nevada, Winnemucca, the city of Boise in Idaho, Oregon and Washington, Ontario, Seattle, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming and Montana, the and East Coast). Gloria Totoricaguena writes about Basques in Boise in her book *Doers and Dreamers* and John and Mark Bieter also write about that community in *Un legado que perdura*.

The West was not the only spot with Basque migration; many Basques also settled in New York. Totoricaguena (2003) wrote about the Basques in New

York Nueva called *The Basques of New York: a cosmopolitan experience* and, as we mentioned, Koldo San Sebastian together with Anna Mari Aguirre has recently published the book *NEWYORKTARRAK – Origen de la Comunidad Vasca de Nueva York, 1880-1955*.

Basques also migrated to other continents. Douglass has studied the case of the Basques in Australia and those who emigrate from Lekeitio (Douglass, 1996) in order to work in the sugar cane plantations. With regard to immigration to Asia, De Borja (2005) studied the Basque migration to the Philippines.

We have already seen who has studied the reasons for migrating, the profile of those who migrate, and the countries to which Basque people migrate; now we will consider who has done studies about identity, which is particularly strong in the Basque Country.

If we search the Basque diaspora and identity words, the name of Gloria Totoricaguena will appear; in her dissertation (2000) she wrote about the Basque identity in Uruguay, Argentina, the United States, Australia, Belgium and Peru. Amezaga (2004), a professor at the University of the Basque Country, talks about the importance of international TV channels in the creation of the Basque identity. Pedro Oiarzabal and his brother Agustin Oiarzabal (2005) published *La identidad vasca en el mundo*, and they study how the Basque identity is maintained in 16 countries in which there is a Basque community. Pedro Oiarzabal, together with Andoni Alonso, published the book *Diasporas in the New Media Age* and in the last chapter "Basque Diaspora Digital Nationalism: Designing "Banal" Identity." They study the symbols that Basques use to maintain their identity abroad.

There are many works done about the men who emigrate but very few about women. Camus Etchecopar and Totoricaguena both wrote a little about this in their dissertations. Echeverria (1999) in *Home away from home: A history of Basque boarding houses* and Gabaccia (1994) in *From the other side: Women, Gender and immigrant life in the United States 1820-1990* also talk about Basque women who emigrate. When Echeverria (1999) speaks about the boarding houses, she also introduces the work that women did in those hotels. The famous writer, Robert Laxalt, talks about the role of women in his book *The Basque hotel: nacido en America* (1989). In 2017, the Basque Museum and Cultural Center in Boise, the Boise State University and the Basque Studies program in Boise organized the *Inner Strength: Portraits of Basque Immigrant Women* exhibition in the Students Union at Boise State University. They put pictures of different women, their home country, their ages, and the reasons why they moved to the States. However, the absence of signifi-

cant study on the role of the women in the Basque diaspora still leaves a very big gap in the research.

Diaspora, Basque diaspora, affinity diaspora and Basque affinity diaspora

Many authors have studied the concept of diaspora such as Brubaker, (2000, 2005); Newland, and Plaza, (2013); Ben-Rafael, (2013); Safran, (2015, 2016); Cohen, (1996, 2007); Clifford, (1994); Tötöylan, (2012); Butler and Kim, (2001); Kenny, (2013); Ionescu, (2006) and Georgiou, (2010). Aikins & White, (2011, 31-40); Kuznetsov, (2006); Newland, Terrazas & Munster, (2010); Aikins, Sands & White, (2009); and Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, (2009). Many of them also discuss the diaspora networks. For many years, the Basque diaspora was commonly referred to as the Basque migration. In 1999 the Basque Government organized the second Basque collectivities World Conference in which they say that we should avoid the use of “diaspora” to talk about communities without a territory (Euskal Kolektibitateen Mundu Biltzarra, Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2000:59). But the negative connotation of the word diaspora changed over time, and eventually, many prominent academics, including Gloria Totoricaguena and Pedro Oiarzabal, started referring to ‘the Basque diaspora’, making it commonplace within the academic world. Óscar Alvarez Gila, Alberto Angulo and José Bernardo Marciles remembered in the 2007 Basque Collectivities World Conference: “Ya no hablamos tanto de emigrantes, como de la diáspora vasca o de la “octava provincia”. And Alvarez Gila also remembered the evolution of the word in the Summer Courses organized by the University of the Basque Country and the Basque Government in 2018.

Apart from the concept of a diaspora in general and, specifically, the Basque diaspora, we also studied the affinity diaspora. We considered the work done by Aikins, White, Adrien D, Boyle M, Kitchin R, Sim D, and Leit M.S., almost all of whom studied the affinity diaspora of countries like Scotland, Ireland and England. In their words, an affinity diaspora is a group of people that, without having ancestry in a given country, feel a love, attraction or interest for that country. We haven’t found any research on a Basque affinity diaspora. We haven’t found any research on a Basque affinity diaspora.

Diaspora, public relations and diplomacy

Our research will study the diaspora, public relations, and diplomacy; therefore, we wanted to see what has been written about those three concepts, both separate and together. The history, evolution, and tasks of the field of public relations have been studied by Xifra, (2011); Tye, (1998); Bernays,

(1997); Coombs & Holladay, (2010) and Cutlip & Center, (1952). Many authors have studied the concept of public diplomacy, including: Aldecoa & Keating, (2000); Jiménez-Ugarte, (2006); Murrow; Noya, (2006); Oviacionayi Iyamu, (2004); Leonard, (2002); Nye, (2008); Fortner, (1994); De Lima, (2007); Cornago, (2009); Henrikson, (2000); Waller, (2007); Malone, (1985); Frederic, (1993); Ryniejska, (2009); and Rasmussen, (2009). If we put public diplomacy and diaspora together, we are left with the concept of diaspora diplomacy. Among the authors who have studied the efficacy of a diaspora are Trent, (2012); the Migration Policy Institute; RAD Diaspora Profile; Riddle, (2008); McConnel, (2017); Bjola Corneliu, (2016); Jay Gonzalez Joaquín, (2014) and Stead & Smewing, (2002). RAD (Migration Policy Institute), for example, researches different diaspora communities in the United States such as the Ethiopian, the Colombian and the Mexican diasporas, and Riddle (2008) talks about the importance of the diasporas in the development of a country: "By investing their capital in existing business and setting up new ventures in their countries of origin" (Riddle 2008,39).

In the case of the Basque Country there are not many works about the Basque diaspora diplomacy *per se*: there is some scholarship by Torricagunea, but it is more focused on paradiplomacy.

Ways of communicating

The communication between a diaspora and the country of origin can be initiated from the homeland to the diaspora or *vice versa* (Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009:14). Gsir & Mescoli (2015) have studied the strategies home countries have employed to communicate with their diasporic constituents. They remember Gamlen (2006, 2008) saying that: "In order to build their diaspora, countries of origin celebrate national holidays abroad, honor emigrants with awards, provide national language history education, etc". Kenney (2013) also gives information about the activities organized by the homeland to maintain relations and communication with their diasporas. Kuznetsov, (2006); Aikins & White, (2011); Ionescu, (2006); Brinkenhoff, (2010) and Aikins & Russel, (2013) have studied diaspora networks, which are another way to communicate. Brinkenhoff also talks about the importance of the diaspora networks (2010:43). Pedro Oiarzabal says that:

"Diaspora associations create transnational networks that maintain varying degrees of personal, institutional, cultural, social, economic, political and business ties with the homeland and with other countries where there is Basque presence: a globe-spanning network of attachments and allegiances" (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010:339).

Related to this, the diaspora strategies have been characterized as political activity organized by the government with the objective of creating a relationship between the home country and the diaspora (Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009:14 and Aikins & White, 2011:2).

Aside from the institutions, there are also studies about the media and the diaspora, and among those authors are Karim (1998, 2003); Mowlana, (1997); Ogunyemi, (2015); Riggins, (1992); Fogt & Sadvik, (2008); Smets, (2013); Leuers, (2011); Goitom, (2010); Oyeleye, (2010); Gordano, (2009); Tandian, (2010) and Georgiou, (2003). In general, they study how the media is used in order to create transnational relations between the home country and the diaspora. In the Basque case, the international TV channel is also important in the communication between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora. Among those who have studied the Basque International TV channel we have Josu Amezaga, (2004, 2008); Carmen Peñafiel, (2008); Leire Gomez, (2008); Miguel Angel Casado, (2008) and Ainhoa Fernandez de Arroyabe, (2008).

Among the authors who have researched the traditional media that connects the diaspora with the homeland we have Andrés de Irujo, (1954); Amezaga, (2004, 2008); Peñafiel, (2008); Casado, (2008); Fernandez de Arroyabe, (2008); Gomez, (2008); Etxarri, (2001); Totoricaguena, (2001, 2007); Echeverria, (1984); Douglass, (1986,1999,2003); Urza, (1999); White, (1999); Zulaika, (1999); Azcona, (1992) García Albi Bil de Biedma, (1992); and Muru Ronda, (1992). Though the objective of each of those books is not centered around researching traditional media, it is an important theme throughout.

Journals and newspapers are commonly studied when talking about the traditional media from the diaspora. Totoricaguena discusses *Escualdun Gazeta (1885)*, Etxarri (2001) discusses the newspapers in America, especially those that were founded during the Civil War and Javier Díaz Noci (1991) talks about the newspapers abroad when he does his review of Basque journalism. Azcona, García Albi and Muru Ronda also wrote something about this in their book about the Basques who emigrate to Argentina (1992); they have a chapter called "Diaspora eta Prentsa lokala". Aznar Soler (2006) *Escritores, editoriales y revistas en el exilio republicano de 1939* talks about those magazines. Andrés de Irujo (1954) talks about the editorial *Ekin* in *La editorial vasca Ekin de Bueno Aires.*, Not many works have studied radio programs abroad, but Iberlin and Romtvedt (2011) said that in the radio Buffalos KBBS there was a chance to hear in Basque (Iberlin & Romtvedt, 2011). Arrieta studied the creation of Radio Euskadi and there are some moments that the radio was produced abroad.

Diaspora members are more and more commonly considered to be important on international relations (Paschalidis, 2009; Gsir & Mesoli, 2015:23). In the case of the Basque Country, there is a yearbook about the institutional activities from the Basque Country to the diaspora (among other things), written by the professors at the University of the Basque Country, Alexander Ugalde and Jose Luis de Castro. Totoricaguena, in her dissertation, and Bieter and Ray, professors at Boise State University also discuss the relevance of diaspora members in international relations (2015).

This work will focus on the diaspora networks that have been created between the Basques in the United States and the Basque Country. Those networks are diverse, including cultural, academic, familiar, and business networks. In the case of the academic network, Pedro Oiarzabal wrote *A Candle in the Night: Basque Studies at the University of Nevada: 1967-2007* (2007) which talks about the creation of the Center for Basque Studies and its evolution.

Many authors have studied the creation, evolution and the activities of public relations. In the case of the Basque diaspora, some of the public relations activities are vital to community development and a healthy relationship with the home country. Basque festivals are one of the ways for community members to connect with one another, but also with the Basque Country and Basque Government. Some of the festivals that the Basque diaspora organizes, such as the Boiseko Jaialdia, have been written about by Douglass, (2003); Fdz. De Larrinoa, (1991,1989) Bieter, eta M.Ray, (2013); Totoricaguena, (2000); Echeverria, (1999); Elustondo, (1998) eta and Zubiria, (1998). Douglass, Urza, White and Zulaika (1999) also wrote about the conferences and congresses organized by the Basque diaspora. Zubiria (1998) analysed the conference and festivals in the United States and Mignaburu and Legarreta collected information about the Basque-Argentinian congresses.

Compared with the Basque festival in Boise, very little has been written about the *Semana Nacional Vasca*. There are small pieces in the journals of that period, *La Basconia* and *Euzko Deya*. The only article we found is the one written by Eduardo Torry (2012) "La semana nacional vasca: una tradición del colectivo vasco argentino".

The Basque centers are another place where diaspora members can maintain their cultural identity, as well as developing a good relationship and communication with the Basque Country. Argitxu Camus' dissertation was about the Basque institutions in the United States, and she included some work about Basque centers. Apart from that, Totoricaguena, Legarreta, and

Mignaburu (2016) wrote about FEVA, the Federation for the Basque centers in Argentina.

When talking about Communication 2.0 and the use of the Internet, Fogte and Sadvik (2008) argue that the Internet and new technologies aid in the communication between people living abroad and their home country. Hestfalt says: "ICT can help to reinforce immigrant young people's binding to groups and networks belonging either to their own or to their parents "original culture"". Karim says that diasporas are using the Internet to overcome restrictions imposed by borders and national regulations (Karim, 2002). Related to that, digital diaspora (Michel Laguerre, Radhiks Gajjala), webpages directed to the diaspora (Victoria Bernal) and the effect of new technologies in the diaspora (Jennifer M. Brinkenhoff) are studied. Pedro Oiarzabal (2013) studied the jump that Basque institutions from the diaspora made to the Internet world.

So, among those who have studied the Internet, communication 2.0 and diasporas there are Ponzanesi & Leurs, (2014); Smets, (2013); Georgiau, (2006); Ogunyemi, (2015) and in the Basque case Pedro Oiarzabal. He is, without any doubt, the reference in the studies about social networks and Basque diaspora. He did the first study about the Basque institutions from the diaspora that started using Facebook, called *The Online Social Networks of the Basque Diaspora. Fast Forwarded, 2005-2009*. Apart from that, based on interviews, he concluded that for Basques living in Europe, North and South America, Asia and Oceania, cyberspace has become their txoko⁹. Koldo Bizkarguenaga also has written something related to this in his article *Transnacionalismo vasco e internet: Análisis del uso de blogs y Facebook en la diáspora* (2015). The only thing that we find in this article is that the interviews are conducted with people that are doing Erasmus, and we don't really categorize those people as diaspora members. There is not any work being created now about Basque American blogs and the use of Instagram by diaspora members.

Even though we have seen that there are some works about the tools that have been and are used today to communicate and maintain the relation between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora members, there is more research that could be done. For example, there is a lack of research about the radio programs created by the members of the diaspora; there is a

⁹ Txokos are physical places in which Basque people gather together, cook and eat lunch. They commonly consist of a big kitchen and a table and people spent many hours eating, drinking, chatting and singing around the table.

radio program in the Basque center called *Raices Vascas* and another in Boise called *Boise Bihotzean*. There is no work about the importance of Instagram as a way of communicating with the homeland and about the effect of the digitalization of the media in this relation.

In this work, we are going to trace a historical evolution of the communication tools that have been used both from the homeland to the diaspora and from the diaspora to the homeland and we will study the Basque diaspora networks, both institutional and non-institutional. Finally, we will do an exploratory comparative study concentrating on three areas in the United States (West, East and Florida) and we will study how those three communities have been organized, how they have evolved and the networks that have been created between them and the Basque Country.

Apart from the academic works, many audiovisual works have been created about the diaspora, but they have not been collected or organized. One of the objectives of this work is also to compile some of those audiovisual works.

Work organization

This work is divided in four sections: first, the introductory part, in which there is one chapter with the introduction, the objectives of the research, the hypothesis, the methodology that we have used to obtain our objectives, the literature review and and an explanation of how the work is organized. This first part is in Basque language, but there is also a summary in English at the end of the chapter.

The second part is called “Ulertzekoak” or the “Understandable” in which we explain the concepts that we use throughout the work. This is the theoretical framework and will be divided into three chapters (2nd, 3rd, and 4th chapters). In the first chapter we study the concepts of diaspora and Basque diaspora; in the second chapter the concept of public relations and international public relations, and in the third chapter diplomacy, public diplomacy, diaspora diplomacy and public diplomacy concepts. This part is all in English.

To continue, the third part of the work is called “Aztertutakoak” or “The Analyzed” and is divided into four chapters (5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th). This is the

analysis that we developed, and the first three chapters detail the evolution of the communication and relationship between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora. The eighth chapter is about the Basque diaspora networks, both created from the diaspora and for the diaspora. The last chapter is an exploratory comparative study in which we study the Basque communities in three different parts of the United States: we will explain how the diaspora has been organized in those spots, what kind of diaspora networks have been created thanks to those communities, and the differences we can find among them in relation to the communication with the Basque Country, the media consumption and the Basque activities in which they take part. We will see how, thanks to the generation and geographic locations, different Basque communities are created with different interests and desires.

Finally, the last part is called “Commencement,” with the results and conclusions of the analysis. It is so named because the conclusions of this work open the door for further research. This last chapter is written in English but we will add a brief summary in Basque language.

ULERTZEKOAK

Theoretical framework

CHAPTER 2

DIASPORA

2.1 From defining just some groups, to the ““diaspora” diaspora” and the lack of an agreed definition

“Remember, even before your mother’s milk, you drank the milk of your homeland”(Conner, 1986:17).

Brubaker, (2000, 2005); Newland and Plaza, (2013); Ben-Rafael, (2013); Safran, (1991, 1999, 2004); Cohen, (1996, 2007); Clifford, (1994); Tötöylan, (2012); Butler, (2001) and Kim, (2013) are some of the authors who have tried to define the concept of diaspora. Even though many have tried to define it, there is still a lack of an agreed upon definition. Moreover, as Brubaker (2005) says, the concept of diaspora has changed. He uses the term ““diaspora” diaspora” to talk about the dispersion of the word: “There has been a veritable explosion of interest in diasporas since the late 1980” (Brubaker,

2005:1). Etymologically the word diaspora comes from the word *diasperein*, which means the dispersion of the seeds. The word has historically been linked with the Jews and many dictionaries include some Jewish history when defining a diaspora (Sheffer, 2003). "Diaspora" has been used to define those Jews who had to leave Israel and have been since then spread all over the world. As Jews had to emigrate, diasporas are commonly thought to be made up of people who were forced to leave their homelands, because of that, the concept of diaspora always had a negative connotation. However, as time has passed, that negative connotation has changed; today, the word 'diaspora' is used to refer to many migrant groups (Karim, 2003). Related to that, Tötöylan remembers that:

"The term that once described Jewish, Greek and Armenian dispersion now shares meaning with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community and ethnic community" (1991:4).

So not only is this word used now to talk about different migrant groups but also about different kind of migrations, including refugees, exile communities, and ethnic communities. Because over the years the definition of the concept has changed, some authors, such as Clifford (1994) say that we should be able to identify a new concept in which Jewish, Greek and Armenian people are not the only communities that could have a diaspora:

"We should be able to recognize the strong entailment of Jewish history on the language of diaspora without making that history a definitive model. Jewish (and Greek and Armenian) diasporas can be taken as non-normative starting points for a discourse that is travelling or hybridizing in new global conditions" (Clifford, 1994:306).

2.2. Three different ideas

During the history of the world, there have been many migratory movements; because of that, millions of people live away from their country of origin and there is no a single country without a diaspora (Baser & Swain, 2010:37). In the words of the United Nations Population Division (2005), 3.3% of the world's population (almost 244 million people) are migrants (Institute of Migration Politics). That is why Aikins and White (2011:2) say that it is impossible to know the population of a country without using the global lens of migration. Sökefeld says that we often confuse the concept of diaspora and migration (2006). Kenny also remembers that: "It has become a synonym for population movements in general, not just involuntary mi-

gration" (Kenny, 2013:12) and that today, this is a word that is used more and more.

When talking about diasporas, some authors say that diasporas include all those who felt obliged to leave their country of origin (Ben-Rafael, 2013; Glick Schiller, 1995; Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992); others argue that not all the groups who left their country are a diaspora (Brubaker, 2005; Tötöylan, 1991); and, finally, there are those who say that certain characteristics need to be fulfilled for being considered a diaspora (Tötöylan, 2012; Van Hear, 1998; Butler, 2001; Cohen, 2008).

Those who argue that a diaspora consists of people who left their home country say that the word diaspora can be used to define all those who are from the same home country, have crossed their country borders and are spread all over the world in different countries (Georgiou, 2010; Glick Schiller 1995 and 1999; Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Portes 1997 and Vertovec 2009).

There are also some authors who do not completely agree with this definition and who say that, if all the migrant groups become a diaspora after migrating, the concept of diaspora would lose its original impact: "The term loses its discriminating power...the universalization of diaspora, paradoxically, means the disappearance of diaspora" (Brubaker, 2005:3). Related to this, Tötöylan says that the concept is in danger of becoming a "promiscuously capacious category" (1996:8), and that, because of that, some features should be agreed upon to define the concept. Butler, (2001); Van Hear, (1998); Safran, (1991); Esmán, (1986) and Robin Cohen, (2008); agree with this statement; there are also those who say that "maintenance or belongingness" to the home country are needed to be part of the diaspora (Chander, 2001; Ionescu, 2006; Sheffer, 1986; Docker, 2001).

Finally, there are those who, taking into account the actual technological situation of the world, have a new definition for the concept. Media, telephones and digital technologies have altered the ways we communicate in a transnational era and Cohen has proposed a new concept of diaspora, taking into account those changes:

"Nowadays, with the increased use of the term to describe many kinds of migrants from diverse ethnic backgrounds, a more relaxed definition [of diaspora] seems appropriate. Moreover, transnational bonds no longer have to be cemented by migration or by exclusive territorial claims. In the age of cyberspace, a diaspora can, to some degree, be held together or re-created through the

mind, through cultural artefacts and through a shared imagination" (1997: 26 in Georgiou, M. 2010:21).

2.3 Who is part of a "diaspora" or a "diaspora member"?

In the words of Tötöylan (2012) a diaspora is a community that maintains relations with the home country at least for three generations. Van Hear (1998:6) says that three conditions should be fulfilled for a migrant community to be considered a diaspora and on one of those conditions he agrees with Tötöylan and Safran: a long presence abroad. They don't specify, however, how many years constitutes "a long presence". Butler also proposes the same conditions but, in this case, he does specify the time a community has to be living abroad: more than two generations and a minimum connection with the home country in order to create and develop an identity: "I would add a fourth distinguishing feature of diaspora, involving the temporal-historical dimension: its existence over at least two generations" (Butler, 2001:192). Kenny, on the other hand, says that one year is enough: "The standard definition of an international migrant is a person who has moved from one country to another and remained there for at least a year" (Kenny, 2013:95).

As we said before, there are those who say that a diaspora needs to feel part of the home country and have a transnational sentiment (Chander, 2001:8). Those transnational sentiments mean that, even though they live in another country, they are linked or have "strong links" to their home country (Ionescou, 2006; Sheffer, 1986:11; Esman, 1986:333). We will study the concept of transnationalism soon. Gérard Chaliand and Jean Piérren (1991) add that the word is related to a forced migration (for political, religious or ethnic reasons). The majority of the authors we have studied put emphasis on the link with the homeland.

After recognizing the problem in the conceptualization of diaspora and in order to differentiate a migrant group from a diaspora, Robin Cohen wrote the *Global Diasporas* (2008), a book in which he defined the concept using the characteristics that Willian Safran (1991:83-84) proposed. The following characteristics should be fulfilled for being considered a diaspora:

1. Left the home country (mostly for traumatic reasons) and are spread all over the world.
2. The need to leave the homecountry because of work related reasons.
3. Having a collective memory of the homeland.

4. Idealizing the ancestral home.
5. Having an ethnic group consciousness for a long period.
6. Suffering problems with citizens of the host country.
7. Being worried about the same ethnic group of people living in other countries.
8. The opportunity to have an enriching life in the new host country.

Cohen says that not all the conditions need to be fulfilled for being part of a diaspora and furthermore, he: "Eliminates the necessary catastrophic or traumatic dispersal from homeland" (1996:515). And, as we will see later with the Basque case, Totoricaguena (2000) also said that not all the characteristics need to be fulfilled in order for it to be considered a diaspora.

2.4 Reasons for migrating create distinct diaspora types

Different reasons to emigrate create different diaspora types. Cohen (2008) talks about four different types: victim-diaspora, work-diaspora, trade-diaspora and imperial diaspora. We would like to add to these types the digital diaspora, the diaspora 2.0 and the affinity diaspora (the three of them have already been defined, but not in the Basque case). As we said before, because the reasons for emigrating from a country are sometimes negative, the word diaspora had, until very recently, a negative connotation.

Cohen (2008) defined the victim-diaspora as those who left their home country for traumatic reasons and created their own community in a new one. This is commonly associated with Jews, the Irish, Palestinians, Africans and Armenians. Totoricaguena related this concept with the Basques and with all those Basques who, during Franco's dictatorship, left the Basque Country (2000:153).

On the other hand, the work-diaspora is formed by those who left their home country in order to work in a new place. This could include Indians who, during the years 1830-1920 (Totoricaguena, 2000:247) went to English, French and Holland colonies in America. It could also refer to Italians, who went to Argentina or the United States for work opportunities. Brubaker defines the "labour migrants" as those who left their country in a voluntary way to work in other countries but still maintain a connection with their homeland.

Finally, the trade diaspora is a diaspora group that is spread over the world for commercial reasons (Abner Cohen) such as the Chinese or the Lebanese

diaspora. Brubaker added the “diaspora by accident”, which refers to people turned into migrants by border conflict, so that even though they remain in the same place, the borders of their country have changed and their home is now in a different country (Brubaker, 2000).

A new concept of diaspora called the digital diaspora has been created due to globalization and the Internet (Brinkerhoff, 2009):

“A digital diaspora is an immigrant group of descendant of an immigrant population that uses IT connectivity to participate in virtual networks of contacts for a variety of political, economic, social, religious, and communicational purposes that, for the most part, may concern either the homeland, the host land, or both, including its own trajectory abroad” (Michel S.Laguerre in Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010:50).

In our case, we will use the same definition that Mighel S. Laguer proposed for the digital diaspora:

“By virtual diaspora, I mean the use of cyberspace by immigrant or descendants of an immigrant group for the purpose of participating or engaging in online intertional transactions. Such as virtual interaction can be with members of diasporic group living in the same foreing country or in other countries, with individuals or entities in the homeland, or with nonmembers of the group in the hostland and elsewhere. By extension, virtual diasporas is the cyberexpansion of real diaspora. No virtual diaspora can be sustained without real-life diasporas, and in this sense itis not a separate entity, but rather a pole of continuum” (Laguerre, “Virtual Diasporas: A New Frontier of National Security” cited in Fialkova and Yelenevskaya 2005).

The economic crisis of the occidental world (starting in the 2007) has forced many young people to find a place abroad for better professional and economic development. This is completely different from the migration directed to America during the 1900-1990 years. Today, the migrant profile is a qualified person who can't find a job in their home country. In this work, those people will be considered diaspora 2.0; they are the result of the new migrations.

We will also add the affinity diaspora: all countries have their own affinity diaspora, or a group of people that feel some kind of affinity or attraction to that country (Adrien, Boyle & Kitchin 2009; Sim & Leit, 2016). Most of the authors who have studied the affinity diaspora studied the Scottish, Irish and English affinity diasporas and they say that, even though they have a different nationality, they feel a love or an affinity for the country: “They could be citizens of other countries, people who plan to visit or who love the landscape, culture or people” (Sim & Leith, 2014:69). An affinity diaspora:

“Is a collection of people, usually former immigrants and tourists or business travellers, who have a different national or ethnic identity to a nation state but who feel some special affinity or affection for that nation state and who act on its behalf, whilst resident in the state, after they return home, or from a third country” (Adrien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009:14).

2.5 Basque diaspora

If we want to define the Basque diaspora, we first need to analyze the Basque communities in different countries and during different periods; that way, we will see if those communities fulfilled the characteristics of a diaspora. As we said, there has been a evolution in the concept of diaspora in recent years. The following Lee Hansen quote, in which he is talking about migrant groups in general, also could be applied to the Basque case: “The third generation wants to remember what the second generation wanted to forget” (Marcus Lee Hansen , 1938).

Because of that, it was very difficult to define the Basque diaspora; as Totoriguena says in her dissertation: “The Basque collectivities do exhibit a transnational diaspora mentality though they are not likely to use the “diaspora” terminology” (2000:229). It was common to use the word “migration” rather than the term “diaspora”. The Office for the Basque communities abroad does not use the word diaspora, but rather refers to “Basque Communities abroad”. In 1989, during the first world conference of the Basque Centers, they discussed who qualified as an *Euskotarra* or a Basque:

“En el aspecto institucional, comenzó por definirse quién puede ser considerado vasco, precisamente atendiendo a cuestiones que van más allá del lugar de nacimiento, sino que pasan por la descendencia, ya sea por vía materna o paterna y la auto percepción de tal” (Legarreta & Mignaburu, 2016:127).

In their words, these people could be considered Basques:

“Vasco es aquel que habla o posee el Euskera y/o todo aquel que en libertad elije la práctica de las costumbres y manifestaciones culturales vascas, así como el nacido dentro de los siete territorios históricos y los descendientes de esos últimos”

The law as of 8/1994, May 27th, for the relations between the Basque communities abroad and the Basque Centers in the third article define that these are the conditions for someone to be considered Basque:

- As it is defined in the 7.2 article of the Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Government (Basques and descendents).

- Born in the Basque Country but, because of the Spanish Civil War, had to move to another country and still live there.
- Be part of a registered Basque Center.

In 1999 the Second World Conference of Basque Collectivities abroad said the following about the Basque identity and the need to avoid the use of the word diaspora: “Identidad vasca: evitar la utilización de la palabra <<diaspora>>, por designar pueblos que carecen de territorio” (Euskal Kolektibitateen Mundu Batzarra, Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2000: 59).

Among the books and articles that we read during our research, we saw that in the majority of cases, the word migration was used, and never diaspora:

“Debido a muy diversas causas, principalmente socio-económicas, aunque también en determinadas coyunturas por motivaciones políticas que conllevaron el exilio, sectores de población procedentes de todos los territorios históricos de Euskal Herria se trasladaron a otros continentes, sobre todo a América, permaneciendo temporalmente y regresando o arraigándose definitivamente en sus destinos. Este fenómeno social dio lugar a la formación de núcleos de ciudadanos y ciudadanas vascas y sus descendientes que, manteniendo lazos y vínculos entre sí y organizándose y asociándose, han determinado lo que hoy denominamos comunidades o colectividades vascas en el exterior” (Ugalde, 2007: 17).

Ugalde, who studied the Basque diaspora and wrote, together with Jose Luis de Castro (both professors at the University of the Basque Country) books about the Foreign Affairs activities of the Basque Government, didn’t use the word diaspora at that time. The first President of the Basque Autonomous Government, Jose Antonio Agirre, wrote a message from the exile in 1955 in which he talked about the diaspora as all those organized Basque people who were living out from their “solar” houses:

“Desde una perspectiva más política, el que fuera primer Lehendakari del Gobierno Vasco, José Antonio Aguirre Lecube, en un mensaje difundido en el exilio en el año 1955 definió a la «diáspora vasca» como «el mundo vasco organizado que vive fuera de su solar»” (Gabon mezua, 1995 abendua in Obras completas, Donostia-San Sebastián; Sendoa; 1981; tomo II; p.901 en Ugalde (2007).

Related to that, Óscar Álvarez Gila, Alberto Angulo Morales and José Bernardo Marciles presented a work at the Basque Collectivities World Conference of 2007 in which they talked about the same issue. In their words, there is more and more research about the Basque diaspora and this is changing the use of the word diaspora. Oscar Alvarez Gila also talked about this in the last summer 2018 courses of the University of the Basque Country in Azpeiti (which was organized by the Office for the Basque centers and Basque col-

lectivities abroad of the Basque Government); he talked about the evolution of the concept of diaspora and how it is now more widely used than it used to be. It is easy to see how the use of the specific phrase “Basque diaspora” is becoming more common, just as the use of the more general term “diaspora” evolved over the past years.

2.5.1 Avoiding or using the word diaspora?

Totoricaguena, in her dissertation work, asks if the Basque communities in Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, Australia, Belgium and the United States are diaspora communities and, as we could see later, she concluded that yes, there is a Basque diaspora (Totoricaguena, 2000:37).

Totoricaguena says that if we take into account the “common features” proposed by Cohen, the Basque Country has a diaspora: “When reviewing Cohen’s list of ‘common features’ of diasporas, it is evident that the Basque emigration can be categorized as a diaspora” (Totoricaguena, 2004:114). She also says that the Basque diaspora does not fulfill all the characteristics that Safran proposed:

“However, all diasporas do not necessarily manifest all features, for example, the Basque diaspora would identify least with the seventh feature as there are not adversarial or ‘troubled’ relationships between Basques and host society populations in any of these six countries. I have described the dispersal of Basques to many lands for trade, colonization, and economic and political reasons and summarized their perceived collective history, real and imagined. These populations do exhibit an idealization of the homeland and show a collective commitment to its maintenance and restoration with their remittances and attempts to influence host country policies toward the Basque Country” (Totoricaguena, 2000:153).

Oiarzabal said that Basque diaspora members are those Basques spread all over the world; people who have Basque origins and create a collective identity.

“Diaspora communities are formed by emigrants who share a collective identity in their homeland, where socioeconomic or political conditions or both forced them to leave, or who for other reasons chose to settle in another country. Collectively and associatively, some of them attempt to preserve or develop cultural, religious, and even political expressions of their identity, reflecting different degrees of assimilation into their host societies” (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010:339).

We agree with Totoricaguena and Oiarzabal and we also argue that there is a Basque diaspora: a group of people who for different reasons left the Basque Country and, still today, whether they are first, second or third genera-

tion, maintain a link or a connection with the Basque Country and have a common sense of identity.

2.5.2 Introducing the word in our literature

As we said, we argue that there is a Basque diaspora, and, in this section, we will take into account how other authors have defined the concept and linked it to the Basque case:

- Having Basque origin. Being born in the Basque Country and living abroad for at least five years, or being a descendent of a Basque person (Tötöylan, Van Hear, Safran, D.Butler). In this case, we think that five years is too much and we changed this, adding what Kenny (2013:95) proposed: one year is enough.
- Maintain a relationship with the home country and hoping for a good future for the homeland (Esman (1986, 2009), Cohen, Hear (2010), Butler).
- Promoting the Basque language and culture. Having a collective memory (William Safranen memoria kolektiboa).
- Left the country for different reasons (work, love¹⁰, war). Chaliand, Piérren and Safran talk about the forced spread; we include both people who were forced and people who were not forced to leave their home country. As Cohen said: “No one diaspora will manifest all features of his list common to diasporas, but adds to and modifies Safran’s list with the “possibility of a distinctive yet creative and enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism”, and he eliminates the necessary catastrophic or traumatic dispersal from a homeland”(Cohen, 1996:515).

2.5.3 Adding some types

As we did with the general concept of diaspora, we also want to define the different types of diaspora when talking about the Basque diaspora specifically. In this case, we will talk about the non-activated Basque diaspora, the Basque diaspora 2.0 and the Basque Affinity diaspora.

Non-activated Basque diaspora: based on the interviews that we conducted, we saw that there is a community that still has not been activated. Even though they have Basque origins, they don’t have an interest in the Basque

¹⁰ Love-diaspora: more and more people are studying abroad and falling in love, which is creating a love-diaspora group.

Country or in the Basque culture. That is a community that can be activated in different ways: listening to Basque music and trying to understand the lyrics; doing a trip to the home country; meeting someone from the Basque Country...

Basque diaspora 2.0 is the diaspora group that has been created as an effect of the new migrations. New migrations and Basque diaspora 2.0 are both very interesting concepts for us, and we need to both define and identify them properly if we want to propose ideas for the future of the Basque diaspora. New migrations or diaspora 2.0 could be seen as "brain drain brain gain" (a migratory phenomenon which means that migrants develop skills overseas that can be used later in their home country) and we need to be prepared to create new links and strategies, different from the ones we have with the old diaspora.

The Basque Affinity diaspora consists of those who, for different reasons, have a relationship with the Basque Country, but are not from the Basque Country; for example, people learning the Basque language at different universities worldwide, people who, though they are not Basque, help in the organization of Basque festivals in different part of the world; people married to Basques; people who take their kids to the Boiseko Ikastola...etc. Those people are part of the Affinity diaspora and they are just as important as descendents of the Basque Country when creating relations with the Basque Country and helping to maintain the Basque identity abroad.

In order to maintain a relationship and strong communication with the Basque people living abroad, diaspora strategies and networks have been created.

2.6 Diaspora Strategies

Countries and governments all around the world are already concerned about the importance of diasporas and, because of that, half of the states of the United Nations have a governmental institution to deal with the diasporic members of their own countries abroad (Gamlen, Cummings, Vaaler, & Rossouw, 2013) in Délano & Gamlen 2014:

"The wider aim of engaging diasporas is for origin states to help achieve an international "win, win, win" outcome from migration, in which migrants exercise the freedom to move and benefit themselves materially (De Haas & Plug, 2006; United Nations Development Programme, 2009), while destination states get cheap labor and skills (Massey et al., 1998:28-29), and origin states share in this success" (Délano & Gamlen, 2014:44).

During the *European Strand of the Global Diaspora Forum* (2003), Kingsley Aikins and Martin Russel gave reasons why a government should have relations with its diaspora, including: the diaspora's potential for opening new markets; diasporas are presented as the "bridge to knowledge, expertise, resources and markets for the country of origin"; diasporas are often untapped talent networks; and diasporas can aid in nation branding and softpower. Oiarzabal adds to this:

"Diaspora associations create transnational networks that maintain varying degrees of personal, institutional, cultural, social, economic, political and business ties with the homeland and with other countries where there is Basque presence: a globe-spanning network of attachments and allegiances" (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010:339).

Aikins agrees with Oiarzabal and says that diasporas have a positive effect not just on communication between people but also on economic, political and social evolution (Aikins & Russel, 2013:15) and that knowledge alone makes clear the importance of diaspora communities to their home countries. A comprehensive understanding of this importance allows for the creation of diaspora strategies. A diaspora group needs to feel part of the home country, and diaspora strategies help make that possible:

"Being a member of a diaspora does not mean they have a sense of belonging, many diaspora initiatives have failed because they did not identify the highly motivated individuals who were willing to stick with the initiatives for a long time" (Aikins & White, 2011:2).

A diaspora strategy is a political initiative created by the state, with the objective of developing a relationship between the diaspora, the affinity diaspora and the home country (Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009:14; Aikins & White, 2011:31-40; Newland, Terrazas & Munster, 2010; Aikins, Sands & White, 2009; eta Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009; Aikins & White, 2011:2). In the words of Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin a diaspora strategy is: "An explicit systematic policy initiative or series of policy initiatives aimed at developing and managing the relationships between homeland and diaspora populations" (2009:3).

2.6.1 How to connect and the importance of networking

The objective of diaspora strategies is to create an identity, a *diasporization*¹² of the society, and to create and maintain a relationship with the homeland. “Homeland tourism”¹³ (Abramson, 2017:15); “Overseas diplomatic missions, consulates and high commissions” (Dickinson, 2015); Notion of citizenship (Aikins & White, 2011:2); recognition systems (Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin 2009); diaspora conferences (Aikins & White, 2011:121); reconnecting with one’s country (Taglit Birthright, Gaztemundu); diaspora days (Ionoescu, 2006:36); diaspora networking, diaspora integration and remittance capture (Gamlen, 2005) are some of the activities that could be considered diaspora strategy activities.

As “Actors in diaspora networks can be crucial bridges between global state-of-the-art in policy, technological, and managerial expertise and local conditions in their home countries” (Devane, 2006:61) more and more countries are giving a special importance to their diasporas and studies about diaspora networks are more and more common (Kuznetsov, 2006; Aikins, & White, 2011; Aikins and Russel, 2013). These works consider the diaspora networks of India, Armenia, China and South Africa. The objective of the diaspora networks is: “About being relationship driven rather than transaction driven” (DM Networking:6-7).

Kingsley Aikins is a European authority on diaspora networks worldwide, and he says that : “Networking is all about building long-term, hearts-and-minds, sustainable relationships. The vertical world of hierarchies has been replaced by a horizontal world of networks.” In his words, networking is about creating business, obtaining clients, contacting people who will invest, creating reputation and prestige, and creating your own brand. Networking is important in almost all fields, and in the case of the diasporas, networking is also gaining a lot of importance. Diaspora networking links the homeland to the diaspora, including also, the fulfillment of intermediary functions, such as acting as a coordinating body between the supply and demand of potential contributions (Meyer & Brown, 1999).

¹² Is the strategic attempt to construct a diasporic identity. Diasporization refers to the process through which scattered individuals become part of an imagined collectivity oriented towards a real or imagined homeland (Abramson, 2017:15).

¹³ Governments use homeland tourism to diasporize the participants and create “a sense of collective identity across borders”. Abramson (2017) argues that this is a “diaspora strategy”.

"Diaspora networking can support the capture of diaspora socioeconomic contributions to the homeland. Outreach the communications, including visiting delegations between home-and host land, contribute both to networking and to integration strategies. IT is often used to support these efforts; for example, intermediary organizations (including government agencies) may set up online database to fulfill matching functions, governments may set up Web portals specifically to interface with their diasporas, and e-newsletters may be distributed to diaspora organizations and individuals abroad" (Brinkehoff in Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010:44).

Diasporas play a vital role in transnational relations as they have a relationship with multiple countries.

2.7 One foot in each country

Transnationalism links people or institutions across the geographic, cultural and political borders of nation-states. Transmigrants are those migrants that are involved in both the home and host societies and want to invest in and develop both countries (Vertovec, 1999, 447; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton 1992:ix).

In the 1950s, British social anthropologists were dissatisfied with the limitations of structural-functionalism for the study of complex societies, and shifted attention from cultural systems to systems of concrete ties and networks (Barnes, 1971). They used the analytical concept of "social network" to explore how actual ties among people – in contrast to institutional structures – influence behavior (Menjívar, 2000:27). The theory of transnationalism was created in the 1970s in the field of international relations. The concept of transnationalism in that time meant something different from what it means now. Those days, transnationalism referred to organizations like the United Nations or European Union. But later, anthropologists started using this concept to refer to migrants. Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton used transnational, and related it to migration, at a 1992 New York workshop titled *Toward a Transnational Perspective on Migration* (Colic-Peisker, 2010). The anthropologist would measure the impact of transnationalism in three arenas: remittances, social remittances (Levitt) and religious and political meetings. During the 1980s and 1990s, as the world sped ahead in a technological, economic, political, and ideological sense, "new" migration studies emerged through a paradigm shift, reflecting the fact that new technologies enabled people to travel and communicate more, faster, and cheaper than ever before, with the increase in quantity of global movements bringing about new qualities (Portes, 2001:188 in Colic-Peisker 2010).

Before using the concept of transnationalism, "Students of migration did not develop a conceptual framework to encompass the global phenomena of immigration social, political, and economic relationships that spanned several societies, this cases were analyzed separated and not as part of a global phenomenon" (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992:5-6).

Portes, a leading American sociologist of migration, defines transnationalism as: "Occupations and activities that require regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders for their implementations" (1999, 219:8 in Colic-Peisker, 2010). Loring M. Danforth stresses the importance of homelands for diasporic communities "... in shaping their sense of collective identity. People of the diaspora continue to be members of the nations whose homelands they have left behind" (1995:80). Levitt says that diasporas lobby on behalf of their homelands and that:

"Increasing number of migrants continue to participate in the political and economic lives of their homelands. Instead of loosening their connections and trading one membership for another, some individuals are keeping their feet in both worlds" (Levitt, 2001:3).

The concept of transnationalism is essential in any discussion of assimilation. Levitt says: "Assimilation and transnational practices are not incompatible" (2001:5). Many first- and possibly second-generation immigrants will continue to be active in their countries of origin from their firm base in the United States. Some examples of those transnational migrants would be, for example, the Haitians investing in a sport center in Haiti, or Grenadians attending a Conference in NY with the Grenadian Minister of Agriculture and Development in order to improve the conditions in their home country (Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992:3). The same individual may attend a meeting of US citizens of the same "ethnic group", be called as a New Yorker to speak to the Mayor of New York about the development of "our city", and the next week go "back home" to Haiti, St.Vincent, or the Philippines and speak as a committed nationalist about the development of "our nation" (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992:12).

Johanna Lessinger (1992) studies a particular economic strategy which developed among immigrants from India from the early 1980s to 1991, when laws pertaining to all foreign investment in India were liberalized. Eugenia Georges (1990) describes some aspects of the experiences of women in one village in the Dominican Republic, Los Pinos, as these relate in various ways to the dense transnational network of social relations that now link the village to New York City, the destination of the great majority of Dominican migrants.

Using these concepts as a backbone, we will research with the goal of ascertaining whether the Basque communities in the United States work as transnational communities and impact the relationship and communication with both the host and home country; additionally, we will ask whether they help in the promotion of their country of origin.

CHAPTER 3

PUBLIC RELATIONS

3.1 Public Relations to create

“It would not be impossible to prove with sufficient repetition and a psychological understanding of the people concerned that a square is in fact a circle. They are mere words, and words can be molded until they clothe ideas and disguise” (Joseph Goebbels)

The majority of the authors who study the concept of public relations attribute the authority of the term to Edward L. Bernays. He was a famous publicist whose uncle was Sigmund Freud; his wife was the feminist Doris E. Fleischman (she was also a publicist). Thanks to his uncle Freud and the study of psychoanalysis¹⁴, Bernays implemented the consumption of bacon

¹⁴ Bernays believed that people were controlled by their irrational desires; and that thanks to the psychoanalysis, those desires might be controlled and manipulated in order to create power and profit.

in the American breakfast, opened the tobacco market to women, had influence on the coup d'état in Guatemala and made green a fashionable color. This is related to Bernays' definition of public relations; he describes it as something that can be applied in many different areas such as public opinion, religion, or the economy:

“Ante una necesidad económico-empresarial, se necesitaba la figura de un/una especialista que comprendiera y entendiera, tanto a sus públicos internos como externos para el buen funcionamiento de su organización, a través de la persuasión de los mismos, para obtener la credibilidad y confianza necesaria para sus objetivos, ya que si persuadía a la opinión pública de que aceptara un político, se transformaría en unos votos, si lo hacían sobre un producto se transformaría en unas ventas y si lo hacían sobre una ideología religiosa o política, en una aceptación de las mismas” (Bernays1997:127).

Even though we associate Bernays with public relations, there are some authors (Tye, Bernays, Xifra) who say that public relations activities were used before him. In fact, Tye says that the real father of the public relations was Aaron, Moises's bigger brother and that he used public relations in order to convince the Jews to cross the desert (Tye, 1998). Bernays says also that Samuel Adams¹⁵ (1756-1803) and Thomas Paine took part in the first public relations activities in the United States when they: “Used oratory, newspaper exposure, meeting, or correspondence to rally public opinion on their cause, and as matter of fact” (Tye, 1998:229). In Xifra's words (2011) Bonaparte used to say that it was important to tell the public what you are doing or what you have done, something that public relations do.

Apart from Bernays, Ivy Lee (Tye, 1998) is also considered to be a pioneer in public relations. He was a reporter for the *New York Journal*, *The New York Times*, *New York World*... but he wanted a better economic and social status, so in 1903, he started working for political candidates. A year later he opened his own enterprise, Parker and Lee, in 1906 (Tye, 1998), where his clients included, among others, John D. Rockefeller. Because of a strike in the mines the 20th of April 1914, in which 20 people violently lost their lives in what became known as the Ludlow Massacre, Rockefeller's Enterprise developed a terrible public image. In order to repair that bad reputation, Lee started working for Rockefeller as a public relations professional.

¹⁵ An American statesman, political philosopher and one of the Founding Fathers of the United States.

Additionally, it is important to remember the contribution of Grunig and Hunt to the public relations world. In 1984 they wrote *Managing Public Relations*, in which they talk about the different public relations models (Castillo, 2010:30), something that made them famous in this world. The models that they proposed were (Otero, 2009:25) press agent or publicity, public information, bidirectional model or asymmetric model and the bidirectional symmetric model.

3.1.1 Public Relations: second class discipline?

Bernays defines public relations as something that has been created out of necessity and that, thanks to a sense of urgency, is capable of obtaining its objective (Bernays, 1997:127). Cutlip and Center (1952) understood public relations similarly to Bernays, as an activity that is directed toward public opinion with the objective of influencing it. They define public relations as an activity of the organizations with the objective of creating a mutual communication between the enterprise and public opinion, and eventually, with the goal of influencing public opinion (Cutlip & Center, 1952).

Ivy Lee talked about the importance of informing the public in order to understand an enterprise: “La clave de la comprensión y la aceptación de una empresa consiste en informar al público” (Xifra, 2011:49). That is exactly what public relations are: tools to create and maintain mutual communication and understanding (Sam Black, 1994:30), acceptance and cooperation, between and enterprise and its public (Harlow, 1976 quoted in Xifra, 2011; Zulema, 2015:48) and to establish communicative strategies that would be appropriate for a variety of situations (Otero, 2006:257).

Some authors stress that public relations is the management of influential relations in a group in which the individuals are in the same situation (Coombs y Holladay, 2010, en Xifra, 2011) and others say that public relations are relations between two or more enterprises or publics, both national or international, that create the kind of relations subjects want. Those relations could be commercial, governmental, financial, labor-related, educative, scientific, of the unions and professionals, interest groups, racial or sexual groups, consumers, workers, opinión leaders, stockholders, suppliers employees, government ministries, foundations, hospitals and others (Sánchez Guzmán, 1986: 399; Sam Black, 1994:30). Fernandez Cavia (2012) cited Harlow and said that he tried to put together 472 definitions of public relations:

“Las Relaciones Públicas son la función característica de dirección que ayuda a establecer y mantener unas líneas de mutua comunicación, aceptación y coope-

ración, entre una organización y sus públicos; implica la gestión de problemas o conflictos; ayuda a la dirección a estar informada de la opinión pública y a ser sensible a la misma; define y enfatiza la responsabilidad de la dirección para servir al interés público; ayuda a la dirección a estar al corriente del cambio y a utilizarlo de manera eficaz, sirviendo de sistema precoz de aviso para facilitar la anticipación a tendencias; y utiliza la investigación, el rigor y las técnicas de comunicación ética como principales herramientas" (Harlow,1976).

Some authors would argue that public relations are a discipline. Bernays defined them as: "An art applied to a science" (1997). Ruiz Mora (2011) wrote that the profession was not socially recognized and that it was related to propaganda, media agent or publicist . Castillo, who is an authority on the research of public relations in Spain, wrote that public relations were considered to be a second class discipline trying to find a place under the journalism umbrella: "Disciplina de segunda clase, que se cobijaba bajo el periodismo" (Castillo, 2010). It was necessary to change that image and find a place for public relations in the world of social sciences. In the Foro of Vic in 2013, public relations were defined as: "Una disciplina científica que estudia la gestión del sistema de comunicación a través del cual se establecen y mantienen relaciones de adaptación e integración mutua entre una organización o persona y sus públicos". In recent years, the study of Protocol as a technique to manage the public in the public relations activities, such as institutional or special events, has been added to the academic field (Otero, 2009).

3.1.2 How to obtain what we want

Event organization, patronage, sponsorship, lobbying (Xifra, 2011), the protocol (Otero, 2009), the fair (Xifra, 2007), social responsibility plans, the media relations, the internal news bulletin, the institutional journal or newspaper, the corporative videos (Zulema, 2014:6) and the events (Cuenca, 2010:7) are considered to be public relations activities.

The organization of events is considered to be one of the principal activities of public relations; it has been defined as a technique that helps to enforce the relations among a close community or among a collectivity (Xifra, 2011:41). The same author gives examples of events: conferences, assemblies or meetings, seminars, and conversations. He doesn't talk about the festivals, but he does say that there are some special public relations activities that have the objective of establishing a relationship with the direct public (assistance and media) and that, thanks to them, with an indirect public (the community in a broad sense), consolidate and create the public perception of the promoter of the event (2011: 215).

In this work we are going to study a special kind of event: festivals. Even though festivals have not been defined always as related to public relations, many authors have defined festivals using two concepts that are vital for our research: community and identity.

The definition of a festival is a celebration that in an explicit or implicit way, demonstrates the values, the ideology and the way of seeing the world that the members of the community share and that is the base of their social identity (Falassi, 1997). Wagner also considers that the main objectives are the mediation of the community values and the community experience (Zoltán Szabó, 2010:3). Devesa highlights the importance of the cultural and identity values apparent in the festivals as something different from other cultural products, and there are also those who highlight the commercial aspect, such as Zoltán Szabó, who says that in the United Kingdom, the festivals have business significance (2010:4).

3.2 International Public Relations

Among those who study international public relations we have Pavlik (1999); Castillo (2010) and Sam Black (1994). Pavlik (1999) says that international public relations are the least studied in the public relations field (quoted in Castillo, 2010: intro). But in a globalized world, the relations among countries and enterprises are more common and, because of that, international public relations are very important.

International public relations activities will increase as a consequence of globalization; this will include enterprises, international organizations and states (Castillo, 2010:200). Wilcox argues that (quoted in Castillo, 2001:373) international public relations are the planned campaign organized by enterprises, institutions or governments to establish mutual beneficial relations with the public in other countries. Sam Black highlights that the objectives of public relations programs are to protect the general reputation of the products and services and, secondly, to enforce the reputation of the products provided by a specific enterprise or industry (Sam Black, 1994:178). For that, as Wilcox highlights, public perception of a country is very important. Consequently, as Albritton and Manheim emphasize (1983) there are some countries that hire public relations enterprises to create that good image and to create a positive perception in other countries.

3.2.2 How to find our place internationally

International exchange programs, international events, and festivals are some of the examples of international public relations activities. Other activities are the monothematic (tourism or automobile fairs) or plurithematic events (Japan's week) which local media and citizens attend (Castillo, 2010). In Sam Black's (1994:233) words, international public relations activities need to adjust themselves to the characteristics of individual countries: "Think globally but act locally". That makes it necessary to understand the culture, the economy and the politics of a country before building a relationship.

Agreeing with Sam Black, Gavin Anderson, Gavin Anderson & Company's president (in Wilcox, 2001:393)¹⁶ say that the specialists in international public relations are cultural interpreters / performers and that they should understand the business and general culture, both of their clients, but also of the countries in which they want to do business. They need to know the potential risks to avoid any potential mistakes.

¹⁶ Castillo, Antonio (2010); *Introducción a las Relaciones Públicas*, Instituto de Investigación en Relaciones Públicas (IIRP), España, pg.198.

CHAPTER 4

DIPLOMACY AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

4.1 The evolution of Public Diplomacy

Diplomacy is everywhere and, in Cornago's words (2009), the historical review demonstrates that the diplomacy existed even before the states existed and "desde tiempo inmemorial". In 1985, Ferrel wrote that diplomacy is something that most people practice daily without even realizing it. He talks, for example, about family agreements and negotiation to see who will use the family's car and he says that, in the case of the states or nations: "Diplomacy works in the same way" (Warren Ferrel, 1985:19).

Cornago (2013) talks about diplomacy as "knowledge", as "heterology" (a way of dealing and engaging with otherness) and as *raison de système*. He says that instead of talking about diplomacy, the correct thing would be to talk about diplomacies: "Diplomacies, as opposed to diplomacy, is now perhaps a more appropriate word" (Cornago, 2013:2), and about different kinds of diplomacies and the importance of new actors in these new ways of di-

plomacy. The main objectives of diplomacy are to represent, negotiate, protect and promote the interest of one country in front of another (Manfredi, 2014) and public diplomacy is a type of traditional diplomacy. The results of public diplomacy are more beneficial than the results of traditional diplomacy. Feeling the necessity to change traditional diplomacy, states decided that the power should now be in hands of different actors. So, the monopoly of power over international relations that had previously been in hands of the states was now in hands of non-state actors.

There are some authors (Jiménez-Ugarte, 2006; Murrow, Noya, 2006; Oviacionayi Iyamu, 2004) who have compared traditional diplomacy and public diplomacy. They say that diplomacy was created as something secret and with the objective of creating communication between governments (Oviacionayi Iyamu, 2004); and refer to it as the silent or secret diplomacy (Noya, 2006). Jiménez-Ugarte (2006) says that while traditional diplomacy took care of the relations among governments, public diplomacy started worrying about public opinion in other countries, the empresarial world and society in general. The objective was the promotion of the image and values of the country and the diffusion of different points of view (Jiménez-Ugarte, 2006).

Murrow, Leonard (2002) and Noya (2006), agree with the idea of the interaction of other actors (Jiménez-Ugarte) and stress also that public diplomacy is different from traditional diplomacy because it involves interaction not only with governments but also with individuals, citizens of other countries and nongovernmental actors and: "A broader set of interests that go beyond those of the government of the day" (Leonard 2002:8). In general, the majority of them concur that the differences are in the actors that take part and in the goal of the activities.

While researching the concept of public diplomacy, concepts such as hard and soft power (Joseph Nye, 2008) appear. Joseph Nye says that the objective of soft power is to create the preferences of others, and that if it possible for me to make you want what I want, then I don't need to force you to do something you don't want to: "If I can get you to want to do what I want, then I do not have to force you to do what you do not want" (Nye, 2008:95). Thanks to soft power and seduction, public diplomacy can help with the image that a country has interacting for that with the citizens of a country: "Conceptualize public diplomacy as an instrument that governments use to communicate with and attract the public of other countries, rather than merely their governments" (Nye, 2008:95). The effectiveness of public di-

plomacy is measured by minds changed (as shown in interviews polls) not dollars spent or silk production packages (Nye, 2008:107).

In the actual outlook, governments feel it necessary to change their way of acting. They want to create long term relationships and achieve the public of a third country gaining for that their minds and hearts (Fortner, 1994:89). These reasons could be related to the objective of public diplomacy that Leonard (2002) talks about: to transmit information, “sell” a good image and create long term relationships that will enable a good environment for governmental politics (De Lima, 2007:237).

4.1.1 Overcoming the mistrust between countries

Many actors take part in the promotion of a country, such as diplomats, movie stars, athletes, scientists, intellectuals, entrepreneurs, and others who are tasked to serve as officially, or media appointed ambassadors of nations, communities and other worthy causes (Cooper, 2008). This is a recent development, and it shows a change in the actors and activities that take part in the modern way to be diplomatic.

Public diplomacy already existed in 1918. By the end of the First World War, President Wilson wrote a proposal with 14 points with the idea of ending the war and reconstructing the continent. President Wilson talked about ending traditional diplomacy and opting for open agreements:

“Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view”(President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, January 1918)

The President of the United States proposed open relations without secrets. Noya (2006) repeated the same years later and he said that traditional diplomacy was opaque, while public diplomacy’s objective was to reach the general public, and, because of that, it was more transparent. “Después de la IGM, los 14 puntos de 1918 y los llamamientos dirigidos a la gente por otros líderes de la época, habían dejado su huella” (Estrella, 2011). This played a vital role for public diplomacy; when public opinion started to ask for a place in the diplomacy.

On August 1, 1953, President Eisenhower created the USIA (United States Information Agency). The USIA would be the responsible for teaching American history to a foreign public, which, in their words, was influenced

by the communist ideology of the Soviet Union. The agency distributed the information in many ways: *Voice of American broadcasting*; cultural American exhibitions, documentaries; exchange programs (Fullbright Program) (Snow, 2008). Public diplomacy was a term that was formally named in United States in 1965 (during Cold War) by Edmund Gullion¹⁷ and, in the words of Iyamu, he used this term to represent all those informative governmental and nongovernmental efforts in diplomacy that were transcending traditional diplomacy.

After the Cold War the government of the United States lost focus on public diplomacy. However, around the time of the 2001 terrorist attacks, interest resurfaced. The North Americans did not understand why there was “anti-Americanism” across the world, so they started to focus on their image abroad in general and in the Arabic and Islamic countries in particular. They started using public diplomacy activities to change the image they had abroad. Lee Hamilton (former member of the United States House of Representatives) said in relation to that: “Public diplomacy is how we stop them from coming here to kill us” (Zaharna, 2009:1)

The objective of public diplomacy is to overcome the mistrust between countries and create, thanks to the citizens of a country, long term relationships between the countries (Henrikson, 2000; Waller, 2007; Malone, 1985; Frederic, 1993; Ryniejska, 2009; and Rasmussen, 2009). Malone (1985), Waller (2007) and Henrikson (2000) talk about the importance of citizens of other countries when trying to influence (Malone, 1988; Frederic, 1993), gain understanding (Tuch, 1990:3) or mutual understanding with other countries and improve the interest and values of those who are represented (Rasmussen 2009). Leonard, (2002); Gregory, (2011) and Ho & McConnel, (2017) highlight that public diplomacy is a tool used by the sub-states and by the nongovernmental actors (Gregory, 2011:353) with the objective of creating relations and understanding the necessities of other countries (Leonard 2002:8), and informing and having influence over these actors (Gregory, 2011; Ho &McConnell, 2017; Noya, 2006).

Fitzpatrick, Fullerton & Kendrick said that the new public diplomacy:

“Anticipates a more collaborative approach to international relations; contributes to mutual understating among nations/international actors and foreign publics; helps to build and sustain relationships between nations/international actors and foreign publics; facilitates networks of relationships between organizations and people in both the public and private sectors; involves both foreign

¹⁷ Dean of Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy de la Tufts University.

and domestic publics; includes foreign publics in policy processes; is based on principles of dialogue and mutuality; emphasizes two-way communication and interactions; favors people-to-people interactions over mass messaging techniques; has a primarily proactive; long-term focus on relationship-building. (Fitzpatrick, Fullerton & Kendrick, 2013).

Fitzpatrick stresses that one of the main objectives of public diplomacy is to influence the attitudes, opinions and behaviors of the foreign public. Sevin also, together with other authors, talks about the importance of the citizens as they influence the behavior of the state.

4.1.2 Adding new actors and activities

Murrow (1963); Nye (2008) and Gregory (2011) concentrate on the actors that take part in public diplomacy activities. As we said, the actors that will now take part in public diplomacy will change, and the role of the nongovernmental actors is vital. In 1963 Edward R. Murrow said that public diplomacy was more than a relationship with foreign governments, and that the key players in public diplomacy were the nongovernmental individuals and organizations (Murrow in Nye, 2008). They stress the importance of the nongovernmental actors in the public diplomacy. Taking all of this into account, we could say that public diplomacy is the collection of all the activities that a government or a nongovernmental actor creates and is directed to the citizens of a third country with the objective of maintaining a good image abroad.

These are some of the activities that we could consider to be public diplomacy activities:

- Pressure and interest groups in other countries and events that have an impact abroad (Edward Guillon, Ryniejska-Kie, 2009)
- Foreign communication activities directed to elite or opinion leaders (Ministerio de Relaciones Alemán)
- Activities, directed abroad in the fields of information, education, and culture, whose objective is to influence a foreign government. Medios informativos y canales culturales. (Frederik, 1993:229; Gilboa, 2001, 2008)
- The communication-based activities of states and state-sanctioned actors (Sevin, 2005)
- Sponsored cultural, educational and informational programs (Frederick, 1993:229 y Taylor, 2007), exchange programs (Kim, 2016; Sevin, 2010; De Lima Jr, A. F. 2007; Atkinson, 2010; Sevin, 2015; Ross, 2003; Gilboa, 2008; Bellamy, & Weinberg, A. 2008). Intercambios artísticos y académicos, películas, exhibiciones y clases de idioma:

“mutual understanding through slow media such as academics and artistic exchange, films, exhibition, and language instruction” (Signitzer & Wamser, 2006:438).

- Programs created by the government and with the objective of influencing the public opinion in other countries: “Las herramientas principales de la diplomacia pública son publicaciones como diarios, revistas y libros, películas, intercambios culturales, la radios y la televisión” (Diccionario de Términos de Relaciones Internacionales del Departamento del Estado (Noya, 2006; Gilboa, 2001, 2007).
- Nye says also that the public diplomacy tries to attract attention with “broadcasting, subsidizing cultural exports, arranging exchanges, and so forth” (Nye, 2008).

The diaspora members are also nongovernmental actors that take part in the public diplomacy of a country. Later, we will study the role of the diasporas as public diplomacy agents in international relations.

4.1.3 Regions finding their place

Globalization has impacted the contemporary diplomacy and Hocking confirms that one of the effects is the growing participation in international affairs of non-central governments (quoted in Aldecoa & Keating, 2000:223). Among the authors that study the concept of paradiplomacy we found Kölling, Stavridis & Fernández Sola (2007); Butler (1961); Aldecoa & Keating (2000); Cornago (2009, 2011,2013); Agirre Zabala; Duchacek (1986) and Soldatos; Chehabi (1995) and Hocking (1993).

In general, paradiplomacy has been defined as the foreign affairs activities of the regions (Kölling, Stavridis & Fernández Sola, 2007); one of the first times in which the Word “paradiplomacy” appeared was in Duchacek’s (1986) book. Cornago, a resource in research about diplomacy and sub-state diplomacy, presented paradiplomacy as a “a global practice” (2013:111) and he says that the work of Duchacek and Soldatos changed the meaning of the term to those who describe paradiplomacy as: “The internationalization of sub state governments” (Cornago, 2013:110). For Duchacek and Soldatos paradiplomacy is: “The more common international activity of non central governments” (quoted in Aldecoa & Keating 2000:208). Noé Cornago defines paradiplomacy as:

“[...] sub-state governments involvement in international relations, through the establishment of formal and informal contacts, either permanent or ad hoc, with foreign public or private entities, with the aim to promote socio-economic, cultural or political issues, as well as any other foreign dimension of their own constitutional competences” (Cornago, 2010:13).

As Kölling, Stavridis & Fernández Sola said, paradiplomacy is the implication of regional governments in the international scene (Duchacek et al., 1988; Hocking 1997) in which the only actors will no longer be the states'. The regions act, as in the case of the public diplomacy states, with enterprises, unions, social movements and transnational organizations such as Greenpeace or Oxfam (Aldecoa & Keating, 2000).

In paradiplomacy, noncentral governments will take part in international relations (Duchacek, 1986:210) by means of transnational corporations, international workers' organizations, linguistic, religious or ethnic communities, all the NGOs, international lobbies, the industry of media and communication, transcultural movements, and scientific associations (Aldecoa & Keating, 2000) and their objective is to: "Promote socioeconomic and cultural aspects, así como cualquier otra dimensión exterior de sus propias competencias constitucionales" (Cornago, 2000:56). As we said before, we would like to add diaspora groups to this group of actors.

Agirre Zabala presents two kind of paradiplomacies: global paradiplomacy and regional paradiplomacy. Regions are characterized by aspects such as "territory, political structures and own competences, but, on the other hand, they don't have the same sovereignty as national states" (Hocking, 1993:30). Cornago defined some of the sub-state governments' activities:

"Intensive participation in multilateral negotiation schemes on a geographical or functional basis, direct relationships with international organizations, the frequent sending and hosting of international missions, the launching of occasional political statements on international issues, place brand and public diplomacy campaigns, foreign aid programmes and cross-national environmental cooperation schemes... are becoming common practice for sub-state governments worldwide" (Cornago, 2010:17).

4.1.4 The role of the diasporas in international relations

"Engaging with diaspora networks can increase information-sharing, contextualize policy making, and inform diplomatic messaging and interactive programming. Collaborative Diaspora diplomacy is a way to increase mutual respect, commitment and trust across government, civil society and the private sector" (Trent, 2012:48).

Trent, (2012); Migration Policy Institute, RAD Diaspora Profile; Riddle, (2008); Bjola Corneliu, (2016); Jay Gonzalez Joaquín, (2014), Dickinson, (2014), Quinsaat, (2013), Déllano & Gamlen, (2014), Ho & McConnell, (2017) eta Stead & Smewing, (2002) Gonzalez Joaquín, (2014); Javier Noya, (2006);

Hilary Clinton, Latha Varadarajan, (2012); Leonard, (2008); Trent, (2012), Ho & McConnell, (2017) and Riddle, (2008) are some of the authors who study the importance of diasporas in different aspects. RAD (Migration Policy Institute) studies the actual condition of diasporas in the United States and Bangladesh, Colombia, El Salvador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Haiti, India, Kenya, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Vietnam, Colombia, Egypt, India, and Kenya.

Riddle's (2008) research on the positive things that a diaspora can bring to the country of origin: "By investing their capital in existing business and setting up new ventures in their countries of origin" (Riddle, 2008:39). Quinsaatek says that: "Diaspora actors are often understood as possessing broader calculative and strategic agendas related to political identity discourses, positions and practices in the homeland" (Dickinsen, 2014:33). Dickinson adds another point in his work: "Whilst recent work on hometown associations has begun to produce more nuanced understanding of the range of subjectivities produced through the activities of diaspora and hometown associations (Mecer et al., 2008), her paper explores how an affective, rationale, social practice understanding of migrants subjectivities can extend these theorizations" (2014:33).

As Wagner (2007) says, diaspora members are potential actors in international relations, relations between countries and in the public diplomacy of both the host and the home countries. The public diplomacy in which the actors are the members of a diaspora would be called "diaspora diplomacy", and diasporas are contributing more actively to the recasting of real-world cross-cultural exchanges and relations (Jay Gonzalez Joaquín, 2014). The migrants and diaspora groups are part of two countries, their host and home countries, and because of that, diaspora diplomacy enables diaspora states to influence another country's culture, politics, and economics (Jay Gonzalez Joaquín, 2014). Ho & McConnell (2017) also talk about the importance of the diasporas: "Diasporas are increasingly seen as influential actors on both domestic and international fronts" (2017:1) and they say that it traces three modalities of diaspora diplomacy: "advocacy, mediation and representation" (2017:3). They conclude by saying that it: "Is our argument that diasporas function as liminal actors betwixt and between the domestic and foreign" (2017:16).

One of the conclusions of Dickinson's (2015) work is that: "Embassies and consulates act to articulate a relationship between diasporic populations and an ancestral homeland that demonstrate the ways that diaspora are becom-

ing increasingly enrolled into contemporary practices of public diplomacy” (Rana, 2009, 2013).

Trust is important in any kind of relationship, including personal relations, business relations and international relations. In this case, we will concentrate on the last point, and we will see that the role of the diasporas in international relations is very important. In fact, diasporas help to overcome the trust that Stead & Smewing and Trent talk about: “Trust is essential for effective public diplomacy, and yet, for a series of reasons, foreign governments find it increasingly hard to gain and “Communication, information, and analytical tools are combined with cross-cultural and social-relational processes to establish mutual trust and interest between government and diasporan actors” (Stead, & Smewing, 2002:54; Trent, 2012:16).

The term “diaspora diplomacy” is growing and we can see how immigrants could be considered “cultural ambassadors” of their country of origin but would also help develop a positive image of their host country in their home country.

Hilary Clinton recognized that; “By not working to listen to, understand, and anticipate diasporas responses to policies affecting them and their countries of origin, government loses a channel for engagement and source of credibility” (quoted in Trent, 2012:6). Latha Varadarajan also says that diasporas are active diplomacy agents (2012). She agrees with Clinton¹⁸ and she says that the power of the diasporas is growing in international politics.

“As a category of “nonstate actors”, diaspora-based civil society and private sector organizations are both a test and source of credibility to help inform diplomats about how to strengthen the US image abroad and increase cross-national understanding” (Bruce Gregory “public diplomacy: sunrise of an academic field” 2008:274-290). Global Diasporas Forum did a study in 2012 and concluded that the compromise with the diasporas was necessary and helped in the creation of markets between United States and the countries of origin (Trent, 2012:14). The report states that diaspora engagement is “critical to effective foreign remittances, and facilitates emerging markets for trade between the US and the countries of heritage” (Trent, 2012:14).

¹⁸International Diaspora Engagement Alliance, Hillary Clinton’s Remarks at the Second Annual Global Diaspora Forum: <http://www.diasporaalliance.org/hillary-clintons-remarks-at-the-second-annual-global-diaspora-forum/>

The majority of countries are giving more attention and attaching more significance to their diasporas, including supporting diaspora organizations (Tigau, 2014). The diaspora communities help with remittances or as bridges between their home country and host country and talking about remittances: "Global total remittance flow in 2006 were estimated to be US 300 billion dollars" (Riddle, 2008).

But what kinds of activities do the diaspora diplomacy actors take part in?

4.2 Activities

Diasporas have organized many activities in their host countries that improve the image of their home countries. Those activities could be related to culture, business, education or politics. Dickinson did a study in which he talked about cultural performances and he says that:

"Cultural performances and festivals not only maintain homeland culture for diasporic descendants, but are also meant to convince wider publics in the host country of the benefits of closer bilateral cooperation" (2014:1).

Leonard (2008) agrees that the cultural institutes and international public televisions are a tool for public diplomacy (Leonard, 2008) and in both activities the role of the diasporas is crucial. The digital diaspora and the use of new media and social networks are another tool. Riddle talks more about business or political involvement and said that some of those activities are:

"Join diaspora advocacy groups, lobbying the governments of their countries-of-residence, engaging philanthropic activities, raising money in the countries-of-residence, volunteering their time for social and environmental organizations located in the countries-of-origin" (2008:30).

Riddle also related the diasporas with business and said that: "Diaspora investors and entrepreneurs can serve as reputational intermediaries for domestic firms in foreign markets "(Riddle, 2008:33).

Toticaguena gives an example of the economic effect of the Basque diaspora; she writes that historically, remittances were decisive to the economic development from 1660s to the early 1900s, symbolic from 1960s on and now homeland communities often sponsor aid to their diasporas (Toticaguena, 2007).

4.3 Future diplomacy

Duchacek also defines the concept of protodiplomacy as the international activity of non-central governments that are thinking of separating from the state and becoming sovereign states themselves (Duchacek, i.d.). Duchacek says that protodiplomacy is a concept that could be used when describing:

“Aquellas iniciativas y actividades de un gobierno no central en el extranjero y que ofrecen un mensaje más o menos separatista respecto de sus lazos económicos, sociales y culturales con otras naciones. La autoridad superior regional/provincial utiliza sus misiones culturales/comerciales como protoembajadas o protoconsulados de un Estado potencialmente soberano” (Duchacek, 1986:248)210.

Cornago (2013) talks about protodiplomacy and refers to Catalonia, Flanders, Quebec, Escocia and Tatarstan. We would like to add the case of the Basque Country. “La protodiplomacia representa un trabajo diplomático preparatorio de cara a una futura secesión y al reconocimiento diplomático internacional de tal situación” (Duchacek, 1988:22).

That way, we define paradiplomacy as the activities organized by a region or community in which non-state actors such as citizens, nongovernmental organizations, and enterprises take part; protodiplomacy will be, as Duchacek and Soldatos define, the international activities carried out by a community or region that have the objective of separating from the state.

AZTERTUTAKOAK

HIRUGARREN ATALA:

Euskal Herriaren eta Estatu Batuetan bizi diren Euskaldunen arteko harremanaren eta komunikazioaren eboluzioa

BOSTGARREN ATALBURUA

Euskal migrazioa eta diaspora

Euskal emigrazioaren datuekin lan egitean aldez aurretik esan behar da ezinezkoa edo oso zaila dela emigratutako euskaldunen kopuru zehatzak izatea. Alde batetik, Euskal Herria, Espainia eta Frantziako estatuen artean bananduta dagoen herri bat izanik, emigratzen zutenen izena askotan espainiar edo frantziar moduan agertuko zelako, eta ez euskaldun moduan. Hasteko hori, arazo bat da kuantifikatzerako orduan. Jarraitzeko, bai iraganean emigratzen zutenek eta egun emigratzen dutenek ere, oso gutxitan erregistratzen dute euren izena Espainiako kontsulatuan. Horrek, beraz, arazoak ekartzen ditu baita ere, espainiarren kopurua jakitean eta oraindik gehiago euskaldunena. Amaitzeko, Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunak kuantifikatzeko beste era bat da hamar urtero Estatu Batuek egiten duten errolda. Zenbaki horiek ere, ez dira guztiz fidagarriak, izan ere, urte hauetan egindako elkarrizketek erakutsi digute asko eta asko direla errolda hori existitzen dela ez dakitenak edo betetzen ez duten euskaldunak.

Euskal diaspora ikertu nahi duen edonork diaspora sortzearen arrazoi den euskal migrazioa ezagutu behar du lehenago, baita migrazio hori ematearen arrazoiak, eta eman zenean Euskal Herriak bizi zuen egoera ere. Horrela euskal diaspora hitza bilatzean egungo diasporara joan barik, euskal migrazioa eta 600 urte atzera goaz, Oteizak esan zuen moduan “nondik gatozen jakitea beharrezkoa da, nora goazen jakiteko”, eta horregatik, Euskal Herriaren egoera zein zen, eta euskaldunek zergatik emigratzea aukeratu zuten aztertu behar da.

5.1 Euskal migrazioa

Migrazioa orden kronologikoan aztertzen badugu, ikus dezakegu 1500 urtean hasi zirela jada euskaldunak herritik mugitzen. Konkista izanik arrazoi, Filipinetara eta Santo Domingora joan ziren. Denboran aurrera, 1600-1700 urteetan oso ezagunak ziren arrantza munduan eta Kanada eta Terranova zonaldera joaten ziren bale eta bakailao arrantzan. Antzeko urteetan Kubara bideratutako esklabu trafikoa ugari zen, eta euskaldunak ere, trafikoa horretan aktibo esanguratsuak izan ziren. 1800 urtean, Euskal Herriak Gerra Karlistak bizi izan zituen, eta guda horien ondorioetako bat Foruak galdu eta soldaduzkan parte hartzea izan zen. Euskaldun askok ez zuten horretan parte hartu nahi izan, eta horregatik Argentina bezalako herrialdeetara emigratzea aukeratu zuten, horien artean, Iparragirre, *Gernikako Arbola* euskal abesti ezagunaren sortzailea.

1800-1900 urteetan Euskal Herriak zuen oinordekotza sistema izan zen emigrazioaren arrazio nagusia. Izan ere, baserriko lehen ondorengoa edo baserria aurrera eraman zezakeena izango zen ondasun guztiekin geldituko zen bakarra, eta beste seme-alaben aukerak: abade edo monja sartzea, herentzi jaso zuen beste norbaitekin ezkontzea, anai-arrebarekin bizitzea edo emigratzea ziren.

1936 urtetik aurrera, Euskal Herriak Espainiako Gerra Zibila sufritu zuen, eta horrek ere, hainbat euskaldunek eta ume euskaldunek emigratzea suposatu zuen. Hainbat izan ziren Mexiko, Argentina, Txile eta Uruguai herrialdeetara joandako euskaldunak. Aurrerago, Euskal Herriaren zegoen lan eskasiak eta Amerikek eskeintzen zuten lan ugaria izan ziren emigratzeko arrazoiak eta lan eskeintza horrek migrazio katea sortu zuen: Ameriketara zeuden familiar edo lagunek, Euskal Herriko lana bilatu eta etenik gabeko emigrazioaren sorrera.

Egun, migrazio berri baten aurrean gaude, oraingoan Europara bideratutakoa eta protagonistak gazte kualifikatuak izango direlarik. Garaiaren eta arrazoiaren arabera leku desberdinetara emigratuko zuten euskaldunek.

Lehen urteetan Filipina, Puerto Rico, Kuba edo Kanada izango ziren euskaldun gehien jasoko zuten lekuak. Ondoren euskaldunak Mexiko, Venezuela eta Perura joango ziren eta hortik aurrera Argentina¹⁹, Txile²⁰, Uruguai²¹, Mexiko, Estatu Batuetak²² Kalifornia, Nevada, Oregon eta Idaho, Australia, Txina, eta Japonen izango dira (azken biak gutxi eta azken urteetan).

Marcos Muro Nájera, Eusko Jaurlaritzako Enplegu eta Gazteriako Sailburu ordeak Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateak Kanpoan den Euskal Komunitatearentzako Zuzendaritzarekin antolatutako udako ikastaroetan (2018) esandakoaren arabera, 18 eta 34 urte bitarteko 7.000 Euskaldun bizi dira atzerrian (PERE 2016, 4.000 pertsona gehi inkesten bidez lortutako datuak, behatokiaren arabera, 7.000 pertsona). Carmen Gonzalez Enriqueren hitzetan (Elcano institutua, UPV/EHUko udako Ikastaroak 2018), orain gertatzen ari den hau ez da ez migrazioa, ez diaspora, hau mobilizazioa da komunikatu eta jatorrizko herrialdearekin kontaktatzeko dagoen erraztasunagatik: “Al ser más fácil, se tiende a hablar de movilidad y no de migración. Para dar a entender que ya no se trata tanto de un alejamiento de tu lugar de origen e implantación en otro sino que es algo mucho más fluido” (Carmen Gonzalez Enrique, Real Instituto Elcano, udako Ikastaroak 2018).

Azken urteotako emigrazioa Europan zentratuta dago eta emigratzen dutenen kopurua ere aldatzen ari da. Eustatek egindako taula honi esker ikus dezakegu azken urteotan nolakoak izan diren migrazio mugimenduak Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoan:

¹⁹ 1832-1907 bitartean Iparraldetik ehun mila lagun baino gehiago irten ziren Argentinara, eta Zuberoa eta Behe Nafarroak biztanleen %20-25 galdu zuten (Totoricaguena 2001:19).

²⁰ XVII eta XVIII.mendeetan Txileko immigranteen % 48a eUSkaldunak ziren (Totoricaguena 2000:95).

²¹ EUSkal Herriak, batez ere, Rio de la Platara emigratu zuen. Ontziratzea Pasaian egiten zen eta helmuga bezela Uruguai eta Argentinako hondartzak zeuden. 1.842. Urtean migrazio kurbak oso puntu altua lortuko du ta Montevideo izango da helmuga puntu gorena (Santiso González, 1998).

²² 1848an Estatu Batuetara bideratuko da emigrazioa, urrearen sukarra zela eta. Bigarren migrazioa eman zen Hego Ameriketatik Kaliforniara joan zirenean, hain zuzen. Urreak arrakastarik eman ez, eta artzain sartu ziren berriro ere ugari. 1.860ko hamarkadara orduko eUSkaldunak Kaliforniako hegoaldean kokaturik zeuden eta 80ko hamarkadan, berriz, erdialdera eta iparraldera iritsi ziren, hau da, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Montana, Wyoming, Arizona eta New Mexikotik hasi eta mendebaldeko beste estatu batzuetaraino, Texas barne (Joseba Etxarri, 2001: 54).

1 Taula: Migrazio mugimenduak Euskal Autonomi Erkidegoan

Table 1. Trends in migratory movements and balances. Basque Country. 1998-2017

Year	Immigrations		Emigrations		Migratory balance
	Total	Variation index (1988=100)	Total	Variation index (1988=100)	Total
1988	8.014	100	18.103	100	-10.089
1992	9.006	112	13.668	76	-4.662
1995	11.316	141	16.130	89	-4.814
1999	16.103	201	17.291	96	-1.188
2000	20.022	250	17.462	96	3.903
2001	25.775	322	18.696	103	7.861
2002	25.967	324	19.730	109	6.082
2003	28.467	355	22.216	123	4.864
2004	30.328	378	21.304	118	8.116
2005	33.993	424	20.672	114	12.256
2006	37.147	464	22.689	125	11.827
2007	41.361	516	23.669	131	16.835
2008	44.630	557	29.941	165	14.689
2009	38.368	479	31.815	176	6.553
2010	38.591	482	33.425	185	5.166
2011	41.011	512	32.819	181	8.192
2012	34.362	429	34.589	191	-227
2013	33.987	424	35.943	199	-1.956
2014	35.491	443	31.889	176	3.602
2015	35.917	448	32.555	180	3.362
2016	40.126	501	31.255	173	8.871
2017	41.861	522	31.136	172	10.725

Source: Eustat. Migratory movements statistics

Iturria: Eustat

2000 urtera arte, migrazio balantzea negatiboa zen, hau da, gehiago ziren emigratzen zutenak (joaten zirenak), immigratzen zutenak baino (etortzen zirenak).

Lan honetan egungo egoera zein den aztertuko da, non, bai egun batean emigratu zutenen ondorengoan, eta orain emigratzen dutenek dute kabida.

5.1.1 Arrazoiak

Euskal migrazioaren arrazoiak eta norakoak desberdinak izan dira garaiaren arabera. Hainbat autorek diotena laburbilduz, emigrazioaren arrazoiak eta Ameriketara joateko gogoia piztu zuten faktorerik garrantzitsuenak (Totoriguena, 2001), arrazoi ekonomikoak eta lan bila atzerrira joatea, kasurako,

Ameriketako Estatu Batuetara artzain joatea; Euskal Herriko oinordekotza sistema (Douglass, 1986); abade eskari handia; soldaduzka ekiditea (Douglass, 1986); gerra karlistak (Santiso González, 1998), eta gerra zibila eta Frankoren diktadura izan ziren. Gerra Zibila izan zela eta 1936-1939 urteen bitartean ere euskaldun ugarik Euskal Herritik alde egin behar izan zuten errefuxiatu moduan, eta Hego Ameriketako hainbat herrialdetara, Europara edo Frantziara joan behar izan zuten. Estatu Batuek ez zituzten, Hego Ameriketako (Txile edo Mexiko) hainbat herrialdek bezala, frankismoaren biktimak onartu:

“In 1940, Juan M. Bilbao was sent to Idaho and Nevada as emissary of the Basque delegation, but he found no significant interest in political mobilization, and his Boise tenure was short-lived....The Basque communities in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Venezuela, Cuba and Mexico, however, did raise private funds to be sent to the Basque Government in exile, and after the Spanish Civil War they enthusiastically received delegations from the Basque Government in exile and thousands of political exiles” (Toticagüena 2004: 71).

Beraz, Gerra Zibilean bi diaspora mota irten ziren: Europako erbestea (Frantzia eta Ingalaterra batez ere), eta HegoAmeriketakoa (Mexiko buru eta Kuba, Dominikar Errepublikak, Puerto Riko, Uruguai, Argentina, Txile, Venezuela, Kolonbia eta Panamarekin) (Azcona, García, de Biedma & Muru, 1992).

Era berean Europan ere exodoa egon zen, eta emigratzeko sukarraren arrazoiak ondorengoak izan zirela esaten da: kontrako legediaren ondorioak (Hansen, 1961:214-270), nekazarien jabetzen hipotekak (Hansen, 1961:219-286), gosea, emigranteen negozioarengatik sortutako hobekuntzak garraio eta konpetizioan eta, horretaz gain, aurretik joandako emigranteen testimoioak (Douglass, Lyman, Stanford & Zulaika, 1994:15).

Garai horretatik aurrera ez dira izango bakarrik Euskal Herrian gertatzen ziren baldintzak emigratzera bultzatuko zutenak. Izan ere, kanpoko herrialdeak ere emigranteen bila ari ziren eta horrek euskaldunak Euskal Herria uztera animatu zituen.

“No hay continente habitado que no haya recibido contingentes de emigración vasca. Semillero de emigrantes transatlánticos, la región vasco-española ha sido también, por más de un siglo, receptora de inmigración masiva de otras partes de España” (Douglass, Urza, White & Zulaika, 1999:10).

Beraz, Euskal Herriko arrazoiei atzerriko herrialdeek langileak nahi zituztela ghituz (hau da, push eta pull factor-ak), emigrante kopuru izugarriak irten ziren Euskal Herritik. Ikusi ahal izan dugun moduan Galiziarren kasuan ere emigratzeko arrazoi batzuk euskaldunen antzekoak ziren:

“Some of the causes of Galician emigration in this period were greatly tied up with the lack of prospects in Galicia, an excess of population in relation to land property, occasional agricultural crises, and obviously increasingly lower prices and improvement in the means of transport” (Xabier Cid & Ogando, Alonso& Oiarzabal-en, 2010:321).

Emigratzen zutenen artean bi emigratio modu zeuden: kualifikatua bere familiarekin joango zen, eta kualifikatu gabea, ordea, bakarrik (Douglass, 2003). Kualifikatu gabea, normalean, lan fisikoa egitera joango zen, batez ere, artzain edo lorazain. Totoricaguenaren hitzetan: “The typical emigrant was a single male between 15-25 years old, sent for by relatives in the New World who needed agricultural laborers, or going in search of relatives hoping they needed laborers” (2000:107).

Euskal emigratzailearen profila 1900-1936 urteen artean kualifikazio profesional gabeko ezkongabea zen eta dirua egin eta gero aurretik zuen familia eramaten zuten AEBetara edo Euskal Herrira buelta eta emaztea bilatzen zuten. Endogamia oso komuna zen (Totoricaguena, 2001). Askotan esan den moduan erbesteratuen profila eta mende hasierako emigranteena oso desberdinak dira.

Argentinaren kasuan, adibidez, emigratioa hiru garaitan banandu daiteke: 1900-1936 (arrazoi ekonomikoak batez ere); 1937-1942 (arrazoi politikoak); 1943-1956 (arrazoi politiko eta ekonomikoak biak barne). Mende hasierako emigranteak herri txikietara joan ziren eta nekazal mundura dedikatu ziren; erbesteratua, ordea, nahiago zuten hirietako bizimodua, kasurako, Buenos Aires, Rosario eta Bahía Blanca. Erbesteratua kultaogo eta prestatuagoak ziren. Politikoki ere desberdintasun nabaria dago, erbesteratua nazionalistak ziren eta politika zabaldu zuten, mende hasieran joandakoak, ordea, ez zuten ia loturarik politikarekin (Azcona Pastor, García Albi Gil de Biedma, & Muru Ronda, 1992). Argentinara heldutako errefuxiatuen adierazle batzuk: ekintza musikalak, konferentziak, antzerkiak, euskararen sustapena, zentro berrien sortzea, ekintza politikoak, Laurak bat²³ zentruaren berataratzea eta Acción Vasca Nacionalista.

Laburbilduz, migrazioaren arazoak aztertutako autore gehienak hiru puntutan datoz bat (Sonesson, 2008): baliabide urriak zirela eta sufritutako presio demografikoa, oinordekotza zatikatua debekatzen zuen oinordekotza sistema (sistema tronkala), eta emigratzen zutenak, oro har, gazte ezkongaga-

²³ Buenos Aireseko Laurak Bat euskal etxea mundo osoko euskal etxerik zaharrena da, eta Argentinako bigarren instituziorik zaharrena.

beak izaten ziren; migrazio oinordekotza bako eta lan bako jendea, eta baita enpresari eta bizitzeko modu berriak nahi zituztenak (Azcona Pastor, García Albi Gil de Biedma & Muru Ronda, 1992).

5.1.2 Helmuga

Denboran atzera egiten badugu eta lehen emigrazioetara bagoaz ikus dezakegu Estatu Batuetan Eusko Jaurlaritzako delegatu izan zen Jesús Galíndezek kanpoa joandako euskaldunei buruz: “Los vascos llegaron a suelo americano siglos antes de su descubrimiento oficial por Cristobal Colón, aunque se limitaron a pescar el bacalao y la ballena, sin pensar en hinchar banderas que marcaran una conquista” esaten zuela.

Jesús Galíndezek arrazoia zuen eta Filipinara joandako lehen euskaldunak 1512.urtean aurki ditzakegu Magallanesen espedizioan.

“The Magellan expedition unexpectedly brought the first Basque to the Philippines [...] Discovery of the New World on October 12, 1492 by an obscure Genoan navigator named Christopher Columbus. Of the 275 men who made up the crew of the expedition, at least 35, or 12,7 percent, were Basques” (De Borja & Douglass, 2005:45).

Beraz, historian 600 urte atzera egiten badugu, Filipinetako konkistan euskaldunak egon zirela ikus daiteke. Espainiako monarkiak bigarren espedizio bat agindu zuen, eta euskal apaiz Fray García Jofre de Loaysa izan zen arduraduna. Espedizio horretan zazpi itsasontzi joan ziren: Santa María de la Victoria, Sancti Espiritus, Anunciada, San Gabriel, Santa María de Parral, San Lermes eta Santiago. Horietatik hiru euskaldunek gidatu zituzten. Filipinara heldutako euskaldunak izan ziren herrialdean erligioa suspertu zutenak, eta artxipielagoan gospela eta katekesia eman zutenak: “The Basque missionaries were crucial in the establishment of the Catholic Church in the Philippines, especially during the first year” (De Borja, 2005:88).

Hor argi ikusi daiteke euskaldunek erlijioarekin izan duten harreman estua eta euskal apaizek eta misiolariak munduan zehar egin duten lana. Filipinak konkistatzera joandako horiei esker, harreman komertzialak hasi zituzten. Europearrak Manilara iritsi baino lehen, artxipielagoan bazeuzkaten jada harreman komertziala Txina, Indiar eta musulmandarrekin. Legazpik²⁴ zeta eta portzelana bidali zituen Mexikora: “The Basques became actively in-

²⁴ Legazpi eta Urdaneta XVI.mendeko euskal nabigatzaile eta konkistatzaileen artean zeuden Juan Sebastián Elcanorekin, zirkunabigazioa egin zuen lehen pertsona, Juan de Garayekin, Buenos Aireseko sortzaileetako bat; Bruno Mauricio de Zabalorekin, Montevideoko sortzailea; Domingo Martinex de Iralarekin, Paraguaiako kapitala den Asunción-en sortzailearekin batera. Legazpi Filipinetako euskaldun ezagunena da.

volved in four main exports of the Philippines at that time: sugar, abaca, tobacco, and coffee” (De Borja, 2005:149) . XIX. Mendean ere Euskaldunen presentzia nabaria zen Filipinetan eta oraindik bertara joaten jarraitzen zuten (San Sebastian, 2018:67), bereziki Manilan. Koldo San Sebastianek gogoratezen du 1885 urtean *Euskal Herria* aldizkariak argitaratu zuena, Manilan bizi ziren euskaldunei buruz:

“Algunos marineros mundaqueses reunidos en Manila, en fraternal banquete de Año Nuevo, heridos por el santo recuerdo de la patria, iniciaron una subscripción para restaurar la ermita de Santa Catalina que se venerara allá protectora de los marinos de Mundaca” (2018:67).

Historian aurrera egiten badugu, Kanada eta Ternuara bale- eta bakailao-arrantzara joandako euskaldunak dauzkagu. Saint-Pierre eta Miquelon euskaldunen gustuko leku ziren eta biztanleen %30 Euskal jatorrikoak dira (Etxarri, 2001:61). San Sebastianek dio, bale eta bacalao arrantza Terranovako lurretan XVI. Mende hasieratarra doala (2018:64) eta: “La escuadra vasca llegó por primera vez a Terranova en 1627” (2018:55). Beraz, zonalde horretan dauden euskaldun gehienak arrantzaleen oinordekoak izango dira. Santo Domingoko irlaren kolonizazioan, baita ere, euskaldunen partehartzea aktiboa izan zen. 1491. urteko urriaren 12an Kristobal Kolonek Mundu Berriko lehen irla zapalduko du, eta bi hilabete beranduago Haitira helduko. Nao Santa Maria Juan de Lakotsarena zen eta ontzi bizkaitarra zen (Galíndez, de Abrisqueta & de Irujo, 1984:28). Kolon *Cipango* (Japonia)-ren bila zebilen baina horren ordean lehenengo Kubara eta gero Haitira iritsi ziren. 1501. urtean Luis Arriaga euskaldunak lau villa sortzeko ideiarekin 200 Euskal familia eramango zituela esan zuen, baina 40 familia baino ez zituen lortu eta hauek izan ziren lehen kolonia egonkorra sortu zutenak (Galíndez, de Abrisqueta, & de Irujo, 1984).

1520-1580 urteen artean amerikako rutako trafikoaren %80 euskaldunek kontrolatuta zen (Douglass, 1986) eta XV. Mendean Europa okzidentaleko konexio garrantzitsuena Bilbo-Flandes zen.

XVIII. eta XIX. mendeetan euskaldunek esklabuen trafikoan²⁵ parte hartuko dute. *La Venganza* fragata edo Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu, penintsulan esklabuen trafikora dedikatu zen lehen enpresa euskalduna izan zen. Bere helburua Ginean 600 pertsona hartu eta Karibera eramatea izan zen. Euskaldunek paper garrantzitsua izan zuten, beraz, Kubara bideratutako esklabutzaren trafikoan. XVIII. mendera arte, trafiko hori noizik behinikoa bazen ere, hortik aurrera negozio bilakatu zen.

²⁵ Kasu ezagunena Urrutia Balmacedarena da, zeinek 1523. urtean baimena lortu zuen 45 pertsona baltz Kubako irlara eramateko (Douglass, 2015).

Era honetako emigrazioak ere ondorioak izan zituen Euskal Herrian bertan. Honen adibide moduan Manuel Calvo eta Agirre dauzkagu. 1833 urtean heltzen da Kubara eta lanean hasten dira, 1841 urtean bere propietate baten-tzako, *El Cubano*, lizentzia eskatzen du San Diego eta La Colomako erreketatik nabigatzeko. 1848an Antonio Lópezekin batera *Compañía de Navegación Trasatlántica* sortu zuen. Aberastu egin ziren eta diru hori Portugaleten inbertitu zuen (Douglass, 2015). Atzerrian lan egin eta dirua egindako askok emigrazio garaiko Euskal Herria eraiki zuten. Horren adibide asko daude eta Robert Laxalt-ek bere *The land of my fathers: A son's return to the basque country* (2000) liburuan horri erreferentzi egiten dio. Euskal Herrira bizitzera etorri zenean bere lehengusinak "Street of the Americans"-en bizi zirela esan zion. Ez zuen ulertzen, ordea, izen hori izatearen arrazoa, ez baitzegoen orduan eurez gain beste amerikerrik herrian. Azkenan ulertu zuten arrazoa: etxe horiek 1920 eta 1930 urteetan Ameriketara lan egindako euskaldunek eraikitako etxeak ziren:

"Working as shepherders for as long as ten or twenty years in the mountains and deserts of American West. Unlike those Basques who had chosen to stay in America, they had come home to the Basque Country with their saving, gotten married and started families" (Laxalt, 2000:73).

Hego Ameriketako hainbat herrialdek euren herrialdeak europarrez bete nahi zituzten, herrialde horien artean Txile, Argentina eta Uruguay daude. Edukazio profesionala zuten pertsonak (medikuak, abokatuak...). Latinoamerikako herrialdeetara joan ziren (Douglass, 2003), eta horrekin lotuta, Argentinan, hainbat argitalpen eta autore ugari izan ziren. Argentinaren kasuan, adibidez, Rosasen diktadurapean emigrazioa (1835-1852) gaizki ikusten zen baia hau aldatu zenean emigrazio politika ere aldatu zen, eta Urquiza presidenteak (jatorri Euskalduna zuena) "gobernar es poblar" (Douglass, 1986:170) lelopean agindu zuen. Euskaldunen irudia oso ona zen Argentinan eta presidenteak bere diskurtsoetako batean "Hay que despoblar los Pirineos" (Douglass, 1986) esan zuen. Horrela 1960.urtean Argentinan zeuden euskal-argentinarrak milio batera heltzen ziren, populazio nazionalaren %5 hain zuzen. Garaiko terrateniente garrantzitsuenen zerrendan, 50 izenetatik 12 euskaldunak ziren (Douglass, 1986). Aipatzekoa da 1853-1943.urteen artean 22 presidente argentinaretik 10 euskaldun jatorrikoak zirela:

"Argentina fue el destino preferente de una corriente de emigración masiva desde las diversas regiones que constituyen el País Vasco, dando lugar a una de

las más numerosas, dinámicas y potentes colectividades vascas situadas fuera de Euskadi " (Eneko Sanz Goikoetxea y Óscar Álvarez Gila) ²⁶

XIX. mendeko emigrazioa ez dago Río de la Platara zuzendua; 1.850an erre-
gistratutako itsasontzien helburua Kuba zen; izan ere, 1859an itsasontzien
%99 Kubara joan zen eta gelditzen den %1a Filipinetara. 1861ean bai badago
Montevideo-Buenos Airesera joango den itsasontzi baten erregistroa. 1900
urtean, buelta ematen du eta Bilbotik irtetzen diren itsasontzien %80 Argen-
tina eta Uruguaira joango dira (Azcona Pastor, García Albi Gil de Biedma, &
Muru Ronda, 1992). Horrela, kontinentearen independentzia lortu eta gero,
1.914 urtean populazioaren heren bat baino gehiago atzerrian jaiotakoak
ziren (Azcona Pastor, García Albi Gil de Biedma & Muru Ronda, 1992).
Uruguai pro-immigrazio politika hasi zuen HegoAmeriketako lehen he-
rrialdea izan zen. 1852 urtean 131.969 pertsonatik 8.585 immigranteak ziren.
Emigranteak nahi ziren bertan.

Australiaren kasuan baita ere, emigrazioa bilatzen ari ziren baina kasu hone-
tan argi ikusi zitekeen bilatzen zuten emigrazioa ez zela bera. Argentina,
Txile, Uruguai eta Brasilek ikuspuntu latino eta hizkuntza erdera zuten
bitartean, Australia, Kanada, Hego Afrika, Zelanda Berria eta Estatu Batuek
orientazio britanikoa zuten (Douglass, 1996). Horrela, Australian ez zuten
arraza beltzeko migrazioak nahi (Argentina, Txile eta Venezuelen bezelaxe).
Australiara joandako euskaldunek, batez ere, azukre industrian lan egin
zuten. Arrantzaleak ere izan ziren ugari Australian, E.Larramendi, Miguel
Urquijo eta Zurbano bezalakoak (San Sebastian, 2018:81). Heldu ziren lehen
euskaldunak *Queenslandera* heldu ziren Lekeitiotik 1910 urtean (Douglass,
1996). Badaude horiek baino lehenago joandako euskaldun batzuen istoriak
baina oso gutxi dira.

Estatu Batuetan ere euskaldunentzako erakargarria zen merkatu bat zegoen.
Arrantze edo marinel ugari Ipar Ameriketara joan ziren, eta nahiz eta New
Yorken egon komunitate handiena:

"Hubo colectividades significativas en los puertos de Boston y Filadelfia, en
Nueva Orleans, en Galveston, Texas por lo que se refiere al Atlántico y en Seat-
tle, San Francisco y San Pedro. En Salinas, condado de Monterey, hay un grupo
de pescadores, en su mayoría originarios de Bermeo" (San Sebastian, 2018:87).

²⁶ Este trabajo es, en parte, resultado del proyecto de investigación De fraternidad y paisanaje. Las Congregaciones, Hospitales y Cofradías de Originales en la Monarquía hispánica (siglos XVI-XIX), Dirección General de Investigación del Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación (HAR2009-09765, subprograma HIST).

1848 urtean urrearen sukarra izan zen eta euskaldunak joan ziren bertara lan egitera. Aipatzekoa da, aurrerago esan bezala, Kaliforniara joandako euskaldun horietatik gehiengoak bigarren aldiz emigratzen zuela, hau da, lehenengo Hego Ameriketara emigratu zuten, eta handik Kaliforniara urrearen sukarrarekin batera. Nueva Yorkera joandakoak, ordea, beste era bateko lanak burutuko zituzten:

“Worked on the docks, in the ports, on the tugboats and ferries, in brick factories and sugar refineries, and on the railroads. They established grocery stores, restaurants, food and wine delivery business, and distribution centers for imported European foods. Worked as trailers and seamstresses, in furniture manufacturing, in the hotels, as artist, musicians, engineers, teachers, policeman and business leaders” (Totoricagüena, 2003:64).

Honekin lotuta, Valentín Aguirrek zioen: “The Spaniards have very little chance to work on the docks, for the Irish have all the jobs. They work instead in the power houses, factories, and in the kitchen or engine departments of the ships” (San Sebastian, 2018:93).

Asko, urrearen bila arrakastarik izan ez eta artzain sartu ziren. Euskaldunak izateak ez zuen esan nahi Euskal Herrian aurretik artzain lanetan ibiliak zirenik, are gehiago, gehiengoak ez zuen ia inoiz artzain lanik egin, eta gutxiago 2.000 ardi bururekin. Hala ere, hori izan zen euskaldunek hartu zuten ogibidea, eta hortik aurrera artzain aritu ziren mende ugariz.

Emakumeen kasuan, ordea, Estatu Batuetan burutzen zuten lana bestelakoa zen. Gehingoak euskaldunen etxe, jatetxe eta lagunartean egoteko leku ziren *boarding houses*etan lan egiten zuten (Douglass, Urza, White and Zulaika, 1999).

Hortik aurrera migrazio ugari lan kontuengatik edo politikagatik izan da. Euskal Herrian lanik topatu ez eta Ameriketara zuten familiarengana joaten ziren bertan lan egitera, dirua irabazi eta Euskal Herrira bueltatzeko ideiarekin. Asko ez ziren inoiz bueltatuko. Gerora ere, Estatu Batuetan lehen frontoiak sortu zirenean euskaldunak frontoi horietara joango ziren Jai Alai edo zestara jokatzera, eta horrek ere, sortu zuen frontoiak zeuden herri horietan euskal komunitate bat.

Arrazoi eta garai desberdinengatik, euskaldunek leku bat edo beste bat aukeratu dute euren bidaia hasi edo amaitzeko. Gure lanean, helmuga moduan Estatu Batuak aukeratu zuten Euskal herritarretan zentratuko gara. Estatu Batuetara joan eta bertan bizi bat sortu eta Estatu Batuetako euskal komunitateko kide diren horietan.

5.2 Euskaldunak Estatu Batuetan. Datu geografikoak

Orain arte ikusi dugu nolakoa izan den euskal emigrazioa mundu osora eta zeintzuk izan diren migrazio horren arrazoiak eta helmugak. Orain, Estatu Batuetan dagoen euskal komunitatean edo diasporan zentratuko gara. Zergatik immigratu zuten euskaldunek Estatu Batuetara, Estatu Batuetako zein estatutara joan ziren eta zer egin zuten estatu horietan? Hori ezagutu ahal izateko gaiari buruz idatzita dagoena irakurri dugu eta sakoneko elkar-irizketak egin ditugu estatu desberdinetan bizi diren euskaldunekin. Horrez gain, Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunen artean zabalduko inkesta bati esker (N=424) jakin al izan dugu zein den bertan bizi diren euskaldunen egoera, zein probintzitatik datozen, zein belaunalditakoak diren eta zein estatutan dauden euskaldunak.

Bostgarren atal honetan datu orokorrak emango ditugu, hau da, Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunenak estatuka edo zonaka banandu gabe. Ikerketa honek, ordea, aukera eman digu datu zehatzagoak eta ikerketa sakonago bat egiteko, horregatik, bederatzigarren atalburuan ikerketa esploratorio bat egin dugu, non Estatu Batuetako euskaldunak zonaldeka bananduko ditugun eta datuak ere, orokarrak barik, zona horien arabera atera ditugun. Argitu nahi dugu, ondoren erabiliko diren datuak *online* zabalduko inkesta baten erantzunetan oinarrituta daudela. Erantzun kopurua altua (N=424) da konklusioak atera ahal izateko baina errepikatu nahi dugu, badagoela komunitateko parte handi bat inkesta honetatik kanpo geratu dena.

Migrazioa, bai emigrazioa zein immigrazioa beti izan da Euskal Herriko historiako parte bat, eta, emigrazioaren kasuan, Estatu Batuak, beste herrialde batzukin batera, Euskal Herriko helmugetariko bat izan dira. Itsasoarekin duen lotura dela eta, euskaldunak Estatu Batuetako kostetara joan ziren XVI eta XVII.mende inguruetan bale eta bakailao arrantzan (Douglass et al., 1999:95), hala ere, euskal emigrazioaren garairik nagusienetakoa, beste hainbat europearrekin batera, XIX. mende amaieran eta XX.mende hasieran izan zen. Behin herrialde berrian kokaturik zeudela, migrazio katea hasiko zen, eta euren familia eta lagunak, lehen emigrante horiek zeuden lekuetara joango ziren lan bila.

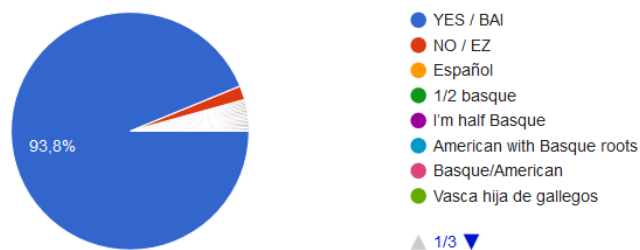
Hori dela eta, Estatu Batuetako hainbat estatutan euskaldunak topa ditza-kegu eta egun, 38 euskal etxe daude herrialdean. Horrez gain, NABO (North American Basque Association) deritzen elkarteak ere dago, zeinek euskal etxe horien arteko harremana eta Estatu Batuetako Euskal etxe eta Eusko Jaurlari-

tzaren eta Euskal Herriaren arteko harremana bideratuko duen. 2000 urteko erroldaren arabera, egun Estatu Batuetan bizi diren pertsonetatik 57.793 diote euskal jatorria dutela eta ikerketa hau aurrera eramateko 2018 urteko maiatza eta ekaina bitartean egindako inkestaren erantzunek (N=424) diote erantzundakoen ia 100%ek euskalduntzat duela bere burua.

1. Irudia: Euskal identitatea Estatu Batuetan

5.- Do you consider yourself Basque? / Euskalduna sentitzen zara?

420 respuestas



Iturria: Autoreak egin a inkestaren 5. galderaren erantzunen bidez

Ehunera heltzeko falta den kopuru horrek dio euskal amerikarrak, euskaldunak baina ez dutela euskaraz hitzik egiten edota euskal mexikarrak direla. Inkesta hau 424 pertsonen erantzun dute, horietatik gehiengoak Bizkaian du jatorria eta bigarren belaunaldiko euskaldunak dira, hau da, euren aitona edo aita edo ama izan ziren Euskal Herritik Estatu Batuetara joan zirenak.

2 Taula: Estatu Batuetan dauden euskaldunen probintzia

PROBINTZIA	EHUNEKOA
BIZKAIA	%54,35
GIPUZKOA	%17,22
NAFARROA	%15,09
BEHE NAFARROA	%11,79
LAPURDI	%5,19
ZUBEROA	%1,65
ARABA	%3,07
Ez dakit	%9,43

Iturria: autoreak egin a inkestako erantzunekin

Belaunaldiari dagokionez, gehiengoa bigarren belaunaldikoa dira, hau da, euren aita edo ama Euskal Herritik Estatu Batuetara joan ziren:

3 Taula: Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunen belaunaldia

Lehen belaunaldia	Bigarren belaunaldia	Hirugarren belaunaldia	Urrunagoko harremana
%18,87	%42,92	%35,85	%10,61

Iturria: autoreak egina

Estatu Batuetara joandako euskaldunak hiru zonatan kokatu dira gehienbat. Alde batetik mendebaldera joandakoak (Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington state Winnemucca eta Wyoming), bestetik Ekialde Iparraldera joandakoak (north east coast and mid-atlantic states), eta amaitzeko hegoaldera (Floridara) joandakoak.

4 Taula: Euskaldunen kopurua estatu desberdinetan

ERROLDA DATA 2000 URTEAN (people with one or more ancestry)	
CALIFORNIA	20,868
IDAHO	6,637
NEVADA	6,096
OREGON	2,627
FLORIDA	2,127
UTAH	1,361
NEW YORK	1,252
MARYLAND	399
MASSACHUSETTS	383
NORTH CAROLINA	330
CONNECTICUT	262

Iturria: US Census data 2000

Autore gehienak, mendebaldean dauden euskaldunei buruz idatzi dute, Nevada, Idaho eta Californiara joandakoei buruz, hain zuzen, baina Estatu Batuetako mendebaldean euskaldunak topa ditzakegu Arizona, Colorado,

Montana, Texas, Oregon, Utah, Washington state, Winnemucca eta Wyoming-en.

Mendebaldera joan ziren euskaldunek ez zuten prestakuntza profesionalik eta egiten zituzten lanak, batez ere, fisikoak ziren. Burutzen zituzten lanen artean ezagunena artzainena zen. NABOko president ohia eta egun Boiseko Euskal Museoko zuzendari den Annie Gavicaren hitzetan: “My great grandparents are from Ispaster and in the other side from Urepel. They emigrated over to Nevada, mostly and work with sheeps and cattle” (komunikazio pertsonala, 2018 urteko apirila).

Horrez gain, Kalifornia zonaldeko euskaldunek ere, lorategiak zaintzen irabazi zuten euren bizia edota esnearekin lotutako enpresetan: “...my uncle who worked on dairy farms in Southern California...” (Anne Marie Chiramberro, the responsible of the Hella Basque blog, active member in the Basque community in California, personal communication, April 2018, California).

Euskaldunek euren izena lortu zuten artzain eta langile fin moduan eta horrek migrazio katea sortu zuen Euskal Herriko herri batzuen eta Estatu Batuetako herri batzuen artean. Migrazio kate hori dela eta, Euskal Herriko herri batzuk ia gazte gabe gelditu ziren, denak Ameriketara joan zirelako.

Mendebaldetik ekialderantz bagoaz, New York, Boston, Connecticut, North Carolina eta Rhode Island topako ditugu bidean. Estatu horietara ere immigratu zuten euskaldunek baina bertara joateko arrazoiak edota bertan burututako lana desberdinak ziren. Alde batetik, marinel edo arrantzaleak denbora batez gelditzen ziren lekua zen; bestalde, New York izaten zen mendebaldera lanean joaten ziren euskaldunen lehen geltokia eta Valentín Aguirrek horrekin laguntzen zien:

“También recibía bastante gente que iba al oeste. Él les ayudaba con la conexión, billetes...El acogía a todos lo que venían y los que no tenían posibilidad, con que ayudasen un poco, les dejaba dormir” (Juan Jacinto Legarreta, active member of the Basque center in New York, personal communication, April 2018).

Bai ekialdean zein mendebaldean egindako elkarrizketetan Valentín Aguirreren izena agertu da. Pertsona ezaguna da New Yorkeko euskal komunitatean, helduberriak laguntzen zituen New Yorken kokatzen edota mendebaldera egin behar zuten bidaia prestatzen.

Zona honetara joandako euskaldunak hiru taldetan banatu ditzakegu: arrantzaleak eta XX.mende hasieran lan bila joandako euskaldunak; gerra garaian

Agirre Lehendakariarekin batera Euskal Herritik joan behar izan zutenak; eta XX.mende erdialdean zesta jokatzera joandako pilotari profesionalak eta azken urteotan garapen ekonomiko eta profesionalaren bila dabiltzan gazte kualifikatuak.

Amaitzeko, Floridako estatuan ere euskaldunak topa ditzakegu gaur egun. Euskaldun horiek zesta jokalaria profesionalak dira. Batzuk egun aktibo dirauten jokalaria gazteak, beste batzuk iada erretiratuta daudenak eta besteak eurekin batera etorritako bikote eta familia. Floridan lehen frontoia sortu zenetik, 1924 urtean Miamin, euskaldunak etorri izan dira Estatu Batuetako zonalde honetara eta egun, oraindik, hartu emon hori existitzen da.

Esan bezala, bederatzigarren atalburuan zonalde horietako euskaldunen nondik norakoak hobeto azalduko ditugu. Horra heldu arte, ikerketa orokorra izango da.

SEIGARREN ATALBURUA

HOMELAND DIASPORA KOMUNIKAZIOA

“Euskadi necesita a la diáspora vasca, así como la diáspora vasca necesita a Euskadi . La diáspora vasca necesita a Euskadi para que la savia vaya subiendo desde las raíces por el tronco a todas las ramas y a todas las hojas del árbol, para que el árbol siga vivo. Pero Euskadi necesita también a la diáspora para que Euskadi y los vascos de Euskadi no se duerman y para que mantengan viva la conciencia de que deben guardar, conservar y desarrollar la casa del padre, la casa común de todos los vascos” (Joseba Arregi, Eusko Jaurlaritzako Kultura eta Turismo Sailburua, Bahía Blanca 1990, Euskaletxeak aldizkaria, 1990 urteko urtarrila²⁷)

Euskal diasporaren eta Euskal Herriaren arteko komunikazioa garrantzitsua izan da hasieratik eta hori erakutsi dute harreman honetan alde batean zein bestean daudenak. Komunikazio horretan parte hartu izan dute familiek, indibiduo moduan; erakunde, komunikabide eta elkarteek, instituzio moduan; eta gizarte eta komunitateak, kolektibo bezala. Tesi lan honetan aztertuko da nola-koa izan den komunikazioa eta harremana Euskal Herritik eta diasporatik eta seigarren atal honetan, zehazki, Euskal Herritik diasporara. Ez ditugu aztertu,

²⁷ Euskal Etxeak aldizkaria, 1990 urteko urtarrila: http://www.ivap.Euskadi.eus/contenidos/informacion/06_revista_euskaletxeak/es_ee/adjuntos/08_c.pdf

gizarteak orokorrean martxan jarri dituen ekintzak, horrek bakarrik tesi oso bat beharko lukeelako eta nahiago izan dugu hori aurrerago egiteko utzi. Horrez gain, euskal kasuan zentratu baino lehenago, era labur batean, munduan beste diaspora eta herrialde batzuk burutzen duten lana aztertuko da.

Bai mundu zein Euskal Herri mailan ari garenean, azterketa bi ataletan banatuko da: alde batetik, medio eta komunikabideen lana, eta, bestetik, gobernu, instituzio, elkarten eta gizartearen lana. Euskal Herriaren kasuan, bi atal hauek garaitan banatuko digutu, errezagoa iruditu zaigulako lana horrela antolatzea. Beraz, bai medio eta komunikabide; zein instituzio eta elkarten lana bananduko dugu: Gerra Zibiletik Eusko Jaurlaritzara sortu zen lehen urteetara dagoen garaia (1937-1986); urte horretatik Kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunekin harremana izateko legea sortu zen urtera (1986-1994); eta urte horretatik gaur egun arte (1994-gaur egun). Hiru periodo horiek hito desberdinak markatu dituzte komunikazio eta harremanean eta horregatik banandu dugu lana horrela.

6.1 Munduan

Diaspora eta jatorrizko herrialdearen arteko komunikazioa hainbat eratakoa izan daiteke. Komunikazio bide eta tresna horien azterketa orokorra egin duten autoreen artean Kenny (2013) eta Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin (2009:14) daude. Beste diaspora komunitate batzuk ikertu dituztenen artean: Panagoula Diamanti-Karanou-k (2015) Grezia eta Estatu Batuetan bizi diren greziarren arteko harremana eta elkarteak aztertzen ditu; Daphne Naomi Winland-ek (2007) eta Ivana Djuric (2003), kroaziar diasporari buruz ikertu dute; eta Khachig Tololyan eta Ruben Yeganyanek (2013) armeniar diaspora ikertu dute.

Jatorrizko herrialdeetatik euren diasporetara bideratutako tresnen artean gobernuak martxan jarri dituztenak eta komunikabide edota medioenak identifikatu ditugu.

6.1.1 Gobernua

Jatorrizko herrialdeetako gobernuak diasporarekin harremana eta komunikazioa mantentzeko burutzen dituzten ekintzen artean, harreman publikoetako ekintzak (konferentziak, diasporaren eguna, ekitaldiak), ekimen instituzionalak (kooperazio proiektuak, kanpoan diren herritarrentzako bulegoa, jatorrizko hizkuntzako eskolak atzerrian, diaspora kideez sortutako aholkularitza komitea) (Kenny, 2013; Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009), diasporako kideei bideratutako diru laguntzak eta komunikazioa mantentzeko hileroko aldizkariak eta newsletterrak daude.

Gobernuek erabiltzen dituzten tekniken artean daude harreman publikoetako ekimenak, adibidez, diaspora konferentziak: "Governments are organizing events in the home country and inviting key members of the diaspora to attend and they are responding" (Aikins & White, 2011:121). Horien artean daude, adibidez, indiarrek antolatzen duten Pravasi Bharatiya Divas, urtarrilaren 9an antolatzen da eta Indiatik kanpo bizi diren indiarrek Indian egiten duten ekarpena eta honen garapenean laguntzen dutela gogoratzeko egiten den jaia da; Barbadoseko Gobernuak antolatzen duen Inaugural Barbados Diaspora Conference²⁸, non diasporako kideek Barbadosi egin diezaizkioketen ekarpenak nola kudeatu aztertzen dute, baita ere Barbadosen eta Barbadosetik kanpo bizi direnen artean harremana egiteko aukera izango dute; Cameroon Diaspora Economic and Trade Forum, Cameroon-eko diasporako 300 kidek brainstorming-a egiten dute ikusteko nola lagundu dezaketen herriaren garapen ekonomikoan; edota Euskal Kolektibitateen Mundu Biltzarra, lau urtero Eusko Jaurlaritzako Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritzak antolatzen duen kongresua, Euskal Herritik kanpo bizi diren euskaldunekin izango diren harremanak kudeatzeko eta hurrengo lau urteetan izango duten estrategia finkatzeko.

Aikins eta White-k dioten moduan, ekitaldi hauetan jatorrizko herrialdeek euren diasporak entzun al izango dituzte eta: "Provide them with an opportunity to voice their ideas for ways they can engage with the homeland and home institutions" (2011:122). Armeniarren kasuan, 1998 urtean Presidentea zen Rober Kocharianek Armeniak bere diasporarekin zituen harremanak estutu behar zituela esan zuen eta 1999 urtean Yerevanen Armenia-Diaspora konferentzia antolatu zuten non 52 herrialdetako 800 ordezkari hartu zuten parte (Kenny, 2013:100).

Konferentzia horiez gain, diasporari merezi duten garrantzia emateko diaspora egunak ospatzen dituzte jatorrizko herrialdeetan (Ionescu, 2006:36). Indiarrek 2003 urtean Indiar Diasporaren eguna ospatu zuten eta Euskal Herriak, lehen aldiz, 2018 urteko irailaren 8an, Euskal Diasporaren Eguna ospatu zuen Gasteizen dagoen Lehendakaritzan. Kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunek Euskal Herriarentzako izan duten eta duten garrantzia gogoratu zen, hainbat euskal etxe eta herrialdeetako ordezkariak izan ziren eta aukera izan zen harremanak egiten hasteko edo jarraitzeko.

Bestalde, ekimen instituzional orokorrak daude eta horien adibide dira kooperazio proiektuak, irlandarren kasuan, Mary Robinson presidentarena dago. Robinsonek Estatu Batuetan ikasi eta gero bazekien irlandar amerikarrek zuten

²⁸ Invest Barbados plataformaren webgunea, non Inaugural Barbados Diaspora Conference-ri buruz informazioa ematen duten: https://www.investbarbados.org/newsmain_es.php?viewid=87

potere ekonomiko eta politikoa nolakoa zen, horregatik, eman zuen hitzaldi batean “Cherishing the Irish Diaspora”²⁹ esan zuen, eta “Celtic Tiger” (1995-2007) garaian (garai hori da Irlandak ekonomia hazkundera izan zuen garaia eta izen hori darama “East Asian Tigers”-engatik, Singapur, Hego Korea, Taiwan eta Hong Kong-ek 1980 eta 1990 urteetan izan zuten hazkunde ekonomikoa izendatzeko erabilitako izena) Irlanda eta kanpoan bizi ziren irlandarren arteko kooperazio proiektuak bultzatu zituen.

Ekimen instituzionalen artean ere kanpoan bizi diren herritarrei zuzenduriko organoak daude. Horiek, batzutan Ministerioak izango dira, hala nola armeniarren kasuan, Ministry of Diaspora; Israelen kasuan, Ministry of Diaspora Affairs; irlandarren kasuan, Minister of State For Diaspora; Jamaicaren kasuan, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade. Beste batzutan, bulego, idazkaritzak edo zuzendaritzak izango dira, adibidez, Euskal Herriaren Euskal Etxe eta Kanpoan den Euskal komunitatearentzako Zuzendaritza; txinatarren kasuan, The Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (OCAO); greziarren kasuan, The General Secretariat for Greeks abroad; kroaziarren kasuan, Organization of the State Office for Croats Abroad; eta galiziaren kasuan, Subdirección Xeral de Acción Exterior e de Cooperación Trasfronteiriza.

Diasporekin harremana erregulatzen duten zuzendaritza, bulego edo ministerio horiez gain, diasporen garrantzia kontutan harturik, gobernu batzuk diasporako kideez sortutako aholkularitza taldeak edota *Think Tank*-ak (ideia laborategiak, erreflexiorako zentruak edota ikerketa institutuak deritzenak) sortu dituzte. Talde horietan atzerrian bizi diren herritarren aholkua eskatuko da herrialdeko eta diasporari buruzko gaien inguruan. Adibide batzuk dira: 2004 urtean Jamaicak sortutako Diaspora Aholkularitza Taldea (10 kidez osaturiko aholkularitza taldea eta Jamaikako Gobernua eta atzerrian bizi diren jamaikarren arteko zubilana burutzen du); Dominikar Errepublikakoek sortutako [Comisión de Dominicanos Residentes en el Exterior](#) (Levitt 2001:142); Norbegiarrek sortutako Norwegians Worldwide (1907an Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson-ek sortu zuen sarea, 1.900 bazkide inguru ditu 47 herrialde desberdinetan eta helburua Norbегia eta munduan zehar dauden norbegiarren arteko loturak indartzea, kanpoan bizi diren norbegierri ahotsa ematea eta sare bat sortzea da); finlandarrek, Finish Expatriate Parliament (Ulkosuomalaisparlamentti) (1997 urtean sortu zen eta kanpoan bizi diren finlandarren interesak entzun eta finlandiar gizartearekin zubia dira; Frantziak, (Assemblée des Français de l'étranger); Suitzak (Organisation des Suisses de l'étranger); eta Indiak, Global Advisory Council of Overseas Indians (2009 urtean osatu zuten eta bere helbu-

²⁹ Mary Robinsonen hitzaldia, 1995 urteko otsaila, Cherishing the Irish Diaspora; On a Matter of Public Interest: <http://www.igp-web.com/Kerry/diaspora.html>

rua atzerrian bizi diren eta indiar jatorria duten pertsona “ospetsuen” espezialitatea eta ezagutza elkarbanatzea da).

Beste ekimen mota bat dira “reconnecting” edo jatorrizko herrialdera (denbora batez) bueltatzea ahalbidetzen duten programak. Elkarrizketetan erantzun digutenaren arabera, herrialdera bueltatzeak asko laguntzen du herrialdearekin daukaten harremanean. Israeleko herriak Taglit-Birthright programa dauka eta honi esker judutarrak edota ez judutarrak denborada batez Israelera joateko aukera dute, honela identitatea eta komunitatearekin harremana indartuko da. Herrialde askok programa hori erreferente bezala izan dute ber konektatzeko programak egin dituztenean. Abramsonek dio honen bidez lotura sortzen dela: “The homeland itself-as an embodied, affective, and symbolic site- is strategically used in order to cultivate diasporic attachments”(2017:14). Armeniarrek, adibidez, Hamazkayin Armenian educational and cultural society dute. Euren webgunean azaltzen duten moduan, elkarte honen helburuetako bat da: “The organization’s goals also include preserving national identity and cultural traditions in a people living outside its homeland.” Armenian Relief Society (1910 urtean sortu zen eta munduko hainbat herrialdetan presente dagoen armeniar elkarte bat da) elkarteko zuzendaria den Verginie Toulomianen hitzetan, Hamazkayin-ek asko laguntzen die atzerrian dauden armeniarrei euren herriarekin harremana mantzentzen eta: “Pretty much focuses on educational and cultural event, for example, they take kids from each region of the world (17-24) and they go to Armenia for two weeks” (komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko martxoa).

Hainbat herrialdek burutzen dituzte ekimen horiek eta, nahiz eta gehienetan gobernuek antolatatu, batzutan diasporako kideek ere antolatzen dituzte horrelakoak, Estatu Batuetan den greziar diaspora kasu. Ionian Village udako kanpamentua da ameriketan bizi diren ume greziarrak Greziara joateko udan zehar baina hau Kleanthi Mavrogiannaki (Greek for Kids eskolako zuzendaria, greziera eta greziar kultura Massachusetts-en irakasten duen eskola) egindako elkarrizketan ezagutu ahal izan genuen moduan, Ameriketako elizak antolatzen du.

6.1.2 Medio eta komunikabideak

Medio eta komunikabideei dagokionez, herrialde ugariak newsletter edo webguneak erabiltzen dituzte euren diasporarekin komunikazioa mantentzeko. Karimek (2003), hainbat diaspora komunitateren “diaspora medioak” aztertzen ditu. Diaspora medioak izango dira Bozdog, Hepp eta Sunak diotenaren arabera: “Produce by and for migrants and deal with issues that are of specific

interest for the members of diasporic communities”(2012). Smets-ek diaspora kurduak erabiltzen dituen medioak aztertzen ditu; Georgiouk Europako diaspora medioak (2005) eta Agirreazkuenaga eta Larrondok, Radio Candela diaspora medioaren azterketa, non horri esker euskal latino identitatea nola sortzen den aztertzen duten.

Horiez gain, Karimek (2003) beste diaspora batzuk erabiltzen dituzten komunikabideak aztertzen ditu, beste batzuen artean: Indiakoa, arabiarra, armenianiarra, iranianiarra, judutarra, hispanikoa, turkiarra, mazedoniakoa, vietnamekoa, musulmana, txinatarra, greziarra, tibetarra eta ghaniakoa. Horrez gain daude Eskoziako Gobernuak sortutako ScotlandNow (munduan zehar dauden Eskoziarrei zuzendutako medioa), the Irish case, Emigrant News: “An independent organisation provides a weekly news summary, along with that supplied through the Emigrant Advice Network”(Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009:14). Hala ere, hauetatik asko diasporak berak sortuak dira, eta ez jatorriko herrialdetik diasporara bideratutakoak eta horregatik, hurrengo atalburuan aztertuko dira. Informazio gutxi topatu dugu jatorrizko herrialdeetatik diasporara bideratutako newsletter edo aldizkarietarako buruz.

Ikusten da, beraz, komunitate askok nahiko antzekoak diren ekintzak burutzen dituztela jatorrizko gobernuetatik euren diasporekin harremana mantentzeko. Orain, Euskal Herriaren kasuan burutzen diren ekintzen errepaso egingo dogu.

6.2 Euskal Herrian

Era labur batean beste herrialde batzuk euren diasporekin komunikatzeko dituzten tresnak aztertu eta gero, Euskal Herriaren eta kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunen artean komunikazioa eta harremana mantentzeko izan diren tresnen azterketa egingo da.

Analisia hiru garaitan bananduta egongo da: 1937-1986 zein “Euskal Herria eraikiz” deitu dugun; 1986-1994, “Lehen pausua” izenpean jarri duguna eta 1994-gaur egun, “Finkatutako estrategiak”-en barruan sartu duguna. Lehen bi garaiak ez ditugu atalka banatu baina azken garaia bai eta ondorengo taldeetan egin dugu: ekimen instituzionalak, komunikabideak, dibulgaziorako lanak eta teknologia berriak. Ekimen instituzionalen atalean, batez ere, Eusko Jaurlaritzatik martxan jarri diren ekimenak aztertzen dira; komunikabideetan Telebista (EITBren nazioarteko Telebista katea), egunkariak eta egunkari digitalak eta medio espezializatuak (Euskal Herritik informazioa bidaltzeko medioak ere sortu dira hasieran paperezko edizioan eta egun online eta oraindik bizirik diraute); dibulgaziorako lanen barruan, batez ere, akademia mailan egin diren

lanak eta diasporari buruzko dokumentalak, eta telesaiak; eta, azkenik, teknologia berrietan sare sozialak, hala nola Facebook sareak eta blog-ak.

Euskal etxeekin eta kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunekin harreman eta komunikazioan hainbat hito izan dira eta horien arabera ekintza desberdinak burutu dira. Hitoetako batzuk, Frankoren heriotza 1975ean, Garapenerako lankidetzeta eta Kanpoan ziren euskaldunekin harremana izateko zerbitzuaren Sorrera 1991an eta horren banatzea 1995ean, maiatzaren 27ko 8/1994 legearen sorrera (Euskal Autonomi Elkarteaz kanpoko Euskal gizatalde eta etxeekiko harremanetarako) eta teknologia berrien etorrera. Hito horiek desberdintasun bat suposatu dute kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunen eta Euskal Herriaren arteko komunikazio eta harremanari dagokionean.

6.2.1 1937-1986: Euskal Herria eraikiz

Komunikazioa eta harremana aztertzen badugu, kontutan izan behar da 1937 urtetik 1979ra Eusko Jaurlaritza erbestean izan zela, beraz, harremana eta komunikazioa zuzena zen, Gobernua ere, diasporako parte zelako. Bere gurasoak New Yorken Agirre Lehendakariarekin lanean egon ziren Anna Mari Aguirre-ren hitzetan: “The relation between the Lehendakari Aguirre and the Basque community of New York when he was in NYC - I know he frequently attended events and dinners of Centro Vasco Americano” (Komunikazio pertsonala, 2018 urteko apirila). Urte hauetan burutu ziren komunikaziorako ekintzak, batez ere, ekintza instituzionalak, harreman pertsonalak eta dibulgaziorako lanak izan ziren. Esan bezala, nahiz eta Eusko Jaurlaritza erbestean izan, ekimen instituzional garrantzitsu batzuk izan ziren. Urazandiren 24. liburuan Euskadiko Ordezkaritzei buruz informazioa ematen da eta garai horietan izan ziren ordezkaritzen nondik norakoak azaltzen dira.

“De este modo, el Gobierno Vasco, primero desde su sede en Bilbao, y posteriormente desde los sucesivos exilios en Barcelona, París y América, establecería una red de delegaciones en cerca de una veintena de países diferente sen prácticamente todos los continentes. Con mayor o menor fortuna, estas delegaciones representarían durante años del franquismo, y sobre todo durante las primeras décadas del exilio, al entramado a través del cual se expresaban ante la opinión pública internacional las ideas políticas de buena parte del país, que habían quedado proscritas bajo la dictadura” (Urazandi 24, Eusko Jaurlaritza 2010:108).

Ondoren dagoen taulan munduan zehar izan diren ordezkaritzen zerrenda dago 1948. urtera arte.

5 Taula. Euskal Ordezkaritzak Munduan

URTEA	HERRIA
1936	Madrileko ordezkari
	Pariseko ordezkari
	Baionako ordezkari
	Bordeleko ordezkari
	Mexikoko ordezkari
1937	Valentzi-Alikanteko ordezkari
	Bartzelonako ordezkari
	Belgikako ordezkari
	Londreseko ordezkari
	Irlandako proto-ordezkari
	Donibane Lohitzuneko ordezkari
1938	New Yorkeko ordezkari
	Buenos Aireseko ordezkari
1939	Ginebrako ordezkari
	Dominikar Errepublikako ordezkari
	Kubako ordezkari
	Panamako ordezkari
	Kolonbiako ordezkari
1940	Uruguayko ordezkari
	Caracaseko ordezkari
1941	Puerto Rikoko ordezkari
	Santiago de Txileko ordezkari
1942	Estatu Batuetako ordezkari
	Peruko ordezkari
1945	Ordezkari Manilan, Filipinak
	Belgikako ordezkari
1948	Erromako ordezkari

Iturria: elaborazio propioa Urazandiko Delegaciones de Euskadi liburuko datuekin

Kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunekin harremana mantentzeko tresna komuna izan dira harreman publikoetako ekintzak, eta horien artean, kongresuak. Honen adibide da 1956 urtean Agirrerren Gobernuak Parisen ospatu zeun Euskal Kongresu Mundiala. Ugaldek kongresuaren helburua gogoratzen du:

“Tratar el “problema vasco en forma global, estudiando todas las facetas que encierra nuestra vida nacion al”, intentando reunir a representaciones de los vascos de todos los matices, ideologías, clases y profesiones, “residan actual-

mente en la patria o en cualquier país del mundo”, para “contrastar ” todo tipo de “experiencias ” y “obtener útiles conclusiones”” (Ugalde, 2005:1).

Kongresu honen ondorio bezala, CEVA (Confederación de Entidades Vasco Argentinas) sortu zuten Caracasen izango zuelarik egoitza.

1956 urtean baita ere ekimen instituzionaletik kanpo dagoen ekintza bat topa dugu: euskaraz grabatu zen lehen filma. Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatean dokto-rea den Josu Martinezek bere doktoregorako ikerketa egiten ari zela Gure Sor Lekua (1956) filmarekin egin zuen topo, ezezaguna zen garai horretan filma Euskal Herrian. Filmaren helburuetako bat atzerrian zeuden euskaldunei Euskal Herriko irudi batzuk bidaltzea eta euren herrimiña asetzea zen. Nahiz eta oraindik filmaren ahotsa ez den topatu, euskaraz egindako lehen film-a da. Filmaren autoreak buruan zituen atzerrian bizi ziren euskaldunak eta horiekin harremana mantentzeko helburuarekin hau egin zuen.

Garai horretan Euskal Herriaren eta kanpoan bizi ziren euskaldunen arteko komunikazioa mantentzeko era komunena gutunak, noizik behiniko telefono deiak, Euskal Herrira familia bisitatzeko egiten zituzten bidaiak eta Euskal Herriak kanpoan zituen ordezkari eta horiek diasporako kideekin zuten harremanean oinarritzen zen. Francoren heriotzak kanpoan bizi ziren euskaldunekin zegoen harremanean eta komunikazioan eragin handia izan zuen. Bere garaiak Kanpoan den Euskal Komunitatearekin eta Euskal etxeekin dagoen harremanaz ardurten den Zuzendaritzako zuzendaria zen Josu Legarretak garai horri buruzko informazio asko eman digu berarekin egindako sakoneko elkarrizketan. Gainera, komunikazio eta harreman horren eboluzioa nolakoa izan den irudikatzen lagundu digu. Estatu Batuetako euskaldunetan zentratuko garen arren, badaude lanean momentu batzuk zeintzutan Argentinara bideratutako komunikazio eta harremanari ere erreferentzia egiten zaion.

Agirrereren Gobernua eta Eusko Jaurlaritzaren erbestean zeuden bitartean (1936-1960ra arte Agirrerekin eta 1960tik 1979ra Leizaolarekin) Jaurlaritzak euskal etxeekin zuen harremana oso estua eta jarraia zen. Legarretaren hitzetan Eusko Jaurlaritzak “Euskal etxeak “erabiltzen” zituen, maitasunagatik, interesagatik...”, Franco hil eta gero, ordea, 1975 urtean alderdi guztiak zuten harremana asko hoztu zen Euskal Herria eraiki behar zelako eta indar guztiak horretara bideratu behar zituztelako. 1980 urtean diasporatik erreklamoa izan zen, kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunak konturatuko dira instituzioei dagokionez, ez zegoela aurretik zegoen harremana: “Politiko danak dedikatzen direlako herri honen eraikuntzan. Eta eraikuntza horren kanpoan daudenak gelditzen dira kanpoan” (Josu Legarreta, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko maiatza). Erreklamoa

hori, batez ere, Argentina aldeko euskaldunen eskutik etorri zen eta 1980 urte inguruan atentzioa erreklamatzeko.

Ordutik aurrera esan daiteke harremana apur bat gehiago hurbiltzen dela, eta hor hasten dira ekimen instituzionalak indar gehiago izaten. Horren adibide dira euskal politikarien bisitak euskal diaspora kokatzen zen herrialde batzutarara: Labayenen (EAJko politikaria, Donostiako alkatea eta Eusko Jaurlaritzako Kultura Sailburua izan zen) bisita Necocheara (Argentina) Euskal Aste Nazionalera Alkain (Donostiako alkatea) eta Tolosako alkatearekin:

“Eusko Jaurlaritza lehen aldiz Necochean antolatutako Aste Nazionalen agertu zen, 1981.urtean. Ramón Labayen, Garaikotxearen gobernuan hezkuntza sailburua zena, izan zen ordezkari lideratu zuena. Ordutik aurrera, Eusko Jaurlaritzak beti bidali izan du Jaurlaritzatik ordezkariaren bat” (Xabier Zubillaga, Necocheako Euskal argentinarra, Argentinako Euskal komunitatean pertsona aktiboa, komunikazio pertsonala, 2015).

Interesgarria da politikariek Argentinako Euskal Aste Nazionalera egin dituzten bisitak puntu honetan gogoratzea. Ibarretxe Lehendakaria izan zenetik (2009), 2018 urtera arte, Lehendakaria ez da joan Euskal Aste Nazionalera. Aurren, ordea, lehen aldiz Urkullu Lehendakaria Argentinara joan da. Diaspora eta kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunen garrantziari buruz asko esaten duen zerbait da hori.

Josu Legarretari egindako elkarrizketan esan zigun Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko komunikazioan izan zela garrantzitsua izan zen irrati programa bat, Floren Torrelledók gidatzen zuen irrati programa. Horregatik, gehiago jakiteko, elkarrizketa bat egin genion Torrelledó-ri. Kontatu zigun nola 1976 urtean Euskal Herritik Otxote Danok Bat taldea Argentinara joan zen. Bertan, “Euskadi ” izeneko ikuskizuna Argentinako antzerki hoberenetan zabaldu zuten eta bera, Torrelledó, zen ikuskizunaren aurkezlea. Parte ziren, baita ere, beste batzuen artean Rotaetxe, Gorka Knorr eta Boni txistularia. Handik bueltatzean, 1977an, Radio Euskaditik deitu zioten eta “Vascos en América” irrati programa egiteko proposamena luzatu zioten:

“Al haberme ofrecido en Argentina la opción de hacer un programa todas las semanas lo supieron aquí. Y no sé cómo si fue allí o Radio Euskadi , pero surgió la idea de hacer un programa para los vascos en América. Como ya allí me conocía “todo hijo de vecino” entonces empecé a hacer aquí el programa, un programa cada semana y luego se enviaba allí” (Floren Torrelledó, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko ekaina).

Horrela, garai horretan iada, bazegoen buruan diaspora zuen irrati programarik.

Ekimen instituzionalekin jarraituz, Eusko Jaurlaritza sortu eta bi urtera, Eusko Jaurlaritzako ordezkariak Boisen (Idaho) izan ziren, Estatu Batuak eta Euskal Herriko politikarien arteko harremanaren hasieran izango zena. Boise State University-n dituzten artxibo eta kolezio berezietan ikusi ahal izan dugu "Idaho Trade Mission to the Basque Country, 1982" deritzon dokumentua non euskal politikariak Idahora joan zireneko informazioa dagoen. Alberto Amorrortu (Kultura Sailburua) eta Jose Salaba (Agrikultura Sailburua) Idahora joan ziren bi gobernuen arteko harremana garatzeko eta aukera enpresarialak lortzeko. Aurrerago ere bisita hori ikertuko dugu Euskal Herria eta Estatu Batuen arteko sare komertziala ikertzean.

1982.urtean harreman publikoetako ekintzekin jarraituz Garaikoetxearen Gobernuko Kultura Sailak Ameriketako Euskaldunak Euskadin. Lehen Batzarrea (*I Congreso de Vascos de América en Euskadi*) antolatu zuen Donostian irailaren 2tik 7ra. Ugalderen lanaren arabera, kongresu honetara 9 herrialdeetako 203 ordezkari joan ziren (86 Argentinatik, 14 Venezuelatik, 9 Txiletik, 8 Estatu Batuetatik, 5 Uruguaitik, 4 Kanadatik, 3 Kolonbiatik, 3 Mexikotik, 2 Perutik eta begirale bat Filipinetatik (Ugalde, 2007:135). Harremanean garatu behar ziren sei puntu ukitu zituzten eta horien artean hirugarrena komunikazioarekin eta komunikabideekin lotuta zegoen.

"La tercera Comisión redactó un informe sobre los Medios de comunicación entre América y Euskadi. Se concluía la necesidad de solucionar la deficiente comunicación en ambos sentidos sugiriendo la estructuración de un sistema de intercambios permanente y efectivo. Para ello se propusieron ideas como la puesta en marcha de noticieros por telex; elaboración de reportajes; programa sen euskera; producción de programas de radio; y creación de una revista" (Ugalde, 2007:136).

Munduan zehar zeuden euskaldunek eskatu zutena kontutan izanda, komunikazio alorrean Euskal Herria eta euskal diaspora komunikatzeko aldizkari baten beharra zegoela ikusi zuten. Horrela hiru hilean behin etxetara bidaltzen zen paperezko aldizkaria jarri zuten martxan. Aldizkari hori euskal etxeak aldizkaria izan zen, 1989.urtean sortu zen eta Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren inguruko albisteak ematen zituen.

Toticaguenak bere doktorego tesian aldizkariari buruzko informazioa ematen du eta ondorengo informazioa ematen du honi buruz: "Journal published for the diaspora communities three or four times a year by the Basque Government with news and information regarding Euskal Herria and Basques from all over the world"; horrez gain, Toticaguenak bere lanean euskal identitatea diasporan nola mantentzen den aztertzen du eta horretarako euskal etxeak aldizkaria-

ren garrantziari buruz galdetzen die diasporako kideei. Bere hitzetan ikusi daiteke zein garrantzitsua izan zen aldizkari honen sorrera komunitate batu eta diaspora antolatu baten sentimentua izateko:

“Being an organized and mobilized diaspora community is socially and psychologically significantly different from being just one more descendant of another immigrant in their host society...This publication has been the most effective to date in creating a united diaspora mentality that demonstrates to all Basques who encounter it the similarities between the diaspora populations” (Totoricaguena, 2000:217).

Aldizkaria etxean hartzeko interesa erakusten zuten guztiei bidaltzen zitzairen. 2011 urtetik aurrera aldizkaria online formatura pasatu zen eta orain ostiral guztietan bidaltzen den newsletter batean bihurtu da.

Ardanza Lehendakariak agintea hartu zuen 1985 urtean eta Jokin Intxausti izendatu zuen euskal etxe eta euskal komunitateekin harremanetarako ardura-dun (Ugalde, 2007:47). 1986 urtean, harreman honetan oso garrantzitsua izango den aurrerapausu bat eman zen: Euskal Etxeekin eta kanpoan bizi diren Euskaldunekin harramana izateko zerbitzuaren sortzea (Ugalde, 2007:47). 1986 urtetik euskal etxeekin harremanak eramateko ardura Kultura eta Turismo sailak zuen. Gerora bihurtuko zen bere Zuzendaritza propioan. 1987 urtetik aurrera, komunikazioa garatzen hasi zen eta horretarako erabili zituzten tresnak: bisitak, telefax-a eta telefonoa izan ziren. Legarretaren hitzetan, lehenik eta behin jada existitzen ziren euskal etxeak bisitatu eta ezagutu zituzten (komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko maiatza). Telefaxaren ondoren telefonoa erabiltzen zuten, baina telefonoaren bidez zeukaten harremana pertsonala zen, eta Zuzendaritza ez zen pertsona batentzako bakarrik, guztientzako zen.

Ikus dezakegu beraz, lehen urte hauetan burutu ziren ekimenak batez ere, ekimen indibidualak eta instituzionalak izan ziren: familien arteko komunikazioak, harreman publikoetako ekintzak, konferentziak, aldizkari instituzionalak eta gobernuko ordezkariekin harremanak.

6 Taula: 1959-1986 komunikazio eta harremana

DATA	EKIMENA	EKIMEN MOTA
1956	Gure Sor Lekua film-a	Film-a
1956	Congreso Mundial Vasco, Parisen	Ekimen instituzionala
FRANKOREN HERIOTZA 1975		

DATA	EKIMENA	EKIMEN MOTA
1976	“Euskadi ” antzerkia Argentinan	Ekintza kulturala
1977	“Vascos en América” Irrati Programa	Komunikabideak
1982	Ameriketako Euskaldunak Euskadi n. Lehen Batzarrea	Ekimen instituzionala
1985	Euskal etxe eta kanpoan diren Euskal komunitateekin harremana eramango duen Eusko Jaurlaritzako Aholkulariaren izendapena: Jokin Intxausti	Ekimen instituzionala
1986	Euskal Etxekin Harremana eramango duen Zerbitzuaren sorrera	
ZERBITZUAREN SORTZEA 1986		

Iturria: norberak egina

6.2.2 1986-1994: Lehen pausuak

1986 urtetik 1994ra, oraindik, ekimen instituzionalak eta pertsonalak izango dira batez ere protagonistak, hala ere, maila akademikoan edota komunikabideen munduan harreman eta komunikazioa indartzeko saiakerak emango dira.

1986. urtean Eusko Jaurlaritzatik kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunekin harremana mantentzeko zerbitzua sortu zen.

1989an Euskal etxeekin harremanetarako zerbitzuak Euskal Etxeen I Kongresu Mundiala antolatu zuen Bahía Blancan (Argentina). 1986 urtean, nahiz eta sortua zen jada kanpoan bizi ziren Euskaldunekin eta Euskal etxetik harremana izateko bulego bat, 1991 urtean izan zen, Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritza sortu zen urtea. Orduetik Idazkaritza hau Lehendakartzaren parte izan da: “Adscripción de la Acción Exterior de modo directo a la figura del Lehendakari como representante máximo de la voluntad popular directamente elegido” (Urazandi 24, Eusko Jaurlaritza 2010:103).

Garai honetan, batez ere, ekimen instituzionalak burutu ziren kanpoan bizi ziren euskaldunekin harremana izateko eta horien artean daude: Euskal etxeekin harremana izateko zerbitzua (1986), Euskaletxeak aldizkariaren sorrera

(1989), Argentinan euskaraz programa (1990), Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritza Nagusiaren sorrera(1991) eta 8/1994 Legearen sorrera eta horren barruan dauden puntu guztiak.

Euskal diasporako kideek euskal identitatea mantentzeko dituzten gauzen artean euskara, (janariaren ondoren) oso garrantzitsua dela azpimarratzen dute:

“Los vascos, eran hombres y mujeres con una gran claridad de conceptos, sabían que el futuro de una nación reside en gran parte en su lengua, que es la que imprime una forma de pensar, de sentir y de ser” (2000 urteko Mundu Biltzarreko aktak, Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2001:231).

Horrela, 1990 urtean ekimen instituzionalen barruan “Argentinan Euskaraz” programa sortu zuen Eusko Jaurlaritzak. Lehen saiakera Macachinen (Argentinan) izan zen eta 35 gaztek eman zuten izena. Horrekin ari zirela Argentinako Unibertsitateekin harremanak eta euskal kulturako katedrak sortu ziren (Josu Legarreta, Kanpoan den Euskal komunitatearentzako Zuzendaritzako zuzendari ohia, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko maiatza).

Aurrerago HABEk hartu zuen proiektua lideratzeko kargua.

2 Irudia: Lehen euskara kurtsoa atzerrian



Macachin fue el escenario de esta primera experiencia de cursos intensivos de euskera.

Ventitrés jóvenes de los Centros Vascos en Argentina han realizado la primera experiencia de un curso intensivo de Euskera de las Euskal Etxeak. Utilizando sus meses de vacaciones han dedicado ocho horas diarias a conocer y profundizar en el Euskera.

Macachin es una pequeña ciudad de 5.000 habitantes, situada en la Pampa húmeda de Argentina. En ella se encuentra el Centro Vasco Euzko Aikartasuna, Hotel y Centro Vasco al mismo tiempo, con tres directivos animadores de la actividad cultural de la propia ciudad y del Centro Vasco. Los Señores, Unamuno y Alazne y Alejandro Iruetagoiena han sido los verdaderos artífices que han trabajado para conseguir las mejores condiciones posibles para que 23 jóvenes de los Centros Vascos de Argentina hayan podido realizar la primera experiencia de un curso de euskera, intensivo, en los Centros Vascos de todo el mundo.

Curso de Euskera en Macachín

seña sólo el Euskera) de Arrigoriaga y Amorebieta (Vizcaya), que viajaron expresamente hasta Argentina.

De enero a marzo, en los meses de verano argentino, estos 23 jóvenes han dedicado sus vacaciones al aprendizaje de la lengua más antigua de Europa, nuestra lengua el Euskera. Con profesoras y materiales remitidos desde el País Vasco, estos jóvenes han participado en las ocho horas de clase diarias. Un récord de programación, de asistencia y de aguante por amor a la lengua que hablaban sus abuelos o bisabuelos que llegaron a Argentina.

Los resultados obtenidos han sido realmente buenos. El grupo de los 23 alumnos se ha dirigido al Gobierno Vasco solicitando se les organice cursos similares el próximo mes de julio, para quince días, y de diciembre a marzo de 1991.

Nuestra felicitación por su esfuerzo y por los resultados obtenidos: Zorionak. ■

Dos profesoras de Euskadi

El curso empezó el 7 de enero, bajo la dirección de las profesoras Gurutze Arrieta y Miren Josu Uriarte, directoras de los Euskaltegis (Colegios en que se en-

EUSKAL ETXEAK 21

Iturria: Euskal etxeak aldizkariaren lehen aleatariko bat. Eskuragarri Eusko Jaurlaritzako webgunean, non euskal etxeal aldizkariaren paperezko bertsioak digitalizatuta dauden: <http://www.Euskadi.eus/gobierno-vasco/-/comunidad-vasca-en-el-externo-revista-Euskal-etxeak/>

Programa honekin batera, Zuzendaritzaren parte ziren beste ekintzak ere jarri ziren martxan.

7. Taula: 1986-1995 Komunikazio eta harremana

DATA	EKIMENA	EKIMEN MOTA
1986	Euskal Etxeekin harremana izateko Zerbitzua (Kultura eta Turismo Sailaren barruan)	Ekimen Instituzionala
1989	Munduko Lehen Euskal Kongresua (Bahía Blancan, Argentina)	Ekimen Instituzionala
1989	Euskaletxeak aldizkaria	Ekimen Instituzionala
1988-1990	Press Clipping Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea	Dibulgazioa
1990	Argentinan Euskaraz programa	Ekimen Instituzionala
1991	Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritza Nagusia sortzea (Lehendakaritza barruan)	Ekimen Instituzionala
8/1994 LEGEAREN SORTZEA		

Iturria: norberak egina

6.2.3 1994-gaur egun: Finkatutako estrategiak

Aurreko bi garaitan instituzioen eskutik, eta, batez ere, Eusko Jaurlaritzatik sorturiko ekintzak badira nagusi ere, 1994tik aurrera komunikabideak eta beste era bateko elkarteak ere hasiko dira komunikazio hau indartzeko lanean. Gainera, interneten indarrak ere komunikazio horretan parte hartzen duten aktoreen ugaritzea ekarriko du, eta lehen, batez ere instituzioen esku bakarrik zegoena, gizartearen esku ere egongo da.

6.2.3.1 Ekimen Instituzionalak

“The Basque Government need the diaspora for the Public Diplomacy for the Paradiplomacy, the Basque Government needs all these networks of Mikel Prieto, Steve, Herman...they need them. They need the Euskal Etxeak for the public diplomacy, for the books fair, for the Jaialdis...they have a positive social image, but they cannot control what happens. There are too many networks, relations. And diaspora members...they don't need the Basque Government for anything” (Gloria Toticaguena, personal communication, April 2018).

Pausu ugari ematen ari ziren kanpoan bizi ziren euskaldunekin zerikusia zutenak, eta horien artean aipagarrienetakoa da 1994 urtean sortu zen maiatzaren 27ko 8/1994 legea, Euskal Autonomi Elkarteaz kanpoko Euskal gizatalde eta etxeekiko harremanetarakoa. Beste herrialde batzuek bazuten euren diasporarekin edo kanpoan bizi ziren herritarrekin harremanetarako legerik. Euskal Herriaren kasuan hori falta zen eta horregatik maiatzaren 27ko 8/1994 legea sortu zuten. Lege honen sortzearen eta lege honen barruan dauden ekintza guztiei buruzko informazio zehatza eta osatua dago Alexander Ugalde eta Jose Luis de Castrok, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko irakasleak, argitaratutako liburuan “La Acción Exterior del País Vasco (1980-2003)”. Horrez gain, Ugaldek eta De Castrok Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Kanpo Harremanei eta Kanpo Harremanetako ekintzei buruz argitaratutako urtekariak daude (2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008-2009, 2010, 2011) eta hauetan, beste gauza batzuen artean legerari esker betetzen diren ekintzen errepasoa egiten dute. Guk era labur batean azalduko ditugu lege honen ondorioz burutzen diren ekintzak Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko harremanerako bide moduan aurkeztuko ditugu.

Ekimen instituzionalei dagokioenean 8/1994 legea sortu ondoren (1995ean) banandu egingo dira ordura arte bat ziren Garapenerako Lankidetzako Zuzendaritza eta Kanpoan diren Euskal etxe eta Euskaldunekin harremana izateko Zuzendaritza (Ugalde, 2007:53). Iñaki Agirre Arizmendi izendatzen dute diasporako zuzendari (1995tik 1999ra). 1999tik 2009ra Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkari orokorra izan zen. Iñaki Agirre Arizmendiren ondoren, Josu Legarreta izan zen diasporarekin harremanetarako zuzendaria (1999-2009), ondoren Julián Celaya (2009-2012), Asier Vallejo (2013-2016) eta gaur Gorka Álvarez Aranburu.

1995.urtean, ordutik bost urtean behin antolatzen den Kanpoan den Euskal Kolektibitateen Lehen Mundu Biltzarra antolatu zen. Biltzar hau, aurrerago esan bezala, Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritza barruan dagoen Euskal Kolektibitate eta Euskal etxeekin dagoen harremanaz arduratzen den Zuzendari-tzak antolatzen du, bi-hiru egunez munduan zehar dauden Euskal etxeetako ordezkariak Euskal Herrira etortzen dira, hitzaldiak eta mintegiak antolatzen dituzte eta datorren lau urteetan Euskal Herritik euskal diasporarekin izango den harremana planifikatzen da. Kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunetz gain, Euskal Herrian gai hauek ikertu edo gai hauekin lan egiten dutenak ere izaten dira. Harreman publikoetako ekimen moduan aurkezten dogun ekimena da, zeinek oso emaitza positiboak dakartzan bai Euskal Herriaren eta kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunen arteko harremanean, baita kanpoan herrialde desberdinetan bizi diren Euskaldunen artekoan ere. Lehen Biltzarra 1995 urtean antolatu zen, gero lau urtean behin 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011 eta 2015ean. Eusko Jaurlaritzak biltzar hauetako ponentzi eta egitaraua biltzen dituen liburuak ateratzen ditu Kongre-

sua egin eta gero. Biltzar hauei buruz informazioa lortzeko bide hobereana liburuok irakurtzea da. Argitaratu dituzten liburuen artean daude 1995ko Biltzarreko liburua “Euskaldunak Munduan, Building the future”; 1999koa “Euskadi munduan eraikitzen. Congreso Mundial de Colectividades Vascas 1999”; 2003 urtekoa “Aurrera goaz. III Congreso Mundial de Colectividades Vascas”; 2007koa “Zubigintzan IV. Congreso Mundial de Colectividades Vascas”. 2011 urtekoa “Guztion artean” eta 2015 ekoa “Diasporizatu” (ez dago azken urteko Biltzarreko libururik). Liburu hauek Lehendakariaren agurra, Kongresuan diasporako kideek, adituek eta ordezkari instituzionalek emandako hitzaldiak, eta Kongresuko argazkiak daude.

Nahiz eta instituzioen lana izan nagusi, izan ziren, baita ere, dibulgazioarako lanak, euren artean testimonioen bilketa (Eusko Ikaskuntza 1995) eta press clipping-a³⁰ Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatearen eskutik (1988-1990).

Zuzendaritzaren eta legearen sorrerak eragin handia izan zuen komunikazio eta harremanean, baina, elkarriketetan esan digutenaren arabera, teknologia berriak izan dira komunikazioan eragin gehien izan dutenak. Diasporako kideek eta instituzioetako ordezkariak gogoratu dute ordenagailuak eta internetek Euskal Herriaren eta kanpoan bizi ziren horien artean zegoen komunikazioan aurrerapausu itzela suposatu zuela. Izan ere, ez da bakarrik komunikazio instituzionala hobetuko baina baita ere indibiduo, familia eta lagunen artekoa. Totoricaguenak ere, bere doktorego tesian hori azpimarratu zuen: “Internet access will likely provide the most significant catalyst for exponential increases in intradiasporic communications” (2000:216). 1995 urtean, Euskal Kolektibitateen lehen biltzarren ondorioetako bat izan zen Euskal etxeetan ordenagailuak jartzea. Biltzarreko aktetan irakurri dugun moduan, biltzarreko ondorioetako bat izan zen Eusko Jaurlaritza eta euskal etxeen arteko komunikazioa hobetu behar zela, eta, horregatik “se decide que se van a instalar sistemas informáticos en todos los centros vascos”. Honek komunikazioan hito bat suposatzen du, liburuan dioten moduan:

“Eso supone un antes y un después en la comunicación. A finales de 1995 se logró una partida extraordinaria de 40 millones de pesetas para dotar a todos los centros vascos oficialmente reconocidos de material informático, que les permitiera por una parte una comunicación rápida, barata y eficaz con el GV y por otra parte el acceso, vía Internet, a toda una información disponible en la red” (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 1999 urteko Kongresuko aktak, 2000:46).

³⁰ Maila akademikoan ere gaiak bere garrantzia irabazi zuen eta 1988 eta 1990 urteetan Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateko irakasle batzuk (Óscal Alvarez Gila, Alberto Angulo Morales eta José Bernardo Marcilese) Press clipping-a egin zuten.


1995 urteko ekainaren 21ean lehen Euskal Giza taldeekiko Harremanetarako Aholku Batzordea izendatu zen, helburu bezala lau urteko plangintza egitea izango zutelarik. Ikusi dugun moduan, hainbat gobernuak, euren diasporarekiko harremana mantentzeko estrategia bezala, jatorrizko herrialdera bueltatzeko bi aste inguruko bidai laburrak antolatzen dituzte. Eusko Jaurlaritzaren kasuan, hori jarraituz, 1996 urtean Gaztemundu programa sortu zen. Programa honen helburua zen:

“Impulsar la intervención de las y los jóvenes en las actividades de las Euskal Etxeak, siendo éstas consideradas <<el cauce preferente de relación entre los miembros de las colectividades vascas y las Administraciones Públicas de la Comunidad Autónoma de Euskadi >> (Ley 8/1994 de relaciones con las colectividades y Centros Vascos en el Exterior de la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco).

Gure aburuz Gaztemundu programa diaspora estrategia bat da. Diaspora gaie-tan aditua den Aikins-ek (2009) diaspora strategiak: “An explicit systematic policy initiative or series of policy initiatives aimed at developing and managing the relationships between homeland and diaspora populations” direla dio. Uste dugu programa honek diasporako gazteen eta jatorrizko herrialdearen arteko harremanean eragina dutela, eta horregatik, Eusko Jaurlaritzaren diaspora estrategia bat dela.

Gaztemunduk urtero gai bat jorratuko du: dantza, musika, euskara edo etorki-zuneko liderren prestakuntza. Gai horrekin lotuta, euskal etxeetako ordezkari gazte egokienak etorriko dira. Egonaldi horretan diasporako gazteek euskal kultura ezagutuko dute, Euskal Herrian egongo dira, euskaldunekin harremanak sortuko dituzte eta euskaltasuna hurbiletik sentituko dute. Gaztemundu programa lehen aldiz 1996 urtean egin zen, hau da, Kanpoan diren euskaldunekin harremana mantentzeko 8/1994 Legea irten eta bi urte geroago.

3 Irudia: Gaztemundu programari buruzko informazioa:



EUSKAL ETXEAK

Los jóvenes de las Euskal Etxeak visitaron el Dolmen de "La choza de las brujas en la Rioja Alavesa" (foto Idoia Barroñak)

**PARA RECUPERAR SUS RAÍCES
HIJOS Y NIETOS DE EMIGRANTES
VASCOS, VISITAN EUSKADI**

Sesenta jóvenes, hijos o nietos de vascos e integrantes de las Colectividades Vascas de Sudamérica visitaron durante quince días Euskadi para participar en unos encuentros entre jóvenes vascos del exterior y acercarse a la realidad actual del País Vasco.

Los jóvenes, cuyas edades oscilaban entre los 20 y 30 años y procedían de Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile, Puerto Rico, Perú, El Salvador y México, fueron invitados por la Secretaría de Acción Exterior y el Departamento de Cultura del Gobierno Vasco.

Con esta iniciativa el Gobierno Vasco pretendía que los jóvenes discutieran sobre su papel en los Centros Vascos y sobre aquellos temas que les interesan especialmente como la formación, el empleo, la cultura, las nuevas tecnologías, etc., dado que conseguir una mayor implicación de los jóvenes es precisamente uno de los objetivos que se recogen en el Plan Cuatrienal aprobado en el Congreso Mundial de Colectividades celebrado a finales del pasado año. Pero, el objetivo principal de este viaje

era, sin duda, que los jóvenes vascos conocieran de cerca la realidad vasca. Por esta razón, el programa incluía entrevistas con altos cargos del Ejecutivo vasco, visitas a las Instituciones vascas y a las instalaciones de ETB, Mondragón Corporación Cooperativa y Parque Tecnológico de Zamudio, contactos con responsables de la Universidad del País Vasco y de Deusto y encuentros con jóvenes empresarios vascos y con representantes del Consejo de Juventud de Euskadi. Y por supuesto, visitas turísticas a Vitoria-Gasteiz, a la Rioja Alavesa, a Orduña, Bilbao, Gernika, Lekeitió, Fuenterrabía, Hendaia, San Sebastián, Elizondo y Saint Jean de Pied de Port. Los jóvenes además, mantuvieron un encuentro con el Lehendakari José Antonio Ardanza y con el Vicelehendakari Juan José Ibarretxe quienes les dieron la bienvenida y les expusieron diversos aspectos de la realidad del país.

En la clausura de las jornadas los participantes presentaron sus conclusiones ante el Secretario de Acción Exterior del Gobierno Vasco, Andoni Ortu-

zar y la Consejera de Cultura, Mari Karmen Garmendia. Unas conclusiones muy similares a las planteadas pocos meses antes por los participantes en el Congreso Mundial de Colectividades Vascas. Los jóvenes quieren tener un papel más activo en las Euskal Etxeak de sus respectivos países e introducirse en las Directivas de las mismas; se quejan de la falta de comunicación entre las Euskal Etxeak entre sí y con Euskadi y muestran su preocupación por captar y retener a las nuevas generaciones de jóvenes vascos con el fin de no perder su identidad. Y para ello, proponen crear entre los jóvenes una estructura a nivel mundial.

En su intervención Andoni Ortuazar se mostró satisfecho con el resultado de este programa porque, a su juicio, se han cumplido los objetivos del mismo, es decir, escuchar sin intermediarios a las nuevas generaciones de vascos, que éstas conocieran de primera mano Euskadi y sus instituciones sociales, económicas y culturales, que el viaje les sirviera para "cargar las pilas". Estas jornadas pretendían analizar qué se puede hacer para difundir la vasca a partir de las Euskal Etxeak y fundamentalmente, que los jóvenes supieran con toda certeza de donde provienen. Ortuazar además, mostró su deseo de que en el año 2050 siga habiendo Centros Vascos en todo el mundo y para ello y, dado que la realidad vasca es muy cambiante, manifestó su intención de dar continuidad al programa para ofrecer así una oportunidad a los jóvenes de conocer esa realidad tan cambiante.

Mari Karmen Garmendia por su parte, aseguró que "todos formamos parte de esta nación llamada Euskal Herria. Os necesitamos porque debemos ser capaces entre todos de tejer el futuro" y con un "gero arte" se despidió de los jóvenes. ■

Ameriketarik datoz baina denak euskaldunak dira, euskaldunen semeak eta hilobak, hain zuzen ere. Arbasoen lurra ezagutzera etorri dira, Jaurkitzek gorbidutako, kanpoan bizi diren gazteek gaur egungo Euskal Herria ezagutu dezaten. Harekotasun egun izan dituzte handik eta hemendik ibiltzeko eta kultura, ekonomia eta politikako ardekariek biltsako; besteak beste, Jose Antonio Ardanza Lehendakariarekin bildu ziren. Bixita honi esker, gazte hauen hobe eta ezagutzen dute Euskadi, baina bere zeregina hasi besterik ez da egin. Izan ere, orain, izan dituen esperientziak hitzegin beharko diete euren herrietako gainontzeko euskaldun gazteei, Euskaldun sentimendua gal ez dadin.

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Iturria: Euskal etxeak aldizkaria 1996 urtea. Eusko Jaurlaritzako web-gunean eskuragarri daude aldizkariaren paperezko bertsio digitalizatuak: <http://www.Euskadi.eus/gobierno-vasco/-/comunidad-vasca-en-el-exterior-revista-Euskal-etxeak/>

Interesgarria da ikustea Gaztemundu Programak zelako eragina izan duen komunikazioan. Programa honen bidez beste herrialde batetik datozen euskaldunak harremanak egiten dituzte Euskal Herrian, jendea ezagutzen dute, dantza

taldeetako eta bestelako talde kulturaletako kideekin harremana sortzen dute eta euren familiarekin denboradatxo bat pasatzen dute. Programan parte hartzen duten gehienak programak irauten dituen bi astean igaro eta gero, Euskal Herrian gelditzen dira eta hemen duten familia eta lagunak bisitatzen dituzte. Gaztemundun parte hartzen dutenetatik asko berriro ere bueltatzen dira Euskal Herrira familia, lagun edo bikoteekin, baita ere, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateetan egonaldiak egitera ere. Gehiengoak Facebook edo sare sozialen bidez Euskal Herrian sortutako harremanak mantentzen dituzte (esperientzia pertsonala 2015 urtean Gaztemundu Programan parte hartutakoekin).

1999 urtean Andrés De Irujo Saria sortu zuten. Benan Oregik (Eusko Jaurlaritzako teknikaria) egindako lanean azaltzen du nola sortu zen Andrés de Irujo saria:

“Euskal Gizataldeen I. Mundu Biltzarrean, 1995eko urrian, lehen lau urterako plan instituzionala onartu zen (1996-1999). Plan horretan lehenengo aldiz jaso zen emigrazioaren historiaren inguruko aipamen bat. Horrela zioen: “diasporako Euskaldunen historia eta bizipenak ezagutzera eman beharra dago, eta komeni da lehia-keta bat antolatzea helburu horrekin bat datozen lanak saritzeko”. Gomendio horri erantzunez, Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritza Nagusiak “Andrés de Irujo” saria eratu zuen 1999 urtean, urtero ateratzeko asmoarekin. Sariaren helburua XX. mendean zeharreko Euskal emigrazioarekin zerikusia duten ikerketa lanak edo sorkuntzakoak saritzea da, eta emigrazio orokorra izan dezakete gaitzat, edo baita ere bizipen pertsonalak” (Oregi, 2007:55).

Andrés de Irujo sariaren helburua zen euskal gaien inguruan, emigrazioan, historian etab. ikerketa lanak egin eta hauek saritzea.

2003 urtean Latinoamerikako Euskal gizataldeetako gazteen prestakuntzarako diru-laguntzak arautzen dituen 125/2003 Dekretua irten zen, zeinek “Euskal Herrirantz” proiektuan izan zuen oinarria.

“El proyecto se orientó a posibilitar el retorno de jóvenes miembros de los Centros Vascos residentes en América Latina, mediante el acceso al sistema formativo vasco, y facilitar su inserción laboral en su mercado de trabajo” (Joseba Azkarragak, Justizia Sailburua, aurkeztutakoa Mundu Biltzarrean Eusko Jaurlaritzara 2003:248).

Hego Ameriketako herrialdeetako egoera ekonomikoa kontuan harturik, kasurako, Argentinako korrallitoa, Eusko Jaurlaritzatik herrialde horietako euskaldunei zuzenduriko proiektua jarri zuten martxan. Helburua Euskal Herrian lana behar zen sektoreak identifikatu, herrialde horietako euskaldunak Euskal Herrira ekarri, arlo horietan formatu eta lana bilatzea zen. 2002tik 2006ra 220 pertsonak hartu zuten parte proiektu honetan, zeinek 2.021.585 euroko gastua izan zuen (Ugalde, 2007:267). Proiektuaren helburuak betetzen ez zirela ikusi

zuten eta bertan behera gelditu zen. Benan Oregi, proiektu horretan lanean egon zen Eusko Jaurlaritzako teknikariaren hitzetan, bertan parte hartu zuten asko egun Euskal Herrian bizi dira, laguntzarekin euskara ikasi zuten eta hemen gelditu ziren (komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko azaroa).

Nahiz eta 2018 urtean onartu zen, 2003³¹ urtean Diaspora Eguna ospatzea proposatu zen. Abramsonek dio, diasporizatzeko “diasporization³²” estrategia direla: “Cultural events abroad, festivals, or conventions at the country of origin” (2017:15). Jatorrizko herrialdeak erabiltzen dituen estrategiak direla diaspora identitatea sortzeko.

2004 urtetik diaspora sareak sortu izan dira, horiek zortzigarren atalburuan aztertuko dira baina aurreratu dezakegu diaspora sare horien artean daudela: (Eusko Sare, ThinkTank, Global Basque Network, BizkaiaTalent, EHU Diaspora Akademikoa). Sare horiek Euskal Herriaren eta diaspora egun bizi den herrialde horren arteko harremanean oso lagungarriak dira.

2005-2006 urteetan Euskal Museoa edo Emigrazioaren Interpretazio Zentroa proiektuarekin hasi ziren bueltaka Eusko Jaurlaritzan. Bi proiektu izan ziren: bata Ikeder enpresak landu zuena, eta bigarrena, landuagoa, Xabidek (2008an) (Oregi, komunikazio pertsonala 2018ko abendua). 2006 urteko Euskal Etxeak aldizkariaren 76. alean emigrazio zentroaren ideiarekin hasi zireneko informazioa dago. Ale horretan Europako beste komunitate batzuk dituzten zentroyen berri ematen da, kasurako, San Marino emigrant museum, Ulster American Folk park (A museum and research center dedicated to Irish emigration), edota Portugaleko Museu da emigração, Fafe.

Nahiz eta proiektua bere garaian martxan jarri ez, berriro hasi dira 2018an honi bueltaka eta Oregik dioen moduan “Emigrazioaren historiaren dokumentazio-zentrorako agiriak jasotzen hasiak gara”.

2007 urtean euskal hizkuntza eta kultura munduan zehar zabalduko zuen Etxepare Euskal Institutua sortu zen. Gsir & Mescoli-k (2015) honen inguruko ikerketa interesgarria egin zuten eta jatorrizko herrialdetik kultura atzerrian zabalatzeko modu bezala zentro kulturalak aipatzen dituzte: “The historical

³¹ Establecimiento de un Día de la Diáspora que se celebre simultáneamente en todas la Euskal Etxeak y en Euskadi , durante Julio o Agosto, y que se desarrolle en forma rotativa, en diferentes localidades de Euskadi , sirviendo como punto de encuentro para los miembros de la diáspora que hayan retornado a Euskadi , y aquellos que se encuentren de visita. (2003 urteko kongresuan lau urteko planean ondorengoa baloratu zen: pag.259)

³² Diasporization refer to the process, through which scattered individuals become part of an imagined collectivity oriented towards a real or imagined homeland (Abramson 2017:15).

perspective of Paschalidis on cultural institutions spread abroad mainly by France, Britain, Germany and Italy offers insight to better understand various interests that some states have in promoting their culture abroad and fostering interactions with their diaspora" (Gsir & Mescoli, 2015:21).

Etxepare Euskal Institutua/Basque Institute sortzeko eta arautzeko, Eusko Legebiltzarrak 3/2007 Legea onartu zuen, ahobatez, 2007ko apirilaren 20an. Benan Oregik (2007) dio Institutua ez dela hutsetik hasiko. Badira urte mordoxka bat HABEtik euskarazko klaseak antolatzen direla atzerrian. 1990 urtean "Argentinan Euskaraz" izenarekin jaio zen programaren bidez, gaur "Munduan Euskaraz" bihurtu dena, 2000 ikasle inguru dira mundu guztiko Euskal etxeetan euskara ikasten ari direnak (horietatik 900 inguru Argentinan). Prozesu horren arrakasta informatikak ekarri du alde batetik (Hezinet klase presentzialetatik Boga sistemara pasatzean, bakoitzak bere etxean egin ditzake aurrera pausuak, gero tutorearen premia izan arren). Baina baita ere, ezin uka, munduko leku askotan euskara irakasleak prestatzeari ekin zitzaiola lehenengotik, eta jarraitzen dira prestatzen.

Kanpoan diren Euskal etxe eta Euskal komunitateekin harremana daraman Zuzendaritzako kideak 2007 urtetik AEMIk (Association of European Migration Institutions) urtero antolatzen duen mitegira joaten dira. Urte horretatik elkarreko kide dira eta horrek aukera ematen die beste herrialde eta komunitate batzuk esparru honetan burutzen dituzten ekintzen berri izateko. Horrela, ikusi zuten San Marinoko errepublikak erakusketa egin zuela Ellis Island-en eta bertara joan ziren hori ikustera AEMIren Kroaziako bilkuratik bueltan. Hori bisitatu, Euskaldun ugari ere hortik pasatu zirela gogoratuz, pentsatu zuten "Guk zergatik ez?" (Oregi, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko azaroa). Oregik, erakusketaren antolakuntzan eta ejekuzioan ibili zenak, erakusketaren nondik norakoak azaldu zizkigun.

Zuzendaritzakoak hilabete batzutura New York-era egin behar zuten bisita bat aprobetxatuz, Ellis Island-ekoekin bildu ziren.

4 Irudia: Eusko Jaurlaritzako ordezkariak Ellis Island-era egin zuten bisitan



The Basque Government delegation at Ellis Island

Iturria: Euskal Etxeak aldizkaria, 76. alea.

Ondoren, Boiseko Euskal Museoarekin harremanetan jarri ziren eta proiektua landu zuten. Lehen proiektua atzera bota zuten baina 2009an aurkeztu zutena onartu egin zuten. Proiektuaren izena “Hidden in Plain Sight: The Basques” izan zen eta 2010urteko otsailaren 6tik maiatzaren 12ra egon zen Ellis Island-eko museoan. Erakusketa honek abiapuntu bezala izan zuen Lucy Garatea Aboitiz euskaldunaren testigantza, zein 1920 urtean Ellis Islandetik pasatu zen.

5 Irudia: Lucy Garatearen bizitzari buruzko pasartea

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 2010
IDAHO STATESMAN • IDAHOSTATESMAN.COM

IDAHO STATESMAN
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 2010

Luciana C. Garatea
1905 ~ 2010



On Monday, Nov. 15, we lost our beloved Ama, Amuma, Tia and friend, Lucy Garatea, at the age of 105. Lucy passed peacefully at her home in Plantation Place, surrounded by many loved ones.

Luciana Aboitiz Goitia was born March 3, 1905 in Lekeitio, Bizkaia, and was the oldest of eight children. At fifteen, Lucy received a letter from her aunt Gabina (Goitia) Aguirre requesting she come to Idaho to help with her children and work at the Star Boarding House. Lucy had never been away from her family or her village in the Basque country, and she admitted being scared and not wanting to come. After a long ocean voyage, she arrived at Ellis Island where she spent 11 days standing in lines, walking the hallways, sleeping in what she described as "chicken coops," and being amazed by the sea of humanity from nations all over the world. She soon boarded a train and eventually arrived in Boise on Sept. 6, 1920.

frequent phone calls.

Lucy sold the Plaza Hotel in 1965 and returned to Boise. She moved to a condominium in the Imperial Plaza at the age of 78, where she decided to rent instead of purchasing a unit, since she thought she didn't have many years left. However, she ended up living on her own until the age of 104, when she decided it might be nice not to have to do all of her own cooking and cleaning. Last year, she moved into Plantation Place, where she met many new friends and was treated as "the queen" by the staff and the other, often much younger, residents.

In 2009, Lucy was honored in a featured exhibit at Ellis Island in New York City, entitled "Hidden in Plain Sight: The Basques." If she hadn't already been a celebrity before that, she certainly became one after the exhibit. In her last several years of life, she gave countless interviews which appeared in both local media and in Spain. For the 2010 Jaialdi Festival, Lucy was interviewed by television crews from Spain and was visited by friends and relatives from all over the country. She was also honored by a personal visit from the President of the Basque Country, Patxi Lopez, who presented her with gifts and a plaque confirming her standing as the oldest Basque immigrant in the United States.

When asked, as she often was, how she made it through the last century—leaving her home, making her way through an unfamiliar country, losing her husband and

Garatea, Luciana, 105, of Boise died November 15, 2010 at a local care center. Arrangements are pending at Cloverdale Funeral Home.

Iturria: Boiseko Euskal Museoaren webgunea

<https://basquemuseum.eus/person/luciana-lucy-c-aboitiz-garatea/>

Euskaldunak izan ziren erakusketa horretan parte hartu zuten Estatu gabeko herria. 2019an galiziarrek ere egin zuten.

“Ellis Islanden egiten den guztiak bermatuta ditu bisitari kopuru handiak” (Oregi, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018 urteko abendua). Ferry konpainien datuen arabera, erakusketak iraun zuen tarte horretan 300.000 pertsona pasatu ziren Ellis Island Museotik (Oregi, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko azaroa). Ezin da jakin horietatik zenbatek igo zuten bigarren solairuko erakusketa ikustera, baina ez dago zalantzarik milaka eta milaka izan zirela.

Bisita instituzionalak ere erakundeen aldetik egindako inizatibak dira. Bisita insituzionalak gehienetan bisita komertzialak ere izaten dira eta horien helburua atzerrian bizi diren euskaldunak bisitatzeari aparte, bizi diren herrialde horietako politikari eta enpresariekin biltzea izaten da.

2008 urtean Konpondu.net³³ sortu zen, Ibarretxe Lehendakariak bakearen erai-kuntzan herritarren ahotsa entzuteko martxan jarri zuen proiektua eta, ekimen horretan, diasporako kideen ahotsa ere entzun nahi izan zen:

“Konpondu.net es una iniciativa impulsada desde el Gobierno Vasco con el objetivo de ofrecer a los ciudadanos la posibilidad de participar activamente en el proceso de construcción de la paz, aportando sus opiniones y propuestas en esta página web. El proyecto asegura tener muy en cuenta a la Diáspora, por lo que está impulsando la creación de foros de diálogo en las Euskal etxeas y comunidades vascas. Al final del proceso de debate las contribuciones de los distintos foros serán incluidas en un informe general que se hará llegar a partidos políticos e instituciones del país”
Konpondu Ekimenari buruzko albistea Euskalkultura.com-en 2007 urteko otsailean: <http://www.Euskalkultura.com/espanol/noticias/la-iniciativa-konpondu-net-invita-a-la-diaspora-a-aportar-sus-reflexiones-en-los-foros-de-dialogo-para-la-paz>

2016 urtean Kanpo Harremanetarako Aholku Batzordea³⁴ sortu zen zeinetan kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunen ordezkari bat izango duen. 2018 urteko irailaren 8an Euskal Diasporaren Eguna ospatu zen lehen aldiz.

6.2.3.2 Komunikabideak

1995 urtetik aurrera, komunikabideak hasiko dira kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunei begira lan gehiago egiten. Komunikabideak oso garrantzitsuak dira atzerrian bizi direnekin lotura mantentzeko:

³³ Ez dago iada webgune hori erabilgarri.

³⁴Euskal Herriko Agintaritza Aldizkaria, Kanpo Harremanetarako Aholku Batzordeari buruzko informazioa: <https://www.Euskadi.eus/y22-bopy/es/bopy2/datos/2016/07/1602939a.shtml>

“Los medios de comunicación vascos con alcance internacional, tanto televisivos como escritos en Internet, son vehículos importantes para mantener una relación informacional estable con Euskal Herria y difundir cultura. Cada uno de ellos presenta, por su parte, dificultades específicas: en el caso de la televisión las problemáticas referidas a la distribución de la señal por parte de las compañías locales de cable en la diáspora (sobre todo en los países en los que el cable no está tan desarrollado). En el caso de los medios periodísticos en Internet la barrera fundamental es el tenue compromiso con la información de primera mano provista desde Euskal Herria: la mayor parte del colectivo vasco se limita a informarse con los medios locales en sus países de residencia. Existen pocas iniciativas para integrar los diferentes soportes en pos de una comunicación integral de Euskal Herria con el mundo, proceso en el cual la diáspora juega un papel fundamental. Por eso, sostenemos que existe una ventana de oportunidades que debemos aprovechar hoy mismo” (2003.urteko Mundu Biltzarreko Aktak, Eusko Jaurlaritza 2004:38).

Komunikabide horien artean daude telebista, egunkariak, medio espezializatuak eta dibulgaziorako lanak: publikoaren esku jarriko diren dokumental, Telebista saioak edota pelikulak.

a) Telebista

1997an Eitbk EtbSat eta Canal Vasco (Peñafiel, Casado, Arroyabe, Gómez, 2008) nazioarteko Telebista kateak sortu zituen. Munduan zehar dauden diaspora gehienak euren jatorrizko herrialdearekin komunikatzeko eta euren jatorrizko herrialdean gertatzen denaren berri izateko nazioarteko telebistak erabili izan dituzte eta Euskal Herriaren kasuan 1997an eman zen pausu hori.

6 Irudia: Nazioarteko katea atzerrian

CENTROS VASCOS

Euskal Etxeak

El Canal Vasco de ETB consigue llegar a 2 millones de hogares en América en sólo 9 meses

Canal Vasco, la cadena creada para América por Euskal Telebista ha conseguido llegar a dos millones de hogares en tan sólo 9 meses de funcionamiento. Además, tiene presencia en todos los países de América a través de cien cableoperadores y se ha convertido en una cadena de televisión de referencia para los centros vascos repartidos por todo el continente americano.

Todos estos datos fueron dados a conocer por el Director General de EITB, Andoni Ortuzar y el Director de EITB Internacional, José Félix Azurmendi, a casi un centenar de profesionales de la publicidad y representantes de empresas vascas y del ámbito universitario en un acto que fue clausurado por el portavoz y Consejero de Industria, Comercio y Turismo del Gobierno Vasco, Josu Jon Imaz, y por la Consejera de Cultura Mari Carmen Garmendia.

Garmendia ha remarcado la importancia del Canal Vasco como nexos de unión de la cultura vasca con el resto del mundo y especialmente con el conti-

nente americano donde la presencia de personas cuyo origen hunde sus raíces en Euskadi es muy importante.

Por su parte, Josu Jon Imaz, ha afirmado que "Iberoamérica no es ya tan sólo un destino tradicional de la emigración vasca, sino que se ha convertido en el segundo mercado, tras la Unión Europea, del Comercio Exterior vasco. Un mercado creciente, no en vano las exportaciones vascas a Latinoamérica han pasado de 36.000 millones en 1990 a 125.000 en 1999. En términos relativos, Latinoamérica representaba en 1990 el 6% de las exportaciones vascas y en 1999 supuso ya el 8% del total".

El Director General de EITB, Andoni Ortuzar ha confirmado que "en este primer año de experiencia de Canal Vasco, hemos constatado que existe un gran interés en América por un Canal de las características del nuestro. Con contenidos de información y entretenimiento, con una programación de calidad europea, que habla el *idioma de América* y que cuenta con exclusivas importantes en el campo del deporte".

El Director General ha recordado que "EITB inició su internacionalización el día 31 de diciembre de 1997, con la puesta en marcha de ETB Sat, comenzando a dar respuesta a la demanda unánime del Parlamento Vasco de extender su servicio a todos los vascos de la diáspora. A partir del 20 de mayo del pasado año 2000, esta internacionalización de EITB avanza en dos líneas muy importantes: En primer lugar desdoblamos ETB Sat, diferenciando la emisión para el Estado que realizamos a través de Vía Digital, del nuevo Canal Vasco. Y en segundo lugar, ponemos en marcha el sitio eitb.com".

Ortuzar ha anunciado que "ahora nuestro próximo reto es lograr la difusión en Europa de nuestra programación. Algo que esperamos poder hacer realidad este mismo año." ■

Iturria: Euskal Etxeak aldizkaria, 2001 urteko alea

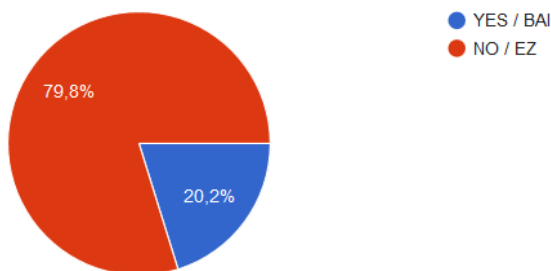
Nazioarteko telebista kateek Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko komunikazioa erraztu zuten eta, duda barik, komunikatzeko bide bihurtu zen. Euskal Herriaren kasuan, badaude euren identitatea CanalVasco edo EitbSat bezelako kateak ikusten indartu dutenak. Josu Amezagak "Televisión por satélite en el mundo: nuevos retos para viejas lenguas"-en dio satellite bidezko telebistari esker komunikatzeko bidea zabaltzen dela.

Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunen artean Eitb kontsumitzen zutenen zenbakia zenbatekoa zen ezagutu nahi izan dugu eta horretarako 2018 urteko maiztza-abuztua bitarte martxan izan genuen inkestaren erantzunak berreskuratu ditugu.

7 Irudia: Euskal Telebistaren kontsumoa Estatu Batuetan diren euskaldunen eskutik:

25.- Do you watch Euskal Telebista? / Euskal Telebista ikusten duzu?

411 respuestas



Iturria: norberak egina inkestako 25. galderaren erantzunekin

Inkesta erantzun dutenen %20,2ak kontsumitzen du Euskal Telebista. Hipotesi moduan planteatzen genuen, portzentaia hori desberdina dela diaspora komunitatearen eta generazioaren arabera, eta horrela dela probatu dugu. Adibidez, Floridan bizi diren lehen generazioko euskaldunetatik gehiengoak, bai kontsumitzen dute Euskal Telebista, eta Conquistador del Fin del Mundo bezalako saioak jarraitzen dituzte. Bestalde, bigarren edo hirugarren generazioko euskaldunek, beste era batera izaten dute Euskal Herriko albisteen berri, adibidez, sare sozialen bidez. Informazio eta komunikazio teknologia berriek, beraz, aukera ezberdinak ematen dizkiete diasporako kideei Euskal Herriarekin komunikatzeko eta beren euskaltasuna etengabe berreraikitzeke, batez ere, internet eta satellite bidezko telebistak (Amezaga, 2004:128). Horrekin lotuta, Patty Millerrek, Boiseko Euskal Museoko zuzendari izandakoak, bere izeko aipatzen du, eta gogoratzen du, nola satellite bidezko Eitb ikusiz Amezagak aipatzen duen "Euskaltasun" hori berreraiki edo sikieran, bizirik mantentzen duen: "I don't watch eitb but my aunts, who is 86 she does. It is wonderful because she can see somebody she knows and that keeps her close."

Nazioarteko Euskal Telebista sortzea aurrerapen ikaragarria izan zen kanpoan bizi diren Euskaldunekin komunikazioa hobetzeko, hala ere, hau ikusten duten gehienak lehen generaziokoak dira eta kopurua nahiko baxua da, %20,2a. Egindako sakoneko elkarrizketetan ikusi ahal izan dugu Eitb-ko webguneko arduradunak onartzen duela euskal diaspora ez dela kontutan hartzen albistek eta informazioa zabaltzerakoan. Garai batean bai izaten zuten korrespontsal bat

Boisen (Idaho) diasporako albisteak ematen baina ade batera utzi zuten pentsatzen zutelako euskal diasporak Euskal Herrian bizi den jendearen interes berdinak zituztela eta hemengo albiste propioak kontsumitu nahi zituztela. Diasporari buruzko albisteek ez zuten oihartzunik izaten. Denborarekin ikusi zen jariora gero eta gutxiago zela. Ez ziren kontsumitzen: “Hemengoari interesatzen zaio gauza puntaletan (Jaialdia, Athletic, Eibar doanean, gauza oso adierazgarria denean edo oso sinbolikoa denean) gainontzeko gaitan ez” (Lontzo Sainz, EITB bertsio digitaleko arduraduna, komunikazio pertsonala, 2016 urteko ekaina).

Eitb-ren nazioarteko kateen sorreraz eta hauen eboluzioaz hitz egiteko Jose Felix Azurmendirekin elkarrizketa egin genuen, nazioarteko EITB-ren difusiorako zuzendaria izandakoa baina, horrez gain, Venezuelan urte asko igaro eta diaspora ondo ezagutzen duena. Gogoratzen du, nola, hasieran satelite bidezko telebista ezin izaten zutela ikusi, eta, horregatik, euskal etxeetan antena eta dekodifikadorea jarri zituztela. Hala ere, euskal etxeetan zegoela, ikusi zuen bai jolasten zela kartetan etab. baina ez zela ikusten telebista, hori etxeetan egiten zutela. Estrategia aldatu eta etxeetan katea sartzen saiatu ziren. Horrez gain, uste zuen interesgarria zela hango gauzak ere hemengo programazioan sartzea, eta, horregatik “Vasco-americanos”, “Vasco-argentinos” eta horrelako programak egin zituzten. Bere hitzetan, denoi gustatzen zaigu telebistan agertzea, eta, horregatik, Argentinan edo Uruguain zeudenak, hemengo telebista katea ikusteko, era on bat zen bertako zerbait programazioan sartzea.

Orain dena interneten aurki daitekeela dio eta, bere ustez, urteak aurrera egin ahala, ez zaiola ematen behar besteko garrantzia nazioarteko kate hauetan eskeintzen den parrillari: “Luego llegó la crisis económica: sospecho que ya no hay demasiada preocupación por el deterioro del programa internacional, de su contenido” (Jose Felix Azurmendi, EITB nazioarteko Telebista kateen arduraduna, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017 urteko uztaila).

b) Egunkariak eta egunkari digitalak

Bertsio digitalak sortu arte, egunkariak noizbehinka ematen zuten kanpoan bizi ziren euskaldunei buruzko informaziorik baina, ez zuten balio komunikazioa izateko, izan ere, oso zaila zen kanpoan bizi ziren horientzako, Euskal Herriko egunkariak irakurtzea. Elkarrizketetan jakinarazi digutenez, kasu batzutan, Euskal Herrian bizi ziren familiako kideek egunkariak bidaltzen zizkieten koreoz, eta hauek Estatu Batuetan irakurtzen zituzten hile batzuk geroago. 90. hamarkadan internetera saltoa eman zen eta horrek aldaketa eta aurrerapausu bat suposatu zuen mundu osoaren komunikazio orokorrean, eta diasporarekin komunikatzekoan. Garai hontan euskal komunikabideen lehen bertsio digitalak sortu ziren.

Deia egunkariak 1999 urteko abenduaren 27an eman zuen internetera saltoa; “Gara egunkaria 1999ko urtarrilean kaleratu zen, 2002. urtean @garanet edizio jarraitu (albisteak sartuz) eta 2012ko ekainean NAIZ sortu zen” (Iñaki Altuna, Garako bertsio digitaleko arduraduna, 2016 urteko ekaina); El Correok 1994 eman zuen saltoa eta eta Berria egunkariak paperezko edizioarekin batera sortu zuen digitala 2003.urtean. El Diario Vascok 1994 urtetan.

Ikerketa lanarekin hasi ginenan, elkarrizketak egin genituen Deia, Naiz, El Correo eta Berria egunkarietako bertsio digitaletako arduradunekin. Ikusi ahal izan genuen, egunkari batzuk bai ematen zituztela diasporari buruzko albisteak, baina, gehienak, euren agendan ez zutela hori kontenplazten. Izan ere, euskal komunitatearentzako garrantzitsuak ziren albisteak, garrantzitsuak ziren baita ere kanpoan bizi ziren euskaldunentzako:

“Euskara da gure ardatza, eta euskaldun guztiengana zuzentzen gara, baita diasporakoengana ere, noski. Kanpoan dagoen euskal komunitateari zuzentzen gatazkieko aktualitateak hala eskatzen duenean, alegia, Euskal Herritik kanpora begira ekimen edo albiste interesgarriak daudenean eta kanpoan Euskal Herrian interesgarriak diren ekimenak antolatzen direnean (Euskal asteak, gatazka-karen konponbidearen aldeko ekimenak, diasporako euskara ikasleak)” (Jon Ordoñez, Berria.eus-eko arduraduna, komunikazio pertsonala, 2016 urteko ekaina)

Beraz, albisteak ez ziren beti diasporari buruz, gainera, lan hori, batzuen hitzetan, Euskalkultura.com-ek egiten zuen (Lontzo Sainz, EITB.eus -eko arduraduna, komunikazio pertsonala).

Horren harira, diasporako kideei egindako elkarrizketetan bi ikuspuntu desberdin topatu ditugu. Alde batetik, komunikabideek informazio nahiko ematen ez dutela uste dutenak: “Media don’t give enough information”(Argia Beristain, Idaho eta Nevadako Euskal komunitateko kide esanguratsua, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017 urteko apirila), eta bestetik, nahiz eta ez eman, informazio horren beharrik ikusten ez dutenak (Anita Anakabek, Nevada eta Idahoko Euskal komunitateko kide aktiboa, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko apirila).

Manuel Arroyok ere, Elcorreo.com-eko arduradunak, antzekoa den zerbait dio, albisteak bai Euskal Herrian zein Euskal Herritik kanpo bizi direnentzako di-rela: “There is no Basque diaspora-specific content: we consider that any of the news stories published on the leading news site in the Basque Country, that is on elcorreo.com, could be of interest to them”.

Bestalde, Grupo Noticiasek, estrategia desberdin bat aukeratu du eta Deia.com-eko arduradunak, Josetxu Rodriguezek dio, nahiz eta espreski diasporari buruz den atal bat ez izan, bai argitaratzen dituztela lotura duten gaiak: “No tenemos

secciones específicas destinadas a la diáspora, pero solemos realizar series de entrevistas o reportajes semanales con personas que tienen relación con ella” GARAKo online webguneko arduradunaren hitzetan, diasporako kideetara heltzeko apostua egin dute: “Egina duela bai, baina emaitza ez da, oraindik bederen, behar bestelakoa izan. Seguru asko, diaspora bat baino gehiago dagoe-lako, eta ez garelako gai errealitate ezberdin horiekin behar bezala bat egiteko” (Iñaki Altuna, Garako bertsio digitaleko arduraduna, 2016 urteko ekaina).

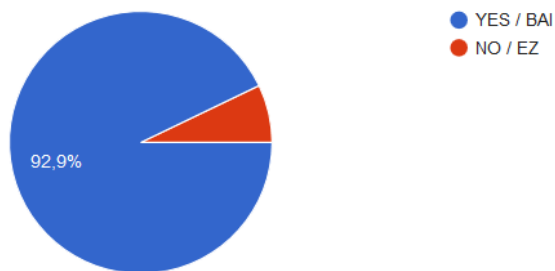
Azpimarratu nahi da, elkarrizketak egin genituenetik gaur egun arte, ikusi du-gula eboluzio bat egon dela diasporari buruzko albisteetan eta artikuluetan eta 2018 urtean, gai honi buruz idatzitako artikulua eta albisteak, gehiago direla.

Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunen eta Euskal Herriaren arteko harremanaren egungo egoera zein den ezagutzeko, 2018 urteko maiatza-ekaina hileen bitartean inkesta bat zabaldu zen. Horren arabera ezagutu nahi genuen nola-koak diren Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunen eta Euskal Herriaren arteko komunikazio joerak, bai familiar eta indibidualak, baita ere, albiste zein Euskal Herriari buruz orokorrean, duten komunikabideen kontsumoa eta nola gusta-tuko litzaieke komunikazio hori hobetzea. Inkesta 424 pertsonak erantzun dute eta horietatik %92,9ak Euskal Herriarekin loturaren bat duela dio.

8 Irudia. Euskal Herriaren lotura

8.- Are you connected to the Basque Country? / Baduzu loturarik Euskal Herriarekin?

420 respuestas



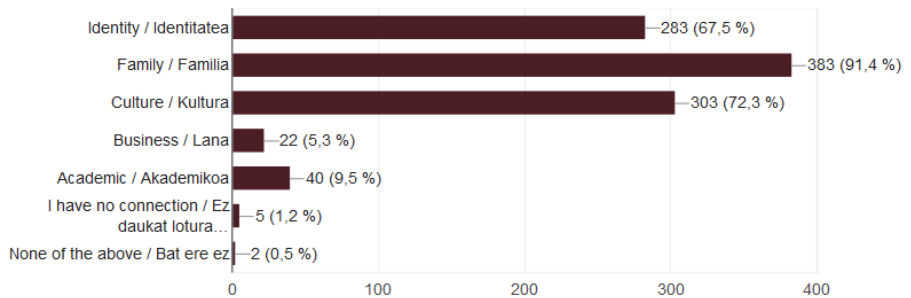
Iturria: inkestaren 8aren galderaren erantzuna

Konexio hori, batez ere, familiarengatik dute, baina horrez gain, identitatea eta kultura ere badira arrazoia.

9 Irudia. Konexioa Euskal Herriarekin

9.- Which is your connection to the Basque Country? / Zein da zure lotura Euskal Herriarekin?

419 respuestas



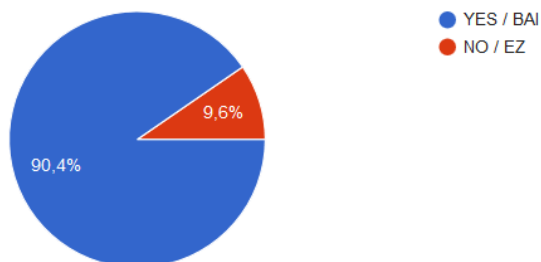
Iturria: inkestaren 9en galderaren erantzuna

Galdetu dugun beste galderetariko bat izan da, ea Euskal Herrian familia edo lagunik duten. Familia dutenen portzentaia altuagoa da baina, ugari dira, baita ere, Euskal Herrian lagunak dituztenak:

10 Irudia: Familia Euskal Herrian

12.- Do you have family in the Basque Country? / Badaukazu familiarik Euskal Herrian?

417 respuestas

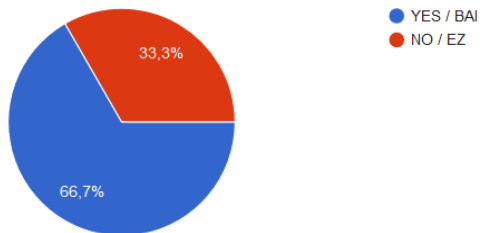


Iturria: inkestaren 12.galderaren erantzuna

11 Irudia: Lagunak Euskal Herrian

14.- Do you have friends in the Basque Country? / Baduzu lagunik Euskal Herrian?

420 respuestas

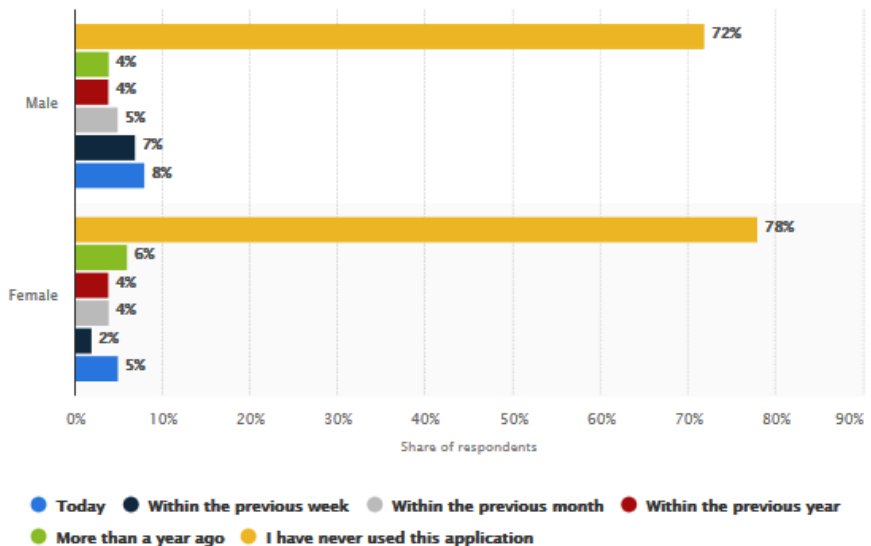


Iturria: autoreak egina inkestako 14-galderaren erantzunekin

Familiarekin eta lagunekin komunikatzeko maiztasuna antzekoa da eta inkestaren erantzunek erakusten dute astero familiarekin hitz egiten dutenen portzentajea %27,7koa dela eta astero euren Euskal Herriko lagunekin hitz egiten dutenena %24,3.

Aztertu nahi izan dugu, baita ere, zein medio edo tresna erabiltzen duten diasporako kideek euren familia edota lagunekin komunikatzeko eta baita Euskal Herriari buruz informazioa izateko. Interesgarria da, kasu honetan, WhatsApp tresnari buruz nola hitz egiten duten entzutea. Hurrengo grafikan ikusi dezakegun moduan, aplikazio hori ez da komuna Estatu Batuarren artean:

12 Irudia: Whatsappen erabilera Estatu Batuetan



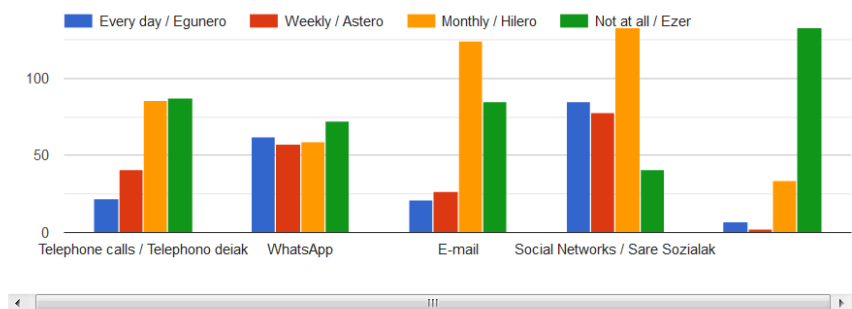
Iturria: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/740654/whatsapp-app-chat-usage-usa/>

WhatsApp-en erabilera Estatu Batuetako jendearen artean

Euskal diasporako kideak, ordea, hori erabiltzen dute Euskal Herriko senitartekoekin komunikatzeko.

13 Irudia: Euskal Herriko jendearekin komunikatzeko medioa

16.- How do you communicate with the people from the Basque Country? / Nola komunikatzen zara Euskal Herriko jendearekin?



Iturria: inkestaren 16.galderaren erantzuna

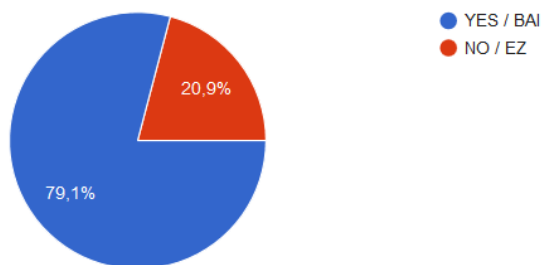
Galderetako batean “komunikatzeko beste era batzuk” izendatzeko eskatzen genien eta erantzun horietatik 21ek Skype eta Facetime aukerak gehitu dituzte. Horiez gain, aipatu dituzte tresna digitalak: Google Hangouts, Instagram, Snapchat, videocalls eta ez digitalak: Euskal Herrira bisitak, Gabonetako txartelak, harreman interperersonala, Euskal Herrira doan jendeak daramatzan mezuak eta Jaialdiak. Hala ere, tresna komunenak Skype eta Facetime dira.

Aztertu da, beraz, norekin komunikatzen diren, zein den komunikazio horren maiztasuna eta ze tresna erabiltzen dituzten komunikazio hori aurrera eramateko. Horrez gain, jakin nahi izan dugu baita ere, Euskal Herriko albisteak jarraitzen dituzten:

14 Irudia: Euskal Herriko medioen kontsumoa

21.- Do you follow the news about the Basque Country? / Interesatzen zaizkizu Euskal Herriko albisteak?

421 respuestas



Iturria: inkestaren 21.galderaren erantzuna

Gehiengo handi batek bai jarraitzen ditu albisteak (%79,1) eta albisteak kontsumitzeko gehien erabiltzen dituzten bideak sare sozialak eta egunkari digitalak dira, baina, batez ere, eta beste bide guztiekin aldaratuta, sare sozialak. Familia, lagun edota ezagunen arteko sare interperersonalak ere nahiko zenbaki altuak eman ditu.

8. Taula: Zenbatero kontsumitzen dituzte Euskal albisteak diasporako kideek?

Nola?	Egunero	Astean baten	Hilean baten	Urtean baten	Ezer ez
Sare Sozialak	%39	%11	%11	%5	%12
Egunkari digitalak	%25	%17	%17	%6	%8
Interpertsonala	%13	%11	%11	%5	%12
Telebista	%11	%10	%8	%6	%21
Irratia	%8	%7	%6	%7	%24

Iturria: elaborazio propioa inkestako erantzunetan oinarrituta

Egunkarietan zerbait gehiago sakondu dugu eta jakin nahi izan dugu zeintzuk diren irakurtzen dituzten egunkariak. 424tik 298 pertsonak erantzun dute galdera hau eta ondorengo taulan Berria, Deia, Naiz, El Correo, Diario Vasco, El País, Sudouest eta La République irakurtzen dutenen portzentaia atera ditugu.

9. Taula: Zein egunkari kontsumitzen duzue?

Egunkaria	Irakurleak
Diario Vasco	%20,13
El País	%19,46
Berria	%19,13
El Correo	%17,45
Deia	%17,11
Naiz	%12,08
Sudouest	%7,38
La République	%1,68
Bat ere ez	%24,50

Iturria: autoreak egina inkestako erantzunetan oinarrituta

Taula honetan ikus dezakegu inkesta erantzun dutenen %69,4ak erantzun duela egunkarien galdera. Horietatik kopuru altuenak, %20,13, Diario Vasco egunkaria kontsumitzen dute, ondoren, zenbaki nahiko antzekoekin El País eta Berria egunkaria daude. Ondoren El Correo eta Deia eta gero Naiz. Frantziako egunkari bi ere sartu genituen. Gure metodologia balidatzeko helburuarekin, inkesta diasporako bost kideri bidali genien eta horietako baten gomendioa izan zen Iparraldeko euskaldunak izanik ere, beharrezkoa zela Frantziako egunkari horiek sartzea. Egunkari horiek irakurtzen dituztenen kopurua baxua da, baina Iparraldeko Euskaldunen kopurua ere, hegoaldekoekin aldaratuta, baxuagoa da.

Komunikabide hauez gain, egindako inkesten emaitzak erakusten digute diasporako kideek beste egunkari edo komunikabide batzuk ere kontsumitzen dituztela. Horiek hiru taldetan banandu ditugu: jatorrizko herrialdekoak, egun bizi diren herrialdekoak eta diasporako kideek kudeatutakoak. Jatorrizko herrialdekoak dira Diario de Noticias de Navarra, La Vanguardia, Kirolezkoak (Marca), Herria, El Confidencial, Hitzza, Gara, El Mundo, Ara, Avui (egunkari katalanak), El Mundo, Expansion eta Basque Tribune. Estatu Batuetakoak New York Times, Financial Times eta Idaho Statesman, eta diasporako kideek kudeatzen dituztenak Local Basque Museum Newsletter, Astero, MediaBask eta EuskalKulturErakundea.

Diasporari buruz albisteak publikatzeak ez du suposatuko diasporako kideek egunkari hori irakurtzea. Izan ere, ikusten da, diasporari buruzko albisteak argitaratzen dituzten egunkariak ez direla gehien irakurtzen direnak. Albiste horiek, difusioa emango dio eta ezaguna egingu du euskal diaspora Euskal Herriko irakurleen artean, baina hainbat medioetako arduradunek esan bezala: "Diaspora, euskal komunitateko parte da, eta beraz, albiste berak interesatuko zaizkio, izan edo ez izan, diasporari buruz" (komunikazio pertsonalak, 2016 urteko maiatza).

c) Medio espezializatua

Komunikabideekin jarraituz, 1998. urtean, Euskalkultura diaspora medioa sortu zen. 1998 urtean "Kulturaren Aldeko Euskal Fundazioak", beste subjeto batzuekin batera (sakoneko elkarriketen arabera Juanito Celaya ezaguna eta Joseba Intxausti idazlea) Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko komunikazioa garatzeko helburuarekin sortu zuten eta Joseba Etxarri kazetaria izendatu zuten horren arduradun. Kulturaren aldeko Euskal fundazioaren helburua zen:

“Euskararen eta Euskal kulturaren eta hauen ezagutza eta praktika, garapen, transmisio eta zabalkundearen aldeko edozein motateko iharduera sustatu, burutu, antolatu, lagundu eta finantziatu da, iharduera hauen perspektiba eta agerpeidea edozein direlarik ere” (Euskal Fundazioa Fundazioaren estatutuak³⁵)

Etxarrik bazeukan jada urte askoren ondoren lortutako diasporaren inguruan ezaguera eta jakinduria, baita hainbat kontaktu eta harreman estu kanpoan bizi ziren euskaldunekin. Bere garaian Kalifornian eta Txilen emandako denboraldiaren ondorioz diasporako kideez osaturiko sare interesgarria zuen. Horrez gain, lan ugariaren autorea zen (elkarrizketak eta liburuak). 1988 urtean Muga izeneko aldizkaria argitaratu zuen eta 1989an Pete Cenarrusari, Idahoko Estatu Idazkariari, egindako elkarrizketa ere argitaratu zuen. Garrantzitsuak dira elkarrizketa hauek garai horretan, oraindik, ez zegoelako diasporako gaia jorrazten zuen lan askorik. Horrela apurka apurka ezaguna egin zen Euskal diasporako kideen artean eta: “Euskal Komunitateetako parte izaten hasi nintzen zeinek urteetan ezagutza bat eman zidan” (Joseba Etxarri, Euskalkultura.com-eko arduraduna, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko urria). Gero irratsaio bat egiten hasi zen Euskadi Irratiarentzat 11 urtez “Euskaldunak Ameriketan” eta beste 3 urtez Radio Euskadin. Beraz, Etxarri aukeratu zuten lan hau egiteko 1989an. Hasiera batean buletina Txileko Santiagon argiratzatzen zen eta gero Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, Panama, Puerto Rico, Mexico eta Estatu Batuetara zabaldu zen. Buletinak 2001ean digitalera eman zuen saltoa eta Euskal Kultur Fundazioaren menpe egotetik, Joseba Etxarriren menpe pasatu zen, egun mantentzen den moduan. Orduan Euskalkultura.com sortzen da:

“Euskalkultura.com Euskal diaspora eta kulturaz espezialdutako buletin eta webgunea da, Euskal Herriaren eta munduan barreiatutako Euskal komunitateen arteko zubilana egitearren Basque Heritage Elkartearen izeneko irabazi-asmorik gabeko elkarteak sortu eta garatua” (Euskalkultura.com-en webgunetik hartuta)

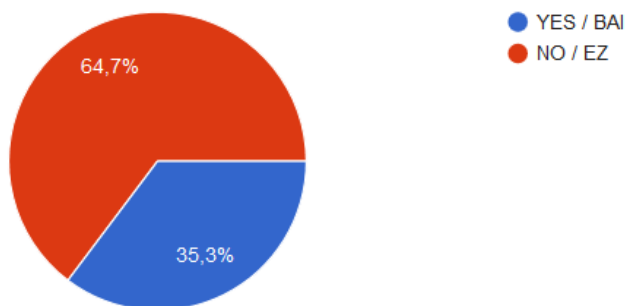
Hau diaspora medio moduan aztertuko den 2.0 komunikazioaren barruan sartuko dugu. Egun Euskalkultura.com-ek 5.500 harpidedun dauzka eta, gure analisiaren arabera inkesta erantzundakoen artean %34,5ak kontsumitzen du medioa.

³⁵ Euskal Fundazioaren estatutuak: http://www.Euskadi.eus/contenidos/fundacion/181/eu_def/adjuntos/fatorrizkoEstatutuak.pdf

15 Irudia: Euskalkultura.com-en kontsumoa

26.- Do you read Euskalkultura.com ? / Irakurtzen duzu Euskalkultura.com ?

411 respuestas



Iturria: elaborazoi propioa inkestaren 26. Galderaren erantzunetan oinarriturik

Komunikabide bezala aurkeztu dezakegu baina oraindik zehatzago izan nahi dugu, eta Hepp, Bozdag eta Sunak (2012) eta Ogunyemik (2015) dioten diaspora media dela esango dugu. Euskal Herrian dagoen "diasporic media" bakarra dela esango genuke. Euskalkultura.com ek "reinforce the identities and sense of belonging" (Georgiou, 2006), eta Euskaletxeak.net en bertsio digitala "product of culturally relevant and locally vital information to immigrants in the host country" (Yin, 2015.). Euskal Herriko jenteak eta diasporako euskaldunek idatzita, batzutan kanpoan bizi diren Euskaldunei egindako elkarrizketetan oinarrituta dago. Horrez gain, baditu korrespontsal, bata Argentinan eta bestea Estatu Batuetan, zona horietako albisteak kubritzen dituztenak. Hau diasporic media bezala ezagutu daiteke, hau da, "produced by and for migrants and deal with issues that are of specific interest for the members of diasporic communities" Hepp, Bozdag & Suna (2012:97). Euskalkultura irakurtzen dutenen kopurua %35,3 Euskal Telebista ikusten dutena %20,2 baino zenbaki apur bat altuagoa da baina, hala ere, nahiko baxua, kontutan izanda, Euskalkultura.com-ek egunero buletina bidaltzen duela emaitetara. Beraz, jende askora heltzen da baina agian ez dute irakurtzen.

Euskal Herritik badago irratia saio bat, medio espezializatu bezala kategorizatu duguna. Hori da 2004an sortu zen Zortzi Probintziak elkarte, euren webgunean “Euskal diasporaren irratsaio” bezala aurkezten dira eta: “Hilabetero lehen igande guziz, arratseko 20tik 21:30ak arte (Euskal Herriko tenorenean). Zuzenean eta lau hizkuntzetan (Euskara, Frantsesa, Ingelesa eta Española)”³⁶. Elkar-tearen oinarri eta helburuak euskaldun eta euskal elkarte guztien arteko loturak baloratzea eta indartzea da.

6.2.3.3 Dibulgazioarako lanak

Dibulgaziorako lanak izango dira publiko bati zuzenduriko eta euskal diasporari buruz instituzioek, gizarteak edota komunikabideek argitaratutako lan bai akademiko zein ez akademikoak.

1995ean Eusko Jaurlaritzak, Eusko Ikaskuntzak eta unibertsitateek testimonioen bilketa jarri zuten martxan:

“En terreno de fuentes orales, Eusko Ikaskuntza (1995), y pocos años más tarde Center for Basque Studies de la Universidad de Nevada, Reno y el Basque museum and Cultural Center de Boise, Idaho, pusieron en marcha sendos programas de recopilación de entrevistas a emigrantes vascos” (2007 urteko Mundu Biltzarreko aktak, Eusko Jaurlaritza 2008:116).

1997 eta 2003 urteen bitartean Eusko Ikaskuntzak Euskalamerikarren bibliografiak³⁷ bilduko zituen proiektua jarri zuten martxan.

2000 urtean Andrés de Irujo Sarira aurkezten ziren baina saria irabazten ez zuten lan horiekin zerbait egitea pentsatu zen (Oregi, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko azaroa). Horregatik, 2000 urtetik 2007 urtera Euskaldunak Munduan argitalpena egin zen, eta hor argitaratuko ziren, Andrés de Irujo Saria irabazten ez zuten, eta argitaratzea merezi zuten lanak.

1999 urteko Euskal Kolektibitateen Mundu Biltzarrean William Douglasssek Euskal diasporaren historia biltzea premiazkoa zela esan zuen. Horrela, 2003ko Mundu Biltzarrean, horren erantzun bezala Urazandi Bildumako 15 liburu aurkeztu zituzten (Oregi, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko azaroa).

“2003ko uztailean bildumaren lehen hamabost liburuak aurkeztu ziren Vitoria-Gasteizen, 3. Euskal Gizataldeen Mundu Batzarrean. Bilbon, 4. Batzarrean, “Urazandi Digitala” aurkeztu zen, 134 euskal aldizkari digital moduan barne. Horrela, Urazandi bildumak jarraitzen du munduko euskaldunei buruzko ikerketa eta he-

³⁶ Zortzi Probintziak-en webgunea: <https://8probintziak.com/?lang=eu>

³⁷ “Eusko Ikaskuntza puso en marcha, entre 1997 y 2003, un equipo de recopilación de la bibliografía sobre las colectividades vascoamericanas, que se integraba en un proyecto más amplio de recopilación de historiografía sobre EUSKAL HERRIA” (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2008:116)

dapena lanarekin” (Eusko Jaurlaritzako Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritza Nagusiko webgunetik hartua)³⁸

Liburu hauek komunitate garrantzitsuak zeuden tokian tokiko akademiko eta ez akademikoek idatzi zituzten. 2002 urteko abenduan Urazandi Bilduma kale-ratu zen, euskal diaspora eta euskal etxeei buruzko informazioa bilduko zuena, eta Euskal etxeak kulturatik maila akademiko batera eramango zituena. Euskal etheen historia idatziko zuten euskal etxeetako eta euskal komunitateko kide aktiboek, adibidez, Mikel Ezkerrok eta Gloria Toticaguenak, baina, baita ere Euskal etxeetatik kanpo zeuden akademikoak. Mikel Ezkerrok, adibidez, Buenos Aireseko Laurac Bat Euskal etxearena idatzi zuela. Mikel Ezkerro Argentinako euskal komunitatean oso ezaguna eta partehartzailea den pertsona bat da. Hainbat artikulua idatzi ditu Argentinako euskaldunei buruz, harremana du ia probintzi guztietako Euskaldunekin eta bere Facebook-ean Euskal identitateari eta Euskal Herritik kanpo bizi diren euskaldunei buruz hainbat gogoeta egiten ditu. Buenos Aireseko Laurac Bat da askoren hitzetan munduan dagoen euskal etxerik zaharrena, 1877 urtean osatu zuten 13 Euskaldunek. Gloria Toticaguenak ere, Boiseko eta Idahoko Euskal komunitateko kide ezaguna eta aktiboa da, baina ez bakarrik komunitateko kide bezala, Toticaguenak euskal diasporari buruz hainbat artikulua akademiko idatzi ditu.

Beste autore asko, esan bezala, euskal etxeetatik kanpo zeuden unibertsitate irakasleak ziren. Ideia Euskal etxeak zer ziren publikatzea zen, informazio hori euskal etxeetan eta Euskal Herrian zabaltzea.

Oso lan aberasgarria gai honi buruz ikerketarik egin nahi duen ororentzat. Bil-dumako liburu guztiak eskuragarri daude Idazkaritza nagusiko webgunean³⁹.

³⁸ Eusko Jaurlaritzako Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritza Nagusiko webgunetik hartua
<http://www.Euskadi.eus/kanpoan-den-euskal-komunitatea-urazandi-argitalpenen-bilduma/web01-s1leheki/eu/>

³⁹Urazandi Kolekzioa: <http://www.Euskadi.eus/comunidad-vasca-en-el-exterior-coleccion-de-publicaciones-urazandi/web01-s1leheki/es/>

16 Irudia: Urazandi proiektua

Euskal Etxeak**CENTROS VASCOS****PROYECTO URAZANDI**

La Dirección de Relaciones con las Colectividades Vascas ha puesto en marcha una nueva iniciativa que ha llamado "Urazandi" (allende los mares), cuyo principal objetivo es la recopilación de la historia de los quince principales centros vascos en forma de colección.

Esta iniciativa, que se sufragará con cargo a la convocatoria anual de subvenciones dirigida a los centros vascos, se llevará a cabo a lo largo de los ejercicios presupuestarios de 2001 y 2002, de forma que para el 31 de diciembre de ese último año estén redactados y concluidos los trabajos recopilatorios (en los que, además, se anexarán testimonios orales, etc. de los protagonistas).

Urazandi viene a paliar una asignatura pendiente ya que desde ámbitos académicos como la Universidad del País Vasco y la Universidad de Reno se venía avisando de la perentoria necesidad de acometer esta tarea. De hecho, varios Departamentos universitarios han comenzado a realizar tareas de recopilación de documentos y testimonios.

El objetivo que se ha marcado la Dirección de Relaciones con las Colectividades Vascas no es otro que el poder presentar esta Colección durante la celebración del próximo Congreso de Colectividades Vascas (a celebrar en otoño de 2003), como contribución de la Secretaría General de Acción Exterior a la Historia del pueblo vasco. ■



Iturria: Euskal etxeak aldizkariaren 2001urteko alea.

2008 urtean Euskaldunak Prentsa Amerikarrean irten zen. Proiektua Euskal Etxe eta Kanpoan bizi diren Euskaldunekin harremana mantentzeko zuzendari-tzarik irten zen eta hasieratik Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatearekin jarri ziren harremanetan. Óscar Álvarez Gila irakasle eta adituak koordinatu zuen proiektua.

Lan honek esparru desberdinetako jendea bildu zuen, euskal etxeetako jendea euren inguruetako unibetsitateekin komunikatzea lortu zuen baita Euskal Herriko Unibertsitate eta Unibetsitate horien artean ere. 8 egunkari aukeratu ziren eta denbora 1897 urtetik 1920rako izan zen. Eusko Jaurlaritzatik Josu Legarretak abian jarri zuen proiektu bat izan arren, komunikazio bidirezionalerako proiektu bat zen eta bi aldeetakoek parte hartu zutena. Proiektuaren helburua Amerika osoan argitaratu ziren euskal notizi guztien digitalizazioa egitea zen. Proposamen honek, alde batetik herriaren memoria mantentzeko balio zuen, bestetik, historiaren berri izateko garaiko berrien bidez eta, azkenik, laguntza ekonomiko ona zen lan hau egiten zuen ororentzat (dólar bat ordaintzen zuten albisteko) (Josu Legarreta, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017 urteko maiatza). Proiektua ez zen guztiz amaitu, baina hala ere, badaude 15.000 bat berri inguru Euskaletxea.net webgunean nahi duenak ikusi eta irakurri ahal izateko.

2014-2016 urteetan Memoria Bizia proiektua martxan jarri zen. Honen helburua euskal migrazioaren nondik norakoak azaltzea da Estatu Batuetan eta Kanadan dauden euskaldunen testimoniak erabiliz. Proiektu transnazonala da, izan ere, Deustuko Unibertsitatea, Renon dagoen Nevadako Unibertsitatea Center for

Basque Studies eta Boiseko Basque Museum & Cultural Center dira honen parte.

Bestalde, unibertsitatearekin batera egindako lan horiez gain, gizarteak, produktorak eta komunikabideek ere dibulgazio lanak egin dituzte. Komunikabideei dagokionez ikusi dugu hainbat dokumental egin direla euskal diaspora dutenak protagonista.

10 Taula. Dokumentalen zerrenda urteka eta zonaldeka bananduta:

URTEA	HEGO AMERIKA	IPAR AMERIKA	OROKORRA
1998 (1)		John Garamendi ⁴⁰	
2002 (2)		Euskal Artzainak Iparameriketean	Euskaldunak Munduan zehar
2004 (1)		Bietertarrak	
2005 (2)		La Fiebre de Oro: Pete Aguererberryren Frontoitik sukaldera	
2006 (6)		Ameriketatik Ameriketean Euskaraz Manuel de Irujo Bihotzean sua Idaho-Kalifornia bidaia mendebaldean barrena Galindez, Espioia edo Abertzalea	
2007 (7)	Vascos en Uruguay Vascos en Rio de la Plata Argentinan Barrena	Urtain Boiseko Euskaldunak Jaialdia 2000	Vascos por El mundo Baskonia Amerikana
2009		Kurtziatik Kaliforniara	

⁴⁰ Jatorriz euskalduna den Kaliforniako gobernadorearentzako hautagai demokrata.

URTEA	HEGO AMERIKA	IPAR AMERIKA	OROKORRA
(1)			
2010 (1)		Amerikanuak	
2011 (3)	Vascos en la Tierra Moroni El Roble y el Ombú	Pete Aguerberry	
2012 (2)	Guk, Nosotros	Pakea Bizkaia Groelandia eta Ternuara Bidaia	
2013 (1)		Basque Hotel	
(3)		Euzko Etxea, 100 años en New York Artzainen buelta Ameriketara	Gure Bizitzaren Pasarteak
2015 (2)		Boiseko Euskaldunak Jaialdi eskuak zabalik dokumentala atera zuten	Jai Alai blues
2016 (3)		Washington, Ongi Etorri "Origen"	Agirre Lehendakaria: Orain 80 urte
2018 (1)			Euskalonski
2019 (1)		Bai bagara!	

Iturria: autoreak egina

Guztira 36 dokumental identifikatu ditugu.

Komunikabideei dagokionez, 1998 urtean John Garamendiri buruzko dokumentala aurkeztu zen, jatorriz euskalduna den Kaliforniako gobernadorearentzako hautagai demokrata. Hainbat izan dira ordutik atera diren dokumentalak. 2002 Euskaldunak Munduan zehar dokumentalak eta Euskal Artzainak Iparameriketara egin zituzten. Ameriketara joandako artzainen inguruko dokumentalak ziren hauek. 2004ean Idahon bizi den Bieter familia Euskaldunari buruzko erreportajea atera zuten Julian Iantzik aurkeztuta eta 2005 urtean La Fiebre de Oro: Pete Aguerberryren dokumentala atera zuten. Pelotari moduan etorri baina Mendebaldean urre bilatzaile amaituko zuen gizonaren istorioa. 2006

urtean kanpoan bizi ziren Euskaldunei buruzko hainbat dokumental atera ziren: Ameriketatik; Euskal arrantzaleek AEBetan eraikitako traineruen inguruko erreportajea; Ameriketan Euskaraz eta Manuel de Irujo. Bihotzean sua (Manuel Irujo abertzalearen biografia). Idaho-Kalifornia bidaia mendebaldean barrena dokumentala zeinek Boise (Idaho) eta Bakersfield (Kalifornia) hirien arteko ibilbidea kontatzen du dokumental honek. Galindezi buruzko dokumentala ere atera zen Galindez, Espioia edo Abertzalea izeneko. 2007 urtean ere hainbat dokumental atera ziren: Vascos por El mundo, Vascos en Uruguay, Vascos en Rio de la Plata, Urtain, Argentinan Barrena eta Baskonia Amerikana eta Boiseko Euskaldunak Jaialdia 2000. Hainbat dokumental urte berean. 2009 urtean beste dokumental bat atera zuten Kurtziatik Kaliforniara, hau, John Garamendi Kaliforniako gobernadoreordeari buruzko bigarren dokumentala izango da. Hurrengo urtean AMERIKANUAK dokumentala irten zen.

2011 berriro ere Pete Aguerberryren dokumentala atera zen, urte beran Vascos en la Tierra Moroni, El Roble y el Ombú. Hurrengo urtean 2012an Pakea Bizkaia Groelandia eta Ternuara Bidaia, Guk, Nosotros. 2013an Basque Hotel, Euzko Etxea, 100 años en New York, Jai Alai blues, Artzainen buelta Ameriketara, Gure Blitzaren Pasarteak, eta Artzainen Itzulera Kaliforniara.

2015 Boiseko Euskaldunak. Jaialdi eskuak zabalik dokumentala atera zuten. 1987. urtetik bost urtetik behin Boisen ospatzen den Euskal jaia handiaren inguruko dokumentala. Hurrengo urtean, Washingtonen antolako zen Smithoniana aitzaki, Washington, Ongi Etorri dokumentala atera zuten. Erreportaje Xabier Lapitzek aurkeztu zuen. Urte berean Jai Alai Blues dokumentala atera zuen Berdeak Produksioak-ek, ez zen espreski Euskal komunitateari buruz baina bai Floridako Euskal komunitateak praktikatzen duen Jai Alaiari buruz, bearz, komunitate hori agertzen zen. New Media produktorak 2016 urtean Diaspora aitzaki izango zuen lehen Telebista programa egin zuten "Origen" saioa. Hainbat arrazoigatik Euskal Herritik joan behar izan zuten Euskaldunen ondorengoak Euskal Herrira ekarri zituen euren jatorria ezagutzeko eta hemen dauden familiarrekin elkartzeko. 2016 urtean, Eusko Jaurlaritzaren 80 urte bete zirela, Agirre Lehendakariaren inguruko hainbat dokumental atera ziren.

Dokumental hauetan, uste dugu garrantzitsua dela aipatzea Julian Iantzik izan duen papera. Izan ere, Julian Iantzi Eitb-ko kazetari eta aurkezle ezaguna Ameriketan jaio zen, Kalifornian, hain zuzen. Horregatik, oso presente izan ditu beti atzerrian bizi diren euskaldunak, eta hainbat telesai egin ditu Estatu Batuetako estatuetan eta Euskaldunak dauden munduko beste leku batzutan.

6.2.3.4 Teknologia berriak

Komunikazioa aztertzen ari gara eta ezinezkoa da hori egitea, komunikazioan hain garrantzitsuak diren teknologia berriak aipatu gabe. Egun, teknologia be-

rriei esker oso erraza da kanpoan bizi diren herritar, familia edota lagunekin komunikatzea. Hala ere, hori ez da horrela izan beti, eta azken urteotan eboluzio nabaria eman da komunikazio honetan. Beste diaspora askorekin gertatzen den moduan, ikerketa aurrera eramateko burutu diren elkarrizketek erakutsi dute komunikazioa asko aldatu dela azken 100 urteotan, eta teknologia berriak oso garrantzitsuak izan dira eboluzio honetan.

Esan bezala, internet heldu baino lehenago atzerrian bizi ziren euskaldunen eta Euskal Herrian bizi ziren euren familia lagun eta herritarren arteko komunikazioa eskasa zen, telefonoz hitz egiten zuten, kartak bidaltzen zituzten, edota Euskal Herrira egiten zituzten bisitei esker mantentzen zuten harremana (komunikazio pertsonalak); eta batzuetan ez zuten urteetan hitzik egiten. Estatu desberdinetako euskal komunitateetako kideei elkarrizketak egin zaizkie eurek bizi izan dutena ezagutzeko eta askok, euren esperientzi propioaz gain, euren ama-aita edota aitona-amonena ere oroitu dute eboluzio hori izan dela erakusteko. Boiseko Euskal museoko langile baten hitzetan: “We had occasional telephone calls, maybe getting a letter or picture”. Patty Millerrek, Basque Museum and Cultural Centerreko zuzendari ohia eta egun Memoria Bizia proiektua aurrera eramaten ari den pertsona aktiboak bere amaren garaiak gogoratzen zituen esanez: “There wasn’t a lot of communication in my mother times and I think I just saw her talking on the phone twice” eta Elkoko (Nevada) Anita Anakabek, Nevada eta Idahoko Euskal komunitateko kide aktiboa, ere antzekoa den zerbait esan zigun: “My mother, I remember she could start a letter and I don’t remember how many months she could be to finish the letter. We never trust on the mail, we never knew if they get it or not”. Elkarrizketetan ezagutu ahal izan dugu, familiaz gain, Euskal Herriari buruz informazioa izateko eta komunikazioa mantentzeko beste era bat inguruko Euskaldunekin biltzea zela. Egun Euskal Herriaren eta Estatu Batuetan bizi diren Euskaldunen arteko komunikazioan referente den Anne Marie Chiramberro, Hella Basque blog-eko arduradunak dio, bere aitak Euskal Herriari buruz albisteak izateko era bakarra komunikazio interpersonala zela: “My dad used to call home every week on Sundays. Before the internet the only way that I knew to know about Basques was going to the Basque center every week, festivals, dancing, dinners, and visiting my family”.

Leurs eta Ponzanesi-k (2014:12) dioten bezala gutunak, telefono deiak eta komunikazio interpersonala ziren, beraz, bai familiarekin komunikatzeko zein Euskal Herriari buruz albisteak izateko medio bakarra; hala ere, esan bezala, ez zegoen inondik inora orain dagoen komunikazio maila. Orain, sakoneko elkarrizketetan ikusi ahal izan dugu euskal diasporako kideek internet eta WhatsApp komunikatzeko bide hoberen eta gehien erabiltzen dituztenen moduan aurkezten dituztela: “Now, with the internet is really easy to com-

municate with the family and friends. Facebook, myspace, e-mail and Whatsapp. We have a family group in whatsapp, it is fantastic!" (Teresa Franzoia, Boise, personal communication, March 2017).

Sakoneko elkarrizketetan WhatsApp eta Facebook aipatzen dute gehiengoak. Miamin ia 40 urte bizitzen daramatzen pilotari baten emazteak dio, lehen telefonoz deitzen zutela, orain: "Oin telefonotik eta Facebooketik nire ahizte bategaz. Nik Whatsappik ez, ni Facebooken na egun guztixe. Messengerretik da hor be deitu ein zeinke. Bestela nik, normalmente danakin telefonotik da beste ahizte bakarraz Facebooketik baia pribautik" (komunikazio pertsonala, 2018 urteko maiatza).

Facebook 2004 urtean sortu zen sare soziala da. Statista datuen arabera, 2018 urtean Facebook-ek 2.27 bilioi erabiltzaile ditu eta horien artean diaspora komunitateak daude, zeintzuk Facebook-i esker, euren jatorrizko herrialdearekin konektatuta izateko bide bat topatu dute.

Tesi lan hau aurrera eramateko egin dugun inkestaren distribuzioan Facebook-en eragina oso nabaria izan da. Izan ere, distribuzioa sare hau erabiliz egin dugu, eta erantzuna oso positiboa izan da. Diasporako kideak konektatuta izaten laguntzen du eta euren eta Euskal Herriaren arteko hartuemana indartzen du. Euskal diaspora digitala dagoenaren seinalea.

Diaspora ugarik euren Facebook taldeak dituzte eta horiei esker munduan zehar dauden jatorri bereko kideekin komunikazioa mantentzen dute. Pedro Oiarzabalek euskal diasporaren inguruko hainbat ikerketa egin ditu, eta horien artean diaspora komunitate digitala aztertu zuen eta nola euskal diasporako instituzioek mundu digitalera salto egin zuten. Ikerketa 2010 urtean egin zuen eta esaten zuen, orduan bazegoela iada, diasporak online izango zuen presentzia aurreikusterik:

"Although it is not wise to prognosticate about any future trends of the Basque diaspora presence on the Web, evidence shows an increasing tendency for articulating an online presence. For example, from the beginning of 2004 to the end of 2005, 13 new diaspora institutional Web sites were created, and from October 2005 to June 2007 another 30, the majority of which are Basque clubs, or Euskal etxeak, and mainly from Argentina" (2010:339).

Apurka apurka instituzioek eta elkarteek saltoa egin zuten eta egun Facebook-eko bilatzailean "Euskal etxe", "centro vasco", "Basque center" edo "basque diaspora" hitzak jarrita ehundaka erabiltzaile agertzen dira.

Euskal etxeek euren Facebook kontuak dauzkate eta munduko beste euskal etxe batzuekin konektatzen dira egiten dituzten ekintzak ezagutu eta esperientziak konpartitzeko.

Horrez gain, aipatzekoak dira 2004 urtean sortu ziren Facebook-eko taldeak. Talde hauek, beste hainbat komunitaterentzat bezala, oso erabilgarriak dira diaspora komunitateentzat. Facebook talde hauek diaspora sareak dira eta horien artean aztertu ditugu EuskalDiaspora eta BasqueIdentity. Taldeok mundu guztian zehar dauden euskaldunak bai Euskal Herrian zein Euskal Herritik kanpo daudenak komunikatzeko tresna dira.

17 Irudia: EuskalDiaspora taldea Facebooken

Iturria: Facebookeko orria

Talde honek 2.873 kide ditu (2018 urteko azaroan) eta mundu osoan zehar dauden euskaldunak dira. Euskaldiaspora sarea Pedro Oiarzabalen doktorego tesiaren ondorio bezala sortzen da. Bere ikerketaren helburua hiperbinkuluak sortzea zen, euskal diaporako instituzioek online zuten presentzia aztertze eta mapeatzeko eta instituzioetatik haratago zeuden indibiduak nortzuk ziren ezagutzeko. Diaspora sare batean bihurtu da eta komunikazio mantentzeko balio du (Pedro Oiarzabal, Desutu Unibertsitateko irakaslea, diaspora gaietan aditua, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017 urteko abendua).

Horrez gain, Eitb-ren barruan dagoen Basque Identity 2.0 taldea dago. Talde hau ez dago diasporari zuzendua baina diasporako kideak ere parte dira eta Pedro Oiarzabalek ere eramaten dut.

a. Blog

Internetarekin lotuta, ezinbestekoa da blog-en presentzia aipatzea. Blog-ak komunikabideen taldean ere sartu daitezke ematen duten informazioa albiste eguneratuak eta publikoaren interesakoak badira. Azpimarratzekoa da, euskaraz sortu zen lehen blog-a, BUBER, Estatu Batuetan sortu zela. Bere gurasoak Ameriketara joan eta Idahon jaio zen Blas Uberuagak sortu zuen blog-a da, 1994 urtean eta Internet jaio berri zenean, Euskal Herriari buruz hitz egiten zuen lehen webgunea sortu zuen.

Blog euskal amerikarrei dagokienean, 2007 urtean “A Basque in Boise” blog-a sortu zuen Henar Chicok eta Eitb-ren barruan dago.

18 Irudia: A Basque in Boise blog-aren irudia



Source: <http://www.blogseitb.US/basqueboise/>

Blog hau sortu baino lehenago Eitb-k bazituen korrespontsalak hainbat lekutan:

“Korrespontsalak interneterako albisteak idazten zituzten Euskal komunitateari buruz. Albiste gutxi ziren eta Eitbk ordaindu egiten zien. Atal bat zegoen web-ean eta albiste horiek jartzen ziren. Alde batera utzi zuten pentsatzen zutelako Euskal diasporak EHko albisteak kontsumitzeko hamengo jenteak moduan egiten zuela”⁴¹ (Lontzo Saínz, Eitb.eus arduraduna, personal communication, june 2016).

Henar Chico, Eitb-ren proposamena onartuz, Estatu Batuetako euskaldunei buruz eta Euskal Herriari buruz idatziko zuen blogarekin hasi zen. Blog-aren arduradunaren hitzetan, blog-a albisteak zabaltzeko medio bat da, baina, horrez gain komunikazio bidirekzionalean ere eragina du eta asko dira berarekin harremanetan jartzen diren bai Euskal Herriko euskaldunak zein Ameriketakoak: “Badakit nire blogaren bitartez Boisen ikasi nahi zuten gazte batzuk hemengo familiak aurkitu dituztela” edo “Euskal Herritik, Boisera ikastera edo lan egi-tera etorri nahi dutenak edo senideen bila dabiltzanak nirekin harremanetan jartzen dira”. “Bestalde, Euskal Herritik eta AEBtatik berriak zabaltzeko eskaerak ere jasotzen ditut” (komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko ekaina).

⁴¹ Honekin esan nahi duena da, Euskal Herrian bizi direnak irakurtzen dituzten albiste berdinak irakurtzen direla.

19 Irudia: A Basque in Boise. Harreman horren adibide bat:

The image shows a screenshot of a Facebook post from the page 'A Basque in Boise' (@ABasqueInBoise). The post is titled 'Argitalpenak' (Publications) and is dated 'Atzo (20:58)'. The text of the post reads: 'Hello friends! I got the following message from a Basque student coming to Boise in the fall. If any of you can rent her a room or know of a place that could work for her, I'm sure she'd be grateful to know about it! Eskerrik asko!' Below the text is a blurred image of a message and a reply. The reply says: 'Kaixo! Hello! I am a basque exchange student who will be in Boise to study for the fall term. I have not found off-campus housing anywhere (because I am only he...'. The post has three interaction buttons at the bottom: 'Atsegin dut' (Like), 'Iruzkindu' (Comment), and 'Partekatu' (Share).

Source: "A Basque in Boise"-ren Facebook horma

2010 urten "About Basque Country" sortu zuen Javier Perezek. About Basque Country Blog-en bat izan daiteke, Euskal Herriko bloga da. Webgunean euskal kultura eta Euskal Herriarekin lotuta dauden berriak irakur daitezke. Munduan zehar argitaratzen diren albisteak edota euskal komunitatearentzat interesgarriak izan daitezkeenak. Hau "Euskaldunak Prentsa Amerikarrean" proiektuaren ondorengoa izan daiteke, nahiz eta ofizialki ez izan, antzeko lana egiten du baina paperezko edizioan argitaratutako albisteak aztertu barik, edizio digitalean argitaratutakoak aztertzen ditu: "Recoger de una manera amena e interesante las informaciones que los medios de comunicación (en su sentido más amplio) publican en torno a los vascos".

Taula honek laburbiltzen du atal honetan ikusi ditugun komunikatzeko tresnak dataren, ekimenaren eta ekimen motaren arabera sailkatuak.

11 Taula: 1994-gaur egun komunikazio eta harremana

DATA	EKIMENA	EKIMEN MOTA
1994	8/1994 Legaren Sorrera	Ekimen Instituzionala
1995	Testimonioen Bilketa	Eusko Ikaskuntza

DATA	EKIMENA	EKIMEN MOTA
1995	Garapenerako lankidetzako Zuzendaritza eta Kanpoan diren Euskal etxe eta Euskal komunitateentzako Zuzendaritzaren banaketa	Ekimen Instituzionala
1995	Euskal Kolektibitateen Mundu Biltzarra	Ekimen Instituzionala
1995	Ordenagailua, E-maila "Instalación del sistema informático"	Ekimen Instituzionala
1995	Euskal Gizataldeekin Harremanetarako Aholku Batzordea	Ekimen Instituzionala
1996	Gaztemundu	Ekimen Instituzionala
1997	Recopilación bibliográfica	Eusko Ikaskuntza
	EITB Nazioarteko Telebista Kateak	Komunikabideak
1998	Euskalkultura	Euskal Diaspora Media
	John Garamendi	Dokumentala: Dibulgazioa
1999	Andrés de Irujo Sarea	Ekimen Instituzionala
1999	Komunikabideen bertsio digitalak	
2000	Euskaldunak Munduan	Argitalpena
2002	"Euskal Herrirantz" proiektua	Ekimen Instituzionala
	Euskal Artzaina Ipar Ameriketan Euskaldunak Munduan Zehar	Dokumentala: Dibulgazioa
2003	Urazandi Bilduma	Argitalpena
2003	Diaspora Egunaren proposamena	Ekimen Instituzionala
2004	Facebook-eko Diaspora Taldeak	
2004 2007 2015	Eusko Sare Pentsamendu Global Basque Network	Ekimen Instituzionalak
2005	La Fiebre de Oro: Pete Aguerenberry Frontoitik Sukaldera	Dokumentalak: dibulgazioa

DATA	EKIMENA	EKIMEN MOTA
2006	Ameriketatik Ameriketan Euskaraz Manuel de Irujo Bihotzean Sua Idaho-Kalifornia bidaia mendebaldean barrena Galindez, Espioia edo Abertzalea	Dokumentalak: dibul- gazioa
2007	Ettxepare Euskal Institutua	Ekimen Instituzionala
	Hidden in Plain Sight: The Basques	Ekimen Instituzionala
	A Basque in Boise	Komunikabideak
	Urtain Boiseko Euskaldunak Jaialdia 2000 Vascos en Uruguay Vascos en Rio de la Plata Argentinan Barrena Vascos por el mundo Baskonia Amerikana	Dokumentala: dibul- gazioa
2009	Kurtziatik Kaliforniara	Dokumentala: dibul- gazioa
2010	“About Basque Country”	
	Amerikanuak	Dokumentala: dibulgazioa
2011	EuskalEtxeak birtuala	Komunikabidea, eki- men Instituzionala
	Pete Aguerberry Vascos en la Tierra Moroni El Roble y el Ombú	Dokumentala: dibul- gazioa
2012	Pakea Bizkaia Groenlandia eta Ternuara Bidaia Guk, Nosotros	Dokumentala: dibul- gazioa
2013	Basque Hotel	Dokumentala: dibul- gazioa
2014- 2016	Memoria Bizia (Living Memory). The Basque Diaspora Living Heritage Project 2014-16. United States and Canada.	Testimonioak: Dibulgazioa
2014	Euzko Etxea, 100 años en New York Artzainen buelta Ameriketara Gure Bizitzaren pasarteak	Dokumentala: dibul- gazioa
2015	Boiseko Euskaldunak. Jaialdia Eskuak Zabalik Jai Alai blues	Dokumentala: Dibulgazioa

DATA	EKIMENA	EKIMEN MOTA
2016	Kanpo Harremanetarako Aholku Batzordea	Ekimen Instituzionala
	Origen saioa	Dokumentala: Dibulgazioa
	Agirre Lehendakaria: Gure Izaeraren Ispilu Washington Ongi Etorri "Origen"	Dokumentala: Dibulgazioa
	BIZKAIA: Diaspora 2.0, Bizkaia Talent	Ekimen Instituzionala
2018	Euskal Diasporaren Eguna	Ekimen Instituzionala
2018	Euskalonski	Dokumentala: dibul- gazioa
2019	Bai bagara	Dokumentala: dibul- gazioa

Source: own elaboration

ZAZPIGARREN ATALBURUA

DIASPORA HOMELAND KOMUNIKAZIOA

Aurreko atalburuan jatorrizko herrialdetik diasporarekin komunikazioa mantentzeko martxan jarri diren ekimenak identifikatu, ordenatu eta kategorizatu dira, zazpigarren honetan, diasporatik martxan jarri direnak aztertuko dira.

7.1 Munduan

Diasporaren eskutik jatorrizko herrialdearekin komunikazioa eta harremana mantentzeko ekintzak burutzen dira, baita ere, leku desberdinetan dauden diaspora komunitateek euren artean harremana izateko. Nahiz eta herrialde desberdinetako diasporak izan, burutzen dituzten ekintza horiek nahiko antzekoak izaten dira orokorrean, eta horien artean daude: diaspora elkar-teak (erlijiosoak, politikoak, sorospeneoak edo kulturalak), hizkuntza eskolak, ekintza kulturalak (dantza, musika, janaria, kirola), diaspora medioak,

umeentzako udalekuak, dibisa bidalketak, eragin sozialak (Levitt, 1998), jaialdiak edota festibalak.

7.1.1 Diaspora elkarteak

Herrialde berrira heltzean, immigrante taldeak edo sortuko diren diaspora komunitateek euren herritarrekin harremana bilatuko dute, eta horretarako, diaspora elkarteak sortuko dituzte. Elkarre horiek, batez ere, sorospen elkarteak, erlijiosoak edo elkarte kulturalak izaten dira. Sorospen elkarte eta elkarte erlijiosoak gehienetan batera joaten dira. Horien adibide da, armeniar diasporak 1906an sortu zuen *The Armenian General Benevolent Union* (AGBU) eta 1910 urtean sortu zuen *Armenian Relief Society*:

“By women who were trying to come together to really help these orphans that were, that lost their parents during the Armenian genocide, or just those needed assistance, and they formed it in NY. So, the fact that, it’s an Armenian association and it is not formed in Armenia, as a start is already diaspora is forming” (Verginie Touloumian, Executive Director of Armenian relief society international office, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko otsaila)

Armeniarrek, baita ere, identitatea mantendu eta komunitatea sortzeko 1933 urtean *Armenian Youth Federation* (AYF) elkarte sortu zuten. Sorospen elkarteekin jarraituz, kroaziar diasporak 1894 urtean *Croatian Fraternal Union* (CFU) sortu zuen Pennsylvanian. Ipar Ameriketako dagoen kroaziar elkarterik zaharrena da; elkarte politiko, kultural eta sozial handiena da eta 100.000 inguru bazkide ditu. Beste diaspora batzuen kasuan, elkarte erlijiosoen inguruan sortuko zuten komunitatea. Greziarren kasuan, adibidez, Estatu Batuetara iritsi ziren lehen greziarrak elizetan bilduko ziren:

“The first Greek Orthodox Church on American soil was established in Saint Augustine, Florida in 1777 by the Greeks who fled the New Smyrna colony. The oldest church that is still operating is Holy Trinity in New Orleans, which was established in 1864 by Greek merchants” (Kontargyris, 1964: 92-93)

Horrela sortu zen *Greek American Archiocese-a*, gaur egun ere oraindik aktiboen elkarteak. Kontargyris-ek (1964) dioenaren arabera, elkarteak ere osatu zituzten ingurumen greziarra izateko eta identitatea mantentzeko helburuarekin: “These local societies contributed not only to the preservation of a social support network and of an emotional bond with their place of origin but also to the social and economic development of their home towns in Greece” (Kontargyris, 1964: 137). Bai greziar zein armeniar komunitateak dauden lekuetan, elizarekin batera, eskolak egoten dira. Hizkuntza eta kultura eskolak oso ohikoak dira diaspora komunitateak antolatzerakoan. Greziarrek Estatu Batuetan duten eliza bakoitzeko eskola bat dute:

“As the language is one of the ways to maintain the Greek identity in the United States, almost every church has a school. There should be many more than 500 churches but there are 500 with schools and they were created at the same time as Churches were, some even before. These schools are predominantly afternoon, they go once or twice during the week or Saturday mornings. Its language, national celebrations, and a little bit of history, culture, traditions, customs, big parties...things like that. Few schools existed during the day. There were some but many of them closed. This helps to create community” (Panagoula Diamanti, professor at Northeastern University and expert in Greek diaspora in the United States, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko otsaila)

Kroaziarrek ere kroaziera irakasteko eskolak dituzte⁴². Eskola hauek normalean arratsaldetan edo asteburuetan izaten dira eta hizkuntza, kultura eta herrialdeko tradizioak irakasten dituzte. Armeniarren kasuan, baita ere: “It is important to know also that all the Armenian communities have their church, center and school” (Verginie Touloumian, Executive Director of Armenian relief society international office, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko otsaila) eta ondorengo dio diasporako kide batek:

“First you are Armenian by birth, by language, by religion, by your life style and culture. So, for us education is important and religion is important and language too. Religion and language are important, and if you don’t have those two, how do you consider being Armenian? Convince me” (Marine Sargsyan, Estatu Batuetan bizi den armeniarra, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko otsaila).

7.1.2 Diaspora ekintzak

Komunitate gehienetan janaria eta dantza dira, hizkuntza eta erlijioaz gain, identitate hori mantentzeko burutzen dituzten ekintzak. Festibal eta jaialdietan bi horiek biltzen dira, batzutan, kirolarekin batera.

Jaialdi horien adibide dira: Greziarrek⁴³ eta armeniarrek⁴⁴ elizetan antolatzen dituztenank; edota Irlandarrek San Patrick eguna munduko hainbat lekutan ospatzen dutenean.

Horrez gain, esandako identitea mantendu eta jatorrizko herrialdearekin harremana izateko, diaspora komunitate ugari udalekuak antolatzen dituzte; horrela, euren jatorriarekin harremanetan jarriko dira denboraldi batez berriro ere euren egungo herrialdeetara bueltatu arte (Kevin,

⁴² Bostonen, adibidez, Croatian School of Boston, 2009 urtean sortua:

<https://www.croatianschoolofboston.org/about-1/>

⁴³ Cambridge (MA) antolatzen duten Greziar Jaialdia Saints Constantine eta Helen Greek Church-en .

⁴⁴ Watertownen (MA) antolatzen duten armenian Jaialdia St. James elizan, Annual Picnic.

2013:101). Udaleku horiek jatorrizko herrialdean edo egun bizi diren herrialdean antolatzen dituzte. Greziarren kasuan *Ionian Village* deitzen den udalekua antolatzen dute, zein, nahiz eta Amerikako elizak antolatu, Grezian burutzen den, Peloponisen, hain zuzen:

“But you have to be 15-16 or older. So they teach you about the churches, archeological sites...and you don't have to be with your parents. Now a lot of people go there” (Kleanthi Mavrogiannaki, grezierako eskola batetako zuzendaria, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko martxoa)

Armeniarren kasuan, baita ere, udalekuak Armenian bertan burutzen dituzte. Gazteak Armeniara joango dira eta han emango dute denboraldi bat kultura, hizkuntza eta herria ezagutzen. Armeniarrek antolatzen dituzten udalekuen artean daude: *Hamazkayin educational and cultural society*-k antolatzen duen *Hamazkayin Summer Forum*-a⁴⁵; *AYF camp*⁴⁶ (Estatu Batuetan); eta *Armenian Relief Society* udalekua Georgian.

7.1.3 Diaspora medioak

Diaspora komunitateak euren artean komunikazioa mantentzeko tresnak daukate, eta horien artean daude diaspora medioak. Oyungemyk (2015) diaspora medioak definitzen ditu diasporak sortuak eta diasporarentzako medio bezala. Armeniarrek *The Armenian Weekly* dute, 1899 urtean⁴⁷ sortu zena; Kroaziarren kasuan, *Croatian Fraternal Union*-ek *The Fraternalist* medioa sortu zuen “the most influential Croatian diasporic organization in North America” (Djuric, 2003:89). Greziarrek *The Greek-American Press* eta *The National Herald* daukate. Horrela ikusten dogu, diaspora gehienek dutela diaspora medio bat, zeinek aldi berean, jatorrizko albisteak eta orain bizi diren herrialdekoak emango dituen eta askotan, bi hizkuntzetan.

⁴⁵ Hamazkayin Summer Forum can be one of the most memorable experiences in an Armenian students' life. It aims at bringing together Armenian students in an Armenian atmosphere, to convey the Armenian past and present, history and traditions, together with our complex existence, and our concerns and opportunities for preserving our cultural values. The Forum is also a medium where the social and national problems of the Armenian youth, as well as the Armenian student's duties to his nation are discussed (From their Facebook page, Novembre 2018).

⁴⁶ AYF Camp was established to provide an opportunity for Armenian youth living in the Diaspora to learn their history, reconnect with their heritage and foster life-long friendships. Today, the unique program includes social, cultural and educational activities that promote healthy development and strengthen Armenian identity within our youth. From <https://www.ayfcamp.org/>

⁴⁷ “The Armenian Weekly” egunkariaren historia laburra euren webgunean: <https://armenianweekly.com/history/>

7.2 Euskal Herrian

Munduko ekintzen errepassoa egin ondoren, Estatu Batuetan dauden euskaldunek burutzen dituzten ekintzak aztertuko ditugu. Estatu Batuetan euskal identitatea mantendu eta jatorrizko herrialdearekin komunikazioa eta harremana izateko dauden bideen artean, besteak beste, hauek atzerrian sortutako euskal etxeak; euskal etxeen elkarteak; frontoiak; euskara eta dantza ikastaroak; euskal kirolak; udalekuak; medio tradizionalak; festibalak; eta diaspora sareak daude. Nahiz eta ekimen guzti horien helburua hasiera batean ez izan Euskal Herriarekin komunikatzea, baizik eta euskal etxeen kasua, adibidez, herrialde berri batera heltzen ziren euskaldunei lagundu eta herrialde horretan zeuden euskaldunen arteko laguntza eta elkartze leku izatea, egia da urteak aurrera joan ahala bai bihurtu dela komunikatzeko eta harremanetarako bide, eta euskaldunak oporretan, lanean edo beste arrazoi batengatik herrialde horietara doazenean, komunikazioa eta harremana sortzen da bertan daudenekin eta bisitariekin.

Jatorrizko herrialdetik diasporara burututako ekintzekin egin dugun moduan, diasporatik jatorrizko herrialdera bideratutakoetan ere alde batetik, komunikatzeko bide diren komunikabideak aztertuko ditugu, eta, bestetik, harremana garatzeko ekintzak, zeintzuk kasu askotan, harreman publikoetako ekintza bezala kategorizatu ditugun.

7.2.1 Komunikazio bideak:

a) Aldizkariak, irratiak, telebista, eta medio digitalak

Komunikazioari dagokionez, diaspora eta jatorrizko herrialdearen arteko komunikabideen artean aldizkariak, irrati saioak, egunkariak eta Telebista daude. Euskal diasporaren kasuan, batez ere, aldizkariak, egunkariak eta irrati saioak jarri dira martxan eta aldizkariak eta egunkariak izan dira gehien ikertu direnak. Totoricaguenak bere doktorego tesian aipatzen du 1885an Los Angelesen euskaraz idatzitako lehen egunkaria *Escualdun Gazeta* izan zela. Horrez gain, diasporaren erresistentziari buruz informatzeko Euskal Herrian banatu ziren Mexiko eta Argentinako euskaldunek argitaratutako egunkari eta buletin berri ematen du. Euskaldunek euskal zentroen bidez jasotzen zuten informazioa (Totoricagunea, 2001). Joseba Etxarrik (2001) Ameriketara zeuden euskal egunkarien berri eman zuen baita gerra garaian zabaldu ziren argitalpenei buruz ere. Javier Díaz Nocik (1991) euskal kazetaritzaren errepassoa egiten duenean atzerriko euskal aldizkarien berri ematen du. Edorta Arana, Josu Amezaga eta Patxi Azpillagak 2010ean publikatu zuten *Euskarazko hedabideak* liburuan ere, erbestean argitaratutako

aldizkari eta irratiak aipatzen dituzte era labur batean. Autore gehienek Estatu Batuetako aldizkari moduan *Escualdun Gazeta* (1885-86) eta *Californiako Eskual Herria* (1893-1897) aipatzen dituzte baina Koldo San Sebastianek, bere azken liburuan, New Yorken argitaratu ziren aldizkarien berri ere ematen du. New Yorkeko euskaldunek ere argitalpen batzuk egin zituztela dio, horien artean Aberri <<Órgano del Partido Nacionalista Vasco>>⁴⁸, 1925 urteko irailan (San Sebastian, 2018:173).

Euskal etxeak aldizkariaren 23.alean (1993.urtea) Estatu Batuetako euskaldunei buruz idazten da, mendebaldean eta ekialdean aurkitzen diren euskaldunei buruz, eta hor aipatzen ditu, baita ere, ekialdeko zona horretan argiratzatzen ziren aldizkari batzuk:

“La comunidad vasconewyorkina ha conocido, asimismo, publicaciones como “Aberri” (publicado en los años 20 por un grupo afín al PNV), “Basques” (auspiciado en 1943-44 por el Gobierno Vasco en el exilio), y “Argia” (revista cultural en euskara, también en los 40)

1943 urtean Eusko Jaurlaritzako ordezkariak bere bulletin propioa hasi zuen: *Basques: Bulletin of the Basque Delegation in the USA*. Sei publikazio egin zituen 1944 urteko abuztura arte. Honekin Espainiako eta Euskal Herriko egoeraren irudi erreala zabaldu nahi zuten⁴⁹, Ameriketako prentsak egiten zuten interpretazioaren ondoan. Ale bakoitza ingelesez publikatzen zen eta Manuel de la Sotaren argitalpen zerbitzuan egiten zen. Buletinaren luzeera zortzi eta hogeit hamar bitartekoa zen eta New Yorkeko Euskal komunitatearen artean zabaltzen zen, baita ere “to Catholic elite and influential lay and clergy, and to academics and journalists”⁵⁰. New Yorken dagoen Eusko Jaurlaritzako ordezkariak saiatu zen bere egunean buletin hori berreskuratzen:

“Guk ordezkarietan berreskuratu genduan garai bateko, Galindez eta egoazan garaiko, boletina eta holan deitu geuntzon ganera, Boletin Basque, eta harek oso harrera ona izan zuen. Mailing bat izateko oso harrera ona. Orain dana dau zentralizata Gasteizen, Euskaletxeak.net. Baina nik uste dot eduki beharko gendula bertoko tresna bat. Hamengo Euskaldunen artean “diaspora medio” antzekoa. Nahiz eta guk eroan,oso harrera ona izan zuela. Nik uste dut dela, Think Global Act Local hori, ba azkenean, jakin in behar dozu hemengoek zer nahi daben entzun. Eta haiei be, askotan Euskalkultura edota Euskaletxeak.net en datozen be-

⁴⁸ A partir del número 2 lo fue de Acción Nacionalista Vasca (San Sebastian, 2018:174).

⁴⁹ Koldo San Sebastianek bulletin horretan tratatzen ziren gaie buruz idatzi zuen: “Los temas tratados fueron los comunes que definieron la estrategia americana del Gobierno Vasco: demostrar la vinculación franquista con los países del eje y de esotos con Iberoamérica. Defender la postura vasca en la guerra civil y la verdad sobre el holocausto de Gernika” (San Sebastian, 2018:213).

⁵⁰ Toticaguena, The Delegation of the Basque Government-in-exile in the United States, Eusko news: <http://www.Eusko news.com/0252zvk/kosmo25201.html>

riak, hango barriek dire, edozein perioduktan lortu ahal dabe, hori kontsulta iten dabe beste zeozelan baina hemengo sentipena, berton enpresa Euskal amerikarrak zer iten dabe?

Gure buletina hori zan, enpresa bat etorri, delgazino bat etorten zanean, zer egin dogu....jendeak jakiteko Estatu Batuen barnean zer egiten dan. Baina eguneroko martxa batean“ (Ander Caballero, Eusko Jaurlaritzako ordezkari ohia Estatu Batuetan, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko apirila).

New Yorken, baita ere, Jose Antonio Aguirrek 1946 eta 1947 urteen bitartean *Ambos Mundos* aldizkaria argitaratu zuen eta bere helburua komunismoaren sarrera frenatzea zen (San Sebastian, 2018:213). Hiri bardinean, aurrerago esan dugun moduan, *Argia* aldizkaria argitaratu zuten euskaraz.

Eusko Jaurlaritzak egin zuen Urazandi Digital⁵¹ bildumari esker jakin dezakegu zeintzuk izan ziren atzeritik argitaratu ziren aldizkariak, bakoitza non argitarau zen eta posible da aldizkari horietako aleak irakurtzea.

12 Taula: Euskal aldizkariak Estatu Batuetan orden kronologikoan

ESTATUA	ALDIZKARIA	URTEA
Los Ángeles	Escualdun Gazeta	1885-1886
Los Ángeles	Californiako Eskual Herria	1893-1897
New York	Aberri	1925-1928
New York	Basques	1943-1944
New York	Ambos mundos	1945
San Francisco	Californien	1963-1979
Reno	The Basques Studies Progam Newsletter	1968-2006
Reno	Zazpiak bat Basque club	1970-2004
Elko	Euzkorria	1971-1972
Boise	Euzkotaran Abotza	1972-1973
Nueva Cork	Euzko Albistaria	1973

⁵¹Urazandi Digitala, Hemeroteca de la Diáspora Vasca-ren webgunea: <http://urazandi.euskaletxeak.net/default.html>

ESTATUA	ALDIZKARIA	URTEA
Boise	Alkarteko Berriak	1974
Boise	Voice of the Basques	1974-1977
Maitland	Chula	1975

Iturria: elaborazio propioa Urazandi Digitaleko datuak erabiliz

Erbestean argitaraturiko lehen aldizkarietako bat Laurac Bat izan zen Montevideon, Uruguain, 1877. urtean.

20 Irudia: Laurac Bat aldizkaria

AÑO I. MONTEVIDEO, ABRIL DE 1877. NÚM. 1.º

LAURAC-BAT

ORGANO DE LA SOCIEDAD PROTECTORA DE INMIGRANTES VASCONGADOS

Gerencia—CALLE COLON, NUM. 57

Nuestro programa

El objeto de la sociedad *Laurac-Bat* tiene por principal objeto llevar al conocimiento de sus asociados todo asunto que á ella se refiere, tanto en la parte concerniente á sus documentos oficiales como á todo lo que tenga conexión con la Gerencia de la misma.

En el primer número hemos creído no debíamos pasar en silencio los conceptos mas ó menos apasionados y erróneos de que ha sido objeto antes y despues de su institución.

En los siguientes empezaremos la publicación de todo lo que debe caracterizar la índole de esta publicación.

Mas tarde, tan pronto como la cantidad de materiales lo permitan, daremos cuenta de aquellos acontecimientos mas notables de nuestro pais, relatando los hechos de que nos den cuenta nuestros socios correspondientes y los diarios de las cuatro Provincias.

Escusado es decir que dada la imparcialidad de una Sociedad de este género, nos limitaremos á consignar aquellos asuntos que hagan referencia á ella, haciendo completa abstracción de todo lo que se refiera á los partidos políticos en que está dividida la madre patria.

Cuando se iniciaba y se llevaba á cabo entre algunos vascongados residentes en esta república la idea, que ya oportunamente se ha traducido en hecho, de organizar la sociedad *Laurac-Bat* con el fin bien conocido de dar auxilio á los compatriotas del pais Vasco-Navarro que, llegados á este pais mas ó menos espontáneamente, necesitasen aquel auxilio, cuando esta sociedad se iniciaba y organizaba, decimos, tenian ya en Buenos Aires, (y esta fue una de las causas impulsivas que aquí obraron en el ánimo de los iniciadores) hechos que revelaban la tendencia á iniciar, en contraposición con el gobierno argentino, un fuerte movimiento de inmigración Vascongada. Los iniciadores del pensamiento surgido á su efecto, no obstante, debían tener esto que en Buenos Aires se dibujaba ya con caracteres serios, porque ni eran los trabajos en la capital, ni de completo dominio público, ni se

habian producido hechos que los confirmaran tan acaloradamente para que su existencia pudiera ser conocida entonces como una de las causas de nuestra congregación protectora.

El silencio sobre este punto, que fué sin embargo uno de los motivos reservados, que dio origen á que nuestra idea se llevase á cabo, ha expuesto á la sociedad Vascongada, y á su comisión delegada á mas de una falsa apreciación y á mas de un malevolente reproche injusto como ninguno por lo mismo de basarse el cargo en el mismo fundamento que sirvió á su institución.

El gratuito cargo se ha formulado diciendo que el objeto en vista y el resultado necesario de la asociación protectora de los inmigrantes vascongados era el estimular la emigración en masa de las provincias, cuyos hijos iban á ser aquí objeto de la solicitud de dicha asociación.

Nada ni mas indiscreto, ni mas injusto. Ni los móviles que, como queda dicho, tuvieron en vista los iniciadores del humanitario y patriótico pensamiento, ni las cláusulas y declaraciones que se consagran categóricamente en los Estatutos que forman la ley de la asociación, dan la razón á los que tales cargos han levantado contra esta, y tan es esto evidente y tan notorio se ha hecho, que, no obstante lo que errada ó maliciosamente se ha dicho y escrito en tan inexacto sentido, nos complacemos en ver que ha sido ya dejado de lado como inconsistente.

Y en verdad que así ha debido suceder desde que no entrase en la intención de los que hacían el reproche una pasión ciega ó un espíritu de hostilidad preconcebida.

Fue teniendo en vista los antecedentes á que hemos hecho alusión que la comisión iniciadora decía en su invitación:

«Nuestro intento es arbitrar los medios, en asociación de compatriotas, de sustraer á los que lleguen de la situación difícil y triste en que pueden verse colocados á su arribo á esta República, preocupación que me nos agitaría si este pais recuperase sus condiciones normales por la desaparición de la crisis comercial y financiera que lo tiene momentáneamente en su progreso, y si, como antes, brindara al extranjero que á él acude con el trabajo fácil y remunerador.»

Se indicaba tambien en la misma circular que la afluencia de nuestros paisanos desde tiempos

Iturria: Urazandi digitaleko webgunea:

<http://urazandi.Euskaletxeak.net/vol1/dvd01/Laurac%20Bat/htm/index.htm>

Irratiari dagokionez, badira kanpoan diren euskaldunek bideratutako irratia saioak. Boise eta Buffalo Springs-en (Wyoming) euskarazko irratia programak izan ziren. Iberlin eta Romtvedt-ek (2011)an Buffalon KBBS irratiari Euskara Ordua entzuteko aukera zegoela esaten zuten (Iberlin & Romtvedt, 2011):

“Isolation, both in language and distance, was one of the biggest issues that the Basque immigrants found when they reached America. To solve this problem, some Basque communities took the initiative to create radio programs in their cities to help to overcome this isolation”

Kattalina Berriochoren⁵² hitzetan, 1952 urterako bazeuden jada Idahon euskaraz hitz egiten zuten nahiko eta “The Basque program” deritzenak entzuleak euren identitate kultural eta etnikoa mantentzen lagundu zien:

“Julian Lachiondo, the first host, turned the show over to Cecil Jayo after a few years. Espe Alegria, “Voice of the Basques,” hosted the show for 26 years. She became famous in the Basque County because she spoke in Basque at a time when the language was outlawed under Francisco Franco’s regime in Spain” (Kattalina Berriotxo, 2014⁵³)

Esperanza (Espe) Alegriak ere izan zuten “Voice of the Basques” irratia programa Boisen:

The Basque Program on KGEM and then KBOI, broadcast information and current events from the Basque homeland, weather reports for herders, traditional Basque folk music as well as new contemporary Basque music for her audience, which included the western states, Canada, and Mexico. Espe Alegria retired May 30, 1982 after twenty-six years of broadcasting in Basque. She had continued the 1950s radio programs of Julian Lachiondo and Cecil Jayo, and Inaki Eiguren continued after Espe. Inaki Eiguren’s program aired at 10:30 pm on Sunday nights, also on KBOI, and was more convenient for those who normally visited the Basque center on Sunday evenings for card playing, although some then complained that it was too late. This consistent Sunday night program was the only source of news and information for herders, and other Basques, who generally spoke no English. Area Basques who traveled to the homeland would bring back personal news about their towns and villages and bought 45 records and phonograph albums to increase Espe’s available selection” (Toticaguena, 2002:68-69)

⁵² Twin Falls (Idaho)-en jaiotako euskalduna. New England Basque Clubeko bazkide eta euskara irakaslea Harvard Unibertsitatean.

⁵³ Berriotxo K. (2014). Saving Euskara The Basque language renaissance in <https://thebluereview.org/saving-basque-language-euskara/>

Programa horien ondoren beste batzuk sortu ziren, kasurako *Euskaldun Ordua* Buffalon (Wyoming) eta *The Basque Program* Elkon (Nevada)⁵⁴.

Egun badira oraindik irratik programak, eta gehienak internetetik emititzen dira. Boisen, adibidez, azken urtean Boiseko Taupada irratsaioa sortu zuten, euren webgunean dioten bezala, helburua: "To connect Boise and the Basque Country through music". Maddalen Bieter hasi zen horrekin 2017 urtean eta, egun beste kide batzuk eman diote jarraipena.

b) Internet eta Sare Sozialak

Medio tradizional horietatik, internet etorri eta sare sozial eta webguneetara saltoa eman zen. Gainera, "Internet is the most common tool used to reach out to diasporas" (Ionescu, 2006:35) eta honekin batera blog-ak, medio digitalak, WhatsApp-a, Facebook-a eta Instagram-a agertu dira komunikazioan.

Koldo Bizkarguenagak (2012) Tsavkko-García-ren ikerketa bat erabiliz, erakusten zuen blog-ei esker Euskal Herriaren eta bere diasporaren arteko distantzia geografikoak moztu egiten direla. Pedro Oiarzabalek ere sare sozialak azterketa egin zuenean blog-ena ere egin zuen. Bere ikerketan ikusi ahal izan zuen dantza taldeetako blog-ak zirela aktiboak: "That is to say, dance groups are central for diaspora organizations in both offline and online worlds" (Oiarzabal, 2011:222).

1994 urtean lehen euskal bloga sortu zen Boisen eta diasporako kide batek sortu zuen.

"The first Basque Web site was created in the diaspora by Blas Uberuaga in 1994, www.buber.net. The first Basque institutional diaspora web site was created in 1996 by the political association Asociación Venezolana de Amigos de Euskal Herria Prior to this, the Basque presence on the Internet was related to two mailing lists: Basque - L (December 1993) and soc.culture.basque (July 1996)" (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010:347).

Blog honek oraindik aktibo jarraitzen du⁵⁵. Horrez gain, beste batzuk sortu dira eta hainbat blog daude kanpoan diren euskaldunen inguruan idazten dutenak edo diasporarekin lotzen ditugunak. Batzuk aipatzeagatik: Boisen bizi den Henar Chicok daraman "A Basque In Boise", San Franciscotik idazten duen Anne Marie Chiramberrok daraman "Hella Basque" edota Nancy Zubiriak daraman "Euskal Kazeta" daude.

⁵⁴ Boiseko Euskal Museoko webgunetik hartutako informazioa.

⁵⁵ Buber blog-aren link-a: <http://buber.net/Basque/?p=1733>

Henar Chicoren blog-a homeland diasporako ekintzetan aztertu dugu, izan ere, nahiz eta bera Boisen egon, ekimena EITBren eskutik etorri zen.

Anne Marie Chiramberro euskal iparraldean arbasoak dituen euskal amerikarra da eta 2013 urtetik Hella Basque blog-aren atzean dago.

21 Irudia: Hella Basque



Source: Hella Basque

Blog hau sortu zuen zerbait buruz idatzi nahi zuelako eta Estatu Batuetako euskal kultura ezagutzen zuenez, erabaki zuen horri buruz idatziko zuela. Bere hitzetan blog hau: “Is a tool for communicating between the Basque Americans and Euro Basques” (Anne Marie Chiramberro, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017 urteko uztaila). Estatu Batuetako euskaldunei buruz idazten du, horrela, Euskal Herrian bizi diren euskaldunek honen berri izan dezakete: “I remember that the people from the Basque Country that read it is from Spain not many people from France. And in United States from California and Idaho” (Anne Marie Chiramberro, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017 urteko uztaila). Askotan, nahiz eta Euskal Herriko irakurleak izan, berarekin harremanean jartzen direnak Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunak dira, eta jaialdiei buruzko galderak egiten dizkiote. Orain, blog-a baino, instagrama erabiltzen du gehiago, tresna honek emaitza hobek ematen dituelakoan. Euskal Herriko jende ugariaren mezuak jasotzen ditu. 2017 urteko uztailan zehar, Euskal Herrian egon zen, eta hainbat mezu jaso zituen gomendioak ematen: “With instagram is easier to reach Basque people and interact with them”. She wanted to have Basque followers so “for months I have been searching hastaghs, commenting....” (Anne Marie Chiramberro, Hella Basque, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko uztaila).

Anne Mariek urte batzuk eman ditu blog-a barik beste sare sozial batzuk erabiltzen baina 2018 urteko ekainean barriro ere blog-arekin hasia erabaki zuen:

22 Irudia: Hella Basque blog-a



Source: Hella Basque blog-a

Azken hilabetetan (2018ko azaroan) bere merchadising propioa saltzen hasi da, betiere euskal motiboekin.

Horrez gain, Hella Basque eta A Basque in Boiseren arteko harremana ona izanik, euren artean gauzak elkarbanatzen dituzte:

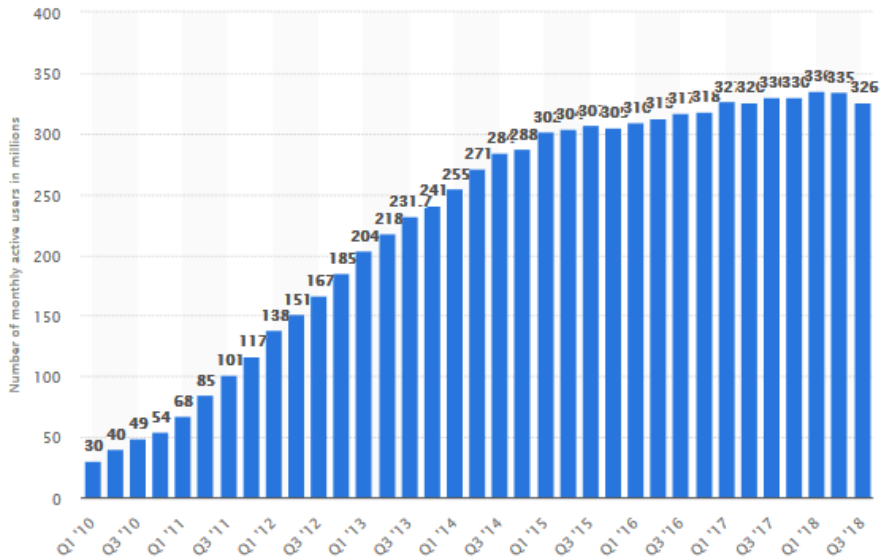
23 Irudia: Hella Basque eta A Basque in Boise blog-en arteko koordinazioa erakusten duen irudia

The image is a screenshot of a Facebook page for 'Hella Basque' (@hellabasque). The page layout includes a left sidebar with navigation options like 'Hasiera', 'Honi buruz', 'Argazkiak', 'Gertakariak', 'Bideoak', 'Argitalpenak', and 'Komunitatea', along with a green 'Sortu orri bat' button. The main content area shows a post from 'Hella Basque' dated '19 ordu' ago, with the text 'Calling all Boise Basques! Exchange student for the Basque Country needs a place to stay for the fall.' Below this is a link titled 'A Basque in Boise' which is circled with a thick black scribble. The post also includes a comment 'Kaixo! Hello! I am an exchange student who will be in Boise to study for the fall term. I have not found off-campus housing anywhere (because I am only he...)' and a 'Ikusi gehiago' link. At the bottom of the post are interaction buttons for 'Atsegin dut', 'Iruzkindu', and 'Partekatu'. The right sidebar shows 'Pages Li' with profile pictures and a 'Pribatuta Iragarokie Facebook' notice.

Source: Hella Basque-en Facebook-a

Blog-etatik beste era bateko sare sozialetara saltoa eginez, Pedro Oiarzabalek 2011an egindako ikerketan ondorioztatu zuen: “Evidence shows that many diaspora associations use Fotolog, Blogger, Facebook, and MySpace to build communities based on a common identity, heritage, culture, political orientation, language, activities, and interests” (2011:223). Sare sozialei dagokionez, elkarrizketatutako gehienek Facebook aipatzen dute komunikatzeko bide bezala. Bestalde, twitter ere oso sare sozial erabilia da munduan.

24 Irudia: Mundu mailan Twitter erabiltzen dutenen zenbakia 2010 urtetik 2018ra:



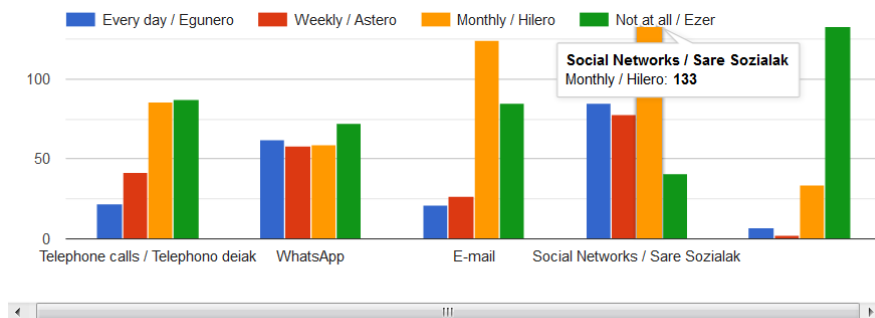
Iturria: Statista <https://www.statista.com/statistics/282087/number-of-monthly-active-twitter-users/>

Hala ere, guk ez dugu twitterren erabilera lan honetan sartuko, inork ez digu twitterren erabilera aipatu eta egin dutenak, erabiltzen ez dutela esateko izan da, Hella Basque-ek adibidez: “I dont use Twitter. I feel like twitter is more for political discussion” (komunikazio pertsonala, 2017 urteko uztaila).

Hainbat eta hainbat dira Euskal Herrian gertatzen diren albisteen berri sare sozialei esker dutenak, Euskal Herriko familiarekin harremana mantentzen dutenak Facebook-i esker (edota sare sozial honi esker familia topatu dutenak), eta kulturalki garatzeko edo euskara ikasteko tresna hauek erabiltzen dituztenak: “Facebook es más que una herramienta mediante la cual los jóvenes construyen identidad vasca: también es un espacio que la ciudadanía vasca habita; un espacio que se sitúa entre lo local y lo global” (Sassen, 2006 Bizkarguenaga & Tsavkko-n 2015: 60). Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunen artean zabalduzako inkestan hori ikusi daiteke.

25 Irudia: Nola komunikatzen dira Estatu Batuetako Euskaldunak Euskal Herriarekin?

16.- How do you communicate with the people from the Basque Country? / Nola komunikatzen zara Euskal Herriko jendearekin?



Source: own elaboration based on survey answers

Sare sozialek zenbaki altuenak ematen dituzte bai eguneroko, asteroko eta hileroko komunikazio bide bezala. Argi dago, beraz, Internetek eta sare sozialek Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporaren arteko komunikazioan berebiziko garrantzia dutela, eta, hori dela eta, badira jada sare sozialek harreman horretan duten inpaktua ikertu dutenak. Ikerlari horien artean, aurrerago aipatu dugun Pedro Oiarzabalen lana dago. Urteak daramatza gai hauek aztertzen, eta elkarrizketetan oinarrituriko ikerketei esker ondorioztatu du Europa, Ipar eta Hego Amerika, Asia eta Ozeaniako hogei herrialde baino gehiagotan bizi diren euskaldunentzat, ziberespazioa euren "txoko" bilakatu dela eta diaspora digitalaren kontzeptua garatzen du Andoni Alonsorekin batera esanez diaspora digitalak direla: "The distinct online networks that diasporic people use to re-create identities, share opportunities, spread their culture, influence homeland and host-land policy, or create debate about common-interest issues by means of electronic devices" (Alonso and Oiarzabal, 2010:11).

Komunikatzeko bideei buruz galdetzean, askok, medio digitalak eta Facebook nahastu egiten zituzten. Estatu Batuetako euskaldunen kasuan ere Euskal Herrian gertatzen diren gauzen berri izateko Facebook aipatzen dute "I read kind of articles in Facebook" (Teresa Franzoia, USA, personal communication, march 2017). Batzuntzat medio digitalak izango direlarik ko-

munikabide, baina beste batzuentzat Facebook. Honekin lotuta Crush, Eberhardt, Caesar, Chikanda, Pendleton eta Hill-ek diote: “The recent explosion of social media is likely to provide further opportunities for diaspora connectivity, engagement, debate and identity formation” (2012:347).

Twitterrekin egin dugun moduan, jakin nahi izan dugu zein den Facebook erabiltzaileen zenbakia. 2018 urtean eta Statistaren⁵⁶ datuen arabera Facebook-ek 2.27 billoi erabiltzaile ditu hilero.

Facebooken erabilera argia da, adibidez euskal etxeetako Facebook taldeak, dantza taldeetako Facebook orrialdeak, Musika taldeenak...Euskal Herriarekin komunikatzeko bide ezinhobea dira:

“Nik, adibidez, ezin dot beti nire EHko familia edo lagunekin zuzenean hitz egin nahi dodan momentuan, ordu ezberdintasunagatik. Beraz, emailak, Whatsappak, Facebook edo Skype erabiltzen ditugu eguneratzeko” (Hecar Chico, “A Basque In Boise”, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko ekaina).

Pedro Oiarzabalek bere ikerketan ikusi zuen Colorado Basque Club (US) izan zela interneten presentzia izan zuen lehen euskal etxea, 2004 urteko apirilean. Horren ondoren, La Platako dantza taldeak eman zuen salto hori, 2004 urteko abenduan. Euskal diasporaren kasua erabiliz, Oiarzabalek erakusten du hainbat diaspora elkartetek Fotolog, Facebook, Blogger eta MySpace erabiltzen dutela identitate, herentzi, kultura, ekintza, hizkuntza, interes eta orientazio politiko berean eraikitako komunitate bat sortzeko.

Oiarzabalek aipatzen dituen sare sozial horiez gain, Instagramen presentzia gero eta nabariagoa da: “Instagram is one of the most popular social networking sites and currently has over 500 million active users and counting” (Statista 2016 in De Veirman, Cauberghe & Hudders, 2017).

2010etik instagramek izan duen igoera ikusita, euskal etxeek instagramea⁵⁷ saltoa egin duten edo ez ikertu nahi izan dugu eta nolako jarraitasuna ematen dioten sare honi. Ikusi dugunagatik badaude hainbat euskal etxe eta diasporako eragile instagramea saltoa egin dutenak eta euren jarraitzaile kopurua ere igotzen doa; Bartzelonako euskal etxeak, kasurako, 1.582 jarraitzaile ditu (2018ko azaroan), Hella Basque-k 4.803 eta Argentinako Semana

⁵⁶ Facebook-en erabiltzaileen mundu mailan:

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/264810/number-of-monthly-active-facebook-USers-worldwide/>

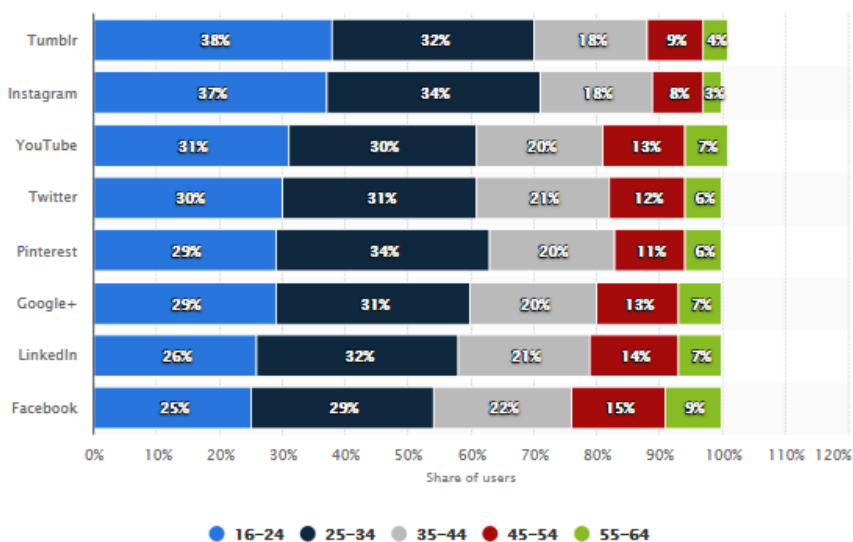
⁵⁷ Zer da Instagram? Instagramek 150 milioi erabiltzaile baino gehiago dauzkat, eta 55 milioi argazki igotzen dira egunero batazbeste. Telefono mugikorretik argazkiak eta bideoak igotzeko aukera ematen du eta horiek, dituen filtroekin, manipulatzeko aukera.

Nacional Vasca-k 700 inguru. Jarraitzaile kopurua gora doa baina oraindik ezin daiteke Facebook-en erabilerarekin aldaratu.

Hau izan daiteke instagram sare berri bat delako eta erabiltzen duena jente gaztea delako, erabiltzaileen %60 gutxi gora behera 18-34⁵⁸ urte bitarteko jendea da.

Facebook adin nagusiagoko jenteak erabiltzen du askotan, euskal etxeen lagunak adin nagusikoak direlako eta horiek ez dute hainbeste Instagrama erabiltzen.

26 Irudia: Sare sozialen erabilera erabiltzaileen adinagatik



Iturria: Statista <https://www.statista.com/statistics/274829/age-distribution-of-active-social-media-users-worldwide-by-platform/>

2009 urtean WhatsApp mobilerako aplikazioa sortu zen. Estatu Batuetako euskaldunek berebiziko garrantzia ematen diote WhatsApp-i Estatu Batuetako lagunekin ez dutelako erabiltzen. Mezuak debalde dira Estatu Batuetan, horregatik, ez dute WhatsApp aplikazioaren beharrik mezuak

⁵⁸ Statista: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/248769/age-distribution-of-worldwide-instagram-users/>

bidaltzeko. Gainera, ia denek Iphona dute eta Imessage eraibltzen dute. Horregatik denek aipatzen dute aplikazioa:

“I WhatsApp. I only use WhatsApp with my Basque friends in the Basque Country. With my Americans friend I use Imessage. I WhatsApp with my izeko and my cousin at least, not daily, but 4 or 5 times a week. And if I wasn't too busy I would skype with them.” (Argia Beristain, Idaho eta Nevadako Euskal komunitateko kide aktiboa, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017 urteko martxoa).

Teresa Franzoiak (Elko) ere egun komunikazioa askoz errezagoa dela dio eta horretarako WhatsApp-a erabiltzen dutela: “We have a family group in WhatsAapp, is fantastic!”.

Whatsapp-a da, sare sozialekin batera, egunero eta astero Euskal Herriko jendearekin komunikazioa mantentzeko gehien erabiltzen duten tresna.

7.2.2 Harremana mantendu, askotan harreman publikoen bidez

Esan bezala, aztertuko dugun beste puntuetako bat harremana mantentzeko izan diren bideak dira. Euskaldunak beti antolatu izan dira, era ofizial edo ez ofizial batean baina beti izan dute komunitate berean bizi ziren Euskaldunekin biltzeko aitzakiarenbat. Horien barruan boardinghousak eta euskal etxeak, euskal etxeen eta Euskal Herriaren arteko harremanerako sortutako elkarteak, euskal identitatea mantendu eta euskal komunitatea indartzeko antolatzen diren udalekuak; Estatu Batuetan antolatzen diren jaialdi edota festibalak eta diaspora sareak daude.

7.2.2.1 *Diaspora elkarteak: kofradiak, boardinghousak, Euskal etxeak frontoiak eta federazioak*

Kofradiak izan ziren euskal diaspora antolatu zenean sortu ziren lehen elkarte ofizialak eta horien ondoren, *boarding house*-ak:

“In Argentina, the United States and on a smaller scale in Uruguay and Australia, these Basque ‘hotels’ served as information centers for news from Euskal Herria and networking for employment (Echeverria, 1989; Douglass, 1996; Mendiola Larrazabal interview 1997) (Toticaguena, 2000:161)

1999 urtean Echeverriak esan zuen nahiz eta *boarding house*-n garrantzia ezinbestekoa izan zen euskaldunak “Mundu Berria”-n egokitu ahal izateko, oso gutxi dagoela idatzita horiei buruz. Lehen ostatuak Buenos Aires eta Montevideon agertu ziren eta ondorengoak Kalifornia urrearen sukarra eta

jarraian (Echeverria, 1999:prologue). Kalifornia eta Nevadako lehen ostatuak 1860 eta 1890 urteen inguruan egin ziren (Echeverria, 1999:36): “The Plaza hotel was a forerunner to later ostatuak, and its opening date followed closely after the initial Basque presence in San Juan Bautista 1850” (Echeverria, 1999:40). *Boardin ghouse*-ak edo ostatuak bihurtu ziren mundu berrian falta zitzaizen familia izateko tokia. Euskal Herritik kanpo zuten bigarren etxeak ziren eta horietan euskara, euskal jatekoa, euskal jokoak, euskal musika eta dantza zeuden; gainera, *boarding house*etan euskal jentea eta, nahi izanez gero, bikotea topatzen zuten; gaixo zeudenean medizinak, eta egun bereziak ospatzeko leku aproposa zen (Jeronima Echeverria, 1999:206). *Boarding house* batzuk jatetxeak edota euskal jentea batzeko euskal etxeak bihurtu ziren eta horien helburua zen hainbat belaunalditako emigranteak euren artean batzea eta zubilana burutzea emigrante horien eta Euskal Herriaren artean:

“El objetivo de la euskal etxea como puente, no deber ser dirigir o controlar el tráfico, sino ofrecer nexos de conexión que vinculen a las instituciones y a la gente de los siete territorios con todos los vascos que viven actualmente repartidos por múltiples países” (Totricaguena, 2007.urteko Mundu Biltzarrean, Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2008:24).

2010 urteko Jaialdiko brochure-an ondorengoa zioan *boarding house*i buruz:

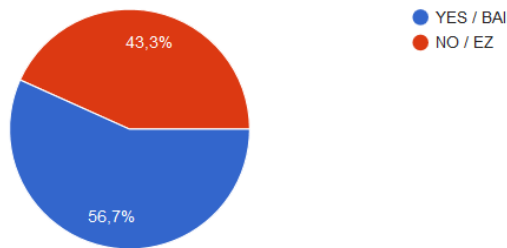
“Boarding houses were essential parts of life for the Basque community-it was where herders could hear and speak their native language, eat familiar foods, bathe, socialize, and sleep peacefully. Initially, Basque families would rent spare rooms to sheepherders; eventually, this practice grew into the boarding house. In Boise, one of the first boarding houses was opened by Juan and Teresa Yribar at II8 S.7th St. That was followed by a house opened by Jose Uberuaga in 1900. By 1910, there were six boarding houses catering to Basques in Boise, and may more could be found in Idaho towns such as Shoshone, Hailey, Twin Falls, Mountain Home and beyond. The boardind houses natyurally became centers of Basque culture in Boise, where immigrants could play traditional card games and sports. They served another special purpose: Dances at boarding houses led to innumerable matches between Basque men and women who would settle for good in the area and established the Basque-American families that still live here today.” (Basque Americans in the Columbia River Basin) (Jaialdi brochure 2010:25 in the Basque Museum and Cultural Center from Boise, Idaho)

Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunen artean euskal etxeko kideen portzentaia zein zen ezaġutu nahi izan dugu. Ez dago desberdintasun handirik bazkide eta ez bazkideen artean, hala ere, bazkide direnen portzentaia da handiagoa.

27 Irudia: Euskal etxeko bazkideen portzentaia

10.- Are you a member of a Basque Center? / Euskal Etxeren bateko kide zara?

423 respuestas



Iturria: norberak egina inkestako erantzunekin

Bestalde, jakin nahi izan dugu, bazkide diren horien artetik, zein euskal etxek duen egoitza fisikoa. Ikusi ahal izateko, ia, diaspora antolatzeke modua aldatzen ari den.

Euskal etxeko kide direla esan duten horietatik %81,3ak dio euskal etxe horrek egoitza fisikoa duela. Horrek esan nahi duena da, beste 19ak ez duela. Egoitzarik ez duten horiek, taberna batean edota unibertsitateko auletan batzen dira. Horrek erakusten digu, diaspora antolatzeke modua aldatzen ari dela. Ez asko oraindik, zenbakia oso baxua delako, baina bai pixkat.

Nahiz eta jatorrian euskal etxeen helburua ez izan Euskal Herriaren eta kanpoan bizi ziren euskaldunen arteko komunikazioa hobetzea, egia da urteak aurrera egin ahala helburu hori ere lortu dutela. Euskal etxeak Euskal Herrian “erdi ezagunak” egin diren heinean, badaude oporretan, lanean edo bizitzen beste herrialde batera joan eta herrialde horretan dauden euskal etxeak bisitatzen dituztenak:

“Nueva Yorkera joan nintzen Aste Santuan. Nire lagun batek esan zidan Nueva Yorkeko Euskal etxean Aberri eguna ospatu behar zutela eta hara joatera animatu ginen. Euskal diasporako kideak ezagutu genituen eta han lan egindako jendearekin harremana egin genuen” (Asier Iturregi, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko ekaina).

Horrek, kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunen eta Euskal Herrian bizi diren euskaldunen arteko komunikazioa hobetzen du. EuroBasques⁵⁹-ek ezagutu ahal dute nolakoa den euskaldunen bizimodua Euskal Herritik kanpo eta migrazioaren historia ezagutu dezakete; eta, era berean, inoiz Euskal Herrira etorri ez diren edo aspaldi etorri diren euskaldunek garaiko Euskal Herriaren berri izan dezakete. Gaur, 2018 urteko abenduan 191 euskal etxe daude munduan zehar eta 38 Ameriketako Estatu Batuetan.

Euskal etxeen Federazioa: N.A.B.O. (Noth American Basque Organization)

1973. urtean Estatu Batuetako euskal etxeak bilduko zituen elkarte sortu zen, NABO (North American Basque Organization). NABOri buruz idatzi dutenen artean badago Argitxu Camusen doktorego tesia (2008), Nancy Zubiriaren lana (1998) eta Douglassena (2003). Esan dugun moduan Euskal Herritik emigratu zuten euskaldunak munduan zehar kokatu zirenean euren artean biltzeko eta laguntzeko euskal etxeak sortu zituzten. Euskal etxe horien helburua norbait herrialde horretara heltzean laguntza ematea, euskaldunen bilgune izatea eta euskal kultura aurrera eramateko leku izatea zen. Baina Estatu Batuetako kasua hartzen badugu, ikus dezakegu distantziak oso handiak direla, eta oso zaila zela Idahoko Basque center batek, Kaliforniako Basque center batekin kontaktua edo harremana izatea. Horregatik, herrialde bereko euskal etxeen arteko komunikazioa eta harremana sortzeko elkarte baten beharra zegoela ikusi zen. Elkarte hauek ez zuten bakarrik herrialde bereko euskal etxeen arteko harremana hobetuko, herrialde desberdinetan zeuden elkarteekin ere komunikatzeko balioko zuten, eta oso garrantzitsua dena, Euskal Herriarekin lehenengo, eta Eusko Jaurlaritza sortu zenean Eusko Jaurlaritzarekin komunikatzeko balioko zuten.

Horregatik, gure ikerketaren puntua EuroBasques eta BasqueAmericans-en arteko komunikatzeko bideak aztertzea den heinean, elkarte hauen ikerketa beharrezkoa zela uste genuen. Munduan zehar herrialde bereko euskal etxeak biltzen dituen hainbat elkarte topa ditzakegu. Argentinan, Federación de Entidades Vasco Argentinas; Estatu Batuetan, North American Basque Organization; Uruguain, Federación de Instituciones Vasco Uruguayas; eta Europan, Asian eta Ozeanian oraindik ez dago Federazioarik, baina bidean dago. 2017 urteko maiatzarn 12tik 17ra horren inguruko bilera bat antolatuko dute Parisen.

⁵⁹ Ikerlariak Boisen egindako egonaldian ikasi zuen bertako euskaldun batzuek Euskal Herrian bizi ziren euskaldunei Eurobasque deitzen zietela.

NABOren sorrerari buruz Argitxu Camusek (2002), Pedro Oiarzabalek (2007) eta Koldo San Sebastianek (2018) idatzi dute. Argitxu Camus Etchecoparrek (2002) NABOri buruz egin zuen bere ikerketa eta NABOren sorreran garrantzitsuak izan ziren ezaugarriak adierazten zituen:

- Ez zegoen talde euskaldunik lehenago (1950).
- Aurrerapausu garrantzitsuak eman ziren gizartean 1950 urtetik aurrera.
- “Western Basque Festival”a 1959.urtean Sparks (Nevadan). “The catalyst was the Western Basque Festival in Sparks (Reno) in 1959
- Aldaketak eman ziren club-en artean. Sparks-en izandako festibalaren ondoren boarding house desberdinetako kideak biltzen hasi ziren, bisitak egiten...sare berri bat hasi zen.

Pedro Oiarzabalek, bestalde, bere liburuan dio NABO Argentinako FEVA (Federación de Entidades Vasco Argentinas)-ren antzekoa zen zerbait sortzeko helburuarekin sortu zela: “We’d been in Argentina, and Jon was all charged up and wanted to bring some of the Basque clubs together in order to create something similar to FEVA. That’s when we hosted a meeting in the Bible Room, which was attended by reps from the Basque clubs of Reno, Boise, and San Francisco. That’s when we decided to go forward with a national federation clubs called NABO IN 1974” (2007:29).

San Sebastianek Jon Bilbaoren biografiari buruz idatzi duen azken liburuan, Bilbao honen sorreraren parte izan zenez, NABOren sorrerari buruz zerbait esaten du:

“Jon, por ejemplo, fue fundamental en la fundación de North American Basque Organisations (NABO). El trajo la idea de nuestro viaje a América del Sur. Quedó fascinado con la FEVA y pensó que había que hacerlo en Estados Unidos. Durante seis meses estuvo calentándome la cabeza. Me decía que el Programa podía ser el foco de la asociación de los centros vascos del Oeste Americano. Yo le replicaba que no había ningún Programa de Estudios Vascos en el nacimiento de la FEVA, que no éramos ni una entidad vasca, ni un club, y que mucho menos representábamos a nadie. Por fin, el único compromiso que aceptamos fue que yo llamara a Al Erkiaga, de Boise, un joven activo, a Jacques Unhassobiscay; del club de San Francisco, a Janet Inda, de Reno, y quizá a alguien de Elko. Los reunimos en el campo. Así surgió la ida y eso fue lo acordado entre Jon y yo” (San Sebastian, 2018:211)

Ez da gure lana izango euskal etxeen eta federazioen sorrera eta eboluzioa nolakoa izan den esatea, lan hori eginda baitago; Urazandi Bildumak munduan zehar dauden euskal etxeen informazioa ematen du. Bilduma honi esker euskal etxeetako kideek euren jatorriaz eta eboluzioaz jakingo zuten,

eta eurez gain, Euskal Herriko jenteak ere irakurri ahal izango zuen horri buruz. Guk euskal etxeak komunikazio bide bezela identifikatu ditugu eta zubia direla baieztatzen dugu.

Beste alde batetik, eraikin fisiko moduan, frontoiak daude. Miguel Angel Bilbaoren⁶⁰ hitzetan, 170 frontoi izan dira mundu osoan zehar eta horietatik 24 Estatu Batuetan (12 Floridako estatuan). Frontoiak eta pilotariak Estatu Batuetako Connecticut, Rhode Island eta Florida estatuetan izan dira, eta oraindik dira. Estatu Batuetan ireki zen lehen frontoia 1924 urtean izan zen Biscayne Jai Alai (Miamin). Frontoiak izango ziren zonalde horietan euskaldunak biltzeko lekuak eta nola ez, euskaldunen eta herrialde horretakoen artean komunikazioa mantentzeko baita Euskal Herritik heltzen zirenekin ere. Guk esaten dogu frontoiak izango direla Florida, Rhode Island eta Connecticut-eko estatuetan *boarding house* edo euskal etxeen lana burutuko dutenak.

⁶⁰ Miguel Angel Bilbaok, zesta punta zale eta ikertzaileak Garaian Kultur Elkarterako zesta puntaren inguruko artikulua idatzi zuen.

13. Taula: Frontoiak Ipar Ameriketean

IPAR AMERIKA
Palm Beach Jai Alai -1978- West Palm Beach (Florida)
Seminola Jai-Alai -1962-Orlando (Florida)
Miami Jai-Alai -1926- Miami (Florida)
Hai-Aleah Miami -1924- Miami (Florida)
Biscayne Jai-Alai -1926- Miami (Florida)
Dania Jai-Alai -1953- Dania Beach (Florida)
Tampa Jai-Alai -1953- Tampa (Florida)
Daytona Jai-Alai -1959- Daytona Beach (Florida)
Fort Pierce Jai-Alai -1974- Fort Pierce (Florida)
Melbourne Jai-Alai -1971- Melbourne (Florida)
Ocala Jai-Alai -1973- Ocala (Florida)
Jasper Hamilton Downs Jai-Alai -2005- Jasper (Florida)
Milford Jai-Alai -1977- Milford (Connecticut)
Bridgeport Jai-Alai -1976- Bridgeport (Connecticut)
Hartford Jai-Alai -1976- Hartford (Connecticut)
Newport Jai-Alai -1976- Newport (Rhode Island)
Big Bend Jai-Alai -1978- Quincy (MassachUSetts)
Hippodrome Jai-Alai -1938- New York City (New York)
Sant Louis Jai-Alai -1904- Sant Luis (Missouri)
Reno Jai-Alai -1976- Reno (Nevada)
Las Vegas MGM Jai-Alai -1974- Las Vegas (Nevada)
San Francisco Eder Jai -1901- San Francisco (California)
Chicago Rainbow Jai-Alai -1927- Chicago (Illinois)
New Orleans Jai-Alai -1926- New Orleans (Luisiana)

Iturria: norberak egina pilotariak emandako datuei esker

7.2.2.2 *Diaspora ekintzak: Jaialdiak, udalekuak eta diaspora sareak*

Diasporako kideek elkarteak sortzeaz gain, hainbat ekintza burutzen dituzte Euskal Herriarekin harremana izateko edota identitatea mantentzeko bizi diren herrietan. Ekintza horien artean daude beste batzuen artean hizkuntza eskolak, talde kulturalak, jaialdi edo festibalak, udalekuak edota diaspora sareak.

Aurreko atalean aztertu ditugun diaspora elkarte guzti edo ia guztietan topa daitezke ekintza kulturalak ikasi edota praktikatzen dituzten eskola edo taldeak. Talde horiek, normalean, dantza taldeak, musika taldeak (trikitixa, panderoa, txistua...ikasteko eta jotzeko taldeak), kirol taldeak (sokatira, pilota eta herri kirolak egiten dituzten taldeak), mus txapelketetan parte hartzeko jendea, koruak eta euskara klaseak dira.

Estatu Batuetako euskaldunen artean zabaldutako inkestaren erantzun dutenen artean %83ak esan zuen ekintza hauetan parte hartzen zuela. Hauek dira ekintza horietan parte hartzen dutenen kopuruak:

14. Taula: Euskal diasporako kideek parte hartzen duten ekintzen portzentaia

Ekintza	Portzentaia
Janaria	%58,43
Musika	%28,49
Hizkuntza	%26,74
Dantza	%25,58
Kirola	%12,50
Mus	%10,47

Iturria: elaborazio propioa inkestaren erantzunetatik

Estatu Batuetako ia euskal etxe guztiek dute euren dantza talde propioa, dantza talde horietako kideak euskal dantza tradizioanlak eta ez hain tradizionalak ikasten dituzte eta gero Estatu Batuetan zehar antolatzen diren jaialdietan ikuskizunak ematen dituzte. Dantza talde horiek dantzatzen dituzten dantzetan bertako musikariek jotzen dute eta hori ikasteko eta praktikatzeko taldeak ere izaten dira. Hizkuntzari dagokionez, Etxeparek atzerriko unibetsitateetan dituen irakurleez gain, hainbat euskal etxek euren euskara klase propioak dituzte eta euskal etxe batzutan maila desberdinak dituzte. Kirolari dagokionez, normalean herri kirolak eta frontoietan jokatzen diren kirolak praktikatzen dituzte. Dantza taldeekin egiten diren ikuskizunekin bezala, euskal kirolekin lotutako txapelketak egiten dituzte. Amaitzeko, mus-ak ere Atlantikoa gurutzatu zuen eta diasporako kideek asko jokatzen duten karta jokoa da. Bai dantza, kirolak, zein mus-a erausketa edo txapelketa mailara eramaten dituzte diasporako kideek eta askotan, Estatu Batuetatik Euskal Herrira etortzen dira.

Jaialdiak

Euskal diasporako kideek euren arteko harremana mantentzeko picnic edo bazkariak antolatu izan dituzte bizi diren herri edo hiri horietan. Lehen jaialdi edo picnic-ak euskal etxeak sortu berri edo sortu baino lehenago hasi ziren. Boisen, adibidez, euskal etxea 1949 urtean sortu zen eta 1933 urtean Boiseko euskaldunak euren urteroko picnic-a lehen aldiz Boiseko parkean antolatu zuten, irekia eta inolako pribatasunik gabe. New Yorken ere, 1940an *Summer Basque Festival picnic* in New York antolatzen zen:

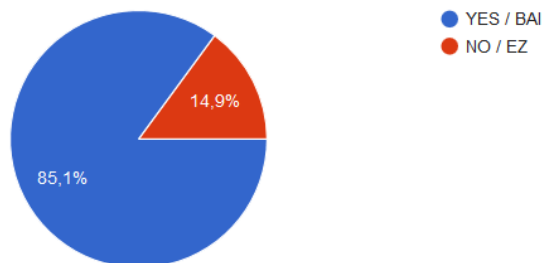
“Picnics were every summer in Staten Island, and then some in Queens. We used to have two big functions: one was the picnic and the other was the winter festival around Christams time.” (Anna Mari Aguirre, personal communication, April 2018)

Picnic horietatik jaialdiak sortu ziren. Gure inkesta erantzun dutenen %99,7ak uste du jaialdi hauek garrantzitsuak direla Estatu Batuetan dagoen euskal komunitatearentzat eta erantzun dutenen artean %84,5 egon izan da inoiz jaialdi euskal amerikar baten. Horietatik %55,8a azken urtean izan da jaialdiren baten. Oso datu garrantzitsua.

28 Irudia: Euskal Jaialdietan presentzia

37.- Have you ever been to a Basque festival in the United States? / Egon zara inoiz Euskal Jaialdi batean Estatu Batuetan?

416 respuestas



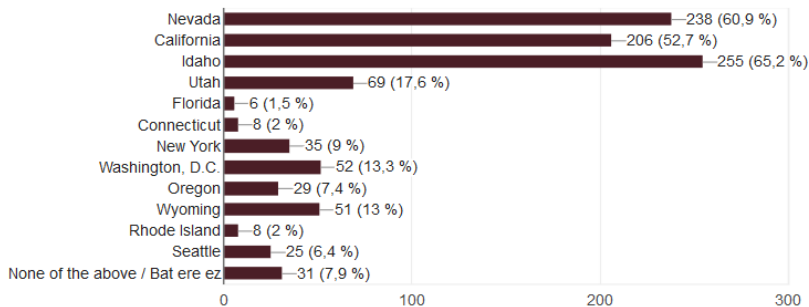
Source: own elaboration based on survey answers

Jaialdi horiek Estatu Batuetako hainbat estatutan izaten dira baina ikusi dugu, gure erantzunen artean Idaho, Nevada eta Californiako Jaialdiak, orden horretan, direla gehien bisitatzen dituztenak.

29 Irudia: Ze Jaialditan izan zara?

38.- Where have you attended a Basque festival? / Nongo euskal jaietan izan zara?

391 respuestas



Iturria: elaborazio propioa inkestako erantzunekin

Horrez gain, jaialdien dimentsioa ezagutu ahal izateko, jakin nahi izan genuen ze eratarako harremanak egiten zituzten jaialdian edo nongo jentearekin biltzen ziren.

15. Taula: Norekin izan zara jaialdian?

NOREKIN IZAN ZINEN?	
Nire komunitateko euskaldunekin	%71,6
Estatu Batuetako familiarekin	%67,6
Euskal Herriko euskaldunekin	%55,3
Estatu Batuetako beste estatu batzutako euskaldunekin	%54,5
Euskal Herriko familiarekin	%29,9
Munduko beste leku batzutako euskaldunekin	%19,6
Beste herrialde batzutako jendearekin	%19,3
Bat ere ez	%6

Iturria: autoreak egina inkestako erantzunekin

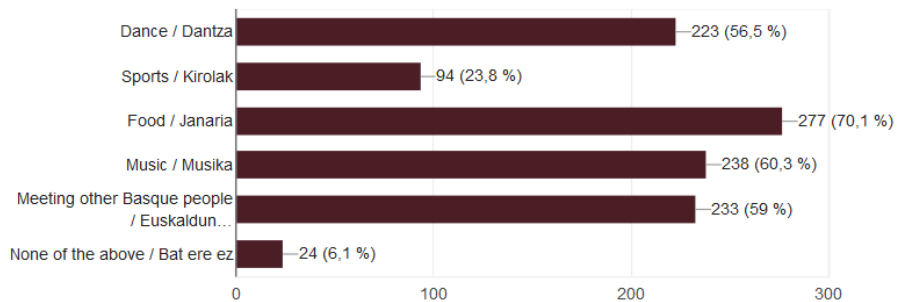
Ikusten dogu kopuru handienak euren komunitateko beste euskaldun batzuekin izaten duela harremana jaialdi hauetan, baina, hala ere, nabaria da Euskal Herriko familiarekin edo munduko beste leku batzuetako euskaldun zein ez euskaldunekin duten harremana. Horrek esan nahi du, jaialdi hauen dimentsioa transnazionala dela, eta, nahiz eta gehiengoak jada ezagutzen duen jentearekin harremana izan, posible dela mundu osoan dauden euskaldunekin ere konektatzea.

Interesgarria da euskal janariaren garrantzia zelakoa den ikustea. Hori da jaialdietan gehien gozatzen duena jenteari, horren ondoren, ia zenbaki berdinekin, dantza, musika eta beste euskaldun batzuekin batzea daude.

30 Irudia: Zer gustatzen zaizu gehien jaialdietan?

43.- What did you enjoy the most? (Choose two) / Zer gustatu zitzaizun gehien? (aukeratu bi)

395 respuestas



Iturria: elaborazio propioa inkestako erantzunekin

Aukera eman genuen festibaletan gustoko zituzten gauza gehiago gehitzeko. 29 erantzun izan genituen eta horien artean daude: “Sharing our culture with people who are not Basque”; “Updates on politics from homeland, updates on education from homeland”; “Euskaraz egitea”; “Observing other non-basque attendees”; “Basque art”; “Mass” eta “Unity of the Basque people”. Erantzun horiek erakusten dute, Jaialdiak ez direla bakarrik komunitateko Euskaldunentzat, izan ere, partehartzailei gustatzen zaie Euskalduna ez den jentea ere bertan ikustea, eta Euskal Herriko egoeraren berri izatea.

Jaialdi euskal amerikarrak Estatu Batuetan zehar urtean zehar antolatzen diren jaiak dira. Gehienbat uda partean ospatzen dira eta euskal kultura

zabaldu, gozatu eta komunitatea sortzeko eta indartzeko balio dute. Horrez gain, jaialdi hauek beste era bateko helburuak ere lortu dituzte, hurrengo atalburuan ikusiko dugun moduan, bi herrialderen arteko harremanetan eragina izan dute.

Gure ustez badaude jaialdi euskal amerikar batzuk aipamen berezia behar dutenak (The Western Basque Festival, Holiday Basque Festival, Boiseko Jaialdia, Smithsonian Folklife Festival eta New London Basque Festival) eta horiek aztertuko ditugu orain.

a) The Western Basque festival: “A Profitable event”

Historian atzera egiten badugu, 1959.urtean Nevadako Sparks herrian “The Western Basque Festival” jaialdia antolatu zen. Urte berean euskaldunak ezagutzen zituen amerikar batek ondorengo esan zuen: “If I had it all to do over again, I’d be born a Basque. Not in the Pyrenees. In Western Nevada, where I first knew them” (Oakland Tribune, Thursday, april 16, 1959).

Jaialdi hau Ameriketako euskaldunen bizitzan hito bat izan zitekeen, izan ere, lehenago bai ospatzen ziren jaialdiak, baina John Ysursak (Idahoko Euskal komunitateako pertsona aktiboa, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko apirila) esan zuen moduen, “They were kind of hidden”. Douglasssek (2003) ere berdina esan zuen: “Hasta ese momento, ni en Estados Unidos ni en Europa existía un referente para ello”.

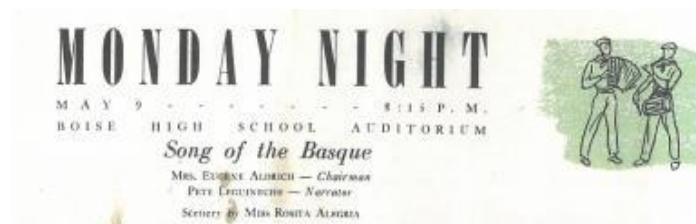
The Western Basque Festival-a Sparks-en dagoen Nuggets casinoan antolatu zen. Jon Ascuaga euskalduna da casino horren jabea zeinek 1.600 logela eta 4.800m² dituen jokorako eta jatetxez beteta. Ikusi zuten festibal horretatik zerbait positiboa aterako zutela (Douglass, 2003) eta euskaldunek Estatu Batuetan zuten irudian lagunduko zuela. Festibalaren antolakuntzan Ameriketako eta Europako euskaldunak izan ziren: 3 Euskal Herrian jaioak eta beste 3 Ameriketara jaioak, hori inportantea zela uste zuten (Douglass, 1980:122). Antolatzaileetako bat Peter Echeverria izan zen, Shoshonen (ID) jaioa eta bere gurasoak Bizkaiakoak. 30 urtetan zehar abokatu moduan lan egin zuen eta American Board of Trial Advocated presidentea zen. Horrez gain, Nevada Trial Lawyers Association-eko sortzaileetako bat zen eta Nevadako Senatuko kidea. Antolakuntzan zegoen, baita ere, Robert Laxalt, idazle, irakasle, historialari eta editore euskal amerikarra. Far Westeko imigrante euskaldunen abotsa zela esaten zuten askok. 1957an *Sweet Promise Land* liburua idatzi zuen, zeinek bere karrerari buelta bat eman zion eta hainbat euskal amerikarri abotsa eman zion.

Festibala antolatu zen lekua leku estrategikoa zen Idaho eta Kaliforniaren artean. 1959 urteko ekainaren 6 eta 7an 5.000 eta 6.000 pertsona inguruk parte hartu zuten jaialdian eta mesa, artzain txakurren lehiaketa, Mus txapelketa, euskal dantza eta musika, eta euskal kirolen erakusketa izan zen. Hainbat idazlek idatzi dute jaialdi honen emaitza positiboetaz buruz.

Hainbat autorek Western Basque Festivalaren helburuei buruz hitz egiten dute. Helburuetako bat euskal artzainek zuten irudi txarrarekin apurtzea izan zela diote (Fernandez de Larrinoa, 1991). Douglass-en (1980) hitzetan euskal artzainek irudi txarra zuten Estatu Batuetan beste artzainei lana kentzen ziotelako eta ez zutelako ezer gastatzen bertan. Hori dela eta, hori aldatu nahi zuten eta euskal komunitatea ezaguna egin AEBetan. Western Basque Festival Jaialdia “rite de passage”⁶¹ izan zela esaten denean esan nahi dena da horri esker euskaldunen irudia aldatu egin zela eta talde batetatik beste batera pasatu zirela; hau da, irudi txarra izatetik Estatu Batuetan oso ondo ikusiak izatera. Western Basque Festivala “status berri baten zelebrazio” moduan ikus daiteke (Fernandez de Larrinoa, 1991).

Western Basque Festivalak euskal amerikarren historia kolektiboaren abiapuntu berri bat markatu zuen. Autore batzuk hori dioten arren, eztabaidagarria den zerbait dela ikusi dugu, izan ere, Western Basque Festivala 1959 urtean egin zen baina 1949 urtean Boise (Idahon) music Week-eko protagonistak euskaldunak izan ziren *Songs of the Basque* aurkezpenarekin. Boise Music Week 1918 urten antolatu zen lehen aldiz, Estatu Batuetako music week zaharrena eta bolondres gehien (2.000 inguru) dituenena da. 1949 urten Boise Music Week-eko juntak euskaldunak nahi izan zituzten Music Week-eko protagonist bezala eta the *Songs of the Basques* aurkezpena egin zuten.

31 Irudia: *Songs of the Basque*-en aurkezpena



Iturria: 100 urte bete zirenean Boiseko Euskal komunitateari bidali zitzaion gonbidapen gutunean zegoen

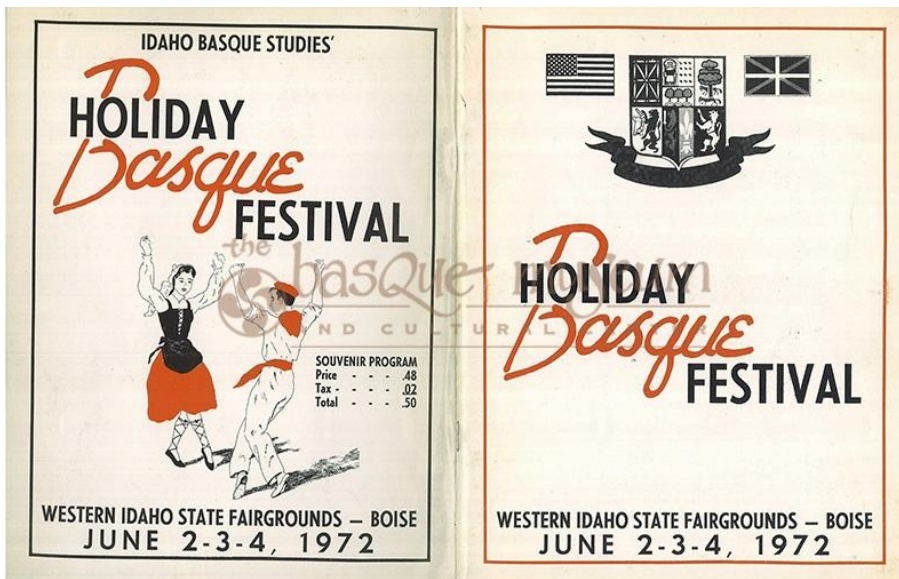
⁶¹ Arazodun irudi batetatik irudi on baterako transizioa. “the transition from a troublesome image to a enabling one”.

Lehen Music Week-a ospatu zutenetik ehun urte igaro zirenean Boiseko Museoan bildu ziren euskal komunitateko kideak egingo zuten aurkezpena prestatzeko. Publikoan jesarrita zegoen emakumeetako batek esan zuen aurkezpen hori baino lehenago euskaldunak zeudela “hidden from the Americans, but, when the Music Week called Jay Uberuaga. That was the first public performance, Basques were accepted” (Boise Music Week-en 100 urteurrena prestatzeko Boiseko euskal etxeean egin zen ekitaldian, 2017 urteko martxoan). Horregatik, kontrajarriak, gutxienez garaian, diren bert-sioak ditugu puntu honi buruz.

Ameriketako euskaldunek euren artean harremana indartzeko eta euskal kultura sustatzeaz gain; euskaldunak ez ziren amerikanoak euskaldunak ezagutzeko ere izan zen. Euskal kultura amerikarraren barruan sartu eta ezaguna egiteko: “...a tribute to our people, about whom so little is known in this country” (Elustondo, 2007:122). Elustondoren hitzetan: “Jaialdiak jendeen arteko harremani eusteko balio du, norberaren identitate etnikoa biziberritzeko, eta kanpoko munduari euskaltasunaren irudi positiboa erakusteko” (2007:147) eta Larrinoaren hitzetan: “Euskal jaiak izan dira azkenengo bi hamarkadeetatik barrena Estatu Batuetako Mendebaldeko Euskal jendeen produzio publikorik garrantzitsuena” (de Larrinoa, 1991:200).

b) Holiday Basque Festival: “Seeds for the future”

32 Irudia: Holiday Basque Festival-en brochure-a



Iturria: Basque Museum and Cultural Center of Boise (Idaho)

Euskaldunek Ameriketara antolatutako jaialdien artean aipagarria da ere 1972 urtean antolatu zen *Holiday Basque Festival* jaialdia. Ez dago jaialdi honen inguruan askorik idatzia, ordea. Festival honen helburua Pat Bieter Boise Stateko irakasleak eskatu zuen beka bat osatzeko dirua lortzea zen. Pat Bietarren helburua Idahon eta Estatu Batuetako zona horretan euskal kultura mantentzen lagunduko zuen programa bat sortzea zen, eta hori egiteko, dirua beharrezkoa zen:

“The Holiday Basque Festival was a weekend-long cultural program focused on the Basque culture which was held during June 2-3-4 1972, in Boise, Idaho. This festival had an historic importance for the future cultural activities of the Basques in Boise and the USA, not only for being the predecessor of the currently successful Jaialdi, but also because it began a discussion of an Ikastola, or Basque language immersion school, which would become a reality in the late 1990s. The program focused on the Basques but the festival was created for Basques and non-Basques alike. The festival was developed by the newly created Basque Studies Center of Idaho (1969) as a fundraising project for the center. Holiday Basque Festival booklet front and back cover pages.” (Basque museum Juanita Uberuaga Hormaechea Collection bk 82-1972-61-00003).

Pete Cenarrusak Idaho Statesman-en esan zuen moduan (1972ko ekainaren 3an) *Holiday Basque Festival* izan zen: “The largest of its kind ever held in North America” (*Holiday Basque Festival booklet front and back cover pages. Juanita Uberuaga Hormaechea Collection bk 82-1972-61-00003*).

Jaialdiko antolatzaileetako batek esan zuen moduan:

“It was designed for raising for a grant that we had, so only one or two days. We had some international visitors but the first planning was very short because if we raise money here, they would give us the same amount. So we have a short period of time and a short call. It was not planned so much by the Basque center, it was more by the higher education that received the grant. We were just hoping that things would go great.” (Miren Artiach, personal interview 2017).

Helburua, beraz, argia zen, dirua lortu behar zuten, baina egia da, beste era bateko helburuak ere lortu zituztela. *Holiday Basque Festival*ek arazo gabe lortu zuen behar zuen diru kantitatea eta 1974. urtean, aurrerago ikusi dugun moduan, 75 gaztetako talde bat Boisetik Oñatira joan zen.

c) Boiseko Jaialdia: “The new Mecca for the Basques”

Holiday Basque Festival-en antolakuntzatik Boiseko Jaialdiarena etorri zen (Al Erkiaga, Idahoko euskal komunitateko kide aktiboa, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017 urteko martxoan). Erkiagaren hitzetan, Salt Lake City-n (Utah)

antolatu zen NABOk bilkura batetatik bueltatzen zirela, kotxean Jokin Intxaustirekin bueltatu ziren, Ardanzak 85 urtean euskal diasporako gaietako arduradun eta aholkulari izendatu zuena. Intxaustik ondorengo galdetu zien: “You know, if there is one thing you would like to do, what would that be?” eta Al Erkiagak Holiday Basque Festiaval gogoratu, esan zion : “ I have always have the dream of doing a big Festival”.

Horrela, 1987 urtean Boiseko lehen Jaialdia antolatu zen Boiseko “Old Penitenciarin”. Dena Euskal Herriko herritxo bat izango balitz bezala apaindu zuten eta bertan ospatu zen jaia. Gero 1990 urtean: “Basque community of Boise was asked by the Governor of the State of Idaho, Cecil Andrus, to host a Jaialdi to help Idaho celebrate Idaho’s Centennial. Since 1990 the Basques of Idaho have hosted Jaialdi every five years” (jaialdiko antolatzaileetako bat, komunikazio pertsonala, 2016).

Bi urte desberdinetako Jaialdietan Boiseko alkateak emandako ongi etorria:

“The City of Boise and surrounding area is fortunate to have the largest concentration of Basque people outside of the Basque Country in Europe. The Basque Community is justifiably proud of their heritage and it has culturally enriched our city and lives. All Boiseans are honored to host the International Basque Cultural Festival and to join in the celebration.” (Dirk Kempthorne Mayor of Boise, 1990 urteko Jaialdian)

“Welcome! We are pleased that you have joined us as we kick off the 2000 Jaialdi Basque Festival. This Festival is held every five years in Boise and the relationship is especially significant because Boise is home to the largest Basque contingents outside Europe, and Gernika, Spain, is Boises first Sister City.” (H.Brent Coles, Mayor of Boise, Jaialdi brochure 2000)

Boiseko Jaialdia bost urtean behin Idahoko kapitalean ospatzen den jaialdi euskal amerikarra da. Kanpoan den Euskal Komunitatearekin eta Euskal etxeekin harremana daraman Eusko Jaurlaritzako Zuzendaritzako teknikari baten hitzetan, egun horietan “Boise Euskal diasporaren kapitala bihurtzen da” (Oregi, komunikazoi pertsonala, 2016 urteko otsaila). 4-5 egunetz euskal kultura (dantzak, kirola, musika eta janaria) ospatuko da eta Ameriketan bizi diren euskaldunak protagonistak izango dira. Idahoko euskal komunitatearen gehiengoa bizkaitarrak direnez, Jaialdiak San Inazio egunarakin kointziditzen du. Egun horietan dantza ikuskizunak, musika kontzertuak, bertsolariak, euskal kirolak eta euskal janariaz gozatzeko aukera dago. Gainera, bertako komertzioetan produktu euskal amerikarrak erosteko aukera dago. Jaialdiaren baitan, *Western Idaho Fairgrounds*-en feria antolatzen dute eta Euskal Herritik, Estatu Batuetako beste komunitate batzutatik eta mundu osotik joandako euskaldunek euren komertzioak, produktuak, hala nola,

kamisetak, bitxiak, apaingarriak edota liburuak erosteko aukera dago. Fair-grounds horretan instituzioek ere stand-a jartzen dute, kasurako, Euskal Herriko Unibertsitateak, eta unibertsitateari buruzko informazioa ematen dute kamisetak eta merchandising-a ere. Aipatzekoa da ekintza kulturalaz gain, beste era bateko ekintzak ere burutuko dira, hala nola, ekintza akademikoak edota enpresarialak, diaspora sareak aztertzean ikusiko dugun moduan.

Sorreraz gain, jaialdiak harremanean izan duen garrantzia azpimarratuz, jakin nahi izan dugu jaialdiaren helburuak aldatu badiren sortu zenetik gaur egun arte. John Ysursa-ren hitzetan jaialdiaren helburuetako bat gizarteari euskal kultura edota euskal mundua zer den erakustea da: "It is about trying to really kind of open the doors of the Basque World to the society" (John Ysursa, Boise State Universityko irakaslea eta Boise eta Chinoko euskal komunitatean pertsona aktiboa, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko apirila). Egun Jaialdiko antolakuntzaren arduradunetako batek dio berarentzako Jaialdiaren helburua bai gaur eta bai iraganean euskal tradizioaren jaialdia ospatzea dela da eta ezin dela inoiz Jaialdiaren "core"-a edo bihotza galdu gabe (Jaialdiko antolatzaileetako bat, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko apirila). Boiseko Museoko zuzendaria den Annie Gavicak dio Jaialdiaren helburua: "To open the Basque culture to Idaho" izan zela. Gaur egun, baita ere kultura elkarbanatzen dela:

"Now it is fascinating. It is showcasing and sharing the culture with people, commercially is like going to a big music festival where people like to experience the music and the food and maybe they don't know anything but they want to experience something cultural (Annie Gavica, NABOko zuzendari ohia eta Boiseko Basque Museum and Cultural Centerreko zuzendaria, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko martxoa).

Benan Oregik ere, Eusko Jaurlaritzako Kanpo Harremanetarako Idazkaritzako teknikaria, euskal kulturaren ospakizun handi bat egitea dela dio: "Baita ere aurreko belaunaldiei omenaldi egitea, eta honekin batera Estatu Batuetako herritarrei ere erakutsiz badela kultura euskal-amerikar bat euren artean bizi dena". Patty Miller ere testimonio hauekin bat dator, bere ustez ere helburua ospakizun kultural bat zen: "The objective was a cultural celebration. Just to celebrate Basque Culture and History". Baina horrez gain beste era bateko harremanak egiteko ere balio izan duela dio: "We had also a University component with speakers from Universities. They coordinate or have something academic and festivities going on. It was a wonderful celebration" (Patty Miller, Boiseko Basque Museum and Cultural Centerreko zuzendari ohia, 2017ko martxoa).

Aurrekoekin ados Jaialdiko antolatzaile den Amy Wrayek ere dio helburua kulturala dela, eta inondik inora ez dela politikoa:

“Purely cultural, no political at all. Some groups from the BC came here, make connections while they are here and they continue with that contact back in the BC. That was something that strucked me. We can help to unite thing that in the Basque Country maybe it couldnt be possible.” (Amy Wray, Jaialdiko antolatzaileetako bat, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko martxoa).

Beraz, gehienen hitzetan Jaialdiaren helburua kulturala da, euskal kultura amerikarrei zabaltzea eta ekonomia edo politikarekin inolako harremanik ez duena. Hala ere, onartzen dute, nahiz eta Jaialdiko helburuak horiek izan, beste era bateko harremanak ere egiten direla, adibidez, promozio turistikoa:

“For example, I don’t remember which year it was but when the Basque Government came to the Jaialdi they wanted to meet travel agencies in the area and we invited them to a breakfast and they give them information of tourism” (Patty Miller, Boiseko Basque Museum and Cultural Centerreko zuzendari ohia, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko martxoa).

Jaialdiko antolatzaileek eta Eusko Jaurlaritzako ordezkarietako batzuk sakoneko elkarrizketetan esan digute euren ustez Jaialdiko etorkizuna positiboa dela, lan asko egin beharko dela, baina merezi duela. Horren arira, antolatzaileek ondorengoa esaten dutela dio Oregik: “Bi urte behar dira Jaialdia eta hori aurrera eramateko egindako lan guztia ahazteko, baina hirugarren urtean, berriro ere hurrengo jaialdia antolatzeko gogoia sartzen zaizu” (Oregi, personal communication, Febrero 2016).

d) Smithsonian Folklife Festival: “Promoting the Basque Country”

Smithsonian Folklife Festivala bi asteko iraupena duen festibala da eta Smithsonian Institution’s Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage-k antolatzen du urtero Washington D.C.ko mall-ean. 1967. urtean antolatu zen lehen aldiz eta Estatu Batuetan dagoen ekitaldi kultural ezagunena da. Jaialdi hau ez da beste jaialdien bezalakoa, Estatu Batuetako elkarte batek antolatzen duelako, baina euskal diasporaren presentzia eta partehartzea beharrezkoa izan zen guzti honetan, eta horregatik, hemen sartzea erabaki dugu.

Egindako sakoneko elkarrizketei esker ikusi dugu ekitaldi hau Washingtonen bizi ziren bi euskal amerikarren eskutik hasi zela. Jaialdia martxan jarri zuten pertsonen helburua ez zen inondik inora ekonomikoa izan, euren helburua kulturala izan zen: “When I moved to Washington DC (2005), the Smithsonian was doing Northern Ireland. I remember going to the mall and

thinking this should be us, we need to do this” (Argia Beristain, Boiseko eta Las Vegaseko Euskal komunitateko kide aktiboa eta Smithsonian Folklife Festival martxan jarri zuenatariko bat, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017 urteko martxoa). Euren helburua: “Was the Basques to be in Smithsonian, Euskaldunak be preserve there for years to come”, euskal kultura zabaldu eta etorkizun batean euskaldunen dokumentuak eta euskara Smithsonianeko artxiboetan egotea zen.

Eusko Jaurlaritzak Estatu Batuetan duen ordezkari izandakoaren hitzetan, oso garrantzitsua da azpimarratzea diasporako kideak izan zirela hau martxan jarri zutenak. Diasporaren papera guztiz beharrezkoa izan zela adierazten du, ez bakarrik materiala izan zen zerbaiten moduan (egin zuten lan guztia kontuan harturik) baina baita ere bertan egon ahal izateko egin zuten lan guztia. Talde, elkarte eta zentruentzako dirua irabazteko egun horietan han izateko.

Diasporako kideek lehen kontaktuak egin ondoren Smithsonianeko langileak Euskal Herria, euskal kultura eta Estatu Batuetako euskal komunitatea ezagutzen hasi ziren. Eurretari batzuk, 2015 urtean Boisen antolatu zen jaialdian parte hartu zuten, non NABOko ordezkariak, komunitate horretako euskaldunak eta Euskal Herriko jentea ezagutzeko aukera izan zuten. Totoricagunea, euskal diasporan aditua, jaialdiaren antolakuntzan ere ibili zen eta bere hitzetan, Smithsonianen helburua:

“The objective is to convey to a North-American public the Basque Country’s essential characteristics and the most essential facts about it, framing this information from a social as well as an economic perspective. Doing this effectively meant organising everything from cultural and gastronomic events to commercial and institutional missions” (Totoricagunea, personal communication, October 2016).

Smithsonian Folklife Festival-en 50. ospakizuna 2016 urteko ekainaren 29tik uztailaren 4ra eta uztailaren 7tik 10era izan zen. Sakoneko elkarrizketen arabera, 700.000 pertsonak bisitatu zuten Mall-a egun horietan eta horien artean amerikarrak, euskal amerikarrak eta Euskal Herritik joandako jentea. Diasporako kide batzuen eskutik hasi zen ideia bat errealitate bihurtu zen Eusko Jaurlaritzak, Nafarroako Gobernua, Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa eta Arabako Diputazioak eta US National Parks Service⁶²-en laguntzaz.

⁶² Euskalkultura. (2016). Smithsonian Folklife Festival 2016: la ciudad de Washington recibe con honores al País Vasco in *Euskalkultura.com*:

<http://www.euskalkultura.com/espanol/noticias/smithsonian-folklife-festival-2016-la-ciudad-de-washington-recibe-con-honores-al-pais-vasco>

“Basque Innovation by Culture” izan zen edizio horren izena eta Euskal Herriarekin lotura zuten hainbat eszenatoki izan zire. Horrez gain, euskal diasporako kideak izan ziren bolondres bezala euskal gaiet buruzko azalpenak emateko eta bisitarietara harremana egiteko (Totoricaguena, personal communication, October 2016). Bolondres hauek enbasadore oso onak izan ziren, izan ere, euskal kultura eta gaiak ezagutzeaz gain, bihotzetik hitz egin zezaketen.

Smithsonian Folklife Festival, diasporako kideek hasitako harreman batetik, ekimen kulturaletatik beste hainbat harremanetarako garraio izan zen:

“Horren atzean daun filosofia: kolaborazio bat egitea bi herrialderen artean zuzenean, bai museo mailan, gobernu mailan eta bai herri mailan. Azkenean bi herriak batzea. Bi herrialderen artean egiten dan kolaborazio bat holako maila batean. Azkenean mundu osoan da ezagune. Baina gero egia da, zelanbat aitzakia bat izan zala. Izen zan vehiculo bat. Izen zan vehiculo bat sare diferenteak batera ekarteko. Sare kultural, politiko, enpreasriak, sare akademikoak danak batera ekartzeko. Danak momentu bardinean batera batzeko. Mometnu eta sintoniapseudoperfekto batekin. Danak Washingtonen” (Ander Caballero, former Delegate of the Basque Government, personal communication, February 2018).

e) New London Basque Festival: “Never forget where you come from”

Estatu Batuetako ekialdean, Connecticut eta Rhode Island artean, Jai Alai edo zestaera jokatzera joandako hainbat pilotari daude. Nahiz eta egun jokatzen jarritu ez, bertan bizi dira eta euskal komunitate bat osatzen dute. Gehiengoa *New England Basque Club*-eko kide dira eta urte askoan, uda partean, bazkari handi bat prestatu izan dute Riki Lasaren etxean. Riki Lasa jada erretiratuta dagoen Jai Alai jokalaria da, Kuban jaio zen, bere aita euskalduna eta ama kubatarra. Aita ere pilotaria izan zen bere egunena.

Lan honetan ikusi ahal izan dugun moduan, euskaldunak munduko hainbat lekutan izan dira zestan jokatzen, eta leku horietako bat Kuba izan zen. Reboluzioa eman zenean, Jai Alai-a debekatu zuten eta, hurbiltasuna zela eta, pilotari ugari Kubatik Floridara joan ziren. Riki Lasa ere Estatu Batuetara joan zen eta bertan profesional bezala aritu zen. Behin erretiratuta bere negozio propioa asi zuen baina, ez du euskal gaiekin lotura moztu. Horregatik,

zonalde horretako komunitateko kide aktiboa da eta bazkaria bere etxean antolatzen zuten.

Zortzi urtez, bazkari hori “pribatua” izan da, 150 pertsona inguruk hartzen zuten parte eta euskal kultura eta identitatea ospatzen zuten. 2018 urtean, lehen aldiz, ekainaren 23an publikoa izango zen jai bat antolatu zuten New Londoneko herrian: *New London Basque Festival* izena eman ziotena.

Jaialdiko antolatzaileetako bateri egindako elkarrizketa batean esan zigun amerikar nazionalitatea lortu zutenean juezak ondorengoa esan ziola:

“Ez sekulo ahaztu nun jaixo zazen eta atzin itxizun familixiaz. Ez sekulo ahaztu seure kulture, sustraixek, identidadi eta hizkuntzi. Nik pentsetot, hori dala hemen gauezan danen motibu” (Juan Mari, personal communication, active member of the Basque community in New England and member of the New England Basque club, June 2018).

Horrekin lotuta, festibal honen misioa izango da euskal kultura ospatu, mantendu eta sustatzea eta New London Ekialdeko kostako zona erreferente izeatea, Estatu Batuetako mendebaldeko eta Euskal Herriko euskaldunen arteko puntu bat.

Jaialdi honetan parte hartu zuten zonalde horretako euskaldunak, baina baita ere Estatu Batuetako beste zonalde batzuetakoak eta Euskal Herriko joandakoak. San Franciscoko eta Elkoko dantzarien eskutik dantzak izan ziren, bazkaria Miamin *Paella and Party* enpresa duen pertsonak egin zuen (hau ere zesta jokalaria izandakoa), pintxoak New Yorketik joandako Mikel de Luis (Amona jatetxea) eta Eder Montero eta Alex Rajj (Txikito jatetxea). Horrez gain, NABOko zuzendari ohia izan zen Valerie Etcharren eta beste euskal komunitate batzuetako hainbat kide. Euskal telebistako korresponsala Estatu Batuetan, Amaia Uribe, bertan izan zen eta Joseba Etxarri Euskalkulrua.com-ekin. Trikitixa eta panderoa jtzzen Eneko Dorronsoro eta Izar. Horrez gain, ordezkaritza instituzionala ere izan zen Iker Goiriarekin.

Gainera, euskal produktuak erosteko aukera izan zen bertan jarri zituzten postutxu batzuetan. Euren ideia da urtero jaialdi hau antolatzea eta 2020an, *New England Basque Club*-en hamar urteurrena dela kontuan izanik, NABOren bilkura bertan egitea nahi dute, zeineta 2000 eta 3000 pertsona inguru espero diren (Juan Mari, active member of the Basque community in New England and one of the organizers of the Festival, personal communication, June 2018).

Udalekuak

1973an udalekuak edo truke programak antolatzen dira hainbat helbururekin. Bata bertan euskal identitatea mantentzea da: “My thought, and of course it was me being a teacher: the kids. If we can get the kids young enough and get installed in their brain, then there will always be a piece of Basque in them” (Janet Inda in Reno, Camus, 2007:182). Bestea, Euskal komunitateak elkar ezagutzea eta horrela Jaialdi edo ekitaldietara joaten direnean euren artean ezagutzea: “Since I was 12 I would go to and be with unique people, who had strange names as we did, who eat strange food... Their aitas and amas had accents also. They had similarities to me” (Argia Beristain, Boise eta Las Vegaseko Euskal komunitateetako kide aktiboa, 2017ko martxoa), eta azkena, Euskal Herriarekin komunikazio bat sortzea, hau da, udaleku edo programa hauetan “monitore” egoten direnak Euskal Herritik joandako euskaldunak izaten dira, eta horrek, Euskal Herria eta Estatu Batuetako euskal komunitatearen arteko komunikazioa eta harremana indartzen du. Guri ikerketa honetan gehien interesatzen zaigun puntua azken puntua da, hau da, udaleku hauek Euskal Herriarekin dagoen komunikazioan duten eragina.

NABOko udalekuari buruz idatzi du Camusek (2008) eta 2003 urteko Kongresuan Lisa Corcostegui, Anita Anacabek eta Grace Mainvilek aurkeztu zuten “Proyectos Líder en los Centros Vascos de Estados Unidos” (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2004:175):

“Conocido anteriormente como Music Camp, Udaleku surgió en abril de 1974 cuando varios clubes vascos unieron sus fuerzas y crearon la North American Basque Organization con el objeto de fomentar y preservar nuestro patrimonio vasco común. Desde aquellos inicios, los vínculos entre los vascos de Estados Unidos se han estrechado y ampliado. El objetivo del campamento es lograr que los jóvenes vasco-americanos sepan valorar la riqueza y particularidad de su patrimonio cultural.”

1973an lehen *Basque Music and Culture Camp*-a antolatu zen eta California, Oregon, Idaho eta Nevadako 30 umek hartu zuten parte Bogus Basin Ski Resort-en (Totoricagüena, 2002). Udalekua urtero antolatzen da eta Estatu Batuetako leku desberdinetan izaten da. Bi asteko egonaldia izaten da eta bertan euskal amerikarrak eta Euskal Herritik etorritako monitoreak izaten dituzte irakasle. Partehartzaileek dantza, musika (txistua, akordeoia) eta Euskal jokuak (pala, mus-a) ikasi eta praktikatzen dituzte. Lehen udalekua Boisen antolatu zen 1973 urtean eta udalekuaren helburuak ziren: “Lograr que los jóvenes vasco-americanos sepan valorar la riqueza y particularidad

de su patrimonio cultural” (Totoricaguena, 2002:175) eta “Actuar como oportunidad educativa para la juventud vasca... la creación de nuevas amistades que contribuirán a reforzar aún más los lazos existentes entre distintas comunidades vascas de Estados Unidos” (Totoricaguena, 2002:175). Baina helburu horiez gain, badaude batzuk hasierako udalekueetatik azken urteotara aldatu direnak. Kate Caminok dioen moduan, orain garrantzi gehiago ematen diote “community building”ari: “We also focus more on community building and allow the campers more social time as we feel that these connections are also very valuable” (Kate Camino, Naboko idazkaria eta udalekueetako antolatzaileetako bat, komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko abuztua).

Janet Indak ere dio udalekuak Estatu Batuetako euskaldunen arteko komunikazioa hobetzen du: “Therefore, it also opened the lines of communication between the young Basques. We figured that if the young Basques knew each other from childhood, that they would always be communications whether NABO survived or not”.

Camusek aztertu zuen moduan, eta Kate Camino eta Janet Indak diotenarekin bat eginda, udaleku hauei esker loturak sortzen dira estate desberdinetako euskal gazteen artean (Camus, 2007:182). Maite Maisterrenek ere dio, 2017 urtean Chinon antolatutako udalekuko antolatzaileetako bat, udalekuak beste euskaldun batzuekin harremana sortzeko balio dutela:

“Besides being a good learning experience, the camp offers the participants a great opportunity to develop ties and friendships with other young Basques from many states whose parents and ancestors came from both the northern and southern parts of “Euskal Herria” or the Basque country” (komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko abuztua).

Udalekuek laguntzen dute, baita ere, Euskal Herriaren eta bertako euskaldunen arteko komunikazioan; izan ere, bertara doazen euskaldunek harreman bat sortzen dute eta etorkizunerako sareak sortzen dira.

2015 urtean San Franciscon antolatu zuten Udalekuan parte hartu zuen Elo-die Arangarayren hitzetan udalekuaren helburua:

“Para mi, el objetivo es de enseñar la cultura de EH a los más jóvenes, que nunca han vivido aquí, y también de guardar en contacto entre los vascos de aquí y de ahí, de darse cuenta que es una única comunidad que vive en sitios diferentes y lejos pero que tiene mucho en común. Al final, no podemos olvidar que hay una parte de EH ahí, y que es importante conocerla porque es parte de la historia de nuestro país, que sigue viviendo ahí” (komunikazio pertsonala, 2017ko ekaina).

Bertan bizi diren euskaldunek Euskal Herriari buruz duten irudia eguneratzeko balio du, baita ere Euskal Herritik doazenak daukatenerako:

“Me sorprendió ver que es realmente una comunidad como lo que podemos ver aquí. Pensaba que estando lejos de EH no tendrían una cultura tan fuerte como la de aquí. Pero al final parece que son realmente una comunidad a parte de los americanos, y hacen un montón de actividades culturales todo el rato para pasar tiempo juntos. En el BCC (Basque Cultural Center), me sentí como a casa. Estábamos cantando todo el rato, hablando de gente que conocemos en común en EH, y de las partes de sus familias que siempre viven aquí” (personal communication, June 2017).

Urtero udazkenean eta neguan NABOk bilkura antolatzen du eta gero udan Udako Hitzarmena ospatzen dute. NABOk kide diren euskal etxeetako bi ordezkari joaten dira bilkuretara. Gerora, NABOk bilkurak batzutan, hall of fame hauekin batera egiten ziren: “Sometimes the NABO meeting and the Hall of Fame would be together. It was wonderful because it was easier to clubs to organize that” (Anna Mari Aguirre, New Yorkeko euskal komunitateko kide aktiboa, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018ko apirila).

Hurrengo atal osoa euskal diaspora sareei dedikatua izango da.

7.3 Hirugarren ataleko konklusioak

Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunen %93,6ak bere burua euskalduntzat du, gehiengoa Bizkaiako probintziakoak dira eta bigarren belaunaldikoak. Ikusi dugu, euskaldunen irudia ez zela berdina Estatu Batuetako estatu guztietan eta kokatzen ziren lekuaren arabera, desberdin ikusiko zituztela eta desberdin tratatuko zituztela. Lehen jaialdi bezala Western Basque Festival-a izendatu dugu eta hainbat autorek diote hori antolatzearen arrazoi bat euskaldunek zuten irudia hobetzea zela, hala ere, inguruko estatutan jada amerikar gizarteko parte ziren euskaldunak eta *Boise Music Week* bezalako jaialdietako protagonistak ziren. Horrek erakusten du, estatuaren arabera, euskaldunen irudia desberdina zela.

Euskal Herritik diasporako kideekin izan den komunikazioan edo harremanean lau hito daude: Francoren heriotza (1975.urtean); Kanpoan bizi diren Euskaldunekin harremanetarako zerbitzuaren sortzea (1986); "Euskal Autonomi Elkarteaz kanpoko Euskal Gizatalde eta Etxeekiko harremanetarako maiatzaren [27ko 8/1994 Legea](#)"; eta, amaitzeko, Internet eta Teknologia berrien etorrera.

Eusko Jaurilaritza erbestean zegoen urteetan hasi dugu ikerketa eta ikusten da garai horretatik jada, harreman publikoetako ekintzak erabiltzen direla kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunekin komunikatzeko, adibidez, 1956 urtean Agirreren Gobernuak Parisen antolatutako Kongresua. Horrez gain, atzerriko ordezkariak ere ugari izan dira eta horrek laguntzen zuen herritik kanpo zeudenekin zegoen komunikazioan. Franco hil baino lehenago zegoen komunikazio eta harremanak, ordea, beherakada bat eman zuen hil eta gero. Ordutik aurrera, komunikazioa ber-hartzen da eta ekimen desberdinak burutzen dira, hasieran ekimen instituzionalak eta pertsonalak baina aurrerago elkarteak eta komunikabideak ere parte hartuko dute. Ekimen instituzionalak dira nagusi lehen garaian: harreman publikoetako ekimenak (Kongresuak), eta atzerrian bizi diren euskaldunekin harramanetarako ordezkari baten izendapena eta zuzendaritzaren sorrera. Euskal Etxeekin Harremana izateko zerbitzua sortzen denetik (1986) Kanpoan bizi diren Euskaldunekin eta Euskal etxeekin harremana legeztatuko duen legea sortu arte (1994), ekimen instituzionalak burutu dira gehienbat, harreman publikoetako ekintzak eta dibulgazio eta komunikaziorako tresnaren bat. 1994ean legea sortu zen, honen bidez, kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunei eskubideak emango zaizkie, euskal etxeen ingurukoak ofizializatuko dira, finantziazioa nolakoa izango den legeztatuko da, eta kanpoan diren euskaldunekin harremana mantentzeko beteko diren ekintza desberdinen berri ematen da.

1995etik aurrera ekimen instituzionalak ere indartsu jarraituko dute baina beste era bateko ekimenak ere martxak jarriko dira eta hainbat dokumental grabatuko dira. Teknologia berrien etorrerak ere markatuko du inflexio puntu bat, non ekimen instituzional berriak burutuko diren. Horrez gain, azken hamarkadan ere hainbat argitalpen eta dibulgazio lan burutu dira, horien artean, doktorego tesiak, dokumentalak, eta telebista programak.

Jaialdien garrantzia nabarmena da komunikazio eta harremanean, ikusi da diasporako kideen %85,1a izan dela inoiz jaialdi euskal amerikar baten, gehiebat Nevada, California eta Idahoko (orden horretan) jaialdietan izan dira. Bakoitzaren komunitateko kideekin egotea da komununena (%71,6) eta jaialdian gehien gustatzen zaiena janaria (%70,1) eta musika (%60,3) dira. Bost jaialdi euskal amerikarren azterketa egin da eta ikusi da nola jaialdi hauek emaitza transnazionalak izan dituzten eta jaialdien abiapuntu bezala Western Basque Festivala identifikatu da.

Kategorizazioa zehazterakoan, Euskal Herritik diasporara bideratutako ekintzak komunikabide, medio eta ekimen instituzionaletan banandu dira. Horiek teoriarekin lotu ditugu, diaspora estrategiekin, hain zuzen. Nahiz eta diaspora estrategia izena ez eraman, kontsideratzen dugu hauek antolatze-

rakoan edo martxan jartzerakoan, estrategia bat dagoela atzean. Diaspora estrategia gobernuak sortutako ekimen politiko bat izango da eta helburua diaspora, affinity diaspora eta jatorrizko herrialdearen artean harremana izatea izango da (Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009:14; Aikins & White, 2011:31-40; Newland, Terrazas & Munster, 2010; Aikins, Sands & White, 2009; eta Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009; Aikins & White, 2011:2).

Diaspora estrategia hauek diplomazia publikoarekin lotu ditugu. Diplomazia publikoaren helburua da herrialdeen artean dagoen deskonfidantza gainditzea eta herrialde bateko hiritarrei esker, herrialdeen arteko harremanak sortzea (Henrikson, 2000; Waller, 2007; Malone, 1985; Frederic, 1993; Ryniejska, 2009; and Rasmussen, 2009).

Leonard, (2002); Gregory, (2011) eta Ho & McConnel-k (2017) azpimarratzen dute diplomazia publikoa sub-estatuak eta gobernuak kanpoko agenteek erabiltzen duten tresna bat dela (Gregory, 2011:353) harremanak lortzeko eta beste herrialde batzuen beharrianak ulertzeko (Leonard 2002:8).

Diaspora strategiak harreman publikoetako ekintzen baitan joan dira, eta diplomazia publikoaren helburuak lortu dituzte. Bai Euskal Herritik zein diasporako kideen eskutik ikusi dugu historia guztian zehar oso presente egon direla Kongresu, Biltzar edo Jaialdiak. Komunitatea batu, elkar ezagutu eta ideiak elkarbanatzeko momentuak. Horren adibide dira, kasurako, Kanpoan den Euskal Komunitatearentzako eta Euskal Etxeentzako Zuzendaritzak lau urtean behin ospatzen duen Mundu Biltzarra, edota politikariaren bisitak. Diplomazia publikoko helburuak lortzen dituzten beste ekimen moduan daude, besteak beste, "Argentinan Euskaraz" edo "Euskara Munduan" programa, Etxepare Euskal Institutua, edota Eusko Jaurlaritzatik kanpoan bizi diren Euskaldunei eta Euskal etxeei zuzenduriko diru laguntzak.

Laburki emandako adibide horiek inpaktu bat lortzen dute komunitate honen Euskal Herriarekin duten konexioan, informazio mailan eta identitatean, eta horrek, eragina du, baita ere, Euskal Herriak komunitate hauek bizi diren herrialdeetan duen irudian.

Ekimen instituzionalek, komunikabideek eta medioek, kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunengan duten inpaktu hori dela eta, kontsideratzen dugu diasporara zuzenduriko ekimen horiek diaspora estrategia bat direla, eta aurrerago garatuko diren eta guk aztertuko ditugun diaspora sareen eraikitzean ere pieza klabe izan direla.

Diasporako kide batzuk ustez, ondo dago era horretako gauzak egitea baina uste dute, gobernuak konsziente izan behar dela diaspora ez dela eurena:

“What it is interesting is that sometimes, the Government would think they would control the strategy and policy. When the Basque Government think that they are going to centralize the Basque diaspora they are mistaken. There was a Basque diaspora before there was a Basque Government and there was a Basque diaspora and Euskal etxeak way before there was a Basque Government. So, they already have their identity. To have the Basque Government as a partner is good, but not as my father telling me what to do. Because we don't owe the Basque Government anything” (Gloria Totoricagunea, komunikazio pertsonala, 2018 urteko apirila)

Horregatik, nahiz eta ekimen horiek diaspora estrategiak izan, argi eduki behar da bi alde daudela eta laguntza hori ematea edo diplomazia aktore moduan jokatzeko ez dela beharrezkoa edo obligatorioa den zerbait.

Diasporatik Euskal Herriarekin komunikazioa eta harremana mantentzeko burutzen diren ekintzen artean daude, bai mundu mailan, zein Euskal Herrian, komunikabideak, diaspora organizazio edo elkarteak, ekintzak eta diaspora sareak. Diaspora elkarte bezala euskal etxeak daude eta, esaten dugu, frontoiak egon diren lekuetan ez dela euskal etxerik sortu, frontoiek bete dutelako euskal etxeen lana, beraz, frontoiak izango dira Florida, Connecticut eta Rhode Island bezalako estatuetan euskal etxeen lana burutuko dutenak.

Komunikatzeko eta informatuta egoteko erei dagokionez Internet-en eragina azpimarratu behar da. Ikusi dugu, baita ere, komunikabideek ez dutela zertan diasporari buruzko informazio eman behar kontsumituak izateko eta, diasporako gaien inguruen informazioa jasotzeko sare sozialetara jotzen dutela edota espreski horri buruz idazten duend diaspora mediora.

Pentsa daitekeena da, diasporako kideentzako ez zela bereziki albisterik prestatu behar, suposatzen delako euren intereseko albisteak direla Euskal Herriarekiko, Europari eta munduari buruz euskal egunkariak ematen dituztenak. Hala ere, nahiz eta diasporako kidei zuzenduriko albisteak ez izan, ondo egongo litzateke komunikazioa hobetzearen harira euskal gizarteari zuzendutako diasporari buruzko abiste gehiago ematea. Beraz, medioetan diasporari buruz ez diasporari zuzenduriko albiste gehiago sartzea. Diasporari buruz albiste gehiago emateak euskal gizartearen diasporizatzea suposatuko du, interes gehiago izango da, komunikazioa areagotuko da, zubi gehiago eraikiko dira, sareak sortuko dira, Euskal Herria munduan zabalduko da.

Amaitzeko, ikus daiteke momentuan dagoen Kanpoan diren Euskal Etxe eta Euskaldunekin harremana daraman Zuzendaritzako zuzendariak eragin

handia du kanpoan bizi diren euskaldnekin dagoen harreman eta komunikazioan.

FOURTH PART

Basque diaspora networks

CHAPTER 8

DIASPORA NETWORKS

There are 215 million people in the world that don't live in their country of origin. Some of those people could be considered to be part of the diaspora of their country of origin (Aikins & White, 2011). There are studies dealing with the importance of diasporas for their country of origin (Latha Varadarajan, 2012; Tigau, 2014:423-428) and also about the role of diasporas as public diplomacy tools for the country of origin (Trent, 2012). The concept of diaspora diplomacy is even referred to thus: "The diaspora members are potential players in international relations, in relations between countries and public diplomacy, not only of the country of origin but also in the country where they live" (Wagner, 2007 in Tigau, 2014:426); and are also active players in public development and diplomacy (Barbara Ociepka, 2008: 11-12, cit. in Tomiczek, 2011). With respect to the authors who have defined diaspora diplomacy (Noya, 2006; Clinton and Varadarajan, 2012; Trent, 2012; Riddle, 2008; Jay Gonzalez, 2014; Ho and McConnell, 2017), they all agree with the idea that diasporas can be of use to their country of origin and that it is important to take this into account.

“One of the main reasons why home states wish to connect with their diaspora is economic” (Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009:20) and according to the Inter-American Development Bank: “Over US \$300 billion was sent back to homelands by migrant workers in 2006” (Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009:21). But apart from the tangible contributions, diasporas can also have intangible ones such as “professional expertise, international networks, and cultural ambassadors” (Aikins & White, 2011:35) and social remittances, which Levitt considers to be “ideas, behaviors, identities, and social capital that flows from host to sending country communities; they are like the social and cultural resources that migrants bring with them to the countries that receive them” (Levitt, 1999). In this work we would like to focus on those intangible contributions that are created thanks to the diaspora networks and study the impact of the diasporas in global relations.

Diasporas and diaspora networks can contribute to their homelands in many different ways: socioeconomic development (Brinkerhoff), economic remittances (Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009), diaspora philanthropy (Armenian scholarships), knowledge transfer, diaspora investment (Chinese and Indian diasporas (Kuznetsov 2006:5), social remittances (Levitt, 1999), business development, opening new markets, as bridges, international fluxes, affinity diasporas, talent networks, trust and trusted contacts, nation branding and soft power, (Kingsely Aikins, Martin Russel, 2003), transnationalism⁶³ and policy influence (Alonso & Oiarzabal, 2010:39).

Both home countries and members of diasporas are aware of the effects that diasporas can have on international relations and de Haas (2006) identifies different areas in which receiving country governments can support homeland development, some of which include the diaspora network. National governments are introducing diaspora strategies and recognizing the role that key members of the diaspora can play (Aikins & White, 2011). As Leautier, Vice President of the World Bank Institute pointed out in (2006): “Actors in diaspora networks can be crucial bridges between global state-of-the-art in policy, technological, and managerial expertise and local conditions in their home countries” (Kuznetsov, 2006:foreword). Various authors, such as Kuznetsov (2006), have defined diaspora networks as “the latest bridge insti-

⁶³ “Diaspora associations create transnational networks that maintain varying degrees of personal, institutional, cultural, social, economic, political and business ties with the homeland and with other countries where there is Basque presence: a globe-spanning network of attachments and allegiances” (Alonso & Oiarzabal (2010:339).

tutions connecting developing economy insiders, with their risk-mitigating knowledge and connections, to outsiders in command of technical know-how and investment capital” (2006:4) and have studied diaspora networks all around the world (Ionescu, 2006; Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009; Kuznetsov, 2006; Aikins & White, 2011; Nielsen & Riddle, 2007; Finch, Andrew & Latorre, 2010). Aikins and White, for example, have conducted many studies related to diaspora strategies, such as how to make the diaspora feel part of the country of origin and obtain mutual benefits from that relationship. As we can see, this is a topic that has been growing fast over the last decade (Nielsen & Riddle, 2007; Kuznetsov, 2006; Finch, Andrew & Latorre, 2010; Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin, 2009).

There can be different types of diaspora networks (Barré, 2003) and here we can see some of the worldwide diaspora networks. We identified the business and professional, academic and general diaspora networks.

16 Table. Some examples of Diaspora Networks in the world, personal categorization

COUNTRY	BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL	ACADEMIC	GENERAL
SCOTLAND	GlobalScots		
IRELAND			Irish Technology Leadership Group (2007) The Ireland Funds (1976)
CYPRUS			NEPOMAK
THAILAND		the Association of Thai Professionals in America and Canada	
INDIA	Silicon Valley Indian Professionals (1987) The Indus Entrepreneurus (1992)	India Manchester Graduate Network	
CHINESE			The Chinese American Engineers and Scientists Association of Southern California (1962)

SWITZERLAND			Organization of the Swiss Abroad
NIGERIA			Nigerians in the Diaspora Organisation (2000)
AFRICA			The African Network (2004)
BRASIL			Bay Brazil
KENYA			Kenya Society in London
HAITI			United Haitians in the United Kingdom (2008)
BASQUE COUNTRY	Bizkaia Talent (2014)	Basque Diaspora Akademikoa (2016)	Global Basque Network (2015)
AUSTRIA		ASciNA Austrian scientists and scholars in the US and Canada	
NEDERLAND			NLBorrels Dutch Expat Network (2001)
NEW ZEALAND			Kea New Zealand
CHILE			ChileGlobal
KOREA		The Global Network of Korean Scientists & Engineers	

Source: own elaboration

Many countries and governments are creating diaspora networks, but we need to be aware that, as Ancien, Boyle & Kitchin say, if we want diaspora members to be part of a network, they need to be motivated (2009:16) because: "Being a member of a diaspora does not mean they have a sense of belonging, many diaspora initiatives have failed because they did not identify the highly motivated individuals who were willing to stick with the initiatives for a long time" (Aikins & White, 2011:2).

There are different reasons why a diaspora member would like to be part of the policies or activities of the home country: "Financial return[...]social recognition from within their diaspora communities and organizations[...]potential emotional satisfaction they will receive when investing in their homelands" (Nielsen & Riddle, 2006-2007).

Taking into account what we have seen during these last years and based on

in depth interviews, we agree with Aikins and White when they say that, sometimes, that connection is not only motivated by economic factors, and for many diasporan investors: “A sense of patriotism drives their desire to help and initiatives to harness this diasporan investor goodwill” (Aikins & White, 2011:35).

Members of a diaspora that help their country of origin have a strong cultural identity, which shows that, using cultural or identity relations, other kind of relations could be created. Diasporas networks aim to establish and foster communication and exchanges between members living abroad and to link them to their counterparts in their country of origin (Aikins & White, 2011:47) but, apart from that, as Brown (2002) said network members must reap certain benefits from their participation in the network.

The creation of these networks necessitates time, dedication, and forethought. For example, who should be the creator of the network? Should that be an institution, a private investor or both together? Should there be something created by the diaspora or for the diaspora from the country of origin? Our research shows that in all the networks, “natural” networking and relations among members is positive. An active member of the Basque community in Idaho told us the following about the top down networks: “From top down and not consultation, not grass roots, getting people together, thinking what it could be done[...]popped up don’t work as well the ones created on the other way around” (personal communication, April 2017).

Apart from that, we also see that public relations activities, such as events or conferences, are important in these kind of networks, as they enforce the real relation between the members.

8.1 Basque diaspora networks

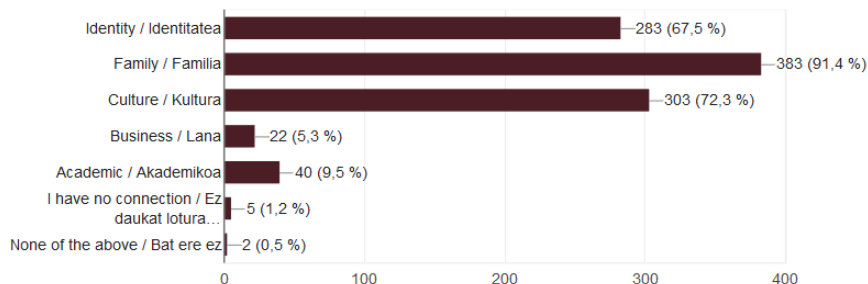
“Throughout periods of emigration Basques often relied on networks to maintain ties to each other and the Basque Country. Largely informal, these connections helped them create hyphenated identities (self-identifying as American and Basque, for example) as they made their way in the new settings. They regularly sent back money, goods, and ideas that heavily impacted those at home and often spurred them to migrate as well. These transnational exchanges influenced the histories of both regions and helped create the cultural brands that further delineated identities. For centuries this process continued, sped up by advances in communication and transportation” (Ray & Bieter, 2015:255)

In these transnational exchanges that Ray & Bieter talk about, the diaspora networks were vital. During May-August 2018, a survey among Basques in the United States was distributed for this research, with 424 respondents. Thanks to that survey we could see that identity, family and culture have been the main reasons for Basques to join those networks and; identity, family, and culture also helps open doors between the host country and the country of origin.

34 Image. The reason for the connection between the Basque diaspora and the Basque Country

9.- Which is your connection to the Basque Country? / Zein da zure lotura Euskal Herriarekin?

419 respuestas



Source: own elaboration based on survey answers.

The creation of diaspora networks and the recognition of diasporas as key members in the development of the country is a common practice among various countries (Aikis & White 2011; Kuznetsov, 2006). The diaspora networks are among the factors that help to create and maintain a relationship and communication between the Basque Country and the Basque people living abroad. There have been some attempts to create networks with the Basque diaspora around the world that would bolster the economy, policies and development of the Basque Country. As the former President of the Basque Country once said: "Hay que tejer una red de redes, en el campo de la economía, en el campo de la sociedad, en el campo de los anhelos, en el campo de las preocupaciones, en el campo de los proyectos" (Basque President Ibarretxe, 2007 Conferece, Eusko Jaurlaritz 2008:18).

Starting with the early Basque immigrants, networks have been created in order to help those living abroad (*Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos*), enforce political connections (*Emakume Abertzale Batza* in Chile, Uruguay and Argentina),

or create relations with the home country: “Through dance, music, art, and literature diaspora members can connect the head with the heart, the host country with the home country, the past with the present, and their identity with their heritage (Aikins and White, 2011:137).

In 2015, the researcher worked as an intern in the Foreign Affairs Department of the Basque Government and during that time she knew about the organization of the Global Basque Network. Because of that, she got interested in the diaspora networks and started reading information about worldwide diaspora networks.

As we have done when researching communication (homeland to diaspora and diaspora to homeland), thanks to the reading and the in depth interviews conducted over these last three years, we propose categorizing the diaspora networks as networks created from the diaspora and networks created for the diaspora. Apart from that, we suggest that the networks created from the diaspora are based on on cultural, familial, business and educational relations, and we believe in the importance of one-to-one relations. We are aware that there could be another network based on political relations, but we are not going to investigate that network in this research.

1.1.1 FROM the diaspora

After almost 120 years of Basque immigration to the United States, it is interesting to see how the relations between these regions are flourishing and creating stronger networks every day. Since the beginning of this emigration there has been sustained communication between the Basque Country and the Basque community in the United States. It began with letters exchanged between relatives and friends (most of them written by shepherders, who focused on homesickness and personal experiences and requested news about their families and the Basque Country). As the years passed, the first messages exchanged between politicians and institutional representatives appeared. Letters were exchanged between, for example, Ardanza, President of the Basque Government during 1985 and 1999, and Cecil Andrus, Governor of Idaho, and between Ardanza and Pete Cenarrusa, Secretary of State of Idaho; there were institutional visits, such as the visit by Frank Church, Senator from Idaho, to the Basque Country in 1978, Ardanza’s visit to Boise, Ibarretxe’s (president of the Basque Country 1999-2009) visit to Boise, etc.

Networks were created from those relations. They tended to be based on people-to-people relations but ended up being relations between regions,

ranging from local to transnational, such as relations between the State of Idaho and the Basque Country or between a casino in Miami and a town in Biscay like Markina. All this gave rise, for example, to academic exchange programs between universities, relations between businesses or relations between specific cities or town twinning.

We wanted to analyze the diaspora networks that have been created to connect the country of origin with the host country, focusing on the impact they have had on the relations between some states of the United States and the Basque Country, from local to transnational ones, and studying the importance of these networks in the public diplomacy of the Basque Country. In the case of the Basque diaspora, we have not come across any study dealing with the creation and evolution of Basque diaspora networks. So this study focuses on this question and endeavors to tackle the role played by these networks in the area of public diplomacy.

8.1.1.1 Emergence of the first networks: familial and cultural network

In what Bieter (1994) defined as the first generation (1900-1940), Basques were to emigrate to the United States in order to find a job and work. They spoke the Basque language and nearly all of them imagined they would return to their home country one day. The majority of the Basques who went to the West of the United States worked in dairy farms, with wood, in construction or as gardeners and shepherders; in the case of those who moved to the East they came for different reasons such as:

“Make a better life, always or most of the time was that. Because life on the *base-rrri*⁶⁴ was very difficult and unless you inherit...and for them, they could make better life here and send money home” (Anna Mari Agirre, active member of the Basque Center and Basque community in New York, personal communication, 2018)

Those in New York worked in the docks⁶⁵ and in construction. Further west, shepherders would spend many months in the mountains and when they went back to the town they would need a place to sleep, eat and socialize:

⁶⁴ The traditional Basque house. Hamlet in Basque language.

⁶⁵ Because the majority of Basques in NY were familiar and experienced with the ocean from their hometown fishing villages and from the ship building centers of Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia, numerous Basques gained employment as seafarers on passenger liners, in the Merchant Marines, and on the docks of the city. Marine careers ran in Basque families and many father-son and brother-brother combinations followed each other out to sea. Besides being well recognized as superb mariners, Basques are also known for their quality cuisine, and numerous Basques combined the two talents.

that was when the boarding houses were set up, the “home away from home” (Echeverria, 1999:240). But boarding houses were not only the houses of Basques who were working there. As John and Mark Bieter point out: “The boarding house became the village church, the town tavern, the bank and the health dispensary” (John and Mark Bieter 2003:43). In New York too, the boarding house called Santa Lucia or Casa Vizcaína that Valentin Aguirre⁶⁶ and his wife Benita Orbe managed was their “home away from home” in which immigrants could find the necessary help to continue their trip to the West or to find a new life in the big city.

Like the boarding house that Valentin Aguirre and his wife managed, we propose that the boarding houses and Basque hotels were the spaces that enabled cultural and familial networks to be set up. The cultural network helps to connect the Basques all around the world with each other and has something to do with Basque culture. The presence of Basque culture was very noticeable in the boarding houses: they became an indispensable space for language transmission, sports, Basque traditions and dances. They became a reference for Basque immigrants; they welcomed the Basques who arrived and assisted greatly in their full integration. In the case of the Basques in Florida, Connecticut and Rhode Island there were not boarding houses and we found that the frontons could be the places in which the cultural, familial or friend networks were set up.

We found that during this first period networks were primarily familial and cultural. Familials based on letter exchanges calls, and visits to the homeland and cultural created and forged in the boarding houses and frontons. But from those one-to-one, cultural and familial connections, other kind of relations emerged, such as academic or educational and business ones.

8.1.1.2 Emergence of other networks: academic and business networks

⁶⁶ At this point, we would like to introduce Valentin Aguirre in this work, as everybody that we interviewed from the New York area, but also from the West, talked about him. Valentin Aguirre was a Basque who moved to New York from Bizkaia in 1895 and he became one of the most significant Basques in New York. He and his wife owned a hotel in New York in which they hosted all the Basque people that needed help, both to stay in New York or to travel from New York to the Far West. Valentin Aguirre and his sons used to go to the place where the boats arrived and asked in loud voice: “Euskaldunik bada?” It is impossible to count all the people that spent the night in his hotel or the people he helped; the only thing that is possible to measure is that when we did the interviews, everybody talked about him.

After the boarding houses, Basque centers were set up: first on the East Coast (New York 1913) and then in the West. It was a period that Bieter (1994) presents as the second generation (1949-1982). Visitors from the Basque Country, who were known as Eurobasques⁶⁷, made contact with these centers to get to know the Basques of America and to build a relationship with them. We can see that during those years different networks between the Basque Country and the United States emerged.

a) Educational network: Basque identity within an academic level

An educational or academic network is a network that connects, assists in and promotes relations between different schools, academics, universities and students. It is something that helps both countries because it involves a sharing of knowledge. In the Basque-American academic relations, we identified the following initiatives that help in the creation and enforcement of that academic network.

In the early 40s, the Lehendakari of the Basque Government, Jose Antonio Aguirre, worked as a History Professor at Columbia University; in 1938 Jon Bilbao studied in Columbia University, in the *Escuela de Estudios Hispánicos* (San Sebastian, 2018:74); in 1974 the Boise-Oñati Program was organized, which resulted in the creation of USAC; in 1979 the Society of Basque Studies was created, which helped strengthen the network between Basques in the United States; in 1998 Boiseko Ikastola⁶⁸ was created, which promotes the relationship between teachers and students in both parts of the Atlantic; in 2003 the Cenarrusa Foundation was established and finances Basque studies in the United States; in 2004-2005 Basque Studies at Boise State University was created; from 2010-onward the Etxepare Institute started hosting lecturers at different universities in the United States; and finally, there are exchange programs between students at the University of the Basque Country and different universities in the United States; for example, Harvard University.

Jon Bilbao's figure was key in the academic relationship between the United States and the Basque Country. He worked hard in order to create a Basque library but also to create connections between the Basque Country

⁶⁷ Word used by some Basques in the United States to refer to the Basques living in Europe.

⁶⁸ Ikastolas were created during Franco dictatorship as a way to teach and learn in Euskera, as during those day, the Basque language was prohibited and it was not possible to learn in Euskera.

and the American universities. On June 1939 Jon Bilbao graduated from Columbia University. That same year he had the opportunity to travel to Boise (San Sebastián, 2018:77-80). During 1939-1940, Camile M. Power (Spanish language teacher at Boise Junior College) helped Jon with the academic network:

“Le consiguió un sinfín de conferencias pagodas en centros y asociaciones de todo tipo como la Ladies of the American Association of University Women, Junior Chamber of Commerce (The Basques), The Exchange Club (Basque Delegation in Boise), B.H.S. History Club...” (San Sebastián, 2019:93).

He traveled all around the world to find Basque books, worked at the Basque Studies Center in Reno (Nevada) and wrote, together with William Douglass, the book *Amerikanuak: Basques in the New World*, which is considered to be the Bible of the Basque emigration studies.

In the early 40s, the Lehendakari Aguirre taught at Columbia University; the result of this first connection could not be seen until 2013, when the Agirre Lehendakaria Center was created and founded at the University of the Basque Country (UPV-EHU) through a collaborative effort with Columbia University’s Advanced Consortium on Cooperation, Conflict and Complexity (AC4) and George Mason University’s School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution (S-CAR)⁶⁹.

In 1967 the Center for Basque Studies was created in the University of Reno (Nevada). Omer Stewart, who was an American cultural anthropologist asked to the people in the University of Reno: “You’ve got all of these shepherders in the Great Basin; plus, the Basques in Europe are kind of a mystery people. So why don’t you have a little Basque studies program within your center?” (Douglass in Oiarzabal, Coles & Tracy, 2007:5). So William Douglass, Jon Bilbao and Bob Laxalt created the Center for Basque Studies. In 2007, Oiarzabal, together with Coles and Tarcy, edited a book in which they talk about the origins of the Center for Basque Studies: he remembers how the Basque President Ardanza said that while in Spain it was impossible to study in Euskera or show the Basque identity, the States were the right place for that:

“During the darkest day of the Franco era when we were denied our language, our culture, and our identity, we were consoled by the knowledge than an American university in Nevada had lit one small candle in the night” (Basque President José Antonio Ardanza).

⁶⁹ Agirre Lehendakari Center webpage: <http://ac4.ei.columbia.edu/2013/03/14/announcing-the-creation-of-the-agirre-lehendakaria-center-for-social-and-political-studies/>

The Center that was originally established to study the Basques as “an integral part of the sheep industry” and became the leading research and educational institute of its kind outside the European Basque homeland. Today, it aids in the cooperation with “appropriate academic departments at UNR, as well as at other American and foreign universities” and also provides the opportunity to do exchange programs in different universities, thanks to the University Studies Abroad Consortium⁷⁰. After creating the program, the Center for Basque Studies in Reno decided to organize the first summer studies abroad program; those were organized during the 1970s in Ustaritz (French Basque Country) (Oiarzabal, Coles & Tracy). When they tried it for the first time, they did not have enough people, so it was cancelled (Douglass in Oiarzabal, Coles & Tracy, 2007:84).

The Basque Studies Program ran five summer sessions abroad from 1970 to 1981. While they were doing the Ustaritz summer program, Pat Bieter, from Boise, started thinking of organizing a whole year in the Basque Country. The Oñati-Boise program was one of the starting points for the academic network between the Basque Country and the United States.

The Boise Oñati program was organized in 1974. It was the first program that took Basque Americans for a whole academic year to the Basque Country. The main objective of this program was:

“To preserve and enhance the distinctive customs, traditions, and characteristics of the Basque culture in Idaho through a comprehensive program-of humanistic education. The program is intended to stimulate study and general appreciation of the Basque cultural heritage distinctive to Idaho and neighboring regions. A secondary objective of the program is to demonstrate humanistic education and how the methods of the humanities can serve to enhance the image and self-respect of ethnic minorities by strengthening cultural pride and preserving cultural characteristics which lend variety and richness to our diverse American society” (Pat Bieter documents, Boise State University Special collections Archives).

Basque Americans wanted to maintain their identity and knowledge of the Basque Country so they decided to enlist the aid of academic institutions and create Basque Studies Programs in American Universities.

⁷⁰ Information about the Center for Basque Studies in Reno (Nevada):

http://basque.unr.edu/information-mission_history.html

The second step was to ask for a grant to the State of Idaho Board of Education. They got the grant in 1971. They had the opportunity to receive another 10,000 dollars if they raised an equal amount of money:

“The grant has a special feature which provides that an additional \$10,000 of federal money will be available if an equal amount of money is raised locally. In other words, for every dollar raised locally in support of the Basque studies program the federal government will provide a dollar—up to a maximum of \$10,000” (Pat Bieter documents, Boise State University Special collections Archives).

They started to brainstorm how to raise those 10,000 dollars. Al Erkiaga, a Basque from Meridian (ID) whose father was from Ispaster (Basque Country), was one of the founders of the Basque traditional dancing group of Boise, the Oinkari dancing group, the first president of NABO (North American Basque Organization), one of the organizers of the Holiday Basque Festival (1972) and the person who had the idea of organizing the first Jaialdi of Boise (1987-2015). He is a very active, recognized and admired member of the Basque community in Idaho. He was on the Board of the Basques Studies at that moment and when someone asked him how they were going to raise those 10,000 dollars, he answered: “We can do a small festival”:

“I don’t know, I have always had these crazy ideas. So a friend of mine was with, at the time, was also very artistic and he helped us, we decorated one building in the Fairgrounds and we decorated it as it would be the Basque Country. And we raised our 10.000 dollars. We got the Oinkaris dance, sheepherders wagon, food...there was a little bit of everything. Lot of Americans helped us in this” (Al Erkiaga, personal communication, april 2017)

They organized the Holiday Basque Festival which was, in words of Erkiaga “like a miniature Jaialdi” (personal communication, April 2017). Jaialdi is an internationally known Basque American Festival organized by the Basque Center of Boise called Euzkaldunak. It was first held in 1987 and, since 1990, it has been organized every five years. That Festival, in words of Pete Cenarrusa (secretary of State in Idaho) was “the largest of its kind ever held in North America”⁷¹. Miren Artiach Rementeria, active member of the Basque community in Idaho, was also organizing that Festival. She said: “It was a different level. It was designed for raising money for a grant that we

⁷¹ The Idaho Statesman on June 3, 1972. *Holiday Basque Festival booklet front and back cover pages*. Juanita Ueberuaga Hormaechea Collection bk 82-1972-61-00003.

had, so only one or two days. We had some international visitors but the first planning was very short because if we raise money here, they would give as the same amount” (Miren Rementeria, personal communication, March 2017). They obtained the grant, which lasted from October 1, 1971, through July 31, 1973.

“The Holiday Basque Festival was a weekend-long cultural program focused on the Basque culture which was held during June 2-3-4 1972, in Boise, Idaho. This festival had an historic importance for the future cultural activities of the Basques in Boise and the USA, not only for being the predecessor of the currently successful Jaialdi, but also because it began a discussion of an Ikastola, or Basque language immersion school, which would become a reality in the late 1990s. The program focused on the Basques but the festival was created for Basques and non- Basques alike. The festival was developed by the newly created Basque Studies Center of Idaho (1969) as a fundraising project for the center. Holiday Basque Festival booklet front and back cover pages” (Basque museum Juanita Uberuaga Hormaecha Collection bk 82-1972-61-00003)

So the objectives were clear. They needed to raise the money and thanks to the Holiday Basque Festival a group of 74 people went from Boise to Oñati. This festival achieved much more than just raising money, because it was the predesessor of the current Boiseko Jaialdia, which we will analyse later, and because it was the place when the discussions of an Ikastola in Boise started.

Once they obtained the grant, they needed to find a place to stay in Oñati, so they talked with the “Colegio San Lorenzo” and they stayed there. They had a contract with them. In September 1974 a group of 74 Americans went to Oñati. As we saw while we were conducting the interviews, it was not an easy arrival: there were threats from ETA and some people thought Americans were CIA members: “When we arrived at Oñate there were tanks waiting for us in Oñate, two buses. They took us to the dorms” (Anita Anakabe, active member of the Basque community in Idaho and Nevada, personal communication, April 8). As they thought the visitors were CIA members, the Spanish police took them into custody when they arrived.

This program was the only Basque language and culture program operating at the college level anywhere. The following year, 1975-1976, they could not run the program. But after that they started again: “BSU Campus in Spain Will Close for 1975-76. Boise State University Campus in Spain program will not be held this fall, its director said Thursday, blaming hard economic times” (Juanita Uberuaga collection, BOOK 85 1975, 00090, Basque Museum, Boise (Idaho)). 1980 was the last year of the Boise Oñati program. They did not have enough students who wanted to take part, so they needed to work

together with other universities. The University of Reno, Nevada, was the appropriate university for that. “The Oñati program continued until 1980, after which Boise State, the University of Nevada, Reno, and several other schools formed a consortium program in Donostia / San Sebastián” (John and Mark Bieter 2003: 127). It was easier to do the program and obtain students if they were working together with the University of Reno, Nevada. William Douglass met Pat Bieter and he said that: “We could approach Idaho and Idaho State, you are at Boise State and I could approach UNLV” (Douglass in Oiarzabal, Coles & Tracy, 2007:94). They lunched the study abroad program and 31 students from eight states took part in the program from 1983 to 1984.

That was the creation of USAC, a international student exchange program that to this day, is moving Basques from different parts of the United States to the Basque Country every year. There are more than 4,000 students annually moving to universities in nearly 30 countries around the world⁷², and professors and academics are part of exchange programs between the Basque Country and the United States.

It was around then that the University of the Basque Country and Goio Monreal, who was the provost of the UPV/EHU during those years, began to build a relationship.

“When you think of where the consortium is today, I don’t know-dozens of countries and dozens of universities involved from this end, millions and millions of dollars of budget, thousands of people moving around the planet and hundreds of employees. When you think how the whole thing began...now it’s the second largest international studies abroad consortium in America” (Douglass in Oiarzabal, Coles & Tracy, 2007:96)

“So the idea of USAC grew out of the Oñati program. They had made the decision that Oñati was still too small a town, not cosmopolitan enough, to attract enough students outside of Basque families. Finally the site selected was Donostia-San Sebastian” (Ugalde in Oiarzabal, Coles & Tracy, 2007:270)

As Miren Artiach Rementeria, who was working with Pat Bieter when they obtained the grant to organize the Boise Oñati program, said: “That particular small grant was long lasting. It was just that first little seed, but we were fortunate” (Miren Artiach, active member of the Basque community in Idaho, March 2017) . From that particular grant, many other relations have been created.

⁷² Interview with Carmelo Urza, director of the USAC program: <https://blog.usac.edu/carmelo-urza-usac-international-reach-human-touch/>

In 1979 the academic and educational network was also growing in other parts of the West Coast, especially in California. The Society of Basque Studies in America, a non-profit organization, was founded in San Francisco: "Dedicated to the study and dissemination in America of Basque culture, tradition, customs and folklore"⁷³. It was created in California, but people from the community of New York were also involved in this academic society, including Emilia Doyaga (active member of the Basque community in New York), Andoni and Irene Agirre (active members of the Basque community in New York, both of whom worked with the Lehendakari Agirre when the Basque Government was in exile) and their daughter Anna Mari Aguirre.

In 1998 Boiseko Ikastola was created; it was a center for educating both Basque and non Basque kids in Boise using the Basque language.

"Euskara was the language of their past and the transmission rate from native Basque speakers to their children born in the United States was low. This was not atypical. Studies show that ethnic groups tend to lose their language by the third generation" (Kattalina Berriotxo, 2014).

The relations between the Basque Country and Idaho are strengthened by many of the teachers in the area, who are from the Basque Country. As we have seen before, this was first discussed during the Holiday Basque Festival. This shows how from the cultural relations and with the excuse of celebrating the Basque culture in a festival, academic networks are also created. The Boiseko Ikastola is not just a way of teaching in Basque language and creating a community in Idaho. It is also a way to create transnational relations, as the teachers who come here are from the Basque Country. They learn about the Basque diaspora in Boise and they help in the promotion of the Basque culture in the States.

In 2003, the Cenarrusa Foundation for Basque Studies, which promotes the culture and history of the Basque Country by providing resources for performances, presentations and programs and to organizations throughout Idaho and Oregon⁷⁴, was created by Pete Cenarrusa (Secretary of State in Idaho and very active member of the Basque community in Idaho and in the United States) and his wife Freda Cenarrusa.

⁷³ Information about the Society of Basque Studies in America. Webpage of NABO, North American Basque Organization: <http://nabasque.eus/sbsa.html>

⁷⁴ Cenarrusa Foundation for Basque Culture, the webpage: <http://www.cenarrusa.org/about.asp>

In 2004-05, the Basque Studies element of the Cenarrusa Foundation was transferred to Boise State University, and since then the program has continued to expand with varied course offerings including a Basque Studies Minor, and their popular weekend workshops. Many of the professors and academics that teach in the weekend workshops are from the Basque Country. For example, in 2017, the former provost of the University of the Basque Country, Iñaki Goirizelaia, taught that workshop. This was part of a network that was already created to manage the transnational relationship between professors and students at Basque universities and the University of Boise. Every year researchers, academics, professors and students visit the University of Boise thanks to this agreement based on a transnational network which was created mainly by a initiative from the diaspora members.

Over the last several years, the East Coast has also seen a huge evolution in , the academic and educational networks. There is a Basque language class (also reinforcing the cultural network) driven by the New England Basque Club in Harvard University where Basques coming from the Basque Country and Basques living here connect and create a friend network. Also, networks between the University of the Basque Country and Harvard University with visiting students coming to Harvard University and meetings between academics in Harvard and in the University of the Basque Country are being created, thanks to connections with members of the Basque diaspora in this area.

The Euzko Etxea of New York also used to hold Basque language classes, but they don't do it anymore. Other transnational academic networks are the branch of the Agirre Lehendakari Center at Columbia University that we already talked about and Etxepare Lector at the University of Massachusetts Amherst (William A. Douglass Katedra) and at CUNY, City University of New York (Bernardo Atxaga Katedra).

b) Business network: first finding a job in the new world, next connecting the new and old worlds

The business network is created with and by Basques all over the world in order to help Basques find jobs, promote Basque companies and forge a relationship between Basque companies and companies in countries where members of the Basque diaspora are located. We sometimes hear the term "ethnic business network" which are networks that "transcend national boundaries, and are dependent on the lineage, language and culture associated with a particular ethnic group" (Grossman, 2010:288), and can serve as "important functions in reducing barriers to international trade and in facili-

tating transnational knowledge flows" (Grossman, 2010:289). The role of the diasporas is important in this part. We propose that the business network was first created by one-to-one relations and later on by institutional and commercial relations.

The business network was primarily focused on finding a new job for people that were coming from the Basque Country to the United States.

The main ports of entry to the United States were New York and Boston (Levitt, 1997); first Castle Garden (the first immigrant center in America 1855-1890) and later Ellis Island (1892-1954, period in which over twelve million immigrants entered to the US) were the places from which the Basque immigrants would enter. Once they arrived Valentin Aguirre or his sons would be waiting, asking "Euskaldunik bada?". They identified the new migrants and took them to the Hostal Santa Lucía (also called Casa Vizcaína) to help them. Some would already have a job in the West, so they just needed to take their tickets and board the train that would take them to their final destination. Others, instead, would need to find a job in the New World, and Valentin Aguirre would help them with that: "Valentín Aguirre compró, según tengo entendido, cada uno dice una cosa, él compró dos casas y de esas dos casas hizo como si fuera un hostal. Recibía a la gente y los que decidían quedarse, él les daba trabajo" (Josu Legarreta, active member of the Basque community in New York, personal communication, April 2018).

In those one-to-one relations the role of people like Valentin Aguirre had an additional effect: the chain migration from the Old to the New Country. That chain migration moved workers from the Basque Country to different parts of the United States. Thanks to those workers, institutional and commercial relations emerged. Institutional and commercial relations involved both visits from the Basque Country to the United States and from the United States to the Basque Country.

If we concentrate, for example, on the state of Idaho and The Basque Country, they have some things in common, such as potatoes, dairy products, beef and grain. Because of that, some of the relations between the two regions started around the potato industry and today there are still agreements involving different enterprises. The first connection that we found was when the Senator of Idaho Frank Church visited the Basque Country in 1978. In some cases is difficult to figure out if it was an institutional visit or a trade mission, but the majority of the trade missions were also institutional visits and the institutional visits had things in common with trade missions.

After Frank Church, Cecil Andrus visited from the 29th of June to the 6th of July of 1982, with the purpose of establishing a trade relationship with the newly formed Basque Government and “to enhance the economic and cultural opportunities for both governments and build on the natural relationship and close historical ties of the Idaho Basque community” (Special Collections Archives of the Albertson Museum in Boise State University).

- 35 Image. Commercial visit from Idaho to the Basque Country.
Martes, 6 de Julio de 1982, Tribuna Vasca.



Source: Albertson Library, Boise State University

The foundation for this relationship started two years before, in 1980, when two representatives from the Basque province of Vizcaya, Alberto Amorrortu, Minister of Culture, and Jose Sabala, Minister of Agriculture, visited Idaho. During that visit, they exchanged technical information and developed business opportunities that would establish a formal “government to government trade relationship”.

Among the results of that visit there was the planning of a visit of the President Garaikoetxea to Boise in 1982; the support for US business interests in the Basque Country; the establishment of a Basque University program; the

possible establishment of a potato processing plant in the Basque Country by J.R. Simplot Company; the visit of the Basque Agriculture Delegation to visit Idaho; the increased travel/tourism exchange and the consideration of press coverage by the Basque and Spanish press dealing with the importance of the Basque relationship with Idaho and the US. As we can see here, even though technically this was a trade mission, there were many other useful types of work happening.

After the visit to the Basque Country, Cecil Andrus was so thankful for the treatment he and his wife had received. He sent a lot of messages to all the people that helped them. They continued the relationship between Idaho and the Basque Country, much of which involved agricultural products and potatoes. Cecil Andrus wanted to share his experience in the Basque Country with Basques of Idaho so they held a reception in the Basque Center. He invited Ardanza too, he sent a letter the 11th of July. On September 10, 1992, President Ardanza and Cecil Andrus signed a framework agreement.

36 Image: Framework Agreement between Cecil Andrus and José Antonio Ardanza

*FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT
September 10, 1992*

WHEREAS, the state of Idaho and the Basque Country are linked by the common heritage of many of their citizens, and

WHEREAS, the geography and climate of Idaho and the Basque Country cause many of the agricultural and commercial undertakings of the two regions to be similar or complementary, and

WHEREAS, the governments of the state of Idaho and the Basque Country share the desires of their citizens to work together to promote more active cultural and commercial interchange between the two regions, and

WHEREAS, important steps in that process were taken in 1988, when Basque Country President José Antonio Ardanza visited Idaho, and in May of 1992, when Idaho Governor Cecil D. Andrus visited the Basque Country, and

WHEREAS, there is strong support for increasing the pace of cultural and commercial exchange, evidenced by the September visit to Idaho of the Minister of Agriculture.

Now, therefore we, Cecil D. Andrus, Governor of Idaho, and José Antonio Ardanza, President of the Basque Country do hereby jointly declare:

First:

That there is mutual interest in promoting exchanges and collaboration in the development of projects related to agriculture, food processing and, in particular, regarding seed potatoes.

Second:

That this collaboration should take the form of research, exchanges of personnel, and other actions to facilitate the analysis of the technical, economic and commercial feasibility of projects in the fields noted in the previous paragraph.

Third:

That the exchange of technical, economic, and other information necessary to promote this program requires the appointment of liaison officers to act on behalf of both parties upon the signing of this framework agreement.

Fourth:

That joint research to be carried out by scientists of both parties in questions relating to seed potatoes and potato processing technology, as well as other matters associated with both subjects, shall be given special attention.

Fifth:

That once the collaboration that is the subject of this framework agreement has been established, methods for monitoring and assessing the results obtained must be developed through periodic meetings and that it is considered essential to hold the first such meeting between the authorized officers of both parties within three months following the signing of this agreement.

Signed:

 Cecil D. Andrus Governor of Idaho	 José Antonio Ardanza President of the Basque Government
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Source: Albertsons Special Collections, Boise State University

During the 90s Larry LaRocco, Pete Cenarrusa (Secretary of State) and many politicians visited the Basque Country in order to continue developing the relationship between the two regions. There were not just business relations but that business network was latent all the time. In 2007 John Garamendi, actual congressman from California, visited the Basque Country and the Lehendakari Ibarretxe in order to examine the economic relations between the Basque Country and California. He also had meetings with Izaskun Bilbao, President of the Basque Parliament during that period, with the provost of the University of the Basque Country, and he attended a dinner at the Guggenheim Museum. It was time to create political, academic and cultural relations.

The first time that a president of the Basque Country visited the United States was when Ardanza⁷⁵ visited Boise in 1988. When he arrived at the airport his welcome was impressive. But the President of the Basque Government did not visit just Idaho; he also visited Nevada, California and Washington DC, where the expansion of trade relations was the top priority of those scheduled meetings (News Item, embargoed for release, Boise State University, Albertson Library Special Collections, Cecil Andrus collection).

In 1992 Jose Manuel Goikoetxea (Agriculture and Fisheries Advisor for the Basque Government) visited Idaho. As the potato in Idaho is a typical product, the commercial visits were interested in the potato industry. During that visit, the interests were developing a relationship with Agro-Food Research Departments, Industries and University; the formal relationship with the Idaho Department of Agriculture and Department of Commerce; contacts with food industries (potatoes, meat, sugarbeets, livestock) and contacts with food industries planning to invest in Europe.

Today, the Basque Country and some American states, particularly the State of Idaho, are poised to strengthen their relationship through commercial agreements and more formal ties among their universities. With this goal in mind, the State of Idaho and the Boise Metro Chamber of Commerce have

⁷⁵ While Ardanza was in the United States visited many people and organizations; some for more cultural reasons; some for economical purposes. After visiting Boise, they went to Carson City in Nevada, where the Lehendakari met the Governor of Nevada, Richard Bryan. From Carson City they moved to Reno in order to visit the University, and met with the Basque Studies Center of the University of Nevada. From Reno they moved to San Francisco, went to the annual meeting of NABO (the North American Basque Organizations organizes an annual meeting every year in different places in the United States) and had dinner in the Basque Center. Finally they flew to Washington and had dinner with the Basque community living in that state. It is evident here how different networks interact; in this case, the business network, the academic network, the cultural network and the political network.

signed agreements with the Government of Bizkaia and the Bilbao Chamber of Commerce. A Bizkaian commercial mission in 2016 brought many people to Idaho looking for expansion and workforce development. After that, in July 2017, 18 Idaho companies participated in an Idaho commercial mission to visit with Basque companies, research centers and universities⁷⁶.

For many years there was common interest in creating business relations between the states in which Basques were living and the Basque Country, and politicians were almost always the drivers of those relations. We have seen relations between Franck Church, Cecil Andrus, Ardanza, Garaikoetxea, Garamendi, Patxi Lopez, Ibarretxe and Otto, politicians and institutional representatives from both the Basque Country and the United States. All this has been possible, as we could see in the exchanged letters, thanks to the Basques living in the United States who acted as diaspora diplomacy actors and helped strengthen the business and political relations between the Basque Country and the States in the United States.

Nowadays, the *Euskal Etxeak* or Basque Centers have become the meeting point for familial and cultural networks, but there is also another common way by which academic, political and business networks are connected to one another and with the Basque Country: the Boise Jaialdi Festival. Founded in 1987 in Boise, this festival of Basque Americans has been organized every five years since 1990. From the 2015 Boiseko Jaialdia, other two festivals which we consider important in the relation between the diaspora and the homeland, have been organized: The Smithsonian Folklife Festival that was organized in Washington DC the year 2016 and the New London Basque festival organized in 2018.

8.1.1.3 Basque American Festivals: from cultural showcases to the interaction of the four networks and the place to create transnational relations

During the period (from 1987 onwards) defined by Bieter as the third generation, the interaction among the four networks has resulted in their evolution, and from 1987 onwards there have been important milestones in the networks. During the evolution of the networks, the Basque American festivals in general and the Boise Jaialdi Festival in particular were hugely

⁷⁶ Rudin M. (2017). As Idaho ties to Basque Country grow, could a transoceanic campus be next?. *Idaho Statesman*: <http://www.idahostatesman.com/news/local/education/boise-state-university/article154288819.html>

important in bringing together the business, cultural, academic and familial networks, and from the people-to-people perspective the leap to communication between the two countries took place at this point. The Boise Jaialdi Festival, in particular, was essential in bringing together the business, cultural, academic and familial networks. As Argitxu Camus pointed out:

“Until the 1980s the relations between the Basque Country and the United States were of a more private nature through family connections, while the current ones come within the framework of a more public context” (Camus, 2007:137).

In other words, from the people-to-people perspective the leap to communication between the two countries took place at this point. As John Bieter said in 1994 when submitting his Ph.D. thesis: “The Jaialdi Festivals typified the third generation’s Basque cultural institutions and organizations” (1994:65). The difference was, as Bieter pointed out, “while boarding houses operated every day, the festival was only for a weekend typical of the Basque ethnicity of this generation” (1994:66).

We argue that festivals help in transnational relations. And in this study we will demonstrate how public relations activities such as festivals, organized by diaspora members, can achieve public diplomacy objectives and help in the interaction of these four diaspora networks.

But, why are these festivals so important for the transnational relations?

In 2005 Lehendakari Ibarretxe visited Idaho with the objective of attending the Festival and they gave the State of Idaho the «Lagun Onari» prize. It was a way to enforce all the networks:

“Fue recibida en un acto habido en el State Capitol por el Gobernador Dirk Kempthorne en presencia de otros miembros de su gobierno y personalidades como Dave Bieter, Alcalde de Boise. El Consejo de Gobierno había acordado otorgarla en «reconocimiento y homenaje a este Estado que desde el siglo XIX acoge a una importante comunidad vasca, asumiendo como propia una cultura vasco-norteamericana que fomenta los lazos de amistad, culturales, políticos y comerciales y contribuye significativamente al beneficio de Euskadi». Además, Ibarretxe suscribió un Convenio de índole cultural, lingüístico y educativo con la Boise State University y la Fundación Cenarruza Center for Basque Studies (Ugalde & de Castro, Anuario de acción exterior, 2005:190-191).

During those years the Lehendakari Ibarretxe visited also the United States and different states in which Basque communities are settled. In 2008 the Basque American politician of the State of California, John Garamendi, ex-

pressed his interest in working together with institutions, research organisations, universities and Basque enterprises.

The 2015 Boise Festival was responsible for many outcomes in these networks and its importance is becoming increasingly clear both among Basque citizens and among the Basques living abroad as well. We have seen these results above all in the academic and business networks where there was a boost in the diaspora networks between academia and business. In the 2015 Festival, the “Joan Etorri” symposium, organized during the Jaialdi of Boise 2015 at the Boise State University in which academics from both the Basque Country and the United States took part⁷⁷, was held with the participation of lecturers and researchers from the Basque Country and the United States.

When talking about the business network some interviews answered that: “It was not until the Jaialdi in Boise the year 2015 that that network was formalized”. “During Jaialdi we have discussions and in those we said, ok what we really need is to create a trade mission, we need serious, is not a tourism visit, that’s not the objective. That summer of 2015 we said, ok, let’s start. The other things were not business” (Gloria Totoricaguna, active member of the Basque community in Idaho, academic and expert on diaspora topics, personal communication, April 2017).

“Durante el viaje que realizó el diputado general, Unai Rementeria, a Boise en Verano de 2015, se suscribió un acuerdo entre la Diputación y el Departamento de Comercio de Idaho para intensificar los lazos comerciales. Un año después, en mayo de 2016, la institución foral lideró junto a la Cámara de Comercio de Bilbao una nueva misión comercial con una decena de empresas. Durante aquellos encuentros, la Cámara de Comercio de Boise anunció su interés por venir a Bizkaia” (Deia newspaper, May 2017)⁷⁸.

During the 2015 Jaialdi, the Chartered Provincial Council of Biscay decided that it was about time that a boost be given to the inter-business network. This network started up during the 2015 Jaialdi and there have been many trade missions in both directions. The last one was in June 2017 when companies from Idaho got to know the companies in the Basque Country, and *vice versa*. So even though the first contacts were made during the Jaialdi, since then there have been numerous contacts between the two regions. And

⁷⁷ Information about the Joan Etorri symposium: <https://basquestudies.boisestate.edu/gutaz-basques/gutaz-our-program/conferences/2015-jaialdi-symposium/>

⁷⁸Empresas de Idaho buscan oportunidades en Bizkaia. (2017). Deia: <http://www.deia.com/2017/05/17/economia/empresas-de-idaho-buscan-oportunidades-en-bizkaia>

the most recent trade mission was in June 2017 when companies of Idaho went to Biscay.

We can confirm our hypothesis about the importance of the festivals in these relations as this not only happened with the Jaialdi in Boise but also with the Smithsonian Folklife Festival and the New London Basque festival, in which many different networks were involved.

Those promoting the participation of the Basque Country in the Smithsonian festival saw the event as an effective vehicle for putting Euskadi (Basque Country in Basque language) on the mental map of thousands of Americans who knew little about it. As we could read in an article in *el Diario Vasco*, Basque government officials have often raised the possibility of Euskadi becoming "one of the points of entry for Americans travelling to Europe"⁷⁹. Basque participation in the Smithsonian festival would give as many as four million American citizens the opportunity to learn about Basque traditions without leaving their own backyard. Such exposure could be a boon to the Basque tourist industry, a sector growing at a rate of 45% per year that cites the United States as its third most important incoming market⁸⁰. Backers of the project also stressed that a Basque presence at this venue would open up ample opportunities for promoting Basque business and industry in the United States⁸¹.

When the 50th Smithsonian Folklife Festival took place June 29–July 4 and July 7–10, 2016 on the National Mall in Washington, DC, the Basques were a major focus of the event. It is estimated that 700,000 people (personal communication, April 2018) – among them Basques and members of the Basque-American community as well as hundreds of thousands of Americans with other identities – flocked to National Mall to learn more about Basque culture and the Basque Country. What had once been only an idea had become a reality thanks to the co-sponsorship of the Basque government, the government of Navarra and the provincial governments of Araba, Biscay and

⁷⁹ Efe. (2016). Euskadi se presenta en Estados Unidos como << destino amigable >>. *Diario Vasco* <http://www.diariovasco.com/economia/201606/06/euskadi-presenta-estados-unidos-20160606204048.html>

⁸⁰ Burdain A. (2016). La esencia de Euskadi viaja hasta el corazón de Washington. *Deia* <http://www.deia.com/2016/05/31/sociedad/euskadi/la-esencia-de-euskadi-viaja-hasta-el-corazon-de-washington>

⁸¹ Una treintena de empresas vascas expondrán el modelo vasco en EEUU. (2016). EITB <http://www.eitb.eus/es/noticias/economia/detalle/4135890/smithsonian-folklife-festival-30-empresas-expondran-modelo-vasco/>

Gipuzkoa, and the logistical support of the US National Parks Service⁸² (Goirizelaia & Iturregui, 2018).

As the former Delegate of the Basque Government in the United States said, the festival was a vehicle for different relations that were created around culture.

“Ordun hori vehiculo bat izan zan lortu genduleko sare diferentean batera ekartea ebento baten inguruan, lortu gendulako enpresak beraien larruen sentitzea zeuzer desberdine sortzen ari ginela. Ordun, enpresak ekarri genduzan beste modelo batekin. ROI 27” (personal communication, Ander Caballero, Delegate of the Basque Government in the United States, April 2018).

In a previous work we studied the importance of the Basque American festivals and how from cultural relations other kind of relations could be achieved. The results of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival were published in that study:

“There were also several conferences and meetings between us and Basque Country businesses at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival organized in Washington in 2016. It is difficult for relations between companies to materialize and as yet it is not easy to see the results. The festival has also facilitated contacts between American and Basque companies. As an example of those contacts we have the organization of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival the year 2016. An action plan to promote business and commerce was developed to complement the cultural component of the event (personal communication, October 2016) and government agencies and entities were able to use the festival as a springboard for organizing meetings and business seminars in Washington, Connecticut, Houston, Milwaukee and Baltimore. Basque government representatives have publically stated that participation in the Smithsonian Folklife Festival ‘has opened political, commercial and cultural windows of opportunity in the United States’.¹⁶ Although no official reports have released on the subject, it is clear that companies are making contacts and making themselves known. ‘I would say that there has been a positive balance because having a presence on the National Mall is, in itself, a positive outcome’ (personal communication, Totorica-guena, October 2016)” (Goirizelaia & Iturregui, 2018:12).

Finally, the organization of the New London Basque Festival involved not only the promotion of the Basque identity and the celebration of the culture with dancing groups from different parts of the United States, music groups from the Basque Country and local Basque traditional sports players but it

⁸²Euskalkultura. (2016). Smithsonian Folklife Festival 2016: la ciudad de Washington recibe con honores al País Vasco. *Euskalkultura.com*
<http://www.euskalkultura.com/espanol/noticias/smithsonian-folklife-festival-2016-la-ciudad-de-washington- recibe-con-honores-al-pais-vasco>

was also a way to create transnational networks. First, it created networks among the Basques (individuals, dancing groups, bertsolaris, restaurants) in different parts of the United States (Florida, Massachussetts, New York, Nevada and California) and Canada. There was both institutional and cultural representation from the Basque Country, the correspondent of EITB in United States and the founder of Euskalkultura.com.

We also argue that these festivals act as public relations activities and aid in the public diplomacy of the Basque Country, and that was true in this case as well. There were places where it was possible to buy Basque products such as tuna and anchovies, all the people from the town could see and join the party and relations with the town hall were created. Since the town hall of New London knew that the Basque community living in there wanted to organize this big festival they asked for a meeting and they gave them all the permissions they needed to organize the festival. The organizers of the festival think that this relationship will grow, as the Town Hall of New London has already shown interest in creating a relationship between the Maritime Museum of Bilbao and the one in New London. The festival was a great success and both the organizers and all the people who took part in it enjoyed it a lot.

All this has been made possible by the diaspora networks and is something that is achieved beyond the diaspora, in other words, the relationship between the two countries.

8.1.2 FOR the diaspora: Institutional networks

We consider networks for the diaspora to consist of those from the homeland for the diaspora and those created by institutions (Government, Universities, Deputies). We found that in the Basque case there are five networks that were created by different institutions that focus on the diaspora. Those networks are Eusko Sare, Pentsamendua, Basque Global Network, Bizkaia Talent and Basque Diaspora Akademikoa.

8.1.1.1 Eusko Sare: creating on line communities

Eusko Sare⁸³ was the first official diaspora network created by Eusko Ikaskuntza and by the foundation Euskomedia in the year 2004. During the

⁸³ The webpage is not available any more; all the information about EuskoSare is based on in depth interviews and archival documents.

World Congress in 1996 the necessity to improve relations with the Basque diaspora was widely discussed. As we said when studying the evolution of communication, putting computers in the Basque Centers was a milestone in the communication between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora. After that, new technologies evolved and Eusko Ikaskuntza wanted to use that in order to strengthen the relationship of the Basque Country with the Basque diaspora. In the 2003 World Congress, the idea of Eusko Sare was proposed by Gonzalo Auza, the director of Eusko Sare, as a platform with the objective of bolstering communication between Basques all around the world (society, entities, interested people, institutions):

“Euskal Herriko elkarte, euskal diaspora eta euskaldunen lagunen arteko komunikazio plataforma bat sortzea Interneta eta beste medio batzuen bidez, zeinetan informazioa partekatuko den, eta mundu kultural, sozial eta ekonomikoarekin lotura duen zerbitzu eta kontenidua zabalduko den. Euskal Kolektibo Global baten existentzia, bai Euskal Herriko eta bai euskal diasporako euskaldunekin” (III Congreso Mundial de Colectividades vascas, libro, 2003:40)

“Euskal Herriaren eta euskal diasporako kide eta herrialde horietako elkarten arteko harreman zientifiko, edukatibo, artistiko, sozial, laboral, komertzial, enpresarial eta finantziarioak handitzea. Kanpoan dauden euskaldunek duten Euskal Herriko irudia berriztu eta erreala den agenda publiko bat sortzea” (Third World Conference, Eusko Jaurlaritza 2004:41).

The objective was to create a general network for the Basque community living all around the world and provide cultural, academic, social and economic networks between Basque and non-Basque people and organizations. Different activities were part of the network: webmail service, a shop with Basque products, news from the Basque Country and Basque Centers, databases with diaspora members, an agenda with activities, online spaces for young Basques, content for young people, exchange programs among schools and kids, family reunion resources, information for academics and about universities, Eusko Ikaskuntza, language and Basque culture courses, touristic proposals, volunteering programs, exchange among leaders of the diaspora, business and empresarial exchange, linkage between Basque libraries and League of Friends of the Basques. They were trying to reach all the networks among the Basque diaspora members and the Basque Country.

Eight communities were involved in EuskoSare and people from all around the world were part of it:

1. Ikertzaileak or researchers: studying the Basque presence in the world.

2. Mintzaibdea: a group of people learning Basque; they would share activities or information about learning Basque.
3. Jauzi: the online space to strengthen the relationship among Basque traditional dancers.
4. Irratia: space for Basque radio programs.
5. Bibliotekaria: people and places involved in the library world.
6. RFB: community with composers, musics, critics and people who liked Rock, Folk and Blues.
7. Zaratak: people involved in music in the Basque case.
8. Gastronomía: experts and professionals from the cooking world.

As some of the interviews said, genealogy or reconnecting with the family part was an important part of Eusko Sare.

Eusko Sare ended and the next diaspora network was called the Pentsamendua Think Tank. This was not the same as Eusko Sare; it was more targeted and the objectives were not as broad. However, some people who originally worked on Eusko Sare also worked on Pentsamendua.

8.1.1.2 Pentsamendua: integrating the thinking of the Basque diaspora

Pentsamendua was a Think Tank/project (a laboratory of ideas, a center for reflection or a research institute) part of the Basque Global Initiatives program created by the Lehendakari Ibarretxe in 2007 that aimed to be the diaspora's participation mechanism for providing thought, analysis and criticism concerning the globalized world; opinions from our own areas of expertise; and fundamentally the promotion of all the positive in respect to Basques and Basque society.

The Basque Global Initiatives was a program divided in five groups and three different axes. One of those axes was the Pentsamendua Geographic group in which:

“Seven geographic groups (North America, Central America, South America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Dispersed Basques) made up of public figures from different fields and professions to discuss and provide their highly regarded opinions on the role Basques should play in globalization” (Pentsamendua, Attachment)

Alvaro Amman, who during that time was the personal advisor of the President of the Basque Country, remembered in the presentation of Pentsamendua that all Basques should work together, regardless of their

citizenship, and he presented the project as a project to: “Integrate the thinking of the Basque Diaspora into our reality as a people, made up of Basques dispersed around the world and who are a common reference for all of us” (Alvaro Amann, Personal Advisor to the President of the Basque Country Basque Government, Pentsamendua presentation, attachments).

They thought that the ideas and ways of thinking of the Basques living abroad could be useful for the development of the Basque Country. The objective of Pentsamendua was to: “Provide reflection, analysis and criticism concerning the role of Basques in the globalized world” (Pentsamendua attachment). The important thing in Pentsamendua was not the quantity of people involved but the quality; because of that, they worked methodically, first targeting those who could be important for the project, and next inviting him or them, saying that they were important for the future of the Basque Country:

“We invite Basques around the world to participate in this project and have selected you as a potential contributor to our endeavor to rectify and reclaim the positive status of Basques” (Pentsamendua, pag. 9)

Like those many other Governments have, this was a “VIP” or “ELITE” diaspora network (Totoricaguena, active member of the Basque diaspora in Idaho and expert and academic on diaspora topics, personal communication, April 2017). The people who were part of these networks were chosen by the President of the Basque Country; it was not an open network and the objectives were clear: “To promote and subsequently compile opinions from different sectors of Basque society on different topics, including dispersed Basques, and forwarding these opinions to the Lehendakari so that they can help to govern this country” (Pentsamendua, attachment 3).

As one of the organizers of this network said:

“The objective was to help a collective, the whole Basque society. I mean maybe I don’t know who I am helping because it is not a person to person relation. If I do business in the Basque Country, I won’t know who I m helping, because I would do business with an enterprise that after would hire lot of people. So it was something more general. Here the members were giving to the Basque Country and not to the individual. It was something with people that was more qualified, that they were chosen specifically and they could do many changes”(personal communication, Gloria Totoricaguena, April 2017)

We could say that is a diaspora network and that the objective is mutual communication, but the main objective was really to help in the politics of the Basque Government and to create a “high level” network. It is more im-

personal than other networks could be and the people that took part were chosen by the President for the purpose of the network. Although the Pentsamendua Group was officially set up in September 2006, various activities had already begun to be developed in May of that year.

This Think Tank started operating in January 2006, and the results of it are still alive in the relations that were created between some of the members of the Think Tank.

The project was based on a dynamic work model⁸⁴ used in Think Tanks and Focus Groups (attachment Pentsamendua). The Internet and digital connection was necessary in the creation and evolution of these network and public relation activities were present in the *modus operandi* of Pentsamendua as events were organized in which members who were part of it will get to know each other and share ideas.

The year 2010 was the last official year of this network, but, as happens with many other networks, the relations that were created thanks to Pentsamendua are still alive, and members of the diaspora living in different parts of the United States still maintain their relationships between each other and also with the Basque Country. They are an example of transnational network actors.

8.1.1.3 Global Basque Network: Basque Country Internalisation Strategy 2020

The Global Basque Network was created in 2014 as part of the Basque Country Internationalisation Strategy 2020 (a landmark step in the continual process of adapting the Basque country to the new global scenario (Euskadi together, Eusko Jauraritza)). The objective of the network was and is to create a Global Network in which Basques living all around the world could take part.

The President of the Basque Country, Iñigo Urkullu, said in 2013 when presenting the project Global Basque Network in New York that, in order to

⁸⁴ They had an intranet system, the SHARE POINT platform –in English– that allows for fluent communications among the members of each specific group. It also had a digital library and database with articles on globalization issues, updated Basque Country information, data, maps, and photographs, discussion forums, and current Basque news in English (Pentsamendua documents from the Albertsons Special Collections, Boise State University Library).

develop as a country, it is necessary to work with networks: “Pero trabajar en red, vivir en red, sentir en red, desarrollarse como pueblo, también en red”. He said that the objective of this network would be to show the qualities of the Basque Country all around the world and invite those who still maintain roots in the Basque Country to be part of it⁸⁵. Apart from those having Basque ancestry, those who have any kind of affinity to the Basque Country and that would be considered part of the Basque affinity diaspora, as we have defined in the theoretical framework, could also be part of this network which was created as an Internet platform with private access.

Before creating the network, surveys among those interested in taking part in the network were done. The survey was distributed using the Euskaletxeak newsletter⁸⁶ and received 120 responses. All responses show an interest in the creation of the network and on being part of this network. As the results of this survey, we could see that the main topic that the members of the diaspora were interested in was the education and culture (36%), society and development (27%), institutions (20%) and finally, economy and enterprises (15%). They also decided how they would like to communicate and, 17% preferred email, 11% the webpage, 8% using social networks, 6% using an app and 59% using a combination of all the tools presented before. Regarding the language, as the majority of the members of the Basque diaspora are present in Latin American countries 40% of the answers said that the language used should be Spanish; Euskera 27%, English 18% and French 12%.

In words of Benan Oregi, around 1200 people are part of the Global Basque Network (personal communication, November 2018). 2060 people follow it on Facebook, but haven't posted anything on they wall since 2017.

8.1.1.4 Bizkaia Talent: “Using identity to create business”

Apart from the Basque Government, the Provincial Council of Biscay has also created a network in which the Basques living all around the world can participate. This network uses cultural identity to engage people, but the real objective is economic: “Nortasuna erabili business egiteko” / “we use

⁸⁵ Lehendakariak mundu osoan banatuta dauden Euskadiko herritarrak bilduko dituen Global Basque Network sarearen sorreraren berri eman du. (2013). Irekia <http://www.irekia.euskadi.eus/eu/news/16307-lehendakariak-mundu-osoan-banatuta-dauden-euskadiko-herritarrak-bilduko-dituen-global-basque-network-sarearen-sorreraren-berri-eman?track=1>

⁸⁶ Newsletter sent online by the Basque Government every Friday.

identity to create business" (personal communication, director of Bizkaia Talent, May 2017).

The statutes⁸⁷ of Bizkaia Talent were signed in Derio on June 27, 2013 by Imanol Pradales (from the Provincial Council of Biscay) and Alberto Tijero (from IDOM ingeniería y consultoria). When talking about the Basque diaspora, Bizkaia Talent defines the diaspora in a broader way and, as Global Basque Network does, they also take both the Basque diaspora and the Basque affinity diaspora into account when they are working:

"Bizkaia Talent-ek diasporaren termino tradizionala zabaldu egiten du eta akademikoki diaspora kontzeptua dena baino haratago doa. Argentinoa zara, Indiara zara, ez dekozu Euskal Herriarekin loturarik baina lagundu gure dozu, Ongi etorri!" (Ivan Jimenez, director of Bizkaia Talent, personal communication, May 2017)

Apart from that, in the words of the director, the people involved in this network are those defined as talented people "gizartearentzako traktore diren sektoreak" izan daitekeena da.

The *modus operandi* of Bizkaia Talent helps the organization to obtain positive results. They identified Basque people working abroad and they organize seminars with all the people living in those places. In these meetings, they give actual and interesting information about professional development and business in the Basque Country. Participants download a mobile app during the meeting and they interact with the presentation constantly, answering questions like: "Do you see yourself in the Basque Country in the next 5 years?" "What do you miss the most from your home country?" (personal experience in Boston by the author, February 2018).

Thanks to this project, Basque people know each other and have a connection with their home country. It is a way of engaging and having contact with the diaspora. After the meetings, the relation is maintained virtually.

Unlike the other networks described so far, this is a private network. Even though there are 14 members (BBK, CICBiogune, University of Deusto, Tecnalía, Idom, ITP Aero, Sener, UPV/EHU, Iberdrola, IK4 Research Alliance and University of Mondragon), and the biggest investment is the Deputy of Biscay, Bizkaia Talent is a private. This also means that though other net-

⁸⁷ Statues of Bizkaia Talent: https://www.bizkaia talent.eus/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/2014EstatutosBizkaiaTalent_Cast.pdf

works disappeared after changes in the Basque leadership, this network is still around.

The director of the network told us that they are also thinking of future networks, such as a VIP network also operating under the principle of “quality and not quantity”. Its members would be people who don't necessarily want to be a part of a group platform, but can offer a lot to the Basque Country, people working in World Bank, Iberoamericano de desarrollo, United Nations...

8.1.1.5 Basque diaspora akademikoa: roots in the Basque Country, branches all around: “Eman ta Zabal Zazu”

“Our symbol, created by the artist Eduardo Chillida, represents the tree of knowledge. It has its roots in the Basque Country, but its branches extend around the world, like the diaspora. The deep roots are the old ancestors and branches are the worldwide citizenship, illustrated by some of the academicians here today” (Iñaki Goirizelaia, former provost of the University of the Basque Country, opening discourse, symposium EHU Diapsora Akademikoa, July 2016)

It is possible to find Basque academics all around the globe and the creation of an international academic network could help to disseminate knowledge. As we have seen in the other networks created by the diaspora, there was already an academic network between the Basques in the United States and in the Basque Country which involved the sharing of knowledge among academics and students in both countries. This more grassroots, informal academic network helped to create a framework for an official academic network. During 2015-2016 the University of the Basque Country created the Basque Diaspora Akademikoa Network: the first official academic network involving Basques all around the world:

“Ez da lehen sare akademikoa. Asko daude. Baina hemengo helburua desberdina da neurri baten herri baten nortasunean oinarritzen delako” (Iñaki Goirizelaia, personal communication, June 2017).

There are many academic networks involving different universities working together, or exchange programs between students in two universities, such as those universities involved in the Erasmus Program or in the UPV/EHU-AL program. This new academic network is based not only on a university exchange program, but also on the identity of a country. The first symposium was held in July 2016, when Basque academics from all over the world were gathered together. They talked about their experiences and identified strategic objectives for their network. The objective of the network is to iden-

tify scholars, researchers, and intellectuals/thinkers who contribute to knowledge all over the world and link all that activity to its roots in the Basque Country:

“Our aim is to establish a space for this relationship which could serve as a meeting place for dialogue, for sharing and contrasting ideas and for generating and transmitting knowledge, a space allowing the Basque Country to continue growing in knowledge with input from anywhere in the world. This is why we are taking steps in this direction, assuming an active role in the promotion and development of the academic community of the Basque Diaspora” (Iñaki Goirizelaia, opening discourse of the symposium, July 2016).

However, since the network was officially created, we haven’t seen further steps that have been taken.

We wanted to create a summary in which information about all these networks could be seen together. In this table we can see the five networks that we have just identified:

17 Table. Basque diaspora networks: FOR

	EUSKO SARE	PENTSAMENDU A	BIZKAIA TALENT	BASQUE GLOBAL NETWORK	BASQUE DIASPORA AKADEMIKOA
WHAT	A project with the objective of establishing a communication network to link the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora.	The project Pentsamendua was part of the Basque Global Initiatives program and the objective was to listen the knowledge of the members of the diaspora and implement that in the politics of the Basque Country.	Bizkaia Talent is a network with the objective of bringing talent and economic input to the Basque Country using for that the diaspora as a bridge.	A network created to link and by people from all the Basque community (Basque Country and diaspora).	A Basque academic network.
WHO	Eusko Ikaskuntza	Lehendakari Ibarretxe-Basque Government	Provincial Council of Biscay.	Foreing Affaris Department. Office for the Relations with the Basque Centers and Basque Collectivities Abrod.	University of the Basque Country together with Euskampus.

	EUSKO SARE	PENTSAMENDUA	BIZKAIA TALENT	BASQUE GLOBAL NETWORK	BASQUE DIASPORA AKADEMIKOA
WHEN	2004 ⁸⁸	2007-2010	2015 ⁸⁹	2016 ⁹⁰	2016
FOR WHOM	EuroBasques, Basque Americans, Basques all around the world (Basque associations, Basque centers...)	People chosen by the Lehendakari.	8500 people from the Basque Country but also diaspora members and Basque diaspora affinity members. (less than the Also enterprises in the Basque Country who need or want workers.	Basques from all around the world.	International network of academics and researchers with Basque ancestors or ties with the Basque Country dispersed all over the world...
HOW	Internet and digital world	Share Point, Internet + meetings	Internet + personal meetings	Internet	Internet + meetings
TYPE	GENERAL	POLITICS	BUSINESS	GENERAL	ACADEMIC

Source: own elaboration

8.1.3. For diaspora networks: The answer from the diaspora

During May-July 2018 we distributed a survey among diaspora members in the United States. One of the objectives of that survey was to find out if members of the Basque diaspora knew about these networks and if they use them. 424 people answered that survey.

In the following graphic we can see the percentage of the people who knew about these networks:

⁸⁸ But the project was presented by Gonzalo Auza in the 2003 Basque collectivities World Congress.

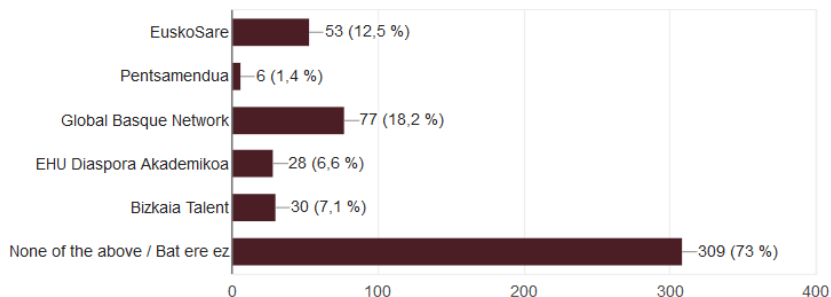
⁸⁹ Ivan Jimenez 2014ean hasi zen honekin.

⁹⁰ Basque Global Network lehenau eta gero Gobal Basque Network uste dot 2016ean

37 Irudia Basque institutional Networks

27.- Are you familiar with these Networks? / Ezagutzen dituzu ondorengo Sareak?

423 respuestas



Source: own elaboration based on survey answer

73.6% of our survey respondents don't know what these networks are. The most well-known are the Eusko Sare and the Global Basque Network. It is unsurprising that people don't know what Pentsamendua was as it was a Think Tank and only some people were invited to take part in it.

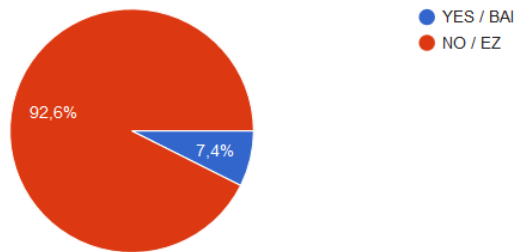
EHU Diaspora Akademikoa only involves academics so we wanted to know if the people that knew about it were also academics, we saw that many of them were students, teachers, professors, or office managers in the academic world. There were also some who have nothing to do with academia and still knew of Diaspora Akademikoa: they were clerical staff, medical interpreters, a waitress, the owner of a pharmacy, a retired IT executive, a software programmer, a cheese steward lead, marketing professionals, an office manager, an International Trade Specialist and a firefighter.

As the newest network created is the Global Basque Network, we wanted to see how many people from the diaspora know what it is and use it.

38 Irudia: Global Basque Network

28.- Have you sign up for Global Basque Network? / Alta eman duzu Global Basque Network sarean?

419 respuestas



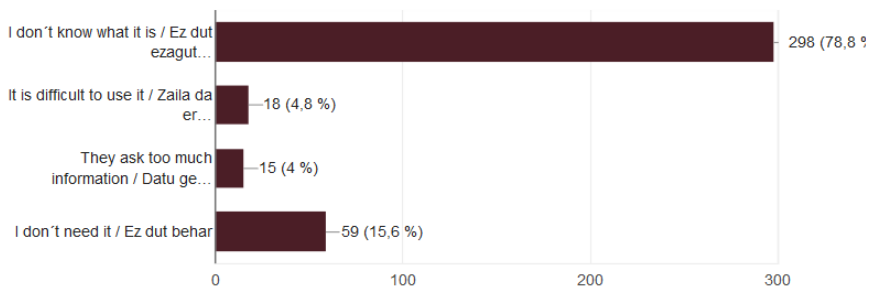
Source: own elaboration

We can see that the majority of the people that answered the survey did not sign up for Global Basque Network and out of those who did, 50% use it and the other 50% don't use it. We wanted to know why, as we know that from the Basque Government they are trying hard to make this work.

39 Irudia: reasons for not using the networks

30.- If the answer is no, why don't you use it? / Ezezkoa bada, zergatik?

378 respuestas



Source: own elaboration based on survey answers

We can see that one of the main reasons is that they don't know what it is. Apart from that, some people didn't think a network like this was necessary, as:

"There are many ways where you could find information about what is going on in the world, many different sources. In her case (talking about an active member of the community of Boise), she received a lot of information from NABO, euskaletxeak.net, euskalkultura, from Argentina, from Australia...it needs to be something important if they want me to use that network" (Gloria Totoricaguena talking about a member of the community in Boise, personal communication, April 2017).

Many respondents didn't think the network provided any relevant information, or they thought it asked too many questions of them. Other reasons why they don't use it: "I don't get much out of it, it's boring"; "Since my friends don't use it, I don't, either"; "Aldi gehienetan bilatzen dudana ez dut aurkitu"; "Log in asked for too much personal information"; "I don't need another social media to follow. One or two is enough"; "Lack of time"; "Didn't know about it"; "Just haven't taken time to do it"; "No time to explore"; "Never heard of it"; "Ez da oso sare aktiboa".

From those who answered the survey, three said that they don't understand the Basque language. Some people signed up after doing the interview. They didn't know what it was but they looked it up and joined: "Just joined! Thank you – I hadn't heard about it!".

While we were doing the in depth interviews, we saw that many of the people interviewed had never heard of this network. They thought that it was interesting but they didn't know what it was. The information about the Global Basque Network was distributed in Euskalkultura.com and also in some of the Basque media, but, after seeing the percentage of people from the diaspora in the United States that consume these media, we understand that maybe is not the best way to reach them. On the other hand, after seeing the responses to this survey, it is evident that the Basque diaspora is present and very active in the social networks so this could be a better way to reach them. Other ways could include the traditional visits to the Basque Centers and organizing something in order to present these tools.

Apart from the survey, we also conducted in depth interviews in which we asked about these networks. The majority of the in depth interviews answered that they didn't know what Global Basque Network was, and those who knew didn't use it at all because it is difficult to use it: "Uste dut polita

izan daitekeela baina nik ez dut erabiltzen. Uste dut zaila dela erabiltzeko” (personal communication, active member of the community in Idaho, April 2017). Even though they like the idea of the network, they don’t really use it as much as they should to create a real tool for Basques to communicate. Other people think that it was built incorrectly:

“The BGN was vertical, from top down. There wasn’t much horizontal. Not consultation, not grass roots, getting people together, thinking what it could be done...it was just popped up” (active member of the Basque community in Boise and Chino, personal communication, March 2017)

Even though they know what is it, many people don’t use it because they do not find it interesting:

“Global Basque Network erabiltzen saiatu naz, baina nahiko zaila egiten zait. Uste dot webgunaren diseinoagatik dala; ez nau erakartzen. Gaur egun, jendeak aukera asko deko harremanetan egoteko, berriak jasotzeko, eta denborarik ez, beti presaka gabilta. Beraz, webgune baten erakargarritasuna eta erabiltzeko erraztasuna izatea oso garrantzitsua da” (Henar Chico, “A Basque In Boise”, personal communication 2017)

We can see differences among the networks in three different points: their objectives, their *modus operandi* and in the people involved in them.

The Pentsamendua network has effects on the transnational relations between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora members. Thanks to that Think Tank, friendship has been created and Basques from three different parts of the United States have different projects together, such as writing a book (personal communication, march 2017). Apart from that, they are now part of a database that is in possession for the Basque Government. It is important to highlight that, while this network was working, person to person activities were organized, including public relations activities that helped members of the network get to know each other and connect in a real – and not just a virtual – way. The objectives were clear and they knew why they were part of the network and why they wanted to be part of it. People who would take part in a network like Pentsamendua are not the kind of people would take part in other networks that are more general. This was a VIP network and the people involved knew that.

In the case of the Global Basque Network, our research shows that the majority of the interviewees didn’t know what the Global Basque Network was, and the few that knew it would not use it (many personal communications during 2017-2018). Apart from that, part of the work that this network does is already covered by other platforms such as: NABO astekaria,

euskaletxeak.net, euskalkultura.... Because of that, it is not easy to engage people with the network.

Bizkaia Talent is also having good results, as they are creating an important network with talented people all around the world.

“Problema hori da ez dakigula kuantifikatzen. Epe luzerako helburuek dire. Horrez gain, ekarpen ekonomiko horiez gain, harremanak sortzeko balio duen tresna ere bada. Topaketa hauek ere gauza gehiago lortzen dituzte. Zurichen adibidez, ez dago euskaltzerik eta bertan topaketa egin eta jentea bildu zenean esan notzien lehen gauza izen zan “Watsappeko talde bat egin behar dozue, gu ez gara egongo kontrolaten baina gure dogu hartuemon hori mantentzea”. Honen lagundu ahal dozku indartzeko euskal Etxea...eta holan harreman hori go-gortu. Guretzako hori baliozgarria da” (Ivan Jimenez, Bizkaia Talenteko gerentea, personal communication may 2017)

This is an example of how, nowadays, as we will see later, the new migrants, rather than creating physical spaces, are organizing themselves in other ways.

The *modus operandi* of Bizkaia Talent helps in the relationship between those working in the same place, and also with the Provincial Council of Biscay. The public relations activities are essential, as the events they organize in different parts of the world help in the communication and relations between those taking part on them. Additionally, it is not a broad network; rather, it has a specific objective, and people have clear reasons to be a part of it.

The EHU akademia diaspora has clearly-established objectives, but, as it was made clear with a the GBN, certain events are necessary in order to maintain a relationship and create networks between those who are part of the network.

In all the networks, the importance of a clear objective and the public relations are evident.

8.2 Conclusions

There are two kind of diaspora networks. Diaspora networks created by the diaspora, and diaspora networks created for the diaspora.

First, and without anyone being aware of it, the networks that emerged from the diaspora were created. Those diaspora networks emerged in the spheres

of family, culture, business and academia. Those networks started on the basis of family relationships and began as a way to share Basque culture before spreading to the business and academic worlds. They began as people-to-people relations at Basque boarding houses at the start of the 20th century; later they evolved to facilitate links and interactions between the two countries; and even later they became an institutional reality.

Most authors concur that through public diplomacy it is possible to overcome mistrust between countries, create relationships and achieve a better image in public opinion. To do this, society has been highlighted as a player; we are proposing that in the Basque case, this function is also being performed by the diaspora, among other players.

The networks that have been developing over the years have helped to create relations between the two countries by means of diaspora diplomacy: contacts between companies have been encouraged, contacts between cultural groups have materialized, and agreements have been achieved in the academic field by forging closer relations between the two countries, encouraging contacts and guaranteeing agreements with a long-term view. We defend the position that through the networks the diaspora members have consolidated relations between the two countries, by creating an environment within which it is possible for all kinds of relationships to develop .

In parallel, different activities from the Basque Country (institutions and media) with the objective of connecting with the diaspora have been created. These activities have impacted the connection with the homeland, information about the homeland and identity of the diaspora members in the United States. We said before that we consider those activities to be diaspora strategies and that they were the first phase of these networks.

Together with those diaspora strategies and the networks created from the diaspora, agents for the “new” “institutional” diaspora networks have been identified. In 2004 the first network *for* the diaspora was created, EuskoSare, and after that, many other networks have been created too, using Basque institutions as resources and inspiration.

Both the networks created from the diaspora and for the diaspora help in the relations between the country of origin and the new country, in the maintenance of cultural identity. They also expand and improve the image of the Basque Country in the world.

Finally, thanks to the diaspora networks created from the diaspora, it is possible to identify agents and create another type of network that could work as public diplomacy for the Basque Country. To that end, the Government is using cultural identity to create both business and diplomacy.

CHAPTER 9

EXPLORATORY STUDY

The aim of this last chapter is to do a exploratory comparative analysis between the different Basque collectivities in the United States. We would like to see if our whole analysis could be applied to diaspora communities in general and to the Basque case in particular and if, depending on the reasons, generation and geographic locations of the Basques in the States, there are differences in the ways they communicate with their home country and the networks that are created between their new communities and the Basque Country. This chapter is fully based on the answers of a survey that we distributed during May-July 2018 among Basques living in the United States. We received 424 responses to our survey⁹¹.

⁹¹ All the numbers and data in this chapter will be based on that survey and on in depth interviews.

During the research, we have seen that, when we are talking about the Basque diaspora, there is not just one diaspora, but rather, many diasporas⁹² and in the case of the United States there are differences among Basques living in one place and in another. In this chapter we have divided the research in the Western part of the United States, the East Coast and Florida. We chose this three spots for two reasons: one is that we can find Basque people from different generations and with different reasons for emigrating in those three parts of the United States and the second is because the researcher spent a period of time in those three places, and she conducted in depth interviews with members of the Basque diaspora.

We want to understand how the communities in those three parts of the States are organized and how they maintain their Basque identity, how the diaspora networks between the Basque Country and those regions have evolved and if those networks are different depending on the place where the communities are settled.

We will first give general information about the three spots in which we could compare the data about the provinces they come from, the age average, the generation and the ways these communities communicate with the homeland. After that, and following the scheme of the research, we will see which Basque activities they take part in and how they communicate with the home country, concentrating on diaspora organizations and diaspora activities. Finally, we will study the diaspora networks that have been created between the two places thanks to the diaspora members.

In the fifth chapter we saw that, in general, the majority of the Basques living in the States come from Biscay. We wanted to compile more detailed information and see if, depending on the spot where they live, there are differences. We see that there are no differences.

18 Table: Which province do you come from?⁹³

	Bizkaia	Gipuzkoa	Araba	Nafarroa	Behe Nafarroa	Zuberoa	Lapurdi
West	%56	%13	%2	%15	%14	%2	%5
East	%55	%35	%8	%13	%3	%0	%7
Florida	%52	%17	%4	%17	%0	%4	%9

Source: own elaboration

⁹² Goirizelaia M. (2018). Diaspora eta Diasporak. *Berria*.

https://www.berria.eus/paperekoa/1961/021/001/2018-07-22/diaspora_eta_diasporak.htm

⁹³ If we add all the percentages we see that the result is more than 100, which is because some people put two provinces as their parents are from different provinces.

We also wanted to know the age of the people that answered the survey. We consider this an interesting data because a person's age tells us about why they might have chosen to emigrate. In the Far West, the average age is 51.3 and the majority of the people are third generation.

On the East Coast and in Florida, the average is quite young, 36 to 40 years, and the majority of people are first generation (what means that they were born in the Basque Country and moved to the United States).

19 Table: Age average and generation of Basques in the United States.

	Age average	First generation	Second generation	Third generation
West	51,3	%11	%36	%41
East	36,8	%47	%25	%18
Florida	40,6	%52	%30	%4

Source: own elaboration

With the aim of getting to know this community better, we asked about their relationship to the Basque Country, and if they had ever been there. Also, if they had, we wanted to know why. The majority of the answers say that they have visited the Basque Country, usually for the purpose of visiting family and friends. After that, tourism and culture are common reasons.

20 Table: Have you ever been to the Basque Country? Why?

	Yes	WHY?				
		Tourism	Family	Bussiness	Education	Culture
West	%81	%52	%79	%7	%16	%55
East	%88	%53	%90	%2	%10	%53
Florida	%96	%43	%83	%13	%4	%48

Source: own elaboration

Apart from the reasons why they have visited the Basque Country we measured their communication with the Basque Country. Do they consume news from the Basque Country? And in that case, which newsites do they use?

21 Table: Do you follow Basque news? Which newspaper do you read?

	YES								
		Berria	Deia	Naiz	El Correo	Diario Vasco	El País	Sudouest	La République
West	%77	%14	%12	%7	%12	%13	%14	%5	%2
East	%90	%20	%24	%17	%26	%30	%33	%11	%2
Florida	%91	%29	%19	%14	%19	%14	%5	%5	%0

Source: own elaboration

We see that the communities we considered do consume news from the Basque Country. The percentage is bigger in the places where we find younger, first-generation people, such as in the Eastern states.

Regarding the newspapers, we see that in the case of the West, Berria and El País are the most read. In the East, Diario Vasco and El País are most commonly read, and in Florida Berria is the most widely read.

First, we have shared the general data about where our survey respondents live, where they came from, their age average, generation, the reasons why they visit the Basque Contry, and the media consumption; next, we will concentrate on each of the spots individually.

9.1 *Basques in the West: older generations and cultural relations*

In this section, we analyze answers from Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington state Winnemuca and Wyoming.

9.1.1 *Data, communication and media*

Many of the Basques who came to this part of the United States were already migrants in South America or went first to California during the Gold Rush of 1848. Others, thanks to the familial and business network that was already created, came with jobs as shepherders and worked in the mountains of California, Idaho, Wyoming and Nevada. In Southern California they would work, for example, on dairy farms (Anne Marie Chiramberro, active member of the Basque community in California, personal communication, April 2018); in the towns of Burns and Eugene in Oregon, they would work with

wood and in other states of the West as sheepherders, gardeners or in construction (Douglass and Bilbao, 1975:351).

The biggest number of Basques, 20,868, are in the state of California. The Basque community in Nevada is also a big and recognized community and is well connected to the academic world as the Basque Studies Center is located in the University of Reno, Nevada. Many politicians and institutional representatives from that state are Basque, such as the recently elected sheriff of Elko County (Nevada), Aitor Narvaiza. The Basques in Idaho are not as big as in California but they are a loud (“Washington, ongi etorri” documentary) community. The mayor of the capital is Basque descent (Dave Bieter Garmendia), speaks the Basque language, and promotes Basque activities and relations with the Basque Country and the organization of the Basque American Festival every five years. The newly elected commissioner for Ada County, Diana Lachiondo, is also Basque, and she used that identity in her campaign in which she talks about her grandfather:

“90 years ago, a Basque teenager came to Ada County, he could not read or write or speak English. That boy, Julian, was my grandfather [...] so we say that my campaign is powered by chorizo because my grandfather’s recipe is still the recipe used throughout Ada County today but is also really a symbol of hard work and sacrifice, and building something together, because we learnt that from my grandfather” (Diana Lachiondos 2018 campaign message on her webpage).

We will now analyse some data related to these states.

The majority of Basques living in Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Winnemucca and Wyoming are from the province of Biscay.

22 Table: Which province do Basque sin the West come from?

	Biz- kaia	Gipuz- koa	Arab a	Nafa- rroa	Behe Nafa- rroa	Zube- roa	La- purdi
Kalifor- nia	%26	%14	%2	%30	%30	%1	%9
Nevada	%58	%8	%2	%20	%10	%4	%4
Idaho	%83	%14	%2	%2	%1	%0	%2
Utah	%75	%10	%0	%0	%15	%0	%5
Besteak	%41	%26	%4	%15	%13	%4	%2

Source: own elaboration

If we analyse this data a little bit more deeply, we see that in the case of California, the majority are from Nafarroa or Behe Nafarroa. In Nevada, the majority are from Biscay but there are many people from Nafarroa too and in Idaho and Utah the majority are from Biscay.

We also asked the age average and generation of the Basques living in this part. The age average is between 44 and 50, and, in all the states (less California and Utah) the majority are third generation. In California, the majority are second generation, which means that their father or mother was born in the Basque Country. In Utah, we have a the same percentage of second and third generation.

23 Table: Age average and generation of the Basques living in the West.

	Age average	First generation	Second generation	Third generation
California	44,8	%13	%45	%35
Nevada	43,6	%8	%36	%44
Idaho	49,1	%10	%30	%42
Utah	45,4	%0	%45	%45
Others	47,7	%15	%24	%41

Source: own elaboration

So California is the state that has some differences: the majority of Basques there are from Nafarroa and the diaspora community is second generation.

Regarding the reasons to visit the Basque Country, we see that the majority of our respondents have visited the Basque Country, and the reasons for that are visiting family first and culture second.

24 Table. West States: Have you ever been to the Basque Country? Why?

	YES	Why				
		Tourism	Family	Business	Education	Culture
California	%89	%52	%87	%6	%10	%69
Nevada	%68	%34	%68	%6	%10	%36
Idaho	%74	%53	%72	%6	%22	%60

Utah	%85	%70	%85	%15	%26	%65
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Source: own elaboration

Apart from visiting it, we also wanted to know if they consume news from their home country and the general answer is that they do. The newspapers that they consume the most are *Berria*, *Deia*, *El Correo* and *Diario Vasco*.

25 Table. Do you follow the news of the home country? Which newspaper do you consume?

	YES								
		<i>Berria</i>	<i>Deia</i>	<i>Naiz</i>	<i>El Correo</i>	<i>Diario Vasco</i>	<i>El País</i>	<i>Sudouest</i>	<i>La République</i>
California	%77	%16	%4	%6	%5	%13	%11	%13	%4
Nevada	%74	%14	%14	%8	%19	%11	%11	%0	%0
Idaho	%75	%15	%20	%9	%18	%13	%21	%0	%1
Utah	%75	%20	%7	%0	%13	%13	%7	%0	%0

Source: own elaboration

In California and Utah they read *Berria* the most and after that *Diario Vasco*. In Nevada, they read *El Correo* and in Idaho, *Deia*.

9.1.2 *Diaspora organization and activities: boarding houses, food, dance and festivals*

When the first immigrants arrived (1900) Basques used to meet in the boarding houses. They were still not part of the greater community, not because they didn't want to share their culture, but because they thought nobody would be interested in their ethnic community. As John Ysursa, active member of the Basque community in Boise (ID) and Chino (CA) says:

“For many years Basque culture was very isolated. Basques pretty much kept to themselves in the boarding houses. That’s a world you have to go into and the outsiders don’t feel very welcome. The language is different, some Basque traditions are different...Basque Centers started changing. They have a different dynamic. It was more public but still, even then, it was limited. Because most Basques didn’t feel like...“why would a non Basque want to come to a Basque thing?” It wasn’t too much about this is mine...I think it was mostly that they wouldn’t ever imagine that someone would like to be part of it. You know, we like

it because we are Basques but we never thought others would. That was the primary. You know, versus, we have to keep this in secret" (personal communication, John Ysursa, April 2017)

Before 1949 everything was centered around the boarding houses and those were the places in which the Basques would gather. But when they started seeing that maybe they were not going to go back, they started thinking of their identity and they wanted to share this with the society they were part of. During those years and after, there were many Basque festivals, some private and other public, that were a way of enjoying themselves, gathering together and opening their culture to other people. Starting in the early 30's, even before the Basque Center was created, they would organize, as we have explained in a previous chapter, a picnic in Boise or the Annual Basque Festival in Ketchum and in Elko, Nevada.

The results of the survey that we made show us that 99.8% think these festivals are important for the Basque community in the United States and 85.1% of the people have been to one of those festivals.

The Basque community in the West of the United States was first organized in boarding houses and after that in Basque Centers. Now 61.92% of the people from that area that answered the questionnaire are members of a Basque center. Among those who are member of a Basque Center, the majority of those centers (69.5%) have a physical space to organize.

26 Table. Members of the Basque centers today

BASQUE CENTERS			PHYSICAL SPACE
STATE	YES	NO	YES
TOTAL	61,92%	28,18%	69,5%

Source: own elaboration

Apart from that, in order to maintain their identity and connection with the Basque Country, Basque immigrants and Basque Americans organize different activities such as dancing classes and dancing groups, monthly lunches or dinners in the Basque Centers, Basque language classes, representations

in the Museum, University chairs and Basque Studies departments, book presentations in different communities, academic activities in the Center for Basque Studies in Reno (Nevada) and in Boise (Idaho), Basque traditional sports representation and exhibitions or Basque American Festivals.

27 Table. Do you take part in Basque activities? In which?

	YES						
		Dance	Mus	Sports	Music	Language	Food
Kalifornia	%84	%31	%10	%10	%31	%24	%57
Nevada	%84	%31	%10	%7	%33	%14	%60
Idaho	%93	%32	%3	%7	%27	%29	%59
Utah	%90	%39	%28	%11	%33	%28	%67

Source: own elaboration

In this part of the States, the majority say that cooking or eating Basque food is the activity they practice the most. After that there are dancing and music.

9.1.3 *Diaspora Networks*

The diaspora networks among the Western States and the Basque Country started with cultural relations and ended up being academic and business relations too. We have seen this in the eighth chapter, where we also discussed the importance of the Boiseko Jaialdia in these relations. Since Basques from the Basque Country and Basques who live in the United States are both thinking of organizing and taking part in this, it is a good way to enforce the diaspora networks already in place. We think that this is probably the best way they have to maintain their identity and relations within their community. In this part of the States we see that there are cultural networks, familial, academic and educational and also business networks. Also, even though we didn't study it, there is a political network, as politicians from those states and the Basque Country maintain a relationship, and not only in order to create agreements, but also to help with the politics of the Basque Country. An example of this is the active participation of Pete Cenarrusa in condemning Franco and the closure of the newspaper Egin, his fight to end violence in the Basque Country and his support to give the

Basque people the right to choose. Totoricaguena, an academic and expert in this topic but also a good friend of Pete Cenarrusa, wrote the following:

“In January 2001, Cenarrusa was honored as a “Basque of the World” by the Fundación Sabino Arana in the Basque Country. During this visit, he and Freda met with political leaders of the Basque society to discuss a move to promote mediation efforts to end violence in the region” (Totoricaguena, Euskonews, 2004)

9.2 *Basques on the Northeast coast and Mid-Atlantic states: old and new migrations*

9.2.1 *Data, communication and media*

In this part of the research we are talking about Basques living in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, North Carolina, Chicago, Washington DC, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Atlanta. Basque people living in this part of the United States can be divided into three types: those who came for economic and professional reasons (mariners (San Sebastian, 2018:93), inheritance system and rural world); those who came during and after the Spanish Civil War (The Lehendakari Agirre came to New York, and he directed the Basque Government from his position of exile) and finally, recent migration that is constituted by retired Jai Alai players and highly-skilled people (people who came to work in the universities, children of those qualified people or those working in banks etc.).

The majority of the Basques living in this region are also from Biscay. There are a great number of people from Gipuzkoa too. As we have seen in the introductory part of this chapter this stands in contrast to other communities in which the number of people from Gipuzkoa is relatively small.

28 Table: Which province do you come from?⁹⁴

	Bizkaia	Gipuzkoa	Araba	Nafarroa	Behe Nafarroa	Zuberoa	Lapurdi
East	%55	%35	%8	%13	%3	%0	%7

Source: own elaboration

⁹⁴If we add all the percentages we see that the result is more than 100; that is because some people put two provinces as their parents are from different places.

While in the Western states they were third generation, in this part the majority are first generation, which means they were born in the Basque Country and later moved to the United States.

29 Table: Age average and generation of Basque sin the United States.

	Age average	First generation	Second generation	Third generation
East	36,8	%47	%25	%18

Source: own elaboration

The kind of jobs that Basques living in this area do today are related to the academia (professor, students, postdoc) and skilled labor such as data analyst, software programmer, bank officer, financial analyst or International Trade Specialist (answers from survey). However, this was not always the case:

“Muchos de los marinos vascos de Nueva York eran maquinistas, mecánicos, fogoneros, engrasadores. Se embarcaron en los correos que hacían la ruta de Nuva York a Cuba o a otros pueblos del Caribe, en los remolcadores, en transbordadores que surcaban el Hudson. Otros trabajaron en las calderas o en el mantenimiento de los grandes edificios de la ciudad. El más famoso de los vascos de Nueva York, Valentín Aguirre, personaje que también habría hecho las delicias de Pio Baroja, llegó a Manhattan embarcado como fogonero” (San Sebastian, 2018:27).

As the numbers here are not as big as in the West, we didn't separate the information by states. In this part we have collected the general responses about media consumption, in which we can see that they do follow the news of the Basque Country, mainly the newspapers El País and El Diario Vasco.

30 Table. Media consumption

	Do you follow the news of the home country? Which newspaper do you consume?								
	YES	Berria	Deia	Naiz	El Correo	Diario Vasco	El País	Sudouest	La République
East	%90	%20	%24	%17	%26	%30	%33	%11	%2

Source: own elaboration

9.2.2 *Diaspora organization and diaspora activities: still Basque centers, food and language*

This community is organized in a similar way to the Basque community in the West: first they created boarding houses and then Basque centers. On September 18, 1913, the first Basque Center of North America was created: *Central Basco American Society Inc.* (San Sebasttian, 2018:155). The objective of the center was:

“Ayudar y asistir a los demás en caso de infortunio, enfermedad o muerte. La promoción de las relaciones sociales entre los miembros. Para reunirse en reuniones sociales, conferencias, etc. La ayuda voluntaria a los miembros enfermos o discapacitados” (San Sebastian, 2018:155).

In 1980, and after changing the location and the name of the center: The Euzko Etxea of New York was created. It was so named because it was a real house for everyone who arrived to New York. As one of the active members of the Basque Center of New York told us during an in depth interview:

“Valentín Aguirre con sus hijos, iba al puerto y preguntaba “Euskaldunik bada hametik. Él les ayudaba con la conexión al oeste, billetes...Él acogía a todos lo que venían y los que no tenían posibilidad, con que ayudasen un poco, les dejaba dormir. Todos los vascos eran bienvenidos” (Juan Jacinto Legarreta, personal communication, April 2018).

Some members of the center would never call it a club or a center “Because this was Euzko Etxea, people who came here as immigrant, it was not really a club, was something to help people. One club is one thing and this is another” (Anna Mari Aguirre, active person in the Basque Center of New York, personal communication, April 2018). The center was organized as a diaspora house to help other Basques and the presence of the center was really important during those years. Today, on the contrary, the majority of the Basques living in that area are not members.

31 Table. Number of Basques that are member of a Basque Center and number of Basque Center with a physical space

BASQUE CENTERS		PHYSICAL SPACE
YES	NO	YES
33,3%	66,7%	66,6%

Source: own elaboration

In the case of the Euzko Etxea of New York, for example, we can see that there was a decrease in the number of members: “Because when I came here in 1975 and became a member there were over 160 members, now we are 60

or less. Because now there is no real immigration, I am a real immigrant” (Anna Mari Agirre, personal communication, April 2018)

In 1940, the Basque community in New York organized the Summer Basque Festival picnic (Totoricaguena, 2003): “Picnics were every summer in Staten Island, and then some in Queens. We used to have two big functions: one was the picnic and the other was the winter festival around Christmas time” (Anna Mari Agirre, personal communication, April 2018). In the past, Basque people living in New York came for: “Different reasons: make a better life, always or most of the time was that. Because life on the baserri was very difficult and unless you inherit...and for them, they could make better life here and send money home” (Anna Mari Agirre, active member of the Basque Center in New York, personal communication, April 2018) and would work in the docks⁹⁵ and in construction. However, today, they also work in enterprises, banks and political institutions.

Basques started moving to Connecticut during the 80s, after the first “frontón” was built there in 1976, in order to play Jai Alai. As we heard in the interviews done with Jai Alai players in Florida, in this part too, when the frontons were active, they didn’t need a Basque Center. But when the last fronton in this area, the New Port fronton, closed (2003), the Basque community there decided to create the Rhode Island Basque Club the next year, in 2004. As people from other parts of New England also wanted to be part of the club, in 2014 they changed the name to the New England Basque Club, which is still active today, but without a physical space. Now in Massachusetts, apart from the newcomers, there are Basque-Americans from other parts of the States who want to maintain their Basque identity here too.

The Basque community in that area started organizing Euskara classes as part of the activities of the New England Basque club. Typical activities in this area included dance classes, holiday meals, such as *Aberri Eguna* or Christmas, rural sports exhibitions, craft activities for children and Basque language classes. In the case of the New York community:

⁹⁵ Because the majority of Basques in NY were familiar and experienced with the ocean from their hometown fishing villages and from the ship building centers of Gipuzkoa and Bizkaia, numerous Basques gained employment as seafarers on passenger liners, in the Merchant Marines, and on the docks of the city. Marine careers ran in Basque families and many father-son and brother-brother combinations followed each other out to sea. Besides being well recognized as superb mariners, Basques are also known for their quality cuisine, and numerous Basques combined the two talents.

“Usually it was for Centro Vasco functions, you know, Aberri Eguna in the 60s. It depended, sometimes in Centro Vasco, sometimes in Saint James, a Church in Chinatown. In the 1960s there was a Basque Priest that came, Jose Mari Larrañaga, and he is the one who started the Aberri Eguna celebrations. Many time we would practice in the School Cafeteria or in the Auditorio where we actually performed in Aberri Eguna. When we would practice in Saint James, that was after Oñatibia left New York. That was in 1960s. He went to Euskadi” (Anna Mari Agirre, active member of the Basque Center in New York, personal communication, 2018)

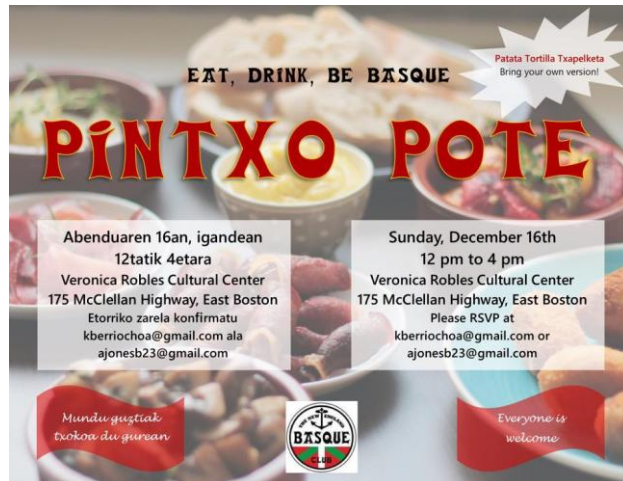
But in this same part of the United States there is also a different strategy of organizing, which is more relevant for newcomers and second-generation Basques. Today 33% of the people from this area who answer the survey are members of a Basque Center. This is not much compared with the percentages in the West, but it is a data that shows us there is a new diaspora community that is organizing differently.

As opposed to the Basques in the West and in New York, the Basques living here don't tend to gather in physical spaces, and would rather have lunch in personal houses, teach Basque language classes in Harvard University, organize *pintxopote*⁹⁶ in the streets of Boston or organize Basque American festivals.

They don't feel they need Basque centers, and continue to organize community events using other strategies. Additionally, some of them believe that even though they don't celebrate the culture like Basque communities in the West, they have a more immediate connection because they are immigrants themselves or children of immigrants (personal communication, March 2018).

⁹⁶ Is a way that Basque people usde to meet and go out with friends, during which they moved from one bar to another drinking and eating small quantities of food.

40 Image: Pintxo Pote organized by the New England Basque Club



Source: New England Basque Club Facebook page

32 Table. Do they take part in Basque activities? In which?

	YES						
		Dance	Mus	Sports	Music	Language	Food
Ekialdea	%68	%5	%7	%17	%22	%29	%61

Source: own elaboration

In this part of the States also, as in the West, we see that an overarching commonality is Basque food. However, while in the West the second most activities were the dancing and music, here, it is the language.

9.2.3 Diaspora Networks

Because of these different profiles we can see that different networks have been created. As one of the Basques living in Boston whose parents were both born in the Basque Country told us, in their case the second generations still have Spanish nationality, and that gives them an “immediate relation and network” (Andrea Jones Berasaluce, active member of the New England Basque Club, personal communication, April 2018) with the Basque Country. Even though they maintain the Basque culture and identity in a different way and sometimes they are not as known as the communities in the West

(which are so known in the Basque Country that they named Boise the capital of the Basque diaspora), these Basque people still want to have a relationship with the Basque Country and put all their efforts into doing so. We see that the newcomers are torn between wanting to go back to the Basque Country because of the high quality of life but also wanting to stay in the US for professional development and a better salary⁹⁷.

As on the West Coast, on the Northeast Coast of the United States the familiar and cultural relations and the Basque identity were the base for creating other types of relations. The cultural network was based on dancing classes in the Basque Center and Basque language classes. In words of Anna Mari Agirre (active member of the Basque community in New York) the role of Jon Oñatibia was key in the New York cultural network as he used to teach Euskera and Basque traditional dances in the Euzko Etxea of New York.

The business network was primarily focused on finding a new job for people that were coming from the Basque Country to the United States. The main ports of entry were New York and Boston (Levitt,1997), and Ellis Island was the place from which the Basque immigrants would enter. Some would already have a job in the West Coast, so they will just need to take their tickets and board on the train that would take them to the other part of the States. Others, instead, would need to find a job in the New World, and as we have explained before Valentin Aguirre would help them with that. Thanks to the in depth interviews we know that Valentín Aguirre bought two houses and he created a hostel:

“Recibía a la gente y los que decidían quedarse, él les daba trabajo”; it was also typical to help economically those who needed: “Cuando yo entré, se ayudaba mucho más que ahora porque había más facilidades económicas. Por ejemplo, gente que se había escapado de allí por diferentes razones que no me voy a meter ahora en detalles, primero iban a Mexico, ceñían a NY, entonces a esa gente se le ayudaba mucho con los fondos para encontrar un abogado, hacer papeles...” (personal communication, April 2018).

The business network functioned during those years and still, to this day, there are some examples of finding a job in New York thanks to the Basque Center and the Basque people that gather there.

The political network was also active during the years in which the Lehendakari Aguirre was in exile and was living in New York. The Delegation was in New York and members of the Basque diaspora living here were working for him. Later too, when the President came to New York, he would

⁹⁷ This data was seen in the Bizkaia Talent meeting in Boston (2018), to which the author was invited.

visit the Basques living in this part of the States and they would go to the Euzko Etxea. Today, the Delegation of the Basque Government in the United States is in New York, where there is an office with the Delegate and workers of the Basque Government.

In this part of the States too, they have organized Basque festivals and picnics for many years, but there is a festival that was organized thanks to the members of the Basque diaspora, which had transnational results. That was the Smithsonian Folklife Festival 2016, organized in Washington DC, in which the Basques were a focal point. Apart from that, the Basque center of New England, New England Basque Club, organized for the first time a public festival called New London Basque Festival on June 23, 2018. This is a common event in the two communities that we already have analysed.

9.3 *Basques in Florida: following a dream*

9.3.1 *Data, communication and media*

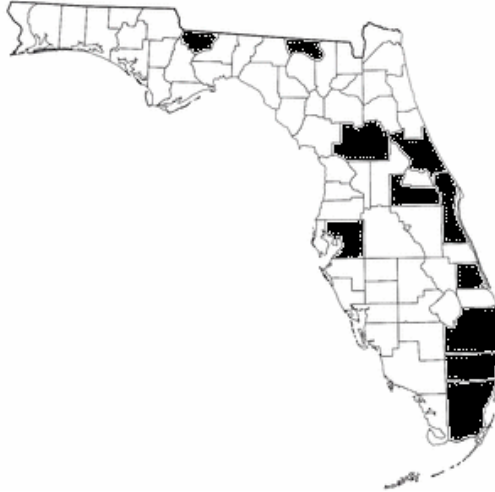
Basques started coming to Florida as soon as the first frontons were built. This was in the early 20th century; the first fronton in Miami (Florida) was built in 1924. From that time on, hundreds and hundreds of pelotaris and their partners have moved to the state of Florida.

Jai Alai, or “zesta punta”, as it is called in the Basque language, was created in 1888 in the fronton Plaza Euskara (Buenos Aires) by Juan Mari Melchor Guruzeaga. He was a pelotari who injured his hand, and after that, as he realized he could not play with the txistera any longer, he created a zesta that was longer and deeper. This new zesta would give him the option of throwing the ball faster and with less effort (2017, Garaia Elkarte, number 52., Miguel Angel Bilbao). Jai Alai is an important part of the Basque culture and it has put the Basque Country and the Basque culture on all the continents: there are frontons in Cairo, Philippines, different countries of Europe, Mexico...and, in the case of the United States, there were 24 frontons, 12 of those in the State of Florida⁹⁸. As one of the retired Jai Alai players in Florida

⁹⁸ Based on a document that an active Jai Alai player gave us, this is the list of Frontons in Florida: Palm Beach Jai Alai -1978- West Palm Beach (Florida), Seminola Jai-Alai -1962-Orlando (Florida), Miami Jai-Alai -1926- Miami (Florida), Hai-Aleah Miami -1924- Miami (Florida), Biscayne Jai-Alai -1926- Miami (Florida), Dania Jai-Alai -1953- Dania Beach (Florida), Tampa Jai-Alai -1953- Tampa (Florida), Daytona Jai-Alai -1959- Daytona Beach (Florida), Fort Pierce Jai-Alai -1974- Fort Pierce (Florida), Melbourne Jai-Alai -1971- Melbourne (Florida), Ocala Jai-Alai -1973- Ocala (Florida), Jasper Hamilton Downs Jai-Alai -2005- Jasper (Florida)

told us, during the gold period of the Jai Alai almost 5,000 *pelotaris* went to the United States (personal communication, May 2018).

41 Image. Frontons in Florida



Source: own elaboration based on in depth interviews

There are Basque people living in Miami, Orlando, Tampa, Dania, Daytona, Melbourne and Hollywood. The majority of them work as Jai Alai players or are retired Jai Alai players, but there are also *pelotaris* and their partners created their own enterprises, attend school, or work in restaurants, banks, hospitals, airports or schools. We can find also civil engineers, nurses and people working at banks.

During the gold period of the Jai Alai players were famous among the Americans, celebrities like John Travolta, Hemingway, and Paul Newman would go and take pictures with them:

“Entonces tenía mucha categoría el pelotari, El frontón lleno hasta los topes. Todo lo que ves aquí, más el casino, más todo arriba, 7-8 mil personas. En Miami el día que más personas ha habido ha habido hasta 15.000” (Juanito Elejabarrieta, retired Jai Alai player, personal communication, May 2018).

The vast majority of the Basques who came to Florida are from the province of Biscay, but they also came from Iparralde, Navarra, Gipuzkoa or Araba. Still today, based on in depth interviews, we see that people from Markina, Gernika, Durango and Berritxu, are more popular. Like the East Coast, the majority (52%) of the Basques living in Florida are first generation immigrants.

33 Table: Which province do you come from?⁹⁹

	Bizkaia	Gipuzkoa	Araba	Nafarroa	Behe Nafarroa	Zuberoa	Lapurdi
Florida	%52	%17	%4	%17	%0	%4	%9

Source: own elaboration

Even though the majority are first generation, there is also an interesting percentage of second generation (30%) immigrants in this area. Some of the *pelotaris*¹⁰⁰ who are playing today are children of those who went to play before.

34 Table: Age average and generation of Basque sin the United States.

	Age average	First generation	Second generation	Third generation
Florida	40,6	%52	%30	%4

Source: own elaboration

Those people established themselves and had their kids in Florida while they were playing. Some stayed here but others went back to the Basque Country once their kids were born here. So there is a significant population who are children of Jai Alai players that were born in the United States, went back to the Basque Country, and then moved back to play and live in the United States.

Regarding media consumption: 91% of the Basques living in Florida answered that they do consume Basque news, and *Berrria* is the newspaper that the majority of them read.

35 Table: Do you follow Basque news? Which newspaper do you read?

	YES								
		Berrria	Deia	Naiz	El Correo	Diario Vasco	El País	Sudouest	La République
Florida	%91	%29	%19	%14	%19	%14	%5	%5	%0

Source: own elaboration

⁹⁹ *If we add all the percentages we see that the result is more than 100; that is because some people put two provinces, since their parents are from different areas..

¹⁰⁰ Jai Alai players.

9.3.2 *Diaspora organization and activities: frontons, Jai Alai and language*

The Basque community has always organized itself differently here than it has on the Northeast or West Coast. If we see the number of Basque center members we see that just one of the respondents is a member, even though many of them suggested during the interviews that they would like to create a Basque center in Dania.

While we were conducting the interviews we were talking about Basque centers in other parts of the States and some of the members of the community remembers the time when they used to have a center in Miami and they are now thinking of creating a new one.

In Florida the houses of the other Basques already living here were their boarding houses, and the frontons were the Basque centers where they would meet. When a new *pelotari* was coming to work in one of the frontons, another *pelotari* would always help him:

“Hori da laguntasun bat...hasieran ez zara konturatzen baia gero dinozu, niri pertsona horrek lagundu zozten...jaten bere, nik eneukan puta idearik bez ezer itzeko da gaztie nintzen. Kiniela amaitu eta lagundu, berakatsa ebaiten...da askotan guraso moduen sentidu. Medikungana joateko, bazkaltzeko...guraso moduen hasieran da “eskilera baten hanka bat jartzea da bestie bestean” apurke apurke” (personal communication, Jai Alai player, May 2018)

“That is friendship, at first, you don’t realised it, and after you say...that person has helped me so much...also with the food, I didn’t know how to cook and after playing, we will go and cook. I felt them like parents. Also if we needed to go to the doctor, everything”

“Adibidez, beti in dana da, han dauen jenteak, beteranoak, laguntzen dotzie. Hona joan behar da, kotxeko karneta ataten lagundu, norberan kotxea itzi besteak karneta atateko, seguridade sozialana iten joan, hasierako gauza guztietan lagungu. Etxie, normalean, beti egoten da komunikaziñoie jente barrie da han dauen jenteagaz, pelotari hau bakarrik dau bizitzen ordun ba bergaz joan. Beti lagundu dako barrieri martxan jartzen” (Ibon Aldazabal, profesional Jai Alai player, personal communication, july 2018).

The Basque community in Florida became their family. It is important to note that these players would debut and immigrate when they were less than 20 years old, and that some of them had never even been on an airplane before. After adjusting to their new lives, immigrants to Florida often continued to live with other Basques that were also working on the Fronton with them. Some of the houses would display the name of the hometowns of

those who lived in them, like “Markina” or “Gernika”. The frontons also served as places for Basque people to meet each other. Because they all worked together, it was easy to build a community (personal communication, May 2018). The Basque Center in New England, for example, was created after the last fronton was closed. Before that they didn’t need one because they used to meet in the Fronton¹⁰¹. Maybe in other places where Basques work in different things they need a place to stay together, but in Florida, they all meet in the fronton and they could see each other:

“Guk ingo bagendun lan ba Xabatek fontanero, Chasiok tabernan da nik hotelan ba esaten du batuko gara barikuen sozieadean? Baia hamen frontoien iksuten garelez esaten du ba etxera goiez” (personal communication, Jai Alai player, May 2018).

“If we would work, for example, Xabat as fontanero, Chasio in the bar and myself in a restaurant, maybe we would meet each other Frindays in the txoko or Basque center, but in this case, as we see each other in the frontons, we go home after working” (personal communication, Jai Alai player, May 2018).

Many or the majority of the women could not work with the visas they had, so they need to build a community with the other women to be with someone while their husbands were playing in the Fronton. The women built community in similar ways. While their husbands were working on the fronton, they would gather in someone’s house and later, they would go to the fronton. Because their husbands’ schedules in the fronton were extremely rigorous, the women of the *pelotaris* would help each other with all the things they needed.

Basque communities almost always organized in relation to meals. Even though today there are no active Basque centers in Florida, there was a time when there were three Basque centers: two in Miami and one in Tampa. There, *pelotaris* would gather after the fronton; they would have a meal the first Sunday of the month, they would meet every Wednesday, and they would celebrate special days such as the *Aberrri Eguna*. They used to have “vinos y pintxos” celebrations every month and also the Annual Basque Rural Sport Picnic, which would gather not only Basques in Florida, but also Basques from other parts of the United States. Their main activities were meals and a Basque language class that they were teaching, but because of the Jai Alai players’ strike and the lack of help from the Basque Government (personal communication, May 2018) they had to close the Basque centers.

¹⁰¹ New England-eko “Basque Fest”: Amerikako Estatu Batuetako Ekialdeko euskal jai handia. (2018). Irekia <https://www.irekia.euskadi.eus/eu/news/47188-new-england-eko-basque-fest-amerikako-estatu-batuetako-ekialdeko-euskal-jai-handia>

Now they meet in the houses of other pelotaris, organize *mus* competitions, barbeques, celebrate Christmas together and other activities. Until recently, the Jai Alai players also had to work during Christmas, so the community would organize a *Txikiteo* from one house to another. Now that has changed and the frontón closes for two weeks around Christmas so they normally go back to the Basque Country those days.

As we can see, the Basques living in Florida and other parts of the United States maintain their identity in completely different ways. There are some who believe that they should be more organized, and try to create a Basque Center again. Some are already living here and have their wives here so they believe that having a Basque center would help them in their relationship with the Basque Country and Basque Government and would give them a place to eat Basque food and listen to music: “It is something you value much more than when you are at home” (personal communication, Jai Alai player, May 2018).

Regarding the Basque activities in which they take part, half of the survey respondents from said that they don’t take part in Basque activities; however, they are almost all Jai Alai players, which is already a Basque activity. While the author was doing the interviews in Florida, she could see that they all eat Basque traditional food (they even export Basque products there, such as tuna, txakoli, anchovies or txorizo), they sometimes eat together as a community, they communicate all the time using the Basque language, organize *mus* games and listen to Basque music. So, even though they don’t have a Basque center, they do organize as a diaspora community and maintain their Basque identity in Florida.

36 Table. Do you take part in Basque activities? In which?

	YES						
		Dance	Mus	Sports	Music	Language	Food
Florida	%52	%8	%42	%83	%50	%67	%58

Source: own elaboration

Obviously, sport is the activity they practice most, as they are professional Jai Alai players, but after that, language is what they marked most frequently. This is important; anyone watching a Jai Alai game in the Dania Beach casino would hear the Basque language in the court. A high number of peo-

ple marked that they play Mus, something that they 'didn't that much in the other communities.

9.3.3 *Diaspora networks: casinos and city connectors*

The Florida-Basque Country network has always been and it is still today a transnational network. It involved the coming and going of Jai Alai players and their families from towns of the Basque Country to towns next to the Frontons where they will play. These networks have existed since the early years of the Jai Alai, as some frontons in United States had their schools in frontons of the Basque Country.

The diaspora network was essentially based on a sport network that would connect cities in the Basque Country with Frontons in the United States. There were some enterprises who were responsible for making all that possible. Thanks to the in depth interviews we know that those consisted of: Gernika Jai Alai, Jai Alive, Totorica (Eusko Basque) and Eiguren.

Those enterprises could have more than one fronton:

“Había aquí, en las épocas buenas, Miami, Dania, West Palm beach y Orlando. Y En verano había una que era el frontón de Daitona. Luego, las empresas abrieron más, por ejemplo, Miami abrió en Fortpierce, a una hora y cuarto de aquí. Dania abrió una en el norte, en Milfred, Tampa, que era la misma empresa de Miami World Jai Alai, abrió Fortpierce y Tampa abrió una a lado de la Universidad de Gansville en un pueblo que se llama Okela. Abrió la World Jai Alai y luego Beninson le compró cuando estaban jodidos con los intereses super altos creyendo que iba ir a pike pero Beninson negociante como el sólo lo sacó adelante. Pues había un montón de frontones aquí en la época dorada y en el norte también, increíble. Los frontones del norte, todos los días llenos. No más que en Miami y Dania pero sí más que los otros frontones. Bistol, Hardfor y Millfor 5-6 mil personas todos los días. Entre semana también. Y en Miami, te voy a decir más o menos la gente como iba: lunes y jueves eran los días medianos, entre 5-7 mil personas, martes y miércoles los más flojos, entre 4-6 mil personas, viernes y sábados entre 12-15. Entrabas a jugar o ensayar al frontón veías todo aquello, se te salía la adrenalina. Se hacía la quiniela como ahora En el Oeste. No. Luego más tarde se abrió en las Vegas pero más tarde, en el año 70 algo o 80. Y en las Vegas también lo mismo. También había otro en Reno” (personal communication, May 2018).

As we can see, the transnational network was there and the Frontons/ Casinos in the United States were connected with those in the Basque Country. The Casinos or Frontons of the United States would have schools in the Bas-

que Country and they would send *pelotak*¹⁰². These frontons would help to maintain the schools and send them balls and money. “The Jai Alai used to make a lot of money and during those years, the enterprises created schools in different towns, for example, Markina, Noain, towns in the Basque French part” (Foronda, personal communication, May 2018). The coaches from the Basque Country talked with the people who will decide who will play in the United States and try to send Jai Alai player from the Basque Country. They would sign agreements:

“Frontoi bakoitzak zeukan eskola bat, por ejemplo, Daniak eukan Bartzelonan eskolie, Palm Beachek Markiñen, World Jai Alaik Miamin eta Fort Piercek Ger-nike eta Durangon. Ni nintzen Palm Beachekoa baina nire anaie hara joan zanez eta anaik bik ezin zutelez batera jokatu tokau jaten Daniara etortzea. Gero entzunda neukan Miamik zeukela Markiñagaz. Markiñak eskola eukan Miamin eta bertatik urtetako. Unibertsitatea edo” (Foronda, personal communication, May 2018)

Markina is one of the towns in which the Jai Alai and players are most common; some people would refer to Markina as the “Pelotaren Unibertsitatea” (The University of the ball) (Garaia, Miguel Angel Bilbao).

The relationship between the frontons and the towns created transnational networks, and those networks could be seen in their hometowns. Immigrant groups can have different kinds of effects in their home countries. Here, a survey respondent talks about the economic choices the Jai Alai players made, similarly to other Basques who went to the United States:

“Euskal Herrirentzako entrada inportantea ziren. Dolarrak gainera balore gehiau eukin zuen. Ganera btzuk bere negozioz montau da hor egon zan motor bat, ez dakit txikixe edo handixe baina egon zan. Enpresak sortu, etxeak erosi...” (personal communication, May 2018).

“Ba oin 40-50 urte diru asko ekarri dabe pelotariak. Jente asko juten zan hara da hori beran familiari bidaltzen zotzon, soldatan parte bat, pisu bat erosi, negozioz montau...eragin ekonomikoa oso handie da. Markinen ikusten da hori. Markineko negozio asko pelotariak sortu dabez” (Ibon Aldazabal, professional Jai Alai player, personal communication, July 2018).

With the money that they earned in one year, they could go back and buy houses in the Basque Country, and that was important for the economy of those towns: “Garai hartan, La Habana, Miami, Shanghai, Mexiko eta abarretin etozen pelotari markinarren urteko milloi ta erdi pezeta baino gehiago ekartzen ebazan herrira” (Garaia Elkarte, 2017:39).

¹⁰² Balls to play Jai Alai.

“Badakit beste pelotari batzuk, egiten zuten diruarekin etxeak erosten zituztela Euskal Herrian. Igual hilabete baten kobratzen zutenarekni etxe bate rosten zuten Euskal Herrian. Horrelako teoriak entzun dira. Egia da diru asko eraman dela Estatu Batuetatik Euskal Herrira, bai pelotari edo artzainekin” (personal communication, May 2018).

“Nik badakit adibidez, Markinan (Markina izango da zesta jokalarari gehien dekon herrie). Markinen zan zesta edo zesta, ze pararik ez beste ezer ez. Markinen plotari asko zeuden eta nik badakit Markineko herrieri diru asko sartu dakola pelotariengatik. Oin, zenbat...ez dakit. Etxeak erosi etbr. Lehena dibdiez zan, etorri, egin lan urte bat edo bi hamen eta hemen aurreratzen zendun diruegaz etxe bat erosi Markiñen. Hori geur egun imposiblea da. Dollarran kanbioa ona zan” (personal communication, May 2018).

Apart from the economic remittances, the social remittances (Levitt) were also noticeable: the fact that they were living in a different country with different kinds of people gave the people of these towns a different perspective of the world and a open minded view: “For me, the first day I saw a black man was when I arrived to New York” (Txasio, personal communication, May 2018).

From those sports relations other kind of relations could also be seen, even though it is on a small scale. For example, in 2006, when the director of the Port of Bilbao¹⁰³ went to Miami to the Convención de Compañías de Cruceros en la vecina Miami Beach, the members of the Basque Center in Miami invited him and all his staff to have lunch in the Basque Center. In 2008, there was a visit from the Diputy of Biscay in which they were trying to promote the tourism in the Basque Country and, for that, they connected with the Basques living in Miami. This is a perfect example of diaspora diplomacy in which a Government receives help from the diaspora living in another country to promote the country of origin. With regard to the business network, in 2009 Basque American business people tried to create *Empresabask USA*. This was already working in other countries, such as in Chile and in Mexico. The idea was to create something similar in the United States, and one of the first meetings was in the Basque Center of Miami. Also in 2011, the Basque community in Miami worked as a connector between Miami and the Basque Country when the airport of Miami¹⁰⁴ asked for a direct flight to be scheduled between Bilbao and Miami.

¹⁰³ Visitan la Euskal Etxea de Miami el director comercial del puerto de Bilbao, Luis Gabiola, y miembros de su staff. (2006). Euskalkultura.

<http://www.euskalkultura.com/espanol/noticias/visitan-la-euskal-etxea-de-miami-el-director-comercial-del-puerto-de-bilbao-luis-gabiola-y-miembros-de-su-staff>

¹⁰⁴ El aeropuerto de Miami busca el apoyo del Centro Vasco para impulsar la conexión aérea directa con Bilbao. (2011). Euskalkultura. <http://www.euskalkultura.com/espanol/noticias/el->

On the other hand, the academic network is still very small, but there are some important events to be considered. In 2006¹⁰⁵, the University of Miami rememberd Sarelegui, a business man from Navarra who emigrated to Cuba when he was 12 and later to the United States.

There are some Jai Alai players who, apart from being professional Jai Alai players, also want to take advantage of their opportunity here and go to an American university. Even though the relationship in this case is not yet transnational, is a great opportunity to start thinking of creating academic relations between universities in the Basque Country and universities in Florida. In this case too, members of the diaspora could help, confirming that they can work as key agents in the relationship between the two regions.

[aeropuerto-de-miami-busca-el-apoyo-del-centro-vasco-para-impulsar-una-conexion-aerea-con-bilbao](#)

¹⁰⁵ La Universidad de Miami rinde mañana homenaje a Francisco Saralegui Arrizubieta, el "Zar del Papel" de Cuba. (2006). Euskalkultura <http://www.euskalkultura.com/espanol/noticias/la-universidad-de-miami-rinde-manana-homenaje-a-francisco-saralegui-arrizubieta-el-zar-del-papel-de-cuba>

COMMENCEMENT

Conclusions

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

This study gives us a historical evolution of the communication tools that have been created or have emerged in order to maintain communication and a strong relationship between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora. We have seen how the communications from the homeland to the diaspora and from the diaspora to the homeland have evolved; how diaspora networks have been created from the diaspora but also for the diaspora, and the importance of these networks in transnational relations; and how, thanks to public relations activities, members of the Basque diaspora have become diaspora diplomacy agents.

When we began this work, we thought it would be interesting to concentrate on different parts of the world in which Basque communities are settled, but we eventually decided to focus on the case of the Basques in the United States. We are considering the idea of enlarging our study in the near future, as we have seen a need for studies like this worldwide.

Even though the objective of this work was not to study other diaspora groups, we decided that it could be interesting to see how other governments and diaspora groups work and whether Basques were different or special in this regard. We have seen that many of the activities that diasporas organize are similar regardless of their country of origin. For example, in Southern European communities (Italy, Croatia, Armenia, Greece, Basque Country), we can see that such communities organize by creating schools, churches, cultural centers and aid associations. Apart from that, the importance of their food, their culture, their own language and their family is paramount, and because of that, they organize festivals and meals wherever they are. This is also the case in Latin American communities; for example, Mexicans, Dominicans, Venezuelans, Colombians, and Peruvians also often organize their communities in these ways. Governments worldwide, including China and India, are also strengthening their connections with their respective diasporas. Governments are learning that diasporas could be the key to opening the door for new relationships with other countries.

Finally, as the researcher was living in the United States, she saw that there were differences among the Basque communities depending on the places they were settled. Because of that, this study also gives us an exploratory comparative study between different Basque communities in the United States and real facts that show us, definitively, that a diaspora community can help to improve the relations between the host country and the country of origin.

The conclusions will be divided in six parts:

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE BASQUE DIASPORA IN THE UNITED STATES

1. The majority of the Basques living in the United States are second generation and are from the province of Biscay.

When we started with this work we thought that the majority of the Basques living in the United States were third generation, meaning that their grandparents were the ones who moved from the Basque Country to the United States. The only way to now this is the actual US census data, or data from the Basque Centers themselves that collect that data on all their members. This research is based on responses to an electronic survey, which was answered by first, second and

third generation people from different provinces. The responses to our survey are not equal to all of the Basque population living in the US and this is something important to clarify because the results of our research are based only on the responses.

Even though this data changes depending on the state, the survey that we distributed for this research indicates that the majority of the Basques living in the United States are second generation, meaning their father or mother moved from the Basque Country. They are mostly from the province of Biscay. In the case of the West Coast, the majority are third generation, and in Florida and on the East Coast, the majority are first generation.

Moreover, even though they were not born in the Basque Country, almost 100% of people of Basque descent living in the United States that answered this survey feel that they are Basque. The fact that they feel Basque doesn't mean they don't feel American and in many cases, there are those who feel that they are both Basque and American. In their words, it is possible to feel that you are part of two groups.

80% of the survey respondents say that they have been to the Basque Country at least once during their life, mostly to see family and experience the culture, but also for traditional tourism. The majority feel linked to the Basque Country for familiar reasons (91.4%), cultural ones (72.4%) and identity (67.7%).

The activities that the diaspora members organize are important to their identity. Second generation Basques take part in dancing groups, Basque language classes, festivals, sport or music competitions and in this way maintain their Basque identity. Moreover, this is a good way to create connections with other Basque groups in the world, and this helps also in the sentiment of pertinence.

II. COMMUNICATION TOOLS BETWEEN THE BASQUE COUNTRY AND THE BASQUE DIASPORA

2. **From the eighteenth century onwards, there have been institutional and non-institutional communications between the Basques living abroad and the Basque Country, and the interest in maintaining those communications has always been bilateral.**

Different activities have been organized, and for the purposes of this study, we have listed those activities depending on whether they were spearheaded by the diaspora or by the Basque Country.

The Basque Country has initiated institutional activities and provided various media, and the diaspora has contributed a wide range of activities from Basque Centers, cultural associations, and individual relations. In the states in which the Basque community are Jai Alai players and their families, we found that the role of the Basque Centers is done by the Frontons.

- 2.1. We have identified three periods in the communication from the Basque Country: the first period runs from 1937 to 1986, and we call it "Building up the Basque Country;" it begins during the Spanish Civil War and ends in the year 1986, when the service for the relations with the Basque Centers was created. The second period goes from 1986 to 1994 and we call it "First Steps". In 1994, the Public Law 8/1994 was created, which regulates the relations between the Basques living abroad and the Basque Country Government. Until the end of the twentieth century, the communications between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora were mostly driven by institutional and individual relations.

Institutional activities include political delegations, conferences and institutional visits; familial activities include letters, telephone calls and personal travel of family members. The last period that we have identified goes from 1994 to the present day, and we call it "Settled down strategies". From 1994 onward, new institutional initiatives emerged; delegations, conferences and institutional visits were still important, but other activities were organized too, such as Basque language classes, money grants, prizes for investigative works, etc. Basque language has been taught in Boise at the university and in some Basque Centers since 1971. Basque diaspora institutions already had their own activities without the grants of the Basque Government, but after 8/1994, there is grant money and additional communities have started new programs that they never had, and new communities have created new euskal etxeak that never existed and they have applied for this money. They have also joined NABO so that they have the ability to apply for the Basque Government money.

- 2.2. Among the activities organized by the diaspora there are the Basque Centers, dance classes, Basque language classes, monthly meals and dinner with members of the community, summer camps, festivals and political initiatives such as the NY community manifestig at the United Nations regularly and the Idaho Basques with four different legislative Memorials passed in the state Legislature. Apart from those, there are also new initiatives: the use of and presence on the social networks and blogs and the presence in economic and academic networks between the Basque Country and the United States.
- 2.3. Regarding the media, in the year 1997, EITB created the international television channels, the newspapers jumped to the digital world, and, answering the call of the diaspora, a specialized media for the diaspora was created. Apart from that, there has been an increase in academic works and documentaries in which the diaspora members are protagonists (from 1998 to 2018 we have counted 36 documentaries).

We have seen an evolution in the media framework. When we began our research we interviewed the managers of four digital newspapers (Naiz, Berria, Deia and El Correo) and the manager of the digital version of Eitb. From those interviews, we saw that there were differences in the way they give information about the diaspora. Some already have the diaspora topic in their agendas, but others thought it was not necessary, and that people from the diaspora would read and consume the same news as people from the Basque Country.

In the words of the manager of the digital version of Eitb, Lontzo Sainz, they don't take the diaspora into account when they disseminate the news. He says that people from the Basque Country only worry about the news of the diaspora on special occasions (Athletic match in Boise, the Festival in Boise...) and that if they want to read news about the diaspora, they can read Euskalkultura.com. However, even though he says that, Eitb.com includes two blogs about the diaspora: A Basque in Boise and Basque Identity 2.0. Manuel Arroyo, the manager of elcorreo.com, says something similar, and believes that news published in the Basque Country will naturally be interesting for the diaspora. In words of some diaspora members this demonstrates the homeland-centric approach to identity, and that diaspora identity, activities, news are not significant or do not influence in any way

the homeland. Certainly there is more news about Trump in Basque newspapers than there is about the thousands of Basques living in the diaspora: “A forever argument about identity between the diaspora and homeland”.

On the other hand, *Grupo Noticias* uses a different strategy. The manager of Deia told us that they don’t have a specific section for the diaspora but that they sometimes do interviews with diaspora members. Jon Ordoñez, of the digital version of the newspaper *Berria* thinks that the news they report is for all those who know the Basque language, and that it doesn’t matter if they live in the Basque Country or abroad. The editor of *Gara* and *Naiz* told us that when they have included news specifically for the diaspora, they have gotten very little feedback. We consider that maybe they need to take into consideration that they do not know what the diaspora is interested in and are erroneous in their selection of stories. Maybe they should polled the diaspora in order to know which things they are interested in.

However, we have seen that in the last several years, the diaspora is much more present in the news, and we have seen an increase in documentaries and television programs related to the diaspora. Documentaries about the diaspora include: *Origen*, *Euskalonski*, *Vascos por el Mundo*, and next year *Bai*, *Bagara*. Apart from that, the First Diaspora Day was covered by various media. The President of the Basque Government, Iñigo Urkullu, went to Argentina for the first time in 2018 to celebrate the *Semana Nacional Vasca*, which was important for both the Basque and Argentinian media.

We can confirm that in the last four years there have been many activities that have reinforced the relationship between the Basque Country and the Basque diaspora: the creation and celebration of the Basque Diaspora International Day, the first step towards the creation of the Basque Diaspora Archives, the creation of the Basque Diaspora Akademikoa academic networks by the University of the Basque Country, and many documentaries and television programs related to the diaspora. There is a demonstrated interest on the part of the Basque community in the United States in being a part of a communal diaspora network. This is evident when the diaspora organizes important festivals such as the BoiseAnnual San Ignacio Festival, or the once every five years Jaialdi International Basque Festival in Boise, and the Smithsonian Folklife Festival; members of the Basque community are also part of many transnational networks.

3. Diaspora members have relationships with their families and friends and among the tools that they use for daily communications, social networks and Whatsapp are the most common.

In the past, communication between those living abroad and their family and friends in the Basque Country was based on few letters, telephone calls, photos, and people returning to Euskadi to visit, or to live for 2-3 years and then leaving again. In 1995 the Basque Government gave computers to the Basque Centers, which notably improved communications for Latin American Basque communities that did not have computers. In the case of USA, individuals had easy access to Internet and computers from their own jobs and from home. In the case of the USA Basque communities, some members think that the difference was that the Basque Government hired people to work in their offices: Aintzane Aguirre spoke English, Andoni Ortuzar, Inaki Goikoetxea, Benan Oregi..... they all spoke English and that was more important than the computer itself.

The following numbers from the survey show the evolution of communication between the Basque diaspora and the Basque Government: 90% of the responding Basques living in the United States have family in the Basque Country; 27.8 % communicate with them weekly and 19.4% monthly. Apart from family, 66.8% have friends in the Basque Country; 24.7% communicate with them weekly and 17.1% monthly. Among the tools that they use to communicate with family and friends there are social networks, Whatsapp, telephone calls and e-mails (in that order). They highlight the use of the Whatsapp application because in the United States it is not common to use that application and those who use it usually do so because they have family or friends in Europe or South America. Among other tools that they use to communicate they mention Skype, Facetime, Instagram and also personal visits.

4. The digital Basque diaspora is very active.

In 2010 Pedro Oiarzabal said that: "Although it is not wise to prognosticate about any future trends of the Basque diaspora presence on the Web, evidence shows an increasing tendency for articulating an online presence." (Pedro Oiarzabal, 2010:339). Eight years later, we can see that the Basque diaspora is not only present in the digital world but it is very active. Almost all the Basque Centers around the world have a Facebook page and many of them have also an Instagram account. Apart from that, the dancing groups

also have Facebook pages and they use them to share their videos or communicate with Basque dancing clubs in different parts of the world.

We haven't counted the number of Basque diaspora institutions (Basque Centers, dancing clubs, or restaurants) that are present in the digital world but we can assume that the majority of them do have an online presence. As evidence, we received an overwhelming response when we distributed the survey we made for this research. The distribution of the survey was based mainly on social networks, and specifically on Facebook. We started distributing the survey and in less than two months we already had 400 answers. This shows how the Basque diaspora is not only present on the Internet, but is, in fact, very active. It also shows that diaspora Basques are eager to participate when asked for their opinion (something the homeland newspapers should pay attention to).

5. Basques in the United States follow the news of the Basque Country using social networks, digital newspapers and interpersonal relationships.

We can confirm that the Basques living in the United States want to follow the news of the Basque Country, and that they receive that information by reading digital newspapers and staying active on social networks. Among the strategies they use to communicate, they have social networks, digital newspapers and interpersonal relations (in that order). Among the newspapers that they consume the most are *Diario Vasco*, *El País* and *Berria*.

Even though international television channels were created as tools for communicating with the diaspora and reinforcing Basque identity, over the last decade the Internet and social networks have gotten stronger, and today, the Internet is a much more widely-used source of information than the television. Only 20% of the people who answered the survey say that they consume Basque television.

6. Euskalkultura.com: Basque diaspora media.

Bozdog, Hepp and Suna (2012:96) say that "diaspora media" are those created by and for the migrants, and that provide relevant information for those communities. In the case of the Basque diaspora, Euskalkultura.com does that labor. It is media created in the Basque Country, including contributions by members of the diaspora. Georgiou (2005) says that the diaspora media

are more than just media and many authors (Yin, 2013; Johnson, 2000; Jefres, 1999; Zhand and Hao, 1999) highlight that the diaspora media all help to reinforce the identity of the communities. Euskalkultura.com, apart from being a diaspora media and giving information about diaspora members, actually helps in the maintenance of Basque identity in the diaspora and, as Etxarri, the head of the media, says, they are more than a media, they are like a diaspora office. Amezaga says that the international TV channels of EITB also help in the maintenance and creation of Basque identity, but at Euskalkultura.com, the news is sometimes written by members of the diaspora, and the information is usually intended for their consumption. Because of that we consider Euskalkultura.com to be the Basque diaspora media.

III. PUBLIC RELATIONS IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BASQUE COUNTRY AND THE BASQUE DIASPORA

7. Public Relations activities are essential for reinforcing the relationship between the homeland and the diaspora.

After analysing the communications tools, it is evident that both homeland institutions and the diaspora have contributed to organizing public relations activities, including conferences from the homeland and festivals from the diaspora.

The Basque Government has organized conferences to get to know the Basques living abroad. The members of the diaspora have created picnics and festivals in order to maintain their identity and share their culture with mainstream American society.

The Government of the Lehendakari Agirre organized the first Conference in 1956 in Paris and, from then on, many conferences have been organized. In 1982 the Culture Department of the Government of Garaikoetxea organised another Conference in Donostia and, beginning in 1995, the office for the relations with the Basque centers and Basque collectivities abroad organized the Basque Collectivities World Conference every four years.

In the early twentieth century, there were already many festivals and picnics organized in the United States by Basque people. In New York, in Idaho and in California, from the early 1900s Basques organized and held events at existing boardinghouses, at municipal parks,

and at dance halls. In 1959, the Western Basque Festival was organized in Sparks (Nevada) and from then on, many festivals that combine Basques from different communities have been organized every year in different parts of the States, such as Boise (Idaho), Elko (Nevada), New London (Connecticut), Fresno (Nevada), Winnemucca (Nevada), Ontario (Oregon)...

In those festivals, Basques living in the United States get to know each other but also have the opportunity to get to know other Basques in different parts of the world and non-Basques who want to celebrate Basque culture. Because of that, we can confirm that in order to maintain a relationship between the Basque Country and the diaspora members, public relations activities are vital.

We argue that both conferences and festivals are public relations activities and that these help in the relationship between the diaspora and the country of origin.

8. Basque American festivals are important for the diaspora members.

Since the early twentieth century the Basque diaspora has organized festivals. 99.8% of the people who answered our survey think that these festivals are important for the Basque communities in the United States and 84.9% have been to one of them (65.3% in a festival in Idaho, 61% in Nevada, 52.8% in California and 17.9% in Utah). Apart from those, people have gone to the following states in order to attend a festival: Wyoming, Washington DC, New York, Oregon, Seattle, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Florida (in that order). Idaho is most common festival destination, probably because the festival of Boise is so well-known.

Apart from being places in which it is possible to celebrate Basque culture, maintain Basque identity, and get to know Basque people from other parts of the world, festivals are also the places in which, from cultural relations, other kind of transnational relations are created. 71.1% of the people that go to those festivals have relations with members of their same community, 67.7% with their Basque family living in other parts of the United States, 55.4% with Basques from the Basque Country, 30.1% with family from the Basque Country, 19.5% with Basques from other parts of the world and 19.3% with non-Basque people. In these festivals, people especially love the food, music and dance. These numbers show that in these festivals it is possible to have relations with Basques living in the United States but also

with people from the Basque Country, institutional representatives, and that there are opportunities to create transnational relations. We have seen that there is a percentage of people that have relations with non-Basques, meaning that these festivals also help in the promotion of the Basque Country in the United States.

9. Jaialdi International Basque Festival of Boise 2015.

The Jaialdi International Basque Festival of Boise was first organized in 1987. Before that, the Holiday Basque Festival was organized in 1972, and, as it was a total success, some of the members of the diaspora wanted to do something similar. That's why in 1987 the community of Boise organized the first Boiseko Jaialdia. From 1990 on, every five years the Euzkaldunak Basque Center of Boise organize the festival during the week of Saint Ignazio Day. Members of the diaspora, but also the non-Basque community of Boise, enterprises, and politicians all take part in the organization of that festival. Even though it is a Basque festival, it is now a part of Boise and of Idaho and that has an effect on the image of the Basque Country in the United States.

The 2015 festival was a milestone. That year, apart from the existing cultural, familial, friendly and academic relationships, international business and trade relations were also created between the Basque Country and Idaho. .

10. The diaspora community, thanks to public relations activities, has become a public diplomacy agent and it has affected the relationship between the Basque Country and the United States.

Even though the objective of the Basque American festivals is to create a community, maintain Basque identity and celebrate Basque culture, other kind of relations have also emerged. In the places in which festivals are organized, local government, American society, and different enterprises (not just Basques) take part, and this shows that these activities can create more than cultural relations. Moreover, these festivals are so successful that they often become part of the American news cycle, which improves the image of the Basque Country abroad.

Public diplomacy uses non-governmental actors to create long term relations among two countries, building trust and creating positive images of the two countries. Diaspora members act as those non-governmental actors and when they obtain the public diplomacy ob-

jectives, we are talking about diaspora diplomacy. The Basque diaspora members, thanks to the festivals, including the Festival of Boise and the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, have opened the doors for future relations. This confirms that the Basque diaspora members act as diaspora diplomacy agents.

IV. DIASPORA NETWORKS

11. Among the diaspora networks we have identified the networks created from the diaspora and for the diaspora and we see that the ones created from the diaspora have more positive answers.

There are Basque diaspora networks created by the diaspora and networks created for the diaspora. According to this research, the Basque diaspora networks created by the diaspora have emerged in the spheres of family, culture, business and academia. These networks were formed on the basis of family relationships and began to share Basque culture before spreading to the business and academic worlds. Starting from the people-to-people relations among those who shared Basque origins at the boarding houses at the start of the 20th century, in 2015 they facilitated links and interactions between the two countries and became a reality.

We demonstrate that the diaspora networks exerted an influence as a tool in diaspora diplomacy between the two countries. Most authors concur that through public diplomacy it is possible to overcome mistrust between two countries, create relationships and achieve a better image in the public opinion. To do this, society has been highlighted as a player; we are proposing that in the Basque case, this function is also being performed by the diaspora, among other players.

The networks that have been developing over the years have helped to create relations between the two countries by means of diaspora diplomacy: contacts between companies have been encouraged, contacts between cultural groups have materialized, and agreements have been achieved in the academic field by forging closer relations between the two countries, encouraging contacts and guaranteeing agreements with a long-term view. We defend the position that through the networks the diaspora members have consolidated relations between the two countries, by creating a facilitating context for the results that have yet to be seen in other spheres.

Among the networks created for the diaspora we identified five institutional networks: EuskoSare, Pentsamendua, Global Basque Network, Bizkaia Ta-

lent and Basque Diaspora Akademikoa. According to the answers of the survey, 72.2% of people don't know about these networks.

V. WHAT WE DIDN'T EXPECT

While we were doing this work, we found some conclusions that we didn't foresee. Those conclusions are the result of an exploratory study:

12. When we are talking about the Basque diaspora we need refer to 'diasporas,' not 'diaspora,' and in the case of the United States there is not just one Basque community, but many communities with different needs.

As Aikins (2015) once said, when we are talking about the Basque diaspora we cannot talk about one diaspora, but instead must include many diasporas. With our research we can demonstrate that this statement is true and that just in the case of the Basques living in the United States, we can find different diasporas. As Cohen said (2008) depending on the reasons why they emigrate, different kinds of diasporas are created and, because of that, different ways to organize and maintain a relationship with the home country are required. While the second+ generation immigrants tend to organize in Basque Centers and physical places, first or new generations don't normally own a physical place. They sometimes rent a place or they gather at different places such as universities, bars or restaurants. That shows a difference in the way they organize. Apart from that, the relationship with the home government and what immigrants need from their home country will differ also depending on the generation. Second+ generations will probably want to know more about dances, will spend time learning the Basque language, or will want to know more about history and tourism in the homeland; first generation migrants might prefer to learn about academic relations, how to obtain a visa or which enterprises are searching for talent abroad. This shows that the characteristics and the necessities are different depending on the generations and that, evidently, we need to talk about Basque diasporas and not just a Basque diaspora. And this being the case, we propose that the Basque Government should take that into account and adjust the activities directed to the Basque collectivities abroad to account for that new necessity.

We confirm that depending on the generation and the geographical location, the ways the members of the Basque diaspora have to communicate with the Basque Country and their consumption of media also differs. Additionally, the way those communities have to organize, maintain their Basque identity, and create diaspora networks also differs.

The majority of the Basque survey respondents (41%) living in the west are third generation and in Florida (52%) and the East Coast (47%) the majority are first generation. Because of that, the relation they have with the home country, the communication tools, the activities they organize and the diaspora networks that are created with the Basque Country thanks to them are different.

All the communities say that they follow the news of the Basque Country; this includes the West (77%), East (90%) and Florida (91%). In the West, the newspapers that they consume the most are *El País* (14%), *Berria* (14%) and *Diario Vasco* (13%); in the East *El País* (33%), *Diario Vasco* (30%) and *El Correo* (26%); and in Florida *Berria* (29%), *Deia* (19%) and *El Correo* (19%).

There are also differences in the activities they take part in. In the West the majority of the answers say that they take part in activities related to food (60%) or that they cook Basque food, followed by dance or taking part in dancing groups (33%), and finally music (31%). In the East the food is also the first answer (61%), followed by language (29%) and music (22%); and finally, in Florida, first thing is sport (83%), (which is obvious, taking into account that the majority of them are active or retired Jai Alai players), and then language (67%) and food (58%).

VI. FUTURE RESEARCH

13. Lack of studies about the role of women, Basques in Florida, radio programs from the diaspora, diaspora 2.0, economic impact of the Basque diaspora for the Basque Country

We found that there are almost no feminist studies about the Basque diaspora. There are some studies in which the role of the women is mentioned but no whole studies about women and the Basque diaspora.

Apart from that, the media from the diaspora is almost never studied. Studies about some newspapers and Basque magazines have been

done, but there is no scholarship focusing on the radio programs that were or are created abroad.

Finally, there are studies about Basques in New York, Boise, Nevada, Cuba, Australia...but there is no study about the Basques in Florida.

***Ondorioak euskaraz**

I. EUSKAL DIASPORAREN EZAUGARRIAK AMERIKETAKO ESTATU BATUETAN

1. Estatu Batuetan bizi diren diasporako kide gehienak Bizkaikoak eta bigarren belaunaldikoak dira.

Tesi lan honekin hasi ginenean uste genuen Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunen gehiengoak hirugarren belaunaldikoak direla, hau da, euren aitxitxe edo amona izan zela kontinente berrira joan zena. Datu hauek izateko era bakarra Estatu Batuetako errolda edota euskal etxeek jasotako datuak dira. Orain emango ditugun datuak ikerketa honetarako zabaldu genuen inkesta batekoak dira eta horregatik argi izan behar da ez direla Estatu Batuetako euskaldun guztiei buruzko datuak. Estatuaren arabera datuak desberdinak diren arren Estatu Batuetan dauden euskaldunen gehiengoak bigarren belaunaldikoak dira, hau da, euren gurasoetariko bat da Euskal Herriatik Estatu Batuetara joan zena, eta, gehiengoak Bizkaiako probintziakoak dira. Gainera, nahiz eta Euskal Herrian jaio ez izan, euskaldunak direla sentitzen dute, eta ikerketarako egindako inkestaren ia %100ak hori dio. Euskaldun izate horrek ez du esan nahi amerikar sentitzen ez direnik, hau da, euren hitzetan bi identitateak izatea posible da eta euren kasuan hori gertatzen da asko euskal amerikar edo amerikar euskaldun sentitzen direla.

Euskaldun sentimendu hori ez da Estatu Batuetan bakarrik gelditzen, eta, horregatik, ugari dira Euskal Herria bisitatu duten diasporako kideak, erantzunen arabera %80,8ak bisitatu du inoiz. Euskal Herria bisitatu izanaren arrazoiak familia eta kultura dira, baina baita ere turismoa egiteko gogoak. Gehiengoak Euskal Herriarekin lotura bat du eta hori lehenengo familiagatik (%91,4), bigarren kulturagatik (%72,4) eta hirugarren identitateagatik (%67,7) da.

Sentimendu eta identitate mantentze horretan eragin handia dute, batez ere, diasporako kideek antolatzen dituzten aktibitate eta ekin-

tzak. Bigarren generaziotik aurrera edota Euskal Herriarekin zuzeneko lotura galdu eta gero, diaspora ekintzak: dantza elkarteak, euskara klaseak, jaialdiak, kirol eta mus txapelketak, musika taldeek, komunitate bateko kide izateak, euskal identitatea eta Euskal Herriarekin lotura mantentzen laguntzen dute. Gainera, askotan, aitzakia dira Euskal Herriko beste talde edo subjektu batzuekin harremana sortzeko eta horrek ere harremana eta pertenezia sentimendua indartzen du.

II. EUSKAL DIASPORAREN ETA EUSKAL HERRIAREN ARTEKO KOMUNIKAZIO TRESNAK

2. XVIII.mendetik komunikazio instituzional eta ez instituzionala izan da kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunen eta Euskal Herriaren artean eta komunikazio hori mantentzeko interesa bi aldekoa izan da: Euskal Herriarena eta diasporarena.

Ekimen desberdinak burutu dira Euskal Herriko eta diasporako subjektuen eskutik eta hauek norabidearen arabera ordenatu ditugu. Euskal Herriaren eskutik ekimen instituzionalak, komunikabideen lana, gizarteak eta elkarte desberdinek burututako lana dago eta diasporaren eskutik euskal etxeek, elkarte kulturalak edota kideek indibidualki sortutako ekimenak daude.

2.1 Euskal Herriatik bideratutako komunikazio eta harremanean hiru garai identifikatu ditugu: lehen garaia 1937urtetik 1986urtera doa, "Euskal Herria eraikiz" deitu dugu eta Espainiar Gudu Zibiletik 1986 urtera artekoa da: Euskal Etxekin harremana eramango duen zerbitzua sortuko zenekoa. Bigarren garaia urte horretatik 1994ra doana da eta "Lehen pausuak" izenpean jarri dugu. 1994 urtean beste hito garrantzitsu bat eman zen harreman eta komunikazioan, hau da, Euskal Etxe eta Kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunekin dagoen harremana eramango duen 8/1994 Legearen sorrera. Hogeigarren mende amaiera arte diaspora eta Euskal Herriaren arteko komunikazioa, batez ere, ekimen instituzionaletan eta harreman indibidualetan oinarritu da.

Ekimen instituzionalei dagokionez, ordezkartzak, kongresuak eta bisita instituzionalak ziren komunenak eta, harreman familiarrei dagokionez, gutunak, noizbehiniko telefono deiak eta jatorrizko herrira eta familien etxera bisitak. Identifikatu dugun azken garaia 1994urtetik gaur egun artekoa da eta “Finkatutako estrategiak” izena jarri diogu. Garai horretan hasiko dira beste era bateko ekimen instituzionalak gartzen, non, ordezkartzek, kongresuek eta bisita instituzionalak indarra izaten jarraituko duten baina: euskara klaseak atzerrian emateko programak, diru laguntzak kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunei zuzenduak, ikerketa lanak saritzeko diru laguntzak, garapenerako laguntzak etab. ere sortuko diren. 1970 urtetik bazeuden jada euskara ikastaroak Estatu Batuetako euskal etxe batzutan baina diru laguntzak izateak hori indartu eta beste era bateko ekintzak ere antolatzea bideratzen du.

- 2.2 Diasporatik bideratutako ekimenei dagokionez, diasporako kideek euskal etxeak, dantza ikastaroak, euskara klaseak, bazkariak, euskal kirolak, udalekuak eta jaialdiak antolatzen jarraitu arren, ekimen berriak ere dituzte: Interneteri esker sortutako sare sozialetan eta blog-etan presente daude, Euskal Herriaren eta Estatu Batuen arteko sare ekonomikoetan eta akademikoetan aktibo daude eta diaspora sareen parte dira.
- 2.3 Komunikabideei dagokionez, 1997an EITBk nazioarteko telebista kateak jarriko ditu martxan, egunkariak bertsio digitalak aterako dituzte eta diasporako kideek aurretik egingako erreklamoari erantzun eta diaspora medio espezializatu bat sortuko da. Horrez gain, lan akademikoetan igoera bat ikusten da baita ere diaspora protagonista duten dokumentaletan (1998 urtetik 2018ra 36 dokumental zenbatu ditugu diasporari buruz).

Komunikabideen esparruan eboluzio bat ikusi dugu. Tesiarekin hasi ginen urtean lau egunkari digitaletako (Naiz, Berria, Deia eta El Correo) arduradunekin eta Eitb-ren bertsio digitaleko arduradunarekin

elkarrizketak egin genituen eta diasporarekiko joera desberdinak ziztuztela ikusi genuen. Batzuk bazuten jada diaspora euren gaietan sartua edo saiakerak eginda; beste batzuk, ordea, uste zuten ez zela beharrezkoa diasporak Euskal Herriko jendeak zituen interes berak zituelako.

Eitbko bertsio digitaleko arduradunaren hitzetan euskal diaspora ez dute kontuan hartzen albisteak elaboratzean, hemengo audientziari diasporari buruzko albisteak bakarrik interesatzen zaizkio gauza puntualetan (Athletic-en partidua, Boiseko Jaialdia...), eta diasporari buruz albisteak irakurtzeko Euskalkultura.com dago. Hala ere, badituzte euren webgunearen barruan euskal diasporari buruz idazten duten bi blog: A Basque in Boise eta Basque Identity 2.0. Manuel Arroyo, elcorreo.com-eko arduradunak ere antzekoa den zerbait zioen eta euren ustez, hemen argitaratzen dituzten albiste guztiak izan beharko litzateke interesekoak diasporako kideentzako. Diasporako kide batzuen hitzetan honek erakusten du Euskal Herritik ez dagoela diasporarekiko edo eurek burutzen dituzten ekintzekiko interesik, izan ere, gehiago direla Trump-i buruz euskal medioek ematen dituzten albisteak, Estatu Batuetan diren euskaldunei buruz baino.

Bestalde, Grupo Noticias-ak beste estrategia bat erakutsi zigun, Deia egunkariko bertsio digitaleko arduradunak esan zigun ez zutela diasporarentzako propio den atalik baina bai egiten zizkietela elkarrizketak noizik behinean. Jon Ordoñezek, Berria egunkariko bertsio digitaleko arduradunak esan zigun euren albisteak euskaraz dakiten guztiei zuzenduak direla, bai atzerrian bizi edo Euskal Herrian. Gara eta Naiz eko arduradunak esan zigun diasporara bideratutako albisteak izan arren, oso feedback gutxi zutela. Honen arrazoia izan daiteke oraindik ez dutela entzun diasporak zer nahi duen, ineksta bat egin alko lukete hori ezagutzeko.

Hala ere, azken urteetan diasporak komunikabideetan duen presentzia gero eta nabariagoa da, nahiz eta bazeuden diasporari buruzko dokumentalak, azken hiru urteotan gorakada bat izan da eta prime time-an sartu dira diaspora protagonista bezala duten dokumentalak: Origen, Euskalonski, Vascos por el Mundo, eta datorren urtean aterako da Bai, bagara.

Horrez gain, Diasporaren Nazioarteko eguna dela eta, hainbat egunkari eta komunikabidek hori plasmatu dute eta diasporari buruzko albisteak eman dituzte.

Urkullu Lehendakaria lehen aldiz urtero Argentinan ospatzen den Semana Nacional Vascan izan zen 2018an eta horrek ere erantzuna izan du Euskal Herriko eta Argentinako medioetan.

Aipagarria da, beraz, azken lau urteotan (2015-2019) emandako aurre-rapausoak zeintzuk euskal diasporaren eta Euskal Herriaren arteko harremanean bultzada indartsu bat suposatu duten: Euskal Herrian Euskal Diasporaren Nazioarteko Eguna sortu eta ospatu da lehen aldiz, Euskadiko Artxibategian (Bilbon) Euskal diasporaren artxiboa sortzen ari dira, EHU-k Euskal Diaspora Akademikoa sortu da eta diasporari buruzko hainbat dokumental berri sortu dira. Diasporari dagokionez ere, nahiz eta urteetan zehar antzeko ekimenak burutu, ikusi da euren partetik ere interesa dagoela Euskal Herriko sareetan parte hartzeko, Boiseko Jaialdia edo Smithsonian Folklife Festival bezalako nazioarteko jai arrakastatsuak antolatzeko eta harreman transnazonala hainbat esparrutan gauzatzeko.

3. Diasporako kideek familia eta lagunekin harremana dute eta egunero komunikatzeko erabiltzen dituzten tresnen artean sare sozialak eta Whatsapp aplikazioa dira komunenak.

Iraganean diasporako kideen eta Euskal Herrian zuten familiaren eta lagunaren arteko komunikazioa noizbehinkako gutun eta telefono deietan, eta jatorrizko herrira egiten ziren bisitetan oinarritzen zen. 1995 urtean Eusko Jaurlaritzak euskal etxe eta kanpoan bizi ziren euskaldunekin harremana eta komunikazioa errazteko ordenagailuak jarri zituen euskal etxeetan eta horrek ere eragin handia izan zuen harremanean. Eragin hori nabaria izan zen Argentinako euskaldunen eta Euskal Herriaren arteko komunikazioan baina ez hainbeste Estatu Batuetakoen kasuan. Izan ere, Estatu Batuetan bazuten jada askok euren ordenagailua. Estatu Batuetako euskaldunekin zegoen harremanean eragin handia izan zuen, Jaurlaritzan, kasurako, ingelesa hitz egiten zuten langileak jartea.

Komunikatzeko zegoen aniztasun hori aldatu egin da eta hurrengo datuetan teknologia berrien eta interneten eragina ikusi dezakegu. Estatu Batuetan dauden euskaldunen %90ak familia du Euskal Herrian eta %27.8 astero eta %19.4 hilero komunikatzen da bere familia-rekin. Familiaz gain, %66,8ak lagunak ditu eta %24.7 astero komuni-

katzen da eurekin eta %17,1 hilero. Familia eta lagunekin komunikatzeko erabiltzen dituzten medioen artean egunero sare sozialak, Whatsapp-a, telefono deiak eta e-maila daude (orden horretan). Whatsapp-aren erabilera azpimarratzen dute Estatu Batuetan ez delako komuna aplikazio hori erabiltzea eta hau erabiltzen dutenak Europan edo Hego Ameriketara familia edo lagunak dituztelako, kasu honetan, Euskal Herrian. Komunikatzeko erabiltzen dituzten beste metodo batzuen artean azpimarratzen dituzte Skype, Facetime eta Instagram bezalako beste sare sozial batzuk eta bisita pertsonalak.

4. Euskal diaspora digitala existitzen da eta oso aktiboa da.

2010 urtean Pedro Oiarzabalek ondorengoa esan zuen: In 2010 Pedro Oiarzabal said that: "Although it is not wise to prognosticate about any future trends of the Basque diaspora presence on the Web, evidence shows an increasing tendency for articulating an online presence." (Pedro Oiarzabal, 2010:339). 8 urte geroago, ikusi dateke euskal diaspora mundu digitalean presente dagoela eta gainera oso aktiboa dela. Ia munduko euskal etxe guztiek dute Facebook-en profila eta horietatik asko Instagram sare soziala ere erabiltzen dute. Horrez gain, dantza taldeek ere Facebook orriak dituzte eta horiek erabiltzen dituzte euren bideoak elkarbanatu edota munduan dauden beste euskal dantza talde batzuekin komunikatzeko, berdina gertatzen da beset era bateko elkarte kulturekin (musika talde, kirol talde etab.)

Ez dugu euskal etxeen kopurua zenbatu baina badakigu euskal etxe, dantza talde, jatetxeen kopuru handi bat mundu digitalean presente daude. Honen adibide da, gure ikerketa aurrera eramateko martxan jarri genuen inkestaren distribuzioa. Distribuzio gehiena online egin genuen eta, batez ere, sare sozialak erabiliz eta hiru hilabetetan ia 430 pertsonen erantzuna izan genuen. Honek erakusten du, oso aktibo daudela eta Euskal Herriko gazetan parte hartzeko gogoia dutela.

5. Estatu Batuetako euskaldunek Euskal Herriko egunerokotasuna (albistek) jarraitzen dute (dituzte) eta horretarako sare sozial, egunkari digitalak eta harreman interpertsonalak erabiltzen dituzte.

Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunek Euskal Herriko albisteen berri izan nahi dutela baieztatu da eta informazio hori, batez ere, egunkari digital eta sare sozialen bidez egiten dutela. Inkesta erantzun dutenen %79.2ak Euskal Herriko albisteak jarraitzen ditu. Egunero erabiltzen dituzten medioen artean sare sozialak, egunkari digitalak eta harreman interperstonalak daude (orden horretan). Gehien kontsumitzen dituzten egunkarien artean daude Diario Vasco, El País eta Berria.

Nahiz eta EITBren Nazioarteko Telebista kateak sortu zirenean hauek izan euskal diasporarekin komunikazioa mantendu eta euskal identitatea indartzeko medio, azken hamarkadan Internet eta sare sozialen indarra gero eta handiagoa da komunikazio munduan eta horren adibide da Estatu Batuetako diasporako kideek egiten duten Euskal Telebistaren kontsumoa. Euskal Herriko albisteak jasotzeko egunero erabiltzen dituzten medioen artean egunkari digitalak eta sare sozialak dauden bitartean, erantzunen %20ak bakarrik esaten du Euskal Telebista kontsumitzen duela.

6. Euskalkultura.com: euskal diasporaren medioa.

Bozdag, Hepp eta Suna-k (2012:96) diote “diaspora medioak” direla migranteek egin, haiei zuzendu eta beraien komunitatearen intereseko gaiak jorrazten dituztenak. Euskal diasporaren kasuan Euskalkultura.com-ek betetzen du lan hori. Euskal Herritik bideratu baina diasporako kideetatik ere edaten du eta informazioa jasotzen du euren eskutik. Georgiouk (2005) dio diaspora medioak medio bat baino gehiago direla eta hainbat autorek (Yin,2013; Johnson, 2000; Jeffres, 1999; Zhand eta Hao, 1999) azpimarratzen dute horrez gain, diaspora medioek identitatea indartzeko eta azpitaldeak batzeko balio dutela. Euskalkultura.com-en kasuan bat gatoz planteamendu horrekin, izan ere, Euskalkultura.com-ek albisteak emateaz gain, diasporako kideen identitatean ere eragina daukala esan dezakegu. Eitb-ren nazioarteko kateen kasuan, Amezagak ere esaten zuen EtbSat edo Canal Vasco bezalako kateek ere eragina zutela atzerrian bizi ziren euskaldunen identitatean. Komunikabide horiek ere diasporarekin komunikatzeko balio dute baina Euskalkultura.com-en diasporako kideak idazten dizute albiste batzuk, eurek bidaltzen dute askotan informazioa eta eurentzako eta eurei buruz propio eginiko informazioa da. Beraz, euskal diasporaren hedabidea dela esan dezakegu.

III. HARREMAN PUBLIKOAK EUSKAL HERRIAREN ETA EUSKAL DIASPORAREN ARTEKO HARREMANEAN

7. Harreman publikoetako ekimenak diaspora eta jatorrizko herrialdearen arteko harreman eta komunikazioa indartzeko ezinbesteko tresna dira.

Bai euskal instituzioen aldetik zein diasporako kideen aldetik burutu diren komunikazio tresnen azterketa egitean harreman publikoetako ekimenak, eta, batez ere, kongresuak jatorrizko herrialdetik eta festibal edo jaialdiak diasporatik gako izan dira.

Eusko Jaurlaritzaren kasuan, kongresuak antolatu dira kanpoan bizi diren euskaldunak ezagutu, euren nahi, behar eta desioak entzun eta gerturaketa bat izateko. Diasporako kideak antolatutako picnic, jaialdi eta festibalak, ordea, komunitatea eta identitatea mantendu eta eus-kaltasuna gizarte amerikarrari erakusteko bide izan dira.

Agirrereren Gobernuak antolatu zuen lehen kongresua 1956 urtean Parisen eta ordutik hainbat kongresu antolatu izan dira. 1982an Garaikoetxearen gobernuko Kultura Sailak antolatu zuen Donostian eta 1995 urtetik aurrera kanpoan den Euskal Komunitate eta euskal etxe-entzako zuzendaritzak lau urtean behin antolatzen duen Euskal Kolektibitateen Mundu Biltzarra.

Diasporaren eskutik, XX. mende hasieratik badago jada picnic-ak antolten zirenaren konstantzia eta askok lehen jaialdi edo festibala bezala izendatzen dute 1959 urtean Sparks-en (Nevadan) ospatu zena. 1959 urteko festibal horretatik, hainbat dira urtero Estatu Batuetako leku desberdinetan antolatzen diren jaialdiak, hala nola , Boise (Idaho), Elkon (Nevada), New London (Connecticut), Fresno (Nevada), Winnemoca (x), Ontario (Oregon)...

Jaialdi horietako batzutan Estatu Batuetan dauden euskal komunitateak euren artean ezagutzen dira baina baita ere, munduan zehar dauden euskaldunak eta Euskal Herritik hurbiltzen direnak. Horregatik, ikusten dogu jatorrizko herrialdearen eta diasporaren arteko harremana mantentzeko harreman publikoetako ekimenak ezinbestekoak direla.

8. Jaialdi euskal amerikarrak garrantzitsuak dira diasporako kideentzat.

Euskal diasporak antolatutako jaialdiei dagokionez, XX.mende hasieratik jaialdiak antolatu dira. Horien helburua aldatzen joan den arren %99.8ak uste du jaialdiak garrantzitsuak direla Estatu Batuetan den euskal komunitatearentzat eta %84.9 inoiz izan da jaialdi batea (%65,3 Idahon antolatzen den jaialdiren baten izan da, %61 Nevadan, %52,8 Kalifornian eta %17.9 Utah-n). Horien ondoren euskal jaietara joateko gehien bisitatu diren estatuak dira Wyoming, Washington DC, New York, Oregon, Seattle, Rhode Islan, Connecticut eta Florida (orden horretan). Idaho da jaialdietara joateko gehien bisitatu den estatua eta hori, izan daiteke, bertan antolatzen delako Boiseko Jaialdia, zein erreferente bihurtu den jaialdi euskal amerikarren artean bai diasporako kideentzako zein Euskal Herrian bizi direnentzako.

Jaialdi horiek, kultura ospatzeko eta identitatea mantentzeko leku izateaz gain Estatu Batuetan bizi diren euskaldunak ezagutzeko eta Euskal Herria eta euskal diasporako kideak ezagutzeko leku aproposa da, baita ere, harreman kulturaletatik haratago doazen harreman instituzional, enpresarial eta akademikoak egiteko lekua. Bertara hurbiltzen den jendearen %71.1ak euren komunitateko beste euskaldunekin harremana izaten du jaialdi horietan, %67.7ak Estatu Batuetako beste leku batzuetan bizi diren familia euskaldunarekin,%55.4ak Euskal Herriko euskaldunekin, %30.1ak Euskal Herriko familiarekin, %19.5ak munduko beste leku batzuetako euskaldunekin eta %19.3ak euskaldunak ez direnekin. Honek erakusten du jaialdi hauetan, alde batetik Estatu Batuetako euskaldunekin baina baita ere Euskal Herriko jende eta instituzio ordezkariekin ere harremana izaten dela eta horregatik harreman transnazionalak egiteko leku ere bihurtu dira. Portzentaje batek euskaldunak ez direnekin ere harremana izaten dutela esan du, eta honek euskaldunak eta Euskal Herria zabaltzen du beste gizarte batzuen aurrean. Jaialdi hauetan gehien disfrutatzen dituzten gauzen artean daude janaria, musika eta dantza.

9. 2015 urteko Boiseko Jaialdia.

1987 urtean antolatu zen lehen aldiz Boiseko Jaialdia, 1990 urtetik aurrera, bost urtean behin Boiseko euskal etxeko kideek jaialdi euskal amerikarra ospatzen dute San Inazio eguneko astean. Jaialdi horretan

diasporako kideez gain, Boiseko gizarte ez euskaldunak, bertako enpresak eta politikariek hartzen dute parte. Nahiz eta euskal jai bat izan, Boise eta Idahoko parte bat bihurtu dira eta horrek eragina dauka euskaldunek Idahon eta Estatu Batuetan duten irudian.

2015 urteko jaialdiak hito bat markatu duela esan dezakegu. Urte horretan jaialdian harreman kultural, familiar eta lagunartekoak egiteaz gain, harreman akademiko eta enpresarialak ere egin ziren eta hortik sortu ziren akordioak Estatu Batuak eta Euskal Herriaren arteko harreman transnazionalean ikusi dira.

10. Diaspora komunitatea, harreman publikoetako ekimenen bidez, diplomazia publikoko agente bihurtu da eta eragina izan du Euskal Herriaren eta Estatu Batuen arteko harremanean.

Jaialdi euskal amerikarren helburua euskal komunitatea batu, identitatea mantendu eta euskal kultura ospatzea bada ere, esan daiteke beste era bateko helburuak ere lortu dituztela. Jaialdiak antolatzen diren lekuetan udaletxeak, gizarte amerikarrak, enpresa eta elkarte desberdinek (ez bakarrik euskaldunek) parte hartzen dute eta horrek erakusten du, ekimen hauek, kulturaz haratago dauden harremanak sortzeko balio dutela. Gainera, jaialdi hauek duten arrakasta dela eta, Estatu Batuetako medioetan presente daude, eta honek, Euskal Herriak Estatu Batuetan duen irudian eragina du.

Diplomazia publikoak, aktore ez gubernamentalen bidez bi herrialderen arteko epe luzeko harremanak lortzea du helburu, euren arteko mesfidatza gainditzea eta izan dezaketen irudi txarrarekin amaitzea. Diasporako kideak aktore ez gubernamental horien papera betetzen dute, eta eurei esker diplomazia publikoko helburuak lortzen direnean, diaspora diplomaziari buruz ari gara. Euskal diasporako kideak jaialdi euskal amerikarrei esker, Euskal Herria eta Estatu Batuetan arteko ateak zabaltzeko aukera izan dute eta horrela ikusi da Boiseko Jaialdiarekin, Smithsonian Folklife Festivalarekin edota New Londonen ospatutako euskal jaiarekin.

IV. DIASPORA SAREAK

11. Diaspora sareen artean diasporatik edo diasporarentzako sortuak identifikatu ditugu eta diasporako kideen eskutik sortutako sareak diasporarentzako sortutakoak baino erantzun positiboagoak dituzte.

Euskal diaspora sareak aztertzean diasporatik sorturiko sareak eta diasporarentzako sorturikoak daude. Diasporatik sortutako sareak, kasu honetan, familiarrak, kulturalak, enpresarialak eta akademikoak dira eta horien arabera era bateko edo beste bateko harremanak sortuko dira esparru horietan.

Ikerketaren arabera diaspora sareak harreman familiar eta kulturetan hasi eta beste era bateko harremetara heldu daitezke, kasurako, harreman enpresarial edota akademikoetara. Sare hauek, hasieran euskal kultura elkarbanatzeko sortu ziren, eta hortik, beste era bateko harremanak sortu dira. X. mendean boarding houston hasi ziren pertsona-pertsona arteko harremanetatik, ikusi dugu herrialdeen arteko harremanak lortu direla.

Beste hainbat herrialdek bezala euskal diaspora eta Euskal Herriaren arteko harremana eta komunikazioa hobetzeko diaspora sareak sortu dira. Sare horien artean badaude diasporatik sortuak eta diasporarentzako sortu direnak. Diasporatik era naturalean sortu diren sareak era inkonziante baten sortzen dira harreman familiar, lagun arteko eta kulturetatik hasi dira eta beste era bateko harremanak izatera heldu arte. Sare horiei esker harreman transnacional familiarrak, kulturalak, enpresarialak eta akademikoak sortu dira eta lau sare horiek batu egiten dira jaialdi euskal amerikar batzutan, adibidez, Boiseko Jaialdian. Aurreko ondorioekin loturik, esan dezakegu, jaialdietan harreman transnacionalak garatzen direla.

Diasporarentzako propio sorturiko bost sare identifikatu dirugu: EuskoSare, Pentsamendua, Global Basque Network, Bizkaia Talent eta Basque Diaspora Akademikoa. Sare instituzionalak ez dira hain eza-gunak diasporako kideen artean eta gure inkesta erantzun dutenen %72.2ak ez ditu ezagutzen.

V. ESPERO EZ GENITUENAK

Tesi lan hau egiten joan garen heinean aurreikusten ez genituen ondorio batzuk atera ditugu. Ondorio horiek ikerketa esploratorio batetik ondorioz-tatu dira eta ondorengo hauek dira:

12. Euskal diasporari buruz ari garenean diaspora bakar bati buruz baino diasporeri buruz hitz egin behar dugu eta zehazki Estatu Batuetako euskal diaspora komunitateari buruz ari garenean euskal diaspora komunitateak daudela esan behar dugu.

Estatu Batuetan dauden euskal komunitateei buruz ari garenean, nabarmendu behar dugu ez dagoela euskal komunitate bakar bat baina hainbat euskal komunitate zeintzuk behar izan eta interes desberdinak izango dituzten.

Baieztaatu daiteke belaunaldiaren eta kokatuta dauden estatuaren arabera, Euskal Herriarekin komunikatzeko eta kontsumitzen dituzten egunkariak desberdinak direla, diaspora bezala beste era batera antolatzen direla eta jatorrizko herriaren eta eurek dauden estatuaren arteko diaspora sareak desberdinak direla.

Estatu Batuetako mendebaldeko estatuetan bizi diren euskaldunen gehiengoa (%41a) hirugarren belaunaldikoa dira eta Ekialdean (%47) eta Floridan (%52) bizi direnak lehen belaunaldikoa. Horrek erakusten digu Euskal Herriarekin duten harremana, erabiltzen dituzten komunikatzeko metodoak, burutzen dituzten ekintzak eta eurei esker sortzen diren diaspora sareak desberdinak direla kokapen geografikoa eta belaunaldia dela eta.

Komunitate guztiek esaten dute jarraitzen dituztela Euskal Herriko albisteak: Mendebalean (%77ak), Ekialdean (%90ak) eta Gloridan (%91ak). Mendebaldean gehien kontsumitzen dituzten egunkariak El País (%14), Berria (%14) eta Diario Vasco (%13) dira, ekialdean El País (%33), Diario Vasco (%30) eta El Correo (%26), eta Floridan Berria (%29), Deia (%19) eta El Correo (%19).

Parte hartzen duten aktibitateen artean ere desberdintasunak daude komunitatearen arabera. Mendebaldean lehenengo janaria (%60) eta gero dantza (%33) eta musika (%31) dira gehien praktikatzeko dituzten ekintzak; ekialdean lehenengo janaria (%61) eta gero hizkuntza (%29) eta musika (%22), eta Floridaren kasuan, lehenengo kirola (%83), gero hizkuntza (%67) eta gero janaria (%58).

VI. ETORKIZUNERAKO

- 13. Ez dago diasporako emakumeei buruz, Floridako euskalduneni buruz, diasporako irratari programei buruz, diaspora 2.0ri buruz eta diasporak Euskal Herrian duen inpaktu ekonomikoari buruzko ikerketarik.**

Euskal diasporaren alorrean emakumeei buruzko ikerketak, Floridan bizi diren euskalduneni buruzko sakoneko ikerketak, Diaspora 2.0ri buruzko ikerketak, diasporako Irrati programei buruzko ikerketak eta euskal diasporak Euskal Herrian duen inpaktu ekonomikoari buruzko ikerketak falta dira.

ITURRIAK

Lehen eskuko iturriak

Primary sources

37 Taula: Sakoneko elkarrizketak / In depth interviews

PERTSONA	NOLA	GAIA	NOIZ eta NON
EUSKAL DIASPORAKO KIDEAK / BASQUE DIASPORA MEMBERS			
1	Amy Hormaechea Wray and Rod Wray(Boiseko Jaialdiko antolakuntzakoak)	Aurrez aurre	Boiseko Jaialdia 2017ko martxoa Boisen (ID)
2	Ana Mendiola (Boiseko diasporako kide, jaialdiaren antolakuntza)	Aurrez aurre	Euskal komunitatea Idahon, Boiseko Jaialdia 2017ko martxoa Boisen (ID)
3	Gloria Totoricaguena Diasporako kide+ Euskal Herriaren eta Euskal diasporaren arteko harremanetan lanean aritua	Aurrez aurre	Orokorra 2016/10/15 Boisen (ID)
4	Argia Beristain Basque Soccer Friendlyko antolatzailea Smithsonian Folklife Festivalekin lehen kontaktuak egin zituen diasporako kidea	Aurrez aurre	Orokorra, sakondu Smithsonianen 2017/03/26 Boisen (ID)
5	Xabier Zubillaga (Necocheako Euskalduna)	e-mail	Argentinako diaspora, Euskal Aste Nazionala 2016/11/07
6	Mikel Ezkerro (Argentinako Euskalduna)	e-mail	Argentinako diaspora, Euskal Aste Nazionala 2016/11/28
7	Maite Maisterrena (Kalifornia)	e-mail	Udalekua NABO 2017/08/31
8	Kate Camino (Nevada)	e-mail	Udalekua NABO 2017/08/27
9	Juanchi Yaicomo (Argentina)	e-mail	Hator Hona Necochea 2017/08/21
10	Paula Berasain (Argentina)	e-mail	Udalekua Chascomus 2017/07/21
11	Henar Chico "A Basque in Boise" (Boise)	e-mail	BLOG 2017/06/12
12	Anne Marie Chiramberro "Hella Basque" (San Francisco)	Aurrez aurre	BLOG 2017/07/11 Bilbon (EH)
13	Martina Larraza (Argentina)	E-mail bidez	Komunikabideak, diaspora sareak, antolakuntza 2016/05/23
14	Paula Berasain (Argentina)	E-mail bidez	Komunikabideak, diaspora sareak, antolakuntza 2016/05/23
15	Imanol Salazar (Argentina)	E-mail bidez	Komunikabideak, diaspora sareak, 2016/05/20

			antolakuntza	
16	Maitén Pincheira (Argentina)	E-mail bidez	Komunikabideak, diaspora sareak, antolakuntza	2016/06/01
17	Itxaso Cayero (Boise)	E-mail bidez	Komunikabideak, diaspora sareak, antolakuntza	2016/06/06
18	Arantzazu Urbieta (Argentina)	E-mail bidez	Komunikabideak, diaspora sareak, antolakuntza	2016/05/26
19	Graciana Koehler (Argentina)	E-mail bidez	Komunikabideak, diaspora sareak, antolakuntza	2016/06/01
20	Al Erkiaga (NABO, Oinkari, Boiseko Jaialdi eta Boiseko hainbat elkarte eta erakundetako sortzaileetako bat)	Aurrez aurre	Boise eta Idahoko Euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa, sareak	2017/04/10 Boisen (ID)
21	Ana Mendiola (Boiseko Jaialdiko arduraduna)	Aurrez aurre	Boise eta Idahoko Euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa, sareak	2017/04/11 Boisen (ID)
22	Anita Anakabe(Elkoko Euskalduna)	Aurrez aurre	Idahoko eta Nevadako Euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa, sareak	2017/03/13 Boisen (ID)
23	Aita Antxon Eiguren	Aurrez aurre	Boise eta Idahoko Euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa, sareak	2017/04/03 Boisen (ID)
24	Annie Gavica(NABOko zuzendari ohia eta Boiseko Euskal Museoko zuzendaria)	Aurrez aurre	Boiseko eta Nevadako euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa eta sareak	2017/04/10 Boisen (ID)
25	Argia Beristain(Boise Stateko langilea eta Euskal Herria eta Euskal diasporaren arteko harremanetan erreferente)	Aurrez aurre	Idahoko, Nevadako eta Seattleko Euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa, sareak	2017/03/15 Boisen (ID)
26	Gloria Totoricaguena (Euskal diaspora gaietan erreferente akademia mailan)	Aurrez aurre	Estatu Batuetako Euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa, sareak	2017/03/31 Boisen (ID)
27	Patty Miller (Boiseko Euskal MUSeoko zuzendari ohia)	Aurrez aurre	Boise eta Idahoko Euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa, sareak	2017/03/23 Boisen (ID)
28	John Ysursa (Boise Stateko Basque Studiesko arduradun ohia)	Aurrez aurre	Idahoko eta Kaliforniako Euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa, sareak	2017/04/10 Boisen (ID)
29	Miren Rementeria Artiach (Pete Cenaruzaren, Idahoko Estatu Idazkariaren idazkaria izandakoa)	Aurrez aurre	Boise eta Idahoko Euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa, sareak	2017/03/10 Boisen (ID)
30	Teresa Franzoia (Basque MUSEum and Cultural Centerreko langilea, Oinkari dantza taldeko kidea)	Aurrez aurre	Boise eta Idahoko Euskal komunitatea, komunikazioa, sareak	2017/04/13 Boisen (ID)
31	Amy Ormaetxea (Boise)	Aurrez aurre	Basque affinity diaspora	Boisen (ID)

	Anita Anakabe (Boise)	Aurrez aurre	Basque affinity diaspora	Boisen (ID)
	Argia Beristain (Boise)	Aurrez aurre	Basque affinity diaspora	Boisen (ID)
	Gloria Totoricaguena (Boise)	Aurrez aurre	Basque affinity diaspora	Boisen (ID)
	Patty Miller (Boise)	Aurrez aurre	Basque affinity diaspora	Boisen (ID)
	Teresa Franzoia (Boise)	Aurrez aurre	Basque affinity diaspora	Boisen (ID)
32	Olatz Zubia (Donostia Boisen)	Aurrez aurre	Basque affinity diaspora	Boisen (ID)
33	Renne Rohman (Boise)	Aurrez aurre	Basque affinity diaspora	Boisen (ID)
34	Rod Wray (Boise)	Aurrez aurre		Boisen (ID)
35	Gillian Wigglesworth (Boise)	Aurrez aurre		Boisen (ID)
36	Matt Wigglesworth (Boise)	Aurrez aurre		Boisen (ID)
37	Tara Eiguren (Boise)	Aurrez aurre		Boisen (ID)
38	Brian Meabebasterretxea (Boston)	Aurrez aurre	Florida eta Bostoneko Euskal diaspora	2018ko martxo Boston (MA)
39	Andrea Jones Berasaluce (Boston)	Aurrez aurre	Massachusseteko Euskal diaspora eta New England Basque club	2018ko martxo Boston (MA)
40	Kattalina Berriochoa (Boston)	Aurrez aurre	Idahoko eta Massachusettsetako Euskal diaspora	2018ko maiatza Boston (MA)
41	Julia Huesa (Boston)	Aurrez aurre	Komunikazioa eta identitatearen mantentzea	2018ko maiatza
42	Juan Jacinto Legarreta (NYC)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak New Yorken	2018ko maiatza-ekaina New York (NY)
43	Anna Mari Agirre (NYC)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak New Yorken	2018ko maiatza-ekaina New York (NY)
44	Anuska Arrieta (Florida)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak Floridan. Pelotariak	2018ko maiatza Miami (FL)
45	Arche (Florida)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak Floridan. Pelotariak	2018ko maiatza
46	Eñaut Salegi (Florida)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak Floridan. Pelotariak	2018ko maiatza

				Miamin (FL)
47	Ibon Aldazabal (Florida)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak Floridan. Pelotariak	2018ko maiatza UPV/EHU (Leioa)
48	Iker Foronda (Florida)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak Floridan. Pelotariak	2018ko maiatza Miamin (FL)
49	Juanito Elejabarrieta (Florida)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak Floridan. Pelotariak	2018ko maiatza Miamin (FL)
	Ruben Bailo (Florida)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak Floridan. Pelotariak	2018ko maiatza Miamin (FL)
53	Igone, Zulaika, Gorane, Isak (Florida)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak Floridan. Pelotariak	2018ko maiatza Miamin (FL)
57	Odei, Leke, Txasio, Emma (Florida)	Aurrez aurre	Euskaldunak Floridan. Pelotariak	2018ko maiatza Miamin (FL)
MEDIO ETA KOMUNIKABIDEAK MEDIA				
58	Mikel Reparaz: EITBko korrespontsala AEBan	e-mail	Boiseko jaialdia	2016/03/05
59	Jon Ordoñez: BERRIA	e-mail	Euskal Komunikabide (digital)ak eta Diaspora	2016/06/14
60	Jose txu Rodriguez: DEIA	e-mail	Euskal Komunikabide (digital)ak eta Diaspora	2016/06/14
61	Manolo Arroyo: El Correo	e-mail	Euskal Komunikabide (digital)ak eta Diaspora	2016/06/07
62	Iñaki Altuna: GARA/ NAIZ	e-mail	Euskal Komunikabide (digital)ak eta Diaspora	2016/06/13
63	Lontzo Sainz: ETB digital	Aurrez aurre	Euskal Komunikabide (digital)ak eta Diaspora	2016/06/01 EITBko egoitza (Bilbo)
64	Jose Felix Azurmendi: nazioarteko EITB	Aurrez aurre	Euskal diaspora orokorrean eta EITB- ren nazioarteko kateak	2017/07/03 Bere Etxea (Algorta)
65	Juan Martin Guevara	Aurrez aurre	ORIGEN saioa	Bilbon
66	Gurtubay	Aurrez aurre	ORIGEN saioa	Bilbon

67	Mariana D'orazio	Aurrez aurre	ORIGEN saioa	Bilbon
68	Eduardo Strauch Urioste	Online	ORIGEN saioa	
69	Joseba Etxarri: Euskalkultura.com	Aurrez aurre	Euskal diasporarekin komunikazioa eta Euskalkultura.com	2017/10/25 Zuatzu Parkea (Donostia)
INSTITUZIOETAKO KIDEAK INSTITUTIONAL REPRESENTATIVES				
70	Benan Oregi. Kanpo Harremanetako teknikaria.	E-mail	Boiseko Jaialdia	
71	Josu Legarreta. Kanpoan den Euskal komunitatearentzako zuzendari ohia	Aurrez aurre	Euskal diasporarekin komunikazioa	2017/05/18 Algorta
72	Ander Caballero: Euskal Herriko ordezkaria Estatu Batuetan	Aurrez aurre	Estatu Batuetako Euskal diaspora	Boston (MA)
73	Ivan Jimenez: Bizkaia Talent.	Aurrez aurre	Bizkaia Talent	Euren egoitza (Parke Teknologikoa)
74	Iñaki Goirizelaia: UPV/EHUko errektore ohia	Aurrez aurre	Orokorra	2016/10/13
EUSKAL HERRITIK HARREMANA DIASPORAREKIN PEOPLE WHO HAVE RELATION WITH THE BASQUE DIASPORA				
75	Elodie Arangaray	e-mail	Udalekua NABO	2017/06/09
76	Pedro Oiarzabal (aditua)	Aurrez aurre	Euskal diasporarekin komunikazioa	Bilbon
BESTE DISPORA BATZUETAKO JENTEA OTHER DIASPORAS				
77	Irena Matovic	Aurrez aurre	Croatian diaspora	2018/03 Boston
78	Irena Raisin	Aurrez aurre	Croatian diaspora	2018/03 Boston
79	Marine Sargsyan	Aurrez aurre	Armenian diaspora	2018/03 Boston
80	Verginie Touloumian	Aurrez aurre	Armenian diaspora	2018/03 Boston
81	Youly Panagoula Diamanti-Karanou	Aurrez aurre	Greek diaspora	2018/02 Boston
82	Xenia Zymaris	Aurrez aurre	Greek diaspora	2018/03 Boston
83	Kleanthi Mavrogiannaki	Aurrez aurre	Greek diaspora	2018/03 Boston

Iturria: norberak egina

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Gehigarriak

LEHEN PARTEA METODOLOGIA

GEHIGARRIA I

INKESTAK

**1. Basque diaspora in the United
States communication and relation**

1. Basque diaspora in the United States communication and relation

1.- Place of birth / Jaioterria

2.- Where do you live now? / Non bizi zara orain?

3.- Age / Adina

4.- Profession / Lanbidea

5.- Do you consider yourself Basque? / Euskalduna sentitzen zara?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ
- () Otro:

6.- Which province in the Basque Country are you or is your family from? / Zein probintzitikoa zara edo da zure familia?

Choose one or two / Aukeratu bat edo bi

Bizkaia	()
Gipuzkoa	()
Araba	()
Nafarroa	()
Lapurdi	()
Zuberoa	()
Behe Nafarroa	()
Not sure / Ez dakit	()

7.- Which is your relation to the Basque Country? / Zein da zure harremana Euskal Herriarekin?

Choose all the options you want / Aukeratu nahi beste

I was born in the Basque Country / Euskal Herrian jaioa	()
My parents were born in the Basque Country / Gurasoak Euskal Herrian jaioak	()
My grandparents were born in the Basque Country / Aitonamonak Euskal Herrian jaioak	()
Older connection / Aurreragoko harremana	()
I am married to a Basque person / Euskaldun batekin	()

ezkonduta nago

I am dating a Basque person /
Nire bikotea Euskalduna da ()

I have Basque friends / Lagun
Euskaldunak dauzkat ()

8.- Are you connected to the Basque Country? / Baduzu loturarik Euskal Herriarekin?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

9.- Which is your connection to the Basque Country? / Zein da zure lotura Euskal Herriarekin?

- [] Identity / Identitatea
- [] Family / Familia
- [] Culture / Kultura
- [] Business / Lana
- [] Academic / Akademikoa
- [] I have no connection / Ez daukat loturarik
- [] None of the above / Bat ere ez

10.- Are you a member of a Basque center? / Euskal Etxeren bateko kide zara?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

11.- If the answer is yes, does the Basque center have a physical space to gather together? / Erantzuna baiezkoa bada, espazio fisikorik dauka Euskal Etxeak?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

12.- Do you have family in the Basque Country? / Badaukazu familiarik Euskal Herrian?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

13.- How often do you communicate with them? / Zenbatero komunikatzen zara eurekin?

- () Weekly / Astero
- () Monthly / Hilean baten
- () A couple of times in a year / Urtean pare bat bider
- () Once in a year / Urtean baten
- () Less often than that / Hori baino gutxiago

- () Not at all / Ia inoiz

14.- Do you have friends in the Basque Country? / Baduzu lagunik Euskal Herrian?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

15.- How often do you communicate with them? / Zenbatero hitz egiten duzu eurekin?

- () Weekly / Astero
- () Monthly / Hilean baten
- () A couple of time every year / Urtean pare bat bider
- () Once in a year / Urtean baten
- () Less than that / Hori baino gutxiago
- () Not at all / Apenas ezer

16.- How do you communicate with the people from the Basque Country? / Nola komunikatzen zara Euskal Herriko jendearekin?

	Every day / Egunero	Weekly / Astero	Monthly / Hilero	Not at all / Ezer
Telephone calls / Telephono deiak	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()
WhatsApp	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()
E-mail	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()
Social Networks / Sare Sozialak	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()
By mail/ Gutun bidez	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()	<input type="radio"/> ()

17.- Other ways of communicating? / Komunikatzeko beste erarik erabiltzen duzu?

18.- Have you ever been to the Basque Country? / Egon zara inoiz Euskal Herrian?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

19.- Why do you visit the Basque Country? / Zergatik joaten zara Euskal Herrira?

YES / BAI

NO / EZ

Tourism / Turismoa	()	()
Visit friends and family / Familia eta lagunak bisitatzea	()	()
BUSiness/ Lana	()	()
Education / Edukazioa	()	()
Culture / Kultura	()	()

20.- Other reasons?/ Besterik?

**21.- Do you follow the news about the Basque Country? /
Interesatzen zaizkizu Euskal Herriko albisteak?**

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

22.- Zenbatero jarraitzen dituzu ondorengo medioak? / How often do you rely on this media?

	Daily / Egunero	Once in a week / Astean baten	Once in a month / Hilean baten	Once in a year / Urtean baten	Not at all / Ezer ez
Printed Newspapers / Paperezko egunkariak	()	()	()	()	()
Digital Newsites / Egunkari digitalak	()	()	()	()	()
TV / Telebista	()	()	()	()	()
Radio / Irratia	()	()	()	()	()
Social Net- works / Sare Sozialak	()	()	()	()	()
Interpersonal / Pertsonala	()	()	()	()	()

**23.- If you read the newspapers, which one do you read? /
Egunkaririk irakurtzen baduzu, zein da hori?**

	YES / BAI	NO / EZ
Berria	()	()

Deia	()	()
Naiz	()	()
El Correo	()	()
Diario Vasco	()	()
El País	()	()
Sudouest	()	()
La République	()	()
None of the above / Bat ere ez	()	()

24.- Others? / Besterik?

25.- Do you watch Euskal Telebista? / Euskal Telebista ikusten duzu?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

26.- Do you read Euskalkultura.com ? / Irakurtzen duzu Euskalkultura.com ?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

27.- Are you familiar with these Networks? / Ezagutzen dituzu ondorengo Sareak? *

- [] Eusko Sare
- [] Pentsamendua
- [] Global Basque Network
- [] EHU Diaspora Akademikoa
- [] Bizkaia Talent
- [] None of the above / Bat ere ez

28.- Have you sign up for Global Basque Network? / Alta eman duzu Global Basque Network sarean?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

29.- And do you use it? / Eta erabiltzen duzu?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

30.- If the answer is no, why don't you use it? / Ezezkoa bada, zergatik?

- [] I don't know what it is / Ez dut ezagutzen
- [] It is difficult to use it / Zaila da erabiltzeko
- [] They ask too much information / Datu gehiegi eskatzen dute

- [] I don't need it / Ez dut behar
- 31.- Any other reason? / Besterik?**
- 32.- Do you take part in Basque activities? / Euskal ekintzetan parte hartzen duzu?**
- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ
- 33.- If the answer is yes, in which activities do you take part? / Erantzuna baiezkoa bada, zein ekintzetan hartzen duzu parte?**

	Not at all / Inoiz	Very few / Oso gutxitan	Few / Gutxitan	Often / Askotan	Always / Gehien
Dance / Dantza	()	()	()	()	()
MUS	()	()	()	()	()
Sports / Kirolak	()	()	()	()	()
MUSic / MUSika	()	()	()	()	()
Language / Hizkuntza	()	()	()	()	()
Food / Sukaldaritza	()	()	()	()	()

34.- Others? / Besterik?

35.- Which are you more interested in, regarding the Basque Country? (Choose two) / Zein da zuretzako interesgarriena? (Aukeratu bi)

- [] Family, ancestry / Familia eta arbasoak
- [] Tourism / Turismoa
- [] BUSINESS / Enpresa arteko harremanak
- [] Educational / Edukazioa
- [] Politics / Politika
- [] Culture / Kultura

36.- Any others? / Besterik?

37.- Have you ever been to a Basque festival in the United States? / Egon zara inoiz Euskal Jaialdi batean Estatu Batuetan?

- () YES / BAI
- () NO / EZ

38.- Where have you attended a Basque festival? / Nongo Euskal jaietan izan zara?

- Nevada
- California
- Idaho
- Utah
- Florida
- Connecticut
- New York
- Washington, D.C.
- Oregon
- Wyoming
- Rhode Island
- Seattle
- None of the above / Bat ere ez

39.- Any others? / Besterik?

40.- Do you think that the Festivals are important for the Basque community in the United States? / Uste duzu Jaialdiak garrantzitsuak direla Estatu Batuetan den Euskal komunitatearentzat?

- YES / BAI
- NO / EZ

41.- When was the last festival that you attended? / Noiz izan zen parte hartu zenuen azken Euskal jaia?

- During the last year / Azken urtean
- Between 2 and 3 years ago / Orain 2-3 urte
- Between 3 and 5 years ago / Orain 3-5 urte
- More than that / Hori baino gehiago
- None of the above / Bat ere ez

42.- Whom did you interact with? / Ondorengo zeintzuekin izan zinen?

- Family from the United States / Estatu Batuetako familia
- Family from the Basque Country / Euskal Herriko familia
- Basques from my community / Nire komunitate bereko Euskaldunekin
- Basques from other states of the United States/ Estatu Batuetako beste estatu batzuetako Euskaldunekin
- Basques from the Basque Country / Euskal Herriko Euskaldunekin

- Basques from other parts of the world / Munduko beste leku batetako Euskaldunekin
- People from other countries / Beste herrialde batzutako jendearekin
- None of the above / Bat ere ez

43.- What did you enjoy the most? (Choose two) / Zer gUStatu zitzaizun gehien? (aukeratu bi)

- Dance / Dantza
- Sports / Kirolak
- Food / Janaria
- MUSic / MUSika
- Meeting other Basque people / Euskaldun gehiagorekin batzea
- None of the above / Bat ere ez

44.- Other things? / Besterik?

45.- In which sector do you think there could be improved communications (more or better information) between the Basque diaspora and Basque Country entities? / Zein esparru uste duzu hobetu beharko zela Euskal Herriko instituzioen eta kanpoan bizi diren Euskaldunen artean?

- Culture / Kultura
- Business / Enpresa
- Educational / Edukazioa
- Politics / Politika
- Not sure / Ez dakit

46.- Others? / Besterik?

47.- Zerbait gehiago gehitu nahi duzu? / Would you like to add something more?