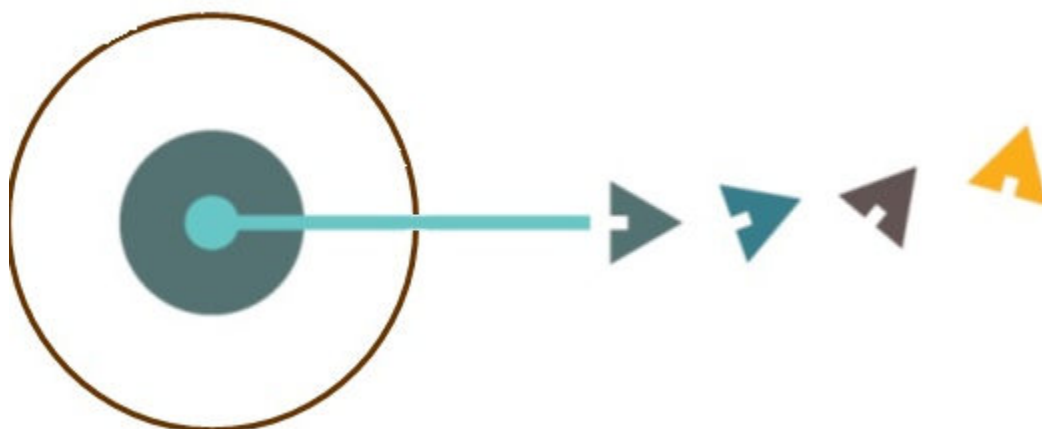


WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

SUSTAINABILITY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BASQUE
LANGUAGE OR “A ROLLING STONE GATHERS NO MOSS”



**BASQUE LANGUAGE ADVISORY COUNCIL
OFFICE OF LANGUAGE POLICY**

EUSKO JAURLARITZA

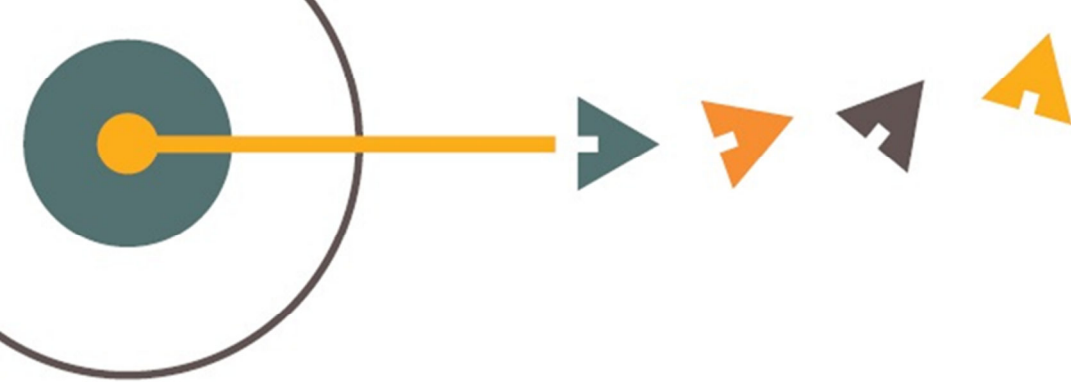
HEZKUNTZA, HIZKUNTZA POLITIKA
ETA KULTURA SAILA



GOBIERNO VASCO

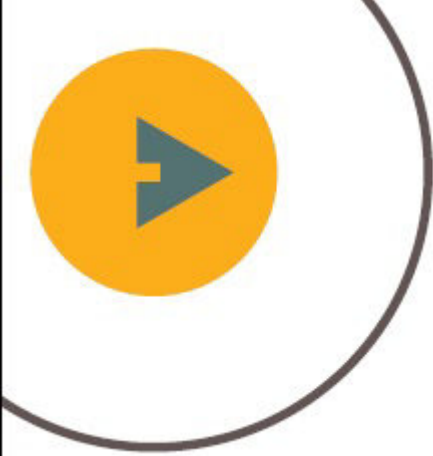
DEPARTAMENTO DE EDUCACIÓN,
POLÍTICA LINGÜÍSTICA Y CULTURA

Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2016



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PLENARY SESSION OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE ADVISORY COUNCIL

(11 May 2016)

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Deputy Chair: Cristina Uriarte Toledo, Basque Govt. Minister for Education, Language Policy and Culture

Patxi Baztarrika Galparsoro, Basque Govt. Junior Minister for Language Policy

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Maite Iruretagoiena Iburguren, Director General of IVAP

Ane Urkiola Alustiza, Head of Services at the Treasury and Finance Department

Odile Kruzeta Olañeta, Head of EITB Radio

Igone Martínez de Luna Unanue, Councillor Responsible for the Basque Language, Culture and Sports at the Provincial Council of Araba

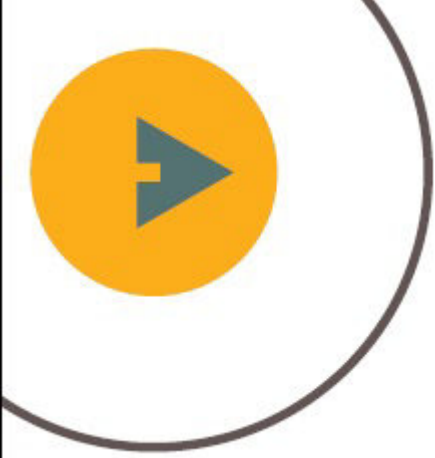
Ana de Castro Rubalcaba, Director General for the Promotion of the Basque Language at the Provincial Council of Bizkaia

Mikel Irizar Intxausti, Director General for Language Equity at the Provincial Council of Gipuzkoa

Mikel Pagola Tolosa, representative of the Association of Basque Municipalities

Andres Urrutia Badiola, Chair and representative of Euskaltzaindia

Secretary to the Basque Language Advisory Council: Jorge Giménez Bech, Head of Language Research and Coordination



EXPERTS:

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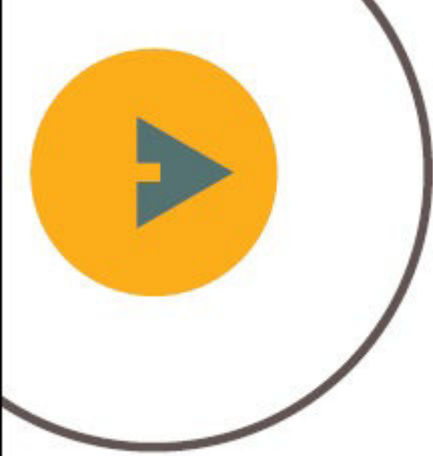
MEMBERS PROPOSED BY THE BASQUE PARLIAMENT:

Lorea Bilbao Ibarra

Paul Bilbao Sarria

Garbiñe Mendizabal Mendizabal

Xabier Olabarrieta Arnaiz



THE EUSKARA 21 SPECIAL COMMITTEE

(29 April 2016)

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Junior Minister for Language Policy and
Chair of the Special Committee

Iñaki Martinez de Luna Perez de Arriba,
Director of the Special Committee

Xabier Aizpurua Telleria

Kike Amonarriz Gorria

Mikel Arregi Pérez

Arantza Aurrekoetxea Bilbao

Lourdes Auzmendi Aierbe

Martin Auzmendi Aierbe

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Xabier Erize Etxegarai

Maite Etxaniz Balentziaga

Ramon Etxezarreta Aizpuru

J. Iñaki Etxezarreta Alberdi

Aizpea Goenaga Mendiola

Jokin Gorozika Bidaurrezaga

Mikel Irizar Intxausti

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Elena Laka Muñoz

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Garbiñe Mendizabal Mendizabal

Mertxe Mugika Balanzategi

Itziar Nogeras Berra

Eneko Oregi Goñi

Mikel Pagola Tolosa

Carlos Ruiz Gonzalez

Pello Salaburu Etxeberria

Jon Sarasua Maritxalar

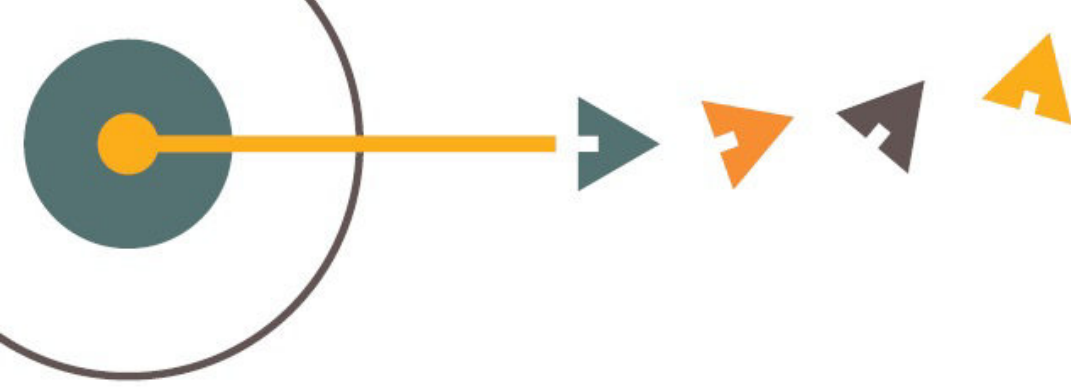
Iñaki Ugarte Rekarte

Kirmen Uribe Urbieta

Ana Urkiza Ibaibarriaga

Xarles Videgain

Jorge Giménez Bech, Secretary to the
Basque Language Advisory Council



FOREWORD

TOWARDS THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BASQUE LANGUAGE THROUGH COOPERATION

PATXI BAZTARRIKA GALPARSORO

Basque Govt. Junior Minister for Language Policy and Chair of the
Euskara 21 Special Committee of the Basque Language Advisory Council

I must acknowledge that as the Chair of the Euskara 21 Special Committee of the Basque Language Advisory Council and as Basque Government Junior Minister for Language Policy I am particularly pleased to be writing the prologue to this report “Where Do We Go from Here?” The path that we have travelled on the way to this final version of the document has been truly enriching, and I am convinced that from here on it will continue to show the way towards strengthening and increasing the use of the Basque language or Euskera over the next 20 years, and will be a meeting point within our diversity. It is already recognised as such by all those involved, in terms of both the drawing up of the document and its contents per se.

It is a consensus-based document, with all that this implies: it has been produced out of and for a consensus, thanks to discussions between people with very different opinions, all of whom have contributed generously to it. The starting point on the path to Where Do We Go from Here? was the conviction that a broad social and political agreement provides sound assurances of legitimacy and effectiveness for public policies in general and for language policy in particular. It was therefore essential that the document itself should be consensus-based, and should be the outcome of an open, participative process. The Office of Language Policy has done its utmost to ensure this, and all the members of the Euskara 21 Special Committee have done likewise. I would like to acknowledge and highlight from the outset the exemplary, participative attitude shown by all those who have taken part in the process.

The process that leads up to an outcome is often as important as the outcome itself, and this case is no exception. On 28 November 2014 the Euskara 21 Special Committee discussed, among other issues, whether to approve a SWOT document which in turn included numerous contributions made on the basis of broad-ranging participation on the strategic lines envisaged for the diagnostic analysis of the Basque language contained in the ESEP (Action Plan for the Promotion of Basque). The said document was drawn up as a more

detailed study based on that diagnostic analysis. At the same time that the SWOT document was being approved, several members of the Euskara 21 Special Committee asked me to draw up and present a document that would answer the question “where do we go from here?” I accepted this task and presented the document as agreed at the meeting of the Committee in July 2015. It was not intended to be a final document but rather a draft for discussion with a view to finding agreements. During the debate at that meeting it was agreed to open a period for the submission of written contributions. Eight such contributions were submitted by people from outside the Euskara 21 Committee. Many of those contributions were also raised verbally at the debates held by the Committee to open up channels for discussion. The committee held several meetings that featured such debates before finally, in late April 2016, a document was presented to the committee that took into consideration various viewpoints, proposals and nuances arising from its meetings and numerous contributions. Following honest efforts to bring all the information together, this provided us with the (second) final draft. We thus had a document belonging to the Euskara 21 Special Committee, which approved it unanimously. Subsequently, on 11 May, the Plenary Session of the Basque Language Advisory Council also approved it unanimously. And it is that wording which appears here.

The document thus brings together proposals by many of the participants in the process of debate, maintaining the characteristics and content of the wording presented in November 2014 but in a highly enriched form thanks to the further contributions incorporated. In terms of renewing and extending the initial document based on contributions made throughout the process, we enlisted the expert assistance of sociolinguistics specialist Xabier Erize. I would like to thank him specifically for his substantial contribution. We have been fortunate enough to be able to carry out the task of integrating all the contributions made at the Euskara 21 Special Committee of the Basque Language Advisory Council in a process of ongoing dialogue and cooperation between Mr Erize and those of us who form part of the management team at the Office of Language Policy.

Where Do We Go from Here? is therefore the result of a broad-based participation process involving long hours of debate. It is a shared reflection, a reflection drawn up both within and outside the Euskara 21 Special Committee of the Basque Language Advisory Council. It seeks to revitalise social and political consensus, since – as pointed out above – such consensus is essential if we are to continue making effective progress in the process of revitalising the Basque language. We must move forward and not backwards, and that requires sufficient levels of involvement, commitment and social and political consensus. There must of course be no backsliding in terms of social and political consensus: rather, the current level of consensus must be strengthened, broadened and increased. That is what this document is: the outcome of our efforts to ensure consensus; and it is a consensus based on cooperation.

The document is concerned with the future, not the past. Its goal is to ensure the sustainable development of Euskera, and to ensure that sustained growth becomes sustainable growth. By contrast with the situation 35 years ago, at least from the viewpoint of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (ACBC), the goal is to ensure not the survival of Basque but rather its vitality, and that means taking a viewpoint that reaches across two or three generations. What is at stake as regards the use of the language – and it is in use that the strength of a language is measured – is that Basque should be seen as a language in its own right and not a subordinate language. We must strive to ensure that the current imbalance

between Basque and Spanish does not become chronic. The concept of sustainable development makes complete sense when it is applied to the new challenges that we face in the wake of past and present changes in society, and as a result of the growth undergone by the Basque language in the past 30 years. The goal of sustainable development makes complete sense also in terms of the conditions required to ensure that Basque is a living language, in terms of the path that runs from survival to vitality, in terms of Basque being a language of everyday use for more and more people, in which they say more and more things, and in terms of continued progress along the path towards making Basque the second language of more and more people without undermining its position as a first language, while gradually taking up more and more space.

This is an innovative document. It seeks to blend courage and prudence, because it seeks to move forward while taking into account current circumstances as they really are, without disguising them or becoming resigned to them. It seeks to make progress towards attainable goals. Feasibility itself is a sign of courage in language policy, because feasibility criteria are a necessary foundation for improvement and progress if we are to guarantee the effectiveness of a process that aims to revitalise the Basque language. We must be as courageous as we are prudent, and as prudent as we are courageous, because courage without prudence leads to frustration and prudence without courage leads to resignation.

As evidence of how closely it pays attention to reality, the document incorporates the demographic language forecast drawn up by the Office of Language Policy for 2036, i.e. with a 20 year time frame, which takes into account the demographic forecasts drawn up by EUSTAT among other items. This forecast is based on four factors: number of speakers (Basque speakers, passive Basque speakers and Spanish speakers) and their ages, first language status, trends in language models in teaching and the contribution of Basque language learning for adults. In language policy the desire to do something is as important as the ability to do it, and when it is determined what can be done the factors that must be taken into account need to include not only the options for change in society itself but also internal limitations on change. The demographic language forecast has clear political implications, because if the scenario imagined for 2036 is to come about it is essential that the present levels of political and institutional effort, social initiative and implication of society should at least be maintained. The forecast is, however, an innovation because nothing similar is known in our immediate area.

The document did not emerge from thin air. Earlier agreements and reflections deserve to be taken into consideration, and the current document follows the trail that they blazed. They include the report whose title translates as “Euskara 21: towards a new covenant”, which was a real landmark. On the one hand *Where Do We Go from Here?* establishes the foundations of language policy for the next 20 years (2016-2036), and on the other hand it draws up a framework of priorities (which will no doubt need to be updated in the course of those 20 years, but which in any event provides a solid grounding for efforts to bring together the public sector, social initiatives and the private sector). It is neither a planning document nor a catalogue of measures to be taken. It is not intended, for instance, to replace the ESEP. It is precisely what it is described at above, and one of its functions is to provide the basis for such planning documents as may be required from time to time.

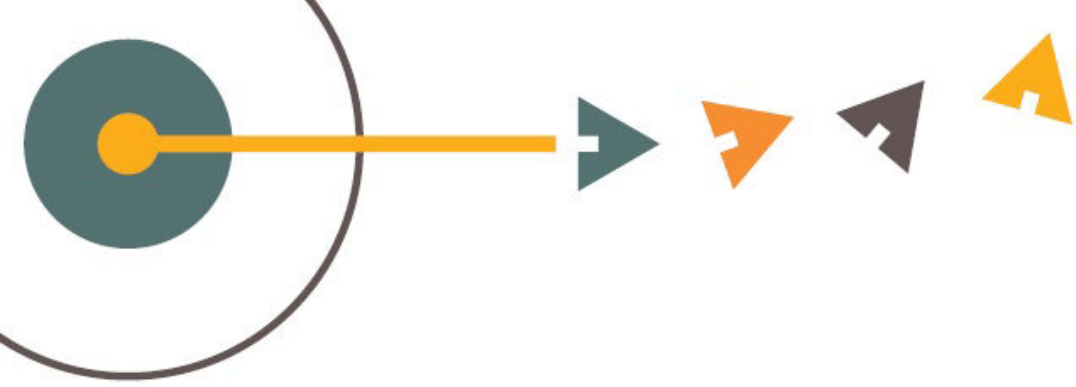
It highlights the central role of ordinary people in the task of revitalising the language, and the decisive importance of involving society, without neglecting the fundamental tasks and responsibilities that fall to public institutions and agents of many different kinds. The key lies

in fostering and protecting the enablement of ordinary people as Basque speakers, and encouraging their will to speak Basque. To paraphrase Joshua Fishman, we are the only ones on whom our language can count for support.

The Basque language is linked to peaceful coexistence, equal opportunities, equity and liberty; and the future that we seek to build for it is based on a framework of the utmost respect for language options, for both Basque and Spanish. Since the issue of Euskera lies at the heart of peaceful coexistence in our society, if we are to effectively face the challenges that await us then we must revitalise our society's "language covenant" by encouraging people to sign up to it and reinforcing social and political consensus. As we move along that path it can be assumed that peaceful coexistence as regards language would benefit if significant steps were taken over the next 20 years for the gradual development of the following two principles, encouraging a broad majority of our society to take them on board: understanding both the languages spoken here so that everyone can use whichever they prefer; and actively encouraging the use of Basque in all areas of our society so that it becomes a widely used language and the gap that currently exists between the two official languages can be narrowed.

Along with *Where Do We Go from Here?*, two highly useful annexes mentioned in the main document are published here: one is the *Forecast for the Basque Language in 2036* drawn up by the Studies and Planning Unit of the Office of Language Policy, which envisages three scenarios (two of them based on different demographic forecasts by EUSTAT and the other drawn up according to the RECLUS model); the other is the *Common Ground for a Shared Discourse concerning Basque* drawn up by the Office of Language Policy based on information contained in the EGOD Project (*Analysis of Basic Discourses concerning the Basque Language*), led by sociolinguistics specialist Iñaki Martínez de Luna, who is also the director of the Euskara 21 Special Committee.

I am delighted to acknowledge and express my gratitude for the active engagement of the members of the Euskara 21 Special Committee and of all those outside the committee who have been involved in the process of reflection that has led to this document. They have all made valuable contributions and have shown themselves to be most willing to cooperate. My deepest thanks also go out to the members of the Basque Language Advisory Council and in particular, for the reasons indicated above, to Xabier Erize and the members of the management team at the Office of Language Policy. The outcome of this cooperation is *Where Do We Go from Here?*, which we hope will be an effective instrument for cooperation in its own right.



WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

SUSTAINABILITY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BASQUE
LANGUAGE OR “A ROLLING STONE GATHERS NO MOSS”

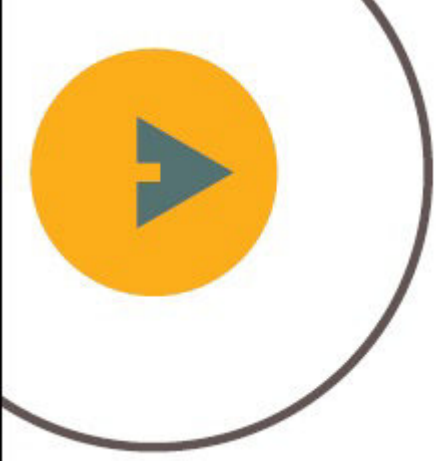
*Erabiltzen ez den Euskara
hil egiten da
mugitzen ez den bihotza
hil egiten den bezala.*

*Ez da ezergatik, baina
isiltzen duzun euskara
hiltzen duzun euskara da.*

If Basque is not used
it will die
just as a heart dies
that does not beat.

This is not said in vain:
the Basque that you silence
is a Basque that you kill.

BITORIANO GANDIAGA



WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?¹

Before analysing the reflections set out in this document we must mention an expression that is frequently used, even though we do not like it in reference to Basque: the “saving” of the language.

But Basque will not be “saved” – to use a word that we dislike – merely because it is the language of Euskal Herria, the Basque lands. Basque will not be saved merely because Basques are entitled to use it or because we implement policies and actions favourable to it; or at least not only because of these things.

Basque will be “saved”, and will be a living language, thanks to the will of those who speak it, because we Basque speakers love and need Basque. That is what justifies and encourages efforts to save Basque.

The key lies in “loving” the language, believing it to be “necessary and attractive” and considering it as such.



¹ On 10 July 2015 the Junior Minister for Language Policy submitted to the Euskara 21 Special Committee of the Basque Language Advisory Council a document entitled *Where Do We Go from Here?* The present document has been drawn up taking into account discussions and numerous contributions to the initial document made within the Committee, and is therefore the outcome of various additions to that initial document. Committee Chair Patxi Bazterrika and sociolinguistics specialist Xabier Erize worked to draw up the wording of this final version, which was approved unanimously by the Euskara 21 Special Committee on 28 April 2016, and also unanimously approved by the Basque Language Advisory Council in Its Plenary Session on 11th May.

The annex containing the forecast for the Basque language was drawn up by the Studies and Planning Office of the Department of Language Policy.

NOTE: this document is based on the Spanish translation of the original document in Basque.

PRELIMINARIES

When the Euskara 21 Special Committee sought to analyse the diagnostic analysis contained in the Action Plan for the Promotion of Basque (ESEP)² in greater depth by discussing the SWOT³ drawn up for that purpose, some members of the committee proposed that the Junior Minister for Language Policy should take on the task of drawing up a document to answer the question “where do we go from here, with a 15-20 year time frame?”. It was on the basis of that document and the subsequent discussions held by the Committee that this final document concerning the sustainable development of the Basque language was prepared.

It is worth repeating the classic definition of “sustainable development” here, linked to the needs of individuals, society, the environment and the economy:

“Humanity has the ability to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The concept of sustainable development does imply limits – not absolute limits but limitations imposed by the present state of technology and social organisation (...). Sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations for a better life”⁴.

We believe that the parallel drawn here with the sustainable development of the Basque language is justified, given that we are discussing the language needs of Basque speakers and the Basque people in general, the conditions needed to ensure that Basque remains a living language and the way in which the language needs of Basque speakers and the people of the Basque country can be met now and in the future, while taking into account the limitations imposed by the way in which Basque society is currently organised.

To ensure the sustainable development of Basque, it must be a living language for everyday life and peaceful coexistence, it must be used in all contexts and it must be the usual language of more and more people.

² On 11 September 2013 the Basque Parliament ratified the Action Plan for the Promotion of Basque (ESEP), “taking on as its own the goals, measures and actions therein”.

³ Consejo Asesor del Euskera [Basque Language Advisory Council] (2015). *Plan de acción para la promoción del euskera. Complementado con el documento DAFO relativo al diagnóstico*. [“Plan of Action for Promoting Basque. Supplemented by the SWOT Diagnostic Analysis”] Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Government.

⁴ World Commission on Environment and Development (1987). “Our Common Future”.

When we refer in this document to “the situation of the Basque language” we are referring to the language needs and desires of the Basque people and not to the language itself in an abstract sense.

The documents used as the starting point for this report include the *Action Plan for the Promotion of Basque, Supplemented by the SWOT for Its Diagnostic Analysis*⁵ and *Euskara 21. Bases for Language Policy at the Outset of the 21st-Century: Towards a Renewed Covenant*⁶. It should be mentioned that this last report sets out 14 priority lines for work⁷.

⁵ Consejo Asesor del Euskera [Basque Language Advisory Council] (2015). *Plan de acción para la promoción del euskera. Complementado con el documento DAFO relativo al diagnóstico* [“Plan of Action for Promoting Basque. Supplemented by the SWOT Diagnostic Analysis”]. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Government.

⁶ Consejo Asesor del Euskera [Basque Language Advisory Council] (2009). *Euskara 21. Bases para política lingüística de principios del siglo XXI. Hacia un pacto renovado*. [“Euskara 21. Bases for Language Policy at the Outset of the 21st Century: Towards a Renewed Covenant”] Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Government, Department of Culture, Office of Language Policy.

⁷ The document *Euskara 21.- Bases para política lingüística de principios del siglo XXI. Hacia un pacto renovado*. [“Euskara 21. Bases for Language Policy at the Outset of the 21st Century: Towards a Renewed Covenant”] established the following 14 priority lines for language policy at the outset of the 21st century:

1. To guarantee that Basque will be known and used by new generations.
2. To care for, strengthen and extend the vital niches and functions in which Basque is habitually used, so as to ensure that the language is passed down from one generation to another and to strengthen its status as a social reference point. In short, the idea is not only to extend knowledge of the Basque language but also to produce Basque speakers.
3. To guarantee that the language will be passed on within families by making sure in particular that bilingual young people who will still be less than 30 years old in 25 years time use Basque as their family language. This is the main key to the future.
4. To strengthen the Basque speaking community by extending and strengthening face-to-face and virtual networks for the use of Basque.
5. To increase opportunities to use Basque in large cities, giving priority to Basque speaking families, young people and children.
6. To foster and raise the profile of passive bilingualism among adults as a minimum objective.
7. To encourage the enjoyment of cultural activities in Basque from an emancipating viewpoint for the Basque culture industry and its producers and creators.
8. To take the Basque language and all that surrounds it to immigrants so as to facilitate and enrich their broad integration and bring the language into demographically dynamic areas.
9. To make communication standards in Basque richer and more flexible as a way of encouraging expressiveness among new speakers, shifting from considering formal correctness as the sole criteria for assessment to assessing standards of communication and expression.
10. To guarantee opportunities to use Basque on the path towards respect for language rights over and above their mere acknowledgement.
11. To make Basque attractive and raise its profile: Basque contains a multitude of worlds and there is room within it for the worlds of those who come to the language. The world of Basque is more plural than the image that we currently give would suggest, and we must make it more plural still, so that it becomes as plural as society itself.
12. To enhance the image of Basque by clearly disseminating cultural and communication-related achievements on the one hand and giving practical expression as part of our discourse to the idea that Basque is an essential component of social cohesion in the Basque Country.
13. To use language-related technology and ICTs in general to develop Basque, create content online and properly exploit the potential of virtual communication networks to help mainstream Basque and

Thanks are due to the various members of the Euskara 21 Commission for their contributions prior to the drawing up of the present document. We must also thank the experts on and outside the Commission for their contributions following the submission of the first draft of this document to the Commission. Many of those contributions are now reflected in the pages that follow.

In any case, it must be said from the outset that the purpose of this document is to establish common ground and a framework of priorities for the language policy to be implemented over the next two decades with a view to ensuring the sustainable growth and vitality of the Basque language. The document does not therefore set out to propose a specific programme of action.

This text is set mainly in the area of public sector policies. Such policies are the courses of action (actions per se plus the processes for the resolution of those actions) implemented by public authorities with a view to solving the problems of society. They are based on legislation and on the principles of social customs⁸. For a public sector policy to be successful it must meet the following requirements: it must solve the problems of society without creating political or social divides, and it must encourage active engagement by the public and democratic processes⁹; these are precisely the characteristics with which we seek to imbue the promotion of the Basque language.

It must be taken into account that the way in which language evolves in a society is the result of multiple factors, and not just of public sector policies. Such policies are indeed an essential, important factor but they are not the only one. Moreover, public sector policies have intrinsic limitations when it comes to influencing society¹⁰. The situation is similar in other areas of society: in health, for example, when actions are taken to encourage the population to adopt healthy habits such as physical exercise, healthy eating or cutting down on smoking, the last word lies with the public and not with the government (e.g. in deciding whether or not actually to serve up a plate of greasy food).

Apart from the public sector, society also comprises social initiatives, the private sector and the general public. All these sectors must be maintained in balance, each with its own responsibilities and tasks¹¹. In other words, public administrations must encourage and help society and must generate opportunities, but it should not be the authorities – or at least not only or indeed mainly the authorities – that revitalise the language in society. The task of revitalising the language falls above all to each citizen and to society as a whole, as indicated

increase the possibilities for using it. Basque must use ICTs as an essential tool for reaching full development as a language.

14. To permanently encourage and strengthen broad-based agreements on matters of language policy with a view to achieving a renewed covenant in which the revitalisation of Basque is closely linked to social cohesion.

⁸ Characteristics of Successful Public Policy (2015), in Norwich University, *Master of Public Administration Online*, obtained online; and Public Policy (2015) in *Wikipedia*.

⁹ Characteristics of Successful Public Policy (2015), In Norwich University, *Master of Public Administration Online*, obtained online.

¹⁰ The Limits of Public Policy (2015), in *The Public Policy Cycle*, obtained online.

¹¹ Mintzberg, H. (2015): Time for the Plural Sector, in *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, obtained online.

in section 8 of this document. To revitalise Euskera, the efforts of individuals, of society and of the authorities must be coordinated and there must be feedback between them.

This document clearly considers the Basque language as a positive heritage that must be respected, protected and developed. Current legislation sees it in the same way. For instance, the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages states that “the adoption of special measures in favour of regional or minority languages aimed at promoting equity between the users of these languages and the rest of the population or which take due account of their specific conditions is not considered to be an act of discrimination against the users of more widely-used languages”¹².

¹² Council of Europe-Conseil de l’Europe (1992): *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages-Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires (Spanish version - unofficial translation)*, Strasbourg.

2

THE PATH ALREADY TRAVELLED

In the past 35 years *Euskera* has made great steps forward in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (ACBC): the number of speakers has increased by more than 300,000 and the language has earned itself a place, to varying extents, in social contexts where it was once unknown or forbidden. 300,000 more speakers is a great achievement on a global scale, and our experience is an international benchmark for revitalisation processes for many other languages.

However, Basque still has a long way to go before it is truly mainstreamed, and there could be setbacks in the future if efforts to consolidate its growth in society are not maintained. Basque and Spanish both have official status in the ACBC and both are acknowledged as having equal rights to use in law, but there is still a situation of sociolinguistic imbalance. Although Basque has undergone a clear process of recovery it is still in a relatively weak position compared to the strength of Spanish. There is also a need to analyse the work already done with a view to reinforcing the strengths and overcoming the weaknesses found in certain areas, and making corrections where necessary.

In spite of frequent warnings of imminent extinction throughout its history¹³, its revitalisation over the last 40 years means that we can now consider that the survival of the language is assured at least for two or three generations; but survival is not the same thing is vitality. The challenge now facing Basque is therefore to grow in vitality and strength in the context of present and future society, i.e. to be a “grown-up” language and not a subordinate language. The decisive factor in reaching this goal is without doubt the extent to which it is used.

Now more than ever the future of *Euskera* lies in the hands of the people: this means mainly Basque speakers but also those people who are still monolingual, given that the attitudes of the latter and the practical steps that they take in regard to Basque (e.g. taking steps to ensure a future in Basque for their children) will also condition the final recovery of the language.

¹³ See for instance Erize, X. (1999). *Vascohablantes y castellano hablantes en la historia del euskera de Navarra*, [“Basque speakers and Spanish speakers in the history of Basque in Navarre”] Pamplona: Government of Navarre.

WHERE THERE'S A WILL...

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries the Basque language in the ACBC has had on its side the protection of the law, language policy and the will of the people¹⁴, and it is the combination of these three factors that is largely responsible for its current renaissance.

The shift from being excluded from all areas of administration, education and official contexts to having legally recognised official status and from a public sector policy of persecution and marginalisation to one of encouragement has given the Basque language wings. But without doubt the key factor in its continued existence has been the will of the Basque people.

If *Euskera* is to continue growing stronger and moving forward from survival to vitality and full use in daily life it needs to continue enjoying the support of society, and that support must take the form of a practical attitude.

This is not the only necessary factor, but it is the cornerstone on which all others rest. It is the will of society that legitimises efforts to promote progressive language policies, create conditions for the use of the language and implement language-related social education. Indeed, the public authorities are under obligation to channel the will of the people, and responsibility for protecting the language rights of all citizens lies not just with the authorities but with groups and organisations of all kinds. This must be done in any event in accordance with the principles of law and customs that protect the will of the public to promote Basque, as pointed out above in reference to public sector policies. Ultimately, a Democratic language policy feeds into the will of the public.

¹⁴ This document analyses both objective and subjective factors in the evolution of languages: both need to be studied when attempting to clarify sociolinguistic dynamics, which is what we have been doing since the 1st Social linguistic Survey of the Basque Country, for which the advice of social psychologist and sociolinguist Richard Y. Bourhis was sought. However, less is known about the subjective factors than about the objective ones, and we believe that in the years to come more attention must be paid to them than hitherto. See Bell, A. (2014): *The guidebook to sociolinguistics*, Chichester, West Sussex (EB); Wiley Blackwell, Genesee, F. & Bourhis, R. Y. (1988): Evaluative reactions to language choice strategies: the role of sociostructural factors, in *Language & Communication*, 8-3/4, 229-250; Giles, H. & Johnson, P. (1987), Ethnolinguistic identity theory: a social psychological approach to language maintenance, in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 68, 69-99; and Sánchez Carrión, J. M. «Txepetx» (1987): *Un futuro para nuestro pasado. Claves de la recuperación del Euskera y teoría social de las Lenguas*. [“A Future for our Past: The Keys to Recovering Basque and the Social Theory of Languages”]. S. I.

“Will” cannot be conjured from nothing. For that will to be felt various conditions must fall into place, as evidenced throughout this document: the people must love *Euskera* or languages in general (per se on equal terms); the language must be practical and convenient; there must be settings for its use; and the language itself and its use must be well regarded and appreciated.

It is worth recalling here a point made briefly in the introduction to the 5th Sociolinguistic Survey: “now more than ever the future of Basque lies in the hands of the Basque people themselves, especially those of them who speak Basque”. To paraphrase Joshua Fishman, we are the only ones that our language can count on¹⁵. On the basis of that idea we seek to stress the central role played by ordinary people, without thereby neglecting the tasks that fall to any particular party or indeed to us all. We are still a long way from where we want to be and from the place where we feel that Basque needs to be, though it must be said that the language has never before enjoyed so many settings or such a high profile in the life of society as it does now. But (there is always a “but”) the future is not written in stone: future events are hard to predict, precisely because it is up to future generations now more than ever to consolidate the heritage that we leave them and improve on it... or backslide. New and future generations will decide whether or not to use Basque, whether (and to what extent) to embrace it or turn their backs on it.

¹⁵ Fishman, J. A. (2001): *Can threatened languages be saved?* Clevedon, EB: Multilingual Matters, p. 457.

4

IMAGINING THE SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE

Basque society has changed, and so have its language-related and socioeconomic characteristics and indeed the nature of the Basque-speaking population. This will have consequences in the future.

There was a time when most Basque speakers were not formally literate in Basque, but this is no longer the case. Many of today's Basque speakers have received their schooling and indeed their university education in the language. There have never been so many people able to read and write Basque as there are now. There are no longer any monolingual Basque speakers among the population aged four and over. Most people who spoke Basque used to express themselves better in Basque than in Spanish, whereas nowadays the opposite is true. Moreover, the number of bilingual individuals whose mastery of Spanish is greater than that of Basque has increased considerably. These are people who cope excellently with passive or receptive skills in Basque (oral and written comprehension) but less well with active or productive skills (oral and written expression). The sociolinguistic characteristics of Basque speakers differ considerably depending on whether they have acquired the language naturally within a family or Basque-speaking environment or whether they come from Spanish-speaking environments and families and have learned Basque later (in school or as adults). From a situation in which Basque was the first language of most Basque-speakers in all age groups, we have shifted to one in which 54.8% of Basque speakers aged 40 and under have Spanish as their first language. These characteristics are inherent in the growth of Basque.

The Basque-speaking community has become more urban, and indeed Basque society as a whole has changed considerably over the years. The Internet and information and communication technologies (ICTs) have changed the habits of many citizens, particularly younger people. Many younger speakers from generations that grew up and were schooled in Basque are moving away from the Basque Country, and at the same time immigrants are arriving here, most of them Spanish speakers below the age of 40. Alongside the two official languages, English has obtained and will continue to obtain an increasingly significant presence, especially in younger circles.

The social growth of Basque has occurred and will continue to occur mainly among young people, the age group most sensitive to changes of all kinds.

Demolinguistic forecasts are discussed below. Analysing forecasts for the future can entail major “political” implications in regard to the tasks of the public authorities and those of the various social actors, because such forecasts provide basic material with which to draw up actions for the future with a view to reinforcing, maintaining or slowing current trends¹⁶.

In essence, a forecast posits future scenarios on the basis of data on trends to date. As shown above, the positive trend in the development of Basque in the last few decades is the result of major social efforts (by individuals, public authorities and social initiatives). Those efforts have overcome negative resistance and have been able to bring about an upturn in the graph of the development of the language.

The basic hypothesis on which the forecasts for the future of Basque presented here are built envisages that the current positive social energy will be maintained in the timeframe up to 2036. This means that the forecasts for the Basque language will maintain an upward trend. However if that social energy were to diminish, there would be a downturn. When riding a bike the only way to maintain the speed attained is to keep pedalling: otherwise the bike will soon stop. Inertia will take it forward for a few metres, but no further. The same goes for the forecasts concerning the future of *Euskera*: we need to keep pedalling. The goal of these demolinguistic forecasts is not therefore to lead us into passive conformity but to determine the real basis that we need to consider in order to propose specific actions.

We have striven to imagine the situation in which the Basque language will find itself in the ACBC by 2036. In drawing up forecasts with a 20 year time frame we have taken the following points into consideration: demographic change, language skills, use as a first language, education and Basque language-learning among adults. These points are considered because they are (together with use and attitude) the main factors when it comes to providing information on social trends in Basque (number of speakers, learning in families, at school and as adults).

We have tried to be prudent in drawing up this forecast, so we have not constrained ourselves to a single scenario but have posited three: one is based on the RECLUS model and the others on two of the seven demographic scenarios considered by EUSTAT (specifically, nº 2 and nº 4). The details of each scenario can be found in the document *Proyección del euskera en 2036*¹⁷. EUSTAT Scenario nº 4 is outlined below. We have selected to outline this scenario because it represents the middle ground of the three cases: it is neither the highest nor the lowest in terms of figures. In any event, the difference between the three scenarios is small.

Let us therefore take a look at the main characteristics of this forecast.

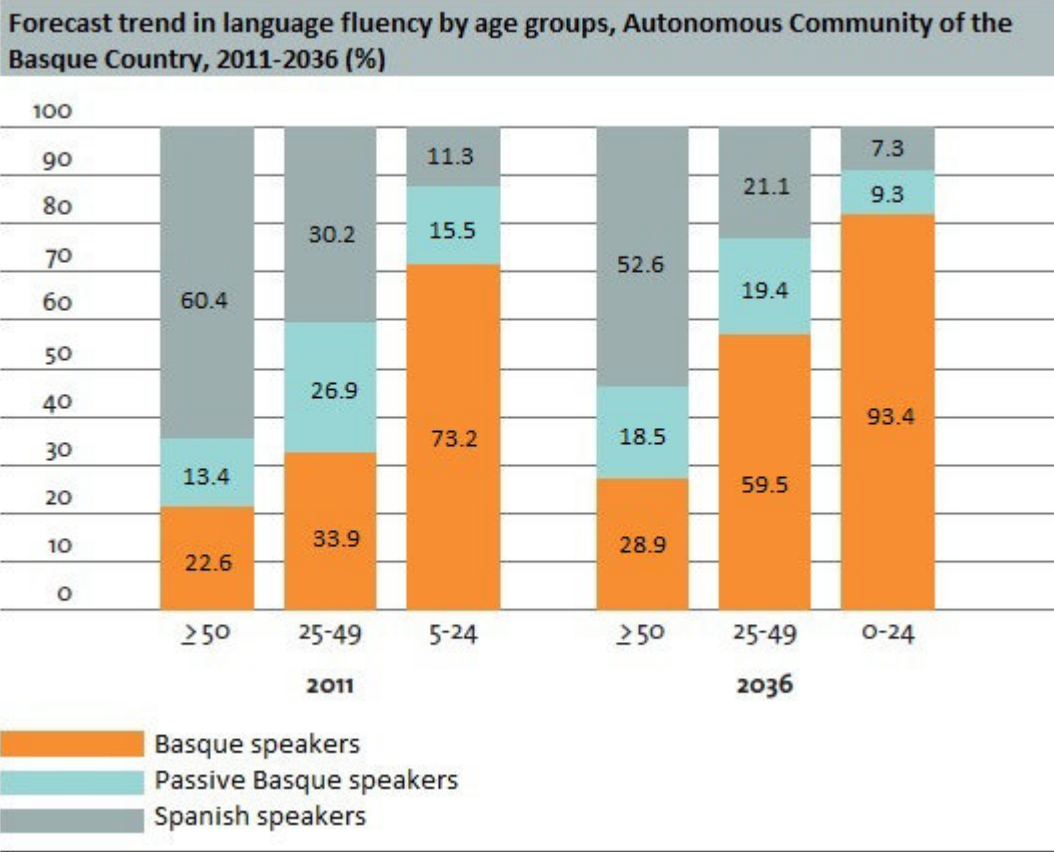
According to the demographic scenario posited by EUSTAT, by 2036 the population of the ACBC will have increased by almost 12,000. The ratio of births to deaths will be negative but the balance of migration will be positive. Between now and 2036 the proportion of the population aged 25-49 will decrease by 8.6%, while the proportion aged 50 and over will increase by 8.3%. There is expected to be a slight increase in the birth rate, but in spite of

¹⁶ See the explanations given by Marc Termote, Frédéric Payeur and Normand Thibault in a substantial study involving demolinguistic forecasts in Québec: Termote, M., with F. Payeur & N. Thibault. (2011): *Perspectives démologiques du Québec et de la région de Montréal 2006-2056*. S. l.: Gouvernement du Québec.

¹⁷ Office of Language Policy (2016): *Proyección del euskera en 2036* [“Forecast for the Basque Language in 2036”] (Annex 1 to this document).

this the number of young people aged 14 and under will decrease from the current figure of 14% to 13.3% in 2036 (a drop of 0.7%, equivalent to 14,500 individuals). In the medium term there is expected to be a decrease in the number of people of school age.

In 2036 the proportion of Basque speakers in the ACBC is expected to be 49.5%, with 16.7% of passive Basque speakers and 33.8% of Spanish speakers. The data for 2011 put the proportion of Basque speakers at 36.4%, that of passive Basque speakers at 19.3% and that of Spanish speakers at 44.3%. In terms of age groups, 83.4% of under 25s are expected to be Basque speakers (compared to the current figure of 73.2%), with 9.3% being passive Basque speakers (currently 15.5%) and 7.3% being Spanish speakers (currently in 11.3%). In the 25-49 age group Basque speakers are expected to account for 59.5%, passive Basque speakers for 19.4% and Spanish speakers for 21.1%. Among the over 50s the proportion of Basque speakers is expected to be 28.9%, with passive Basque speakers numbering 18.5% and Spanish speakers 52.6%.



30.5% of the population are expected to be using Basque as their first language (compared to the current figure of 23.5%). The biggest change is expected among those aged 24 and under: 32.1% of this group currently have Basque as their first language, but by 2036 that figure is expected to increase to 48.8%.

20.7% of the 25-49 age group currently have Basque as their first language, and that figure is expected to rise to one third by 2036.

However, the proportion of the population aged 50 and over who use Basque as their first language is set to drop from the current figure of 22.6% to 20.9%.

The forecast for education envisages the following trends in the schooling models used throughout non-University education: 81.3% of pupils are expected to be studying under Model D (the current figure is 66.3%), 16.5% under Model B (currently 18.6%) and 1.7% under Model A (currently 14.5%).

Finally, around 4500 adults per year are expected to be learning Basque. This figure is based on individuals whose starting point is Level A2 or lower and who reach Level B1 ("independent users" under the European Framework) or higher. This means that the current rate of Basque language learning (4577 individuals per annum) is expected to be maintained.

Clearly, new times bring new opportunities, new limits and new challenges, especially as regards the point of origin of Basque speakers (language transmitted within families, schooling in Basque and adult language learning/literacy). As a result, the strategies used must also be adapted.

ASSURING THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OR GROWTH OF BASQUE

In view of the experience gained over the years in promoting Basque, we need to assure for the future that we consolidate and strengthen the achievements made to date, so as to prevent any backsliding. That is already a major challenge, and one that calls for active efforts: inertia contributes little or nothing to this task, as shown in the section on forecasts.

We need to ensure that each upward step in the growth of Basque becomes a new foundation for continued progress; that each new landmark reached is a firm grounding for the next. This is dealt with in subsection 9 below.

To that end, it is vitally important for Basque to secure and consolidate certain minimum functional settings in our society, and for it to spread from there into other settings side-by-side with the main language (i.e. Spanish or French). Appropriate consideration must also be given to geographic and sociolinguistic distribution. We need to distinguish which geographical areas are liable to be considered as *arnasgunes* or “vital living areas” for Basque, which ones as intermediate areas and which as predominantly Spanish-speaking areas. The social and functional distribution of speakers is bound to differ in these three types of area. Basque and Spanish must learn to live side-by-side, and the sustainability of both languages must in any event be guaranteed. Bilingual individuals have an important role to play in ensuring this coexistence.

We must continue working to mainstream the Basque language, i.e. to bring it to “adulthood”, by extending efforts in areas that have proved successful in revitalising the language; at the same time, corrections must be made where necessary and we must adapt to new challenges and needs entailed by changes in society.

With our sights set on the next 20 years, our challenge is therefore to persevere in our efforts to gradually mainstream and extend the use of Basque, setting ourselves the goal of coming closer to a more bilingual society made up of bilingual individuals. However we must be aware that not all of the population will be bilingual to the same extent, and must therefore take equity between the two languages as our basis in terms of status and in terms of the language-related rights of all citizens, regardless of whether they choose to use Spanish or Basque. We realise that the context of the future language picture will be increasingly complex, as discussed in section 6 below. We therefore seek to work towards a

more multilingual society made up of multilingual individuals who at least understand both official languages; a society where the use of Basque can grow sustainably.

It is only right to point out here that the term “language rights” can be interpreted in two ways: on the one hand it means the set of rights that all citizens are acknowledged to have under law, and on the other hand it means a declaration of will, a desideratum, which is not yet formally enshrined. These are two different meanings: turning desiderata into formally enshrined language rights calls for democratic processes; otherwise they will still be no more than desiderata.

If we are to meet these challenges, we must turn the sociolinguistic growth undergone by the Basque language in the past 30 years into sustainable growth in the years to come.

MANAGING OUR DIVERSITY ON THE BASIS OF EQUITY, WITH PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AS OUR GOAL

We live in a plural society, and we must acknowledge and give due respect to that plurality as an intrinsically good thing, because failure to do so would mean getting off on the wrong footing in any attempts to implement effective policies to promote the Basque language.

Our society is also increasingly plural as regards language. Basque society is a bilingual society, but it operates in an increasingly plurilingual context, especially as regards younger generations. English (above all) and other languages will soon be occupying more or less significant areas of society, acquiring certain functions in certain settings.

In this plurilingual context Basque needs to secure sufficient space for itself in social life and sufficient functional settings for its use, because it is an added value for Basque society. The issue should not be Basque “or” Spanish, or indeed Basque “or” English but Basque plus Spanish (or French) plus English.

So when we speak about language policy and the revitalisation of Basque we are speaking about coexistence: coexistence in society, coexistence between languages and coexistence between their speakers. In our society language coexistence is a fundamental element of social coexistence.

This is the root of the link between equity and language policy. There is a definition of language equity here: assuring correctness and fairness in the management, distribution and organisation of public-sector policies¹⁸. Similarly, equality and sustainable development are also closely linked concepts¹⁹.

¹⁸ Social Equity in Governance (2015), in National Academy of Public Administration, *Standing Panel on Social Equity in Governance*.

¹⁹ According to the United Nations: “sustainability is inextricably linked to basic questions of equity – that is of fairness and social justice and of greater access to a better quality of life. Sustainability is not exclusively or even primarily an environmental issue. (...) This Report identifies pathways for people, local communities, countries and the international community to promote environmental sustainability and equity in mutually reinforcing ways ». (UN Development Programme 2011). *Human Development Report 2011. Sustainability and Equity: A Better Future For all*. New York.

One of the main goals of sustainability is to create opportunities for every group of human beings to achieve full development, and that goal is linked to the ability of individuals and groups to make democratic, plural decisions. If a group of people has the will to develop it should have all options available to it²⁰.

Equity, on the other hand is linked, at least in the field of language policy, to equal opportunities for speakers and positive action in favour of the weaker language. In other words, in language “equity” means fairness. In short, if we consider that giving everyone equal opportunities is fundamental element for peaceful coexistence in diversity then an equitable language policy must necessarily entail a positive policy in favour of *Euskera*. Thus, we see language policy for the promotion of Basque as inseparable from a democratic policy of equity, insofar as it is a policy that seeks to promote equal opportunities for all citizens. By fostering Basque and providing opportunities for Basque speakers to use the language we are not only protecting their language rights but also strengthening social cohesion and helping to make our society – our bilingual society – into a place that is kind and welcoming for all. Without peaceful coexistence there can be no guarantee of growth and sustainable development for the Basque language, but by the same token we will not have peaceful coexistence until Basque truly comes of age.

²⁰ Erize, X (2011): Hizkuntza ekologiatik iraunkortasunera: indarguneak, ahulguneak eta proposamenak. *BAT Soziolinguistika aldizkaria*, 81, 67-86.



WHAT KIND OF FUTURE DO WE WANT FOR BASQUE?

Like a coin, the question that must be considered in regard to the future of Basque has at least two sides. On the one hand, we must ask why we should revitalise Basque, and on the other hand there is the twofold question of what kind of future we want for Basque and what kind of future we can actually build for it²¹.

The first question (why should we revitalise Basque?) has many answers, almost all of which are admissible, because people's identities and the ways in which they identify with the language vary widely. All answers that respect the freedom of choice of others are acceptable. However, we believe that there is one answer which is compatible with a wide range of different attitudes and is shared by a broad majority of people, however different they may be. It is closely linked with peaceful coexistence, and can be expressed in the following terms:

Most citizens, regardless of whether or not they speak Basque, take on board the goal of revitalising Basque because they consider it as an inherent element of our society and because it is already the everyday language of many citizens; and many of them wish to use it. Peaceful coexistence thus requires that the free choice of all citizens be guaranteed also in regard to language options, whether they choose to speak Basque or Spanish. This is an ethical, democratic demand.

Now let us consider the second question: what kind of future do we want for Basque, and what kind of future can we actually build for it? Some of the writings and discussions on the matter have raised uncertainties and unease, as if we stood at a crossroads (though it should

²¹ Based on the results of the EGOD project (Analysis of Basic Discourses concerning the Basque Language), we have identified 21 statements that can be considered as the basis for a common grounding to draw up a shared discourse concerning Basque. Indeed, unlike other statements, the 21 identified here are approved by more than two thirds of Basque society: broad acceptance in both quantitative and qualitative terms is essential if the language is to be revitalised and the current social and political consensus is to be broadened. The common grounding and shared discourse built up are unbeatable instruments for progress towards sustainable language diversity in our society, i.e. to shift gradually from the current imbalance between Basque and Spanish towards a situation of balance and towards a situation in which everyone's language option – be it Basque or Spanish – can be effectively put into practice. The vision of the future of Basque over the next 20 years laid down in this document is directly linked to that common grounding for a shared discourse, as set out in Annex 2 below.

not be forgotten that if we are standing at a crossroads that is because we have followed the path this far and because we wish to continue moving forward). Without forgetting that our reflections here consider a timeframe of 15-20 years, what goals or conditions can be set that would provide us with full satisfaction and peace of mind? Achieving full social equality between the two languages, perhaps? That could not be achieved – and this must be said clearly – for many years at least. We must learn to deal positively with the inevitable degree of dissatisfaction that this causes without falling into resignation. We must understand and accept reality from a mature viewpoint and see things as they are. Obviously, our goal is to assure the future of Basque, to take firm steps towards a practical balance between language options and equal status for speakers, and to seek to narrow the gap between knowledge of Basque and its actual use, tilting the scales towards the latter. In short, we want it to be a living language which is increasingly vigorous, increasingly widely used, full of life and increasingly complete. That is our goal: to move forward from our current perfect asymmetry towards an imperfect symmetry, in the knowledge that there is no such thing as perfect symmetry.

Some people consider that the question “what future do we want to build for Basque?” cannot be answered in a goal-directed study covering a 40-50 year time frame.

Our small size is also frequently mentioned. Yes, we are small, but that is not intrinsically bad: being small can be an attractive feature. Smallness has its ethics and its aesthetics.

The number of people who speak Basque is increasing day by day. To continue revitalising the language it is essential that this growth should, as is currently the case, proceed at a greater pace than would take place spontaneously. However this entails the appearance of new characteristics as regards types of speakers. In the next 20 years there will be more and more people whose second language is Basque, or to put it another way more and more Basque speakers whose first language (mother tongue or family language) is not Basque. In most cases the other language will be Spanish (as is already the case with 54.5% of Basque speakers aged under 40). There will be more and more Basque speakers living in areas where the language is spoken only to a limited extent, more and more Basque speakers who wish to maintain Spanish as their first language (as they are perfectly entitled to do) and more and more Basque speakers who can express themselves more easily in Spanish than in Basque. The plurality of identities among Basques will continue to be closely linked to language behaviour in a Basque society where the number of Basque speakers is on the increase. This is not a point that we should accept with resignation, but it is a reality: indeed it is the only reality, and we must accept it naturally, without regret or anxiety. It is what we are.

Even if it is only for the sake of effectiveness, we need to stop thinking on the basis on dichotomies: instead of this “or” that, it is preferable to have this “and” that whenever possible. It is better to join than to separate. Is our best option to compact the community of Basque speakers²² or to teach the whole of society to speak Basque? Should we apply an

²² “Compacting the community of speakers” is just one of many concepts in Basque sociolinguistics that we owe mainly to José María Sánchez Carrión “Txepetx”. See Sánchez Carrión, J. M. “Txepetx” (1987): *Un futuro para nuestro pasado. Claves de la recuperación del Euskera y teoría social de las Lenguas* [“A Future for our Past: The Keys to Recovering Basque and the Social Theory of Languages”]. S. I. Y Sánchez Carrión, J. M. “Txepetx” (1999): *Márgenes de encuentro, Bilbao y el euskara: aplicación sociolingüística de la territorialidad* [“Sides of Encounter. Bilbao and the Basque Language: A Sociolinguistic Application of Territoriality”] Bilbao, Ayuntamiento de Bilbao.

intensive strategy or an extensive one? School or family? This or that level on Fishman's scale²³? Is it not preferable to see things from a complementary viewpoint rather than an exclusive one and (necessarily) establish an order of priorities? For instance, we believe that more importance and more weight should be allocated to the compacting of the community of Basque speakers than has been the case to date, but bearing in mind that that community has links to characteristics hitherto unknown. It is all those characteristics (not just one or two of them but all of them in their different combinations) that will decisively influence the use of the Basque language.

The said characteristics appear in each individual (e.g. skill in using Basque and motivation) and in the social context, and are related to the following factors, among others: whether Basque has been learned at home, on the streets or at school; whether or not it is used by the family; whether or not it is used on the streets and with friends; whether or not it is the vehicular language at school and the language used in other activities, etc. At present and within a 20 year time frame, being an active speaker of Basque is and will be a matter of choice²⁴.

So together with the factors mentioned above, attachment to Basque, social and political consensus and the ability of Basque to attract speakers are set to take on more importance than ever. In the next 20 years we must extend and reinforce support for Basque, and make it more attractive. Now is the time to work on motivations (new motivations, in the plural). Yes, there must of course be rules, but without motivation rules will go to waste. Moreover, that motivation must not be purely political.

We need new motivations, probably closely linked to peaceful coexistence and prestige and to pride in the knowledge and use of Basque, among other elements (because the language enriches citizens). They must also be linked to discourse, as highlighted in section 9 below. Motivations are frequently taken on board through experience. The really decisive issue for the vitality of the language is its use in everyday life, and motivations must help people to take steps towards such use. This must be done without forgetting that in a plurilingual context Basque will be used in contact with other languages which are both highly prestigious and highly useful, and that choosing to speak Basque will be just one option among those other languages.

The freedom of opportunity of all citizens, the assurance of their linguistic rights and egalitarian bilingualism²⁵ are all conditions for peaceful coexistence: non-egalitarian bilingualism is discriminative. Thus, the necessary consensus must be grounded on the idea of guaranteeing the language rights of all citizens. This important task falls to the public

²³ Fishman, J. A. (1991): *Reversing Language Shift*, Clevedon (EB): Multilingual Matters, and Fishman, J. A. (2001): *Can threatened languages be saved?* Clevedon (EB): Multilingual Matters.

²⁴ In societies where different languages are in contact with each other it is common for speakers to have to make choices (between languages, between registers, etc), and those choices may be of many types, as discussed in International sociolinguistic literature under the topic of language choice: individual or collective, instantaneous or permanent, voluntary or unconscious, etc. The question is why speakers (individually and in groups) make the choices that they do, and what cultural and sociolinguistic significance can be attributed to those choices.

²⁵ The concept of "egalitarian bilingualism" means equal status for the two languages, i.e. that all individuals – monolingual and bilingual alike – should have the same language rights, whether they express themselves in one language or the other. As a result, the rights of monolingual individuals are not set above the right of language choice held by bilingual individuals.

authorities. This makes equity a cornerstone of the process, and leads us to consider equitable, peaceful coexistence as a construct of rights and duties. Spanish-speaking individuals must admit that Basque speakers are entirely within their rights to use Basque habitually, and must see it as completely normal for thousands of people to consider Basque as their first language or preferred language. Likewise, Basque speakers must take on board the idea that those Basques who wish to do so are perfectly entitled to use Spanish, and must consider it as normal for thousands of Basques (including many who speak the Basque language) to see Spanish as their preferred language. The same goes for those individuals who see both Basque and Spanish as solid features of their identities. We are all entitled to love whichever language we see as our own, and to do so naturally and with respect.

If everyone understands and respects this principle then they will also respect the language choices of each individual, including their own choices and those of others. For this to come about in practice we need to construct a Basque society in which everyone at least understands both official languages well. Otherwise it would be impossible to guarantee the language choice of Basque speakers to the same extent as that of Spanish speakers (see section 8).

The public must take on board that passive bilingualism is also a mainstay of peaceful coexistence, and that monolingualism is a problem and a hindrance to effective freedom of language. Overcoming monolingualism (at least on the level of comprehension) is therefore a prerequisite for equitable, peaceful coexistence. Understanding at least the two official languages is a prerequisite if the right to language choice is to be respected. This needs to be a substantial element in the outlook that guides the next 20 years, so establishing a renewed, shared discourse is very important, as indeed is the contribution that such a discourse can make (see Annex 2). To judge from the forecast set out in section 4, we are unlikely to be able to achieve this goal within 20 years, but that is the direction in which we must head.

It must be stressed that this viewpoint is consistent with the model set out over 30 years ago by the institutional representatives of Basque society in the Basque Language Act [*Ley del Euskera*], which sought to provide guidelines for language issues and mainstream the use of *Euskera*. Indeed, the regulations set and implemented under that model, which sought to achieve parity of the two official languages, acknowledge that not only current Basque speakers but all Basque citizens have the right to learn and use the Basque language. The scope of this legislation extends beyond merely protecting the community of Basque speakers and, with a view to the future, envisages a bilingual society made up of bilingual citizens. That is the horizon towards which the objectives of social and political consensus in the past few decades have been aimed: a horizon linked to the principle of progressiveness. It is on the basis of this viewpoint, for instance, that it was established that all pupils should study the Basque language as part of compulsory education in the Basque Country.

THE MAINSTAYS OF A REINFORCED LANGUAGE COVENANT

Achieving the broadest possible social and political consensus is not in itself sufficient, but it is a prerequisite for progress. The fact that there are different ideological viewpoints should not be an insurmountable obstacle for consensus building²⁶. For public sector policies against imbalance and inequality to be successful consensus-based strategies and agreements are needed. Similarly, efforts must be made not to create enemies and to avoid actions, decisions and measures that may do so, as they could jeopardise the future.

The success of the process to revitalise the Basque language in the last 30 years cannot be explained without reference to the Basque Language Act, i.e. without the effective commitment of the public authorities, or indeed to the efforts of a wide range of social actors, to strategic language planning and active language policies, to the resources deployed, etc. But it most certainly cannot be explained – and it would not have been feasible – without a broad social and political consensus. Public support and a broad social and political consensus have been the main drivers behind the progress made.

But social and political consensus needs to be nurtured. We need a broader level of consensus than we have at present: the consensus that has brought us this far must be reinforced, and that calls for a commitment that goes beyond short-term interests. It is also essential that the Basque language should not be identified with a particular political option.

The bases for reinforcing consensus concerning the language are as follows:

- Point one: peaceful coexistence – like opportunities, democracy and freedom – can only develop through the dialectic between rights and duties. The core issue for *Euskera* is how to reinforce peaceful coexistence, equal opportunities, democracy and freedom. This can only be done in accordance with certain principles, and to enrich those principles it is essential to promote effective equality of opportunities in language matters, and not just equality on paper. True respect for plurality and the discarding of uniformity-based paradigms as regards language are prerequisites for peaceful coexistence. Democratic, sustainable management of

²⁶ We know, for instance, that there are different ideological viewpoints concerning the idea of balanced social bilingualism, but it should be possible to reach practical agreements.

language plurality leads precisely to the renewal and strengthening of social and political consensus, provided that the languages involved are seen as complementary and compatible. And that calls for positive policies to promote equal opportunities for languages and favour the weaker language, i.e. *Euskera*. This is not an imposition but rather a policy conducive to equality and democracy in language that needs to be strengthened in the face of language hegemonism. As stated above, it is a question of respecting the letter and the spirit of the Basque Language Act²⁷ and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages²⁸ (see Art. 7).

There is therefore no imposition. “Imposition” would mean forcing someone to change languages. To prevent this, we need a society made up of individuals who are bilingual at least to a certain extent, so that each speaker can use whichever language they choose. The first point of a reinforced consensus is therefore to see the society of the future as a society made up of bilingual individuals, and to continue working for a society in which both official languages are at least understood. That is precisely the society that the Basque Language Act envisages for the future: a bilingual society made up of bilingual individuals, which obviously needs to be constructed gradually with the support of the public. In other words, the idea is to get all citizens actually to enjoy the right to choose their language, i.e. to achieve effective freedom of language for everyone (both for those who choose Basque and those who choose Spanish, on exactly the same footing), to achieve a situation where everyone at least understands both languages. Each individual can then opt for whichever official language they prefer, no one is obliged actively or passively to change languages and no one feels like an outsider, whichever language option they select.

We are a long way from achieving it, but this must be point one of the “Basque model” for peaceful language coexistence and the path for development envisaged for the next 20 years: understanding of both languages so that each individual can use whichever they choose.

This universalisation of knowledge is a wish that has been frequently expressed. In a 20 year time frame there is no way that it can be achieved, but we can reach almost complete universalisation as regards knowledge of Basque among the under 25s, and can take the number of Basque speakers to somewhat more than two thirds of the total population aged under 50 (see section 4).

- Point two: the future that we want for Basque is one in which it is a living language that has come of age. We want more and more people to carry it in their hearts and on their lips. Only we Basque people, we Basque speakers can achieve this. That is our “universal mission”, and the use of the language is the arena where it is played out. Thus, the challenge facing us is to ensure that those who have Basque as their first language maintain it as such, i.e. to compact the community of Basque speakers. We must also strive to get those who come into contact with

²⁷ Act 10/1982 of 24 November: the basic legislation on the mainstreaming of the use of Basque [Basque Language Act - *Ley del Euskera*] (1982). *EHA/BOPV*, 160, pp. 3.138-3.146.

²⁸ Council of Europe-Conseil de l'Europe. (1992). *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages-Charte européenne des langues régionales ou minoritaires* (Spanish version. Unofficial translation). Strasbourg.

Basque to use it for more and more purposes. The challenge that must be met if Basque is to be a vigorous, living language lies in its use. And that is a challenge that Basque society must take on with pride.

On the basis of these two points, we all have our jobs to do: Basque speakers, Spanish speakers, public authorities, social actors, political parties, trade unions, employers, the media, teachers, universities, civil servants and management staff in the administration, all of us.

The Basque language question is a political question in its broadest sense. Basque needs politics, but politicising, i.e. its use for political gain, is one of its worst enemies. For example it would be highly negative if our political dichotomies gave rise to dichotomies in language use. Politicising, i.e. the identifying of the Basque language with a specific political tendency, or its use to strengthen certain political options, would lead us into a ghetto: a scenario that would be absolutely fatal for the language. This must be avoided by all means.

To build the future that we want for Basque, we must place it at the core of politics. There is a great deal at stake: whether *Euskera* is to be a minor language or one that truly comes of age, whether it is to be a mere symbol or a true, living language, whether it is to be the heritage of society as a whole or of only a part of it, whether it is to be an inclusive language or one that is condemned to the ghetto. All this is at stake, and the renewed consensus that we must pursue must of course seek to make Basque a language that has come of age, that belongs to the whole of society and that is truly alive.

On the path towards these goals, public institutions need to draw up language policies as cross-sectoral elements in their activities, and must strive to ensure that language management is taken on board and applied by top managers at organisations, businesses and associations of all types. In short, Basque must be placed at the heart of matters.

The language policies needed to take us in that direction must be progressive and effective; they must set goals for progress in regard to the situation of *Euskera* at each moment in time, and must draw up language-related practices and usages that can be implemented by public institutions, businesses, associations, social actors and the general public.

A broad, renewed consensus must also number public engagement and participation among its key objectives. The most effective way of promoting public engagement is through collaboration, so the renewed consensus must also be characterised by an ongoing quest for cooperation between public authorities, social actors and private individuals. To that end not only must new formulas be sought but changes must also be made in current attitudes and mindsets in regard to consensus. Each actor has its own way of working, its own setting; some will do a great deal and others very little. Even the smallest effort is beneficial. It is cooperating without shutting out others that will enable us to make progress.

Moreover, renewed, consensus-based language policy must foster prestige and recognition for the use of Basque, so that we shift from symbolic support from the public based on affection to a more practical, solidly loyal support. The renewed, consensus-based language policy must therefore place the people as users of the language at its heart.

TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK OF PRIORITIES

When we ask “where do we go from here?” the idea is to provoke discussion on how we imagine the demolinguistic situation in 20 years time, and what priorities we should set to attain that situation. Section 4 above gives details of the demolinguistic scenarios considered.

The proposal below seeks to help define the framework of priorities for the coming 20 years. It is not a programme of action or indeed a sectoral list of lines for work²⁹. It is a framework to be used to help set priorities.

The three dimensions described by Iñaki Martínez de Luna³⁰, based on some of the concepts presented by Fishman, are extremely useful in establishing a framework of priorities to explain the use of Basque: the macro social dimension, the microsocial dimension and the individual dimension. In Martínez de Luna’s model these three dimensions interact with each other and must be considered as a whole as shown in the illustration below. However, at some particular times in the history of Basque the individual and microsocial dimensions have sufficed to enable the language to survive even though it had no favourable macrosocial dimension³¹.

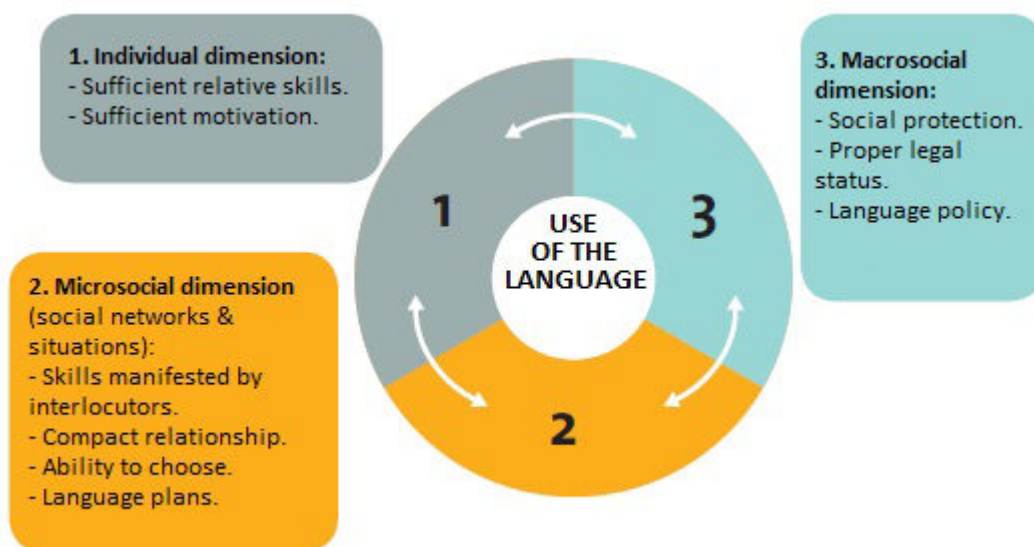
This highlights the importance of sociolinguistic research and the need to encourage and support such research.

²⁹ As mentioned above, this framework has various forerunners: first of all there are the 14 lines of work laid out in *Euskara 21. Bases para la política lingüística de principios del siglo XXI. Hacia un pacto renovado* (Basque Language Advisory Council, 2009. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Govt. Dept. of Culture, Office of Language Policy); and also the *Plan de acción para la promoción del euskera. Complementado con el documento DAFO relativo al diagnóstico* [“Plan of Action for Promoting Basque. Supplemented by the SWOT Diagnostic Analysis”] (Basque Language Advisory Council, 2015. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Government).

³⁰ Martínez de Luna, I. (2012). Egoeraren gaineko gogoetak eta norabide proposamenak. *BAT Soziolinguistika aldizkaria*, 84, 121-137.

³¹ See, for instance, Erize, X. (1999). *Vascohablantes y castellanohablantes en la historia del euskera de Navarra*. [“Basque speakers and Spanish speakers in the history of Basque in Navarre”] Pamplona: Government of Navarre.

Illustration³²



The Basque Government-approved document *Agenda Estratégica del Euskera* (2013-2016) [Strategic Agenda for Basque]³³, states that its basis is “a living language for peaceful coexistence”. The starting point for the model proposed by Martínez de Luna and applied here is that “a living language is one that is used”. Axular wrote that *dabillan harriari etzaika goroldiorik lotzen* [“a rolling stone gathers no moss”]. The use of Basque is also, of course, at the very foundation of the framework of priorities proposed here. Indeed, in a bilingual or plurilingual context speakers of languages that are in contact with each other must often opt for one or another. For such speakers to choose Basque, all the conditions set out in the three levels shown in the illustration need to be met if not fully then at least to a large extent. Otherwise bilingual speakers will gravitate, often unconsciously, towards the predominant language.

With the use of the language as our mainstay and our goal, we need to set priorities for the coming years in all three of these dimensions. Before listing the proposals for the framework of priorities, let us first stress that our top priority is to hold on to what has been achieved so far. Much has been achieved, but the survival of those achievements is by no means assured. Therefore, as pointed out in section 4 above, maintaining the progress already made requires a wide range of positive social activity: it is not something that just happens. The achievements already made are not exempt from weaknesses, and there is a risk of backsliding. We must hold on to what we have achieved.

Young people must be prioritised for the following reasons, among others: because the growth of Basque must come from the young; because the largest proportions of Basque speakers are found clearly among the younger segments of the population; because we will be dealing with generations brought up and educated in Basque; because all young Basque speakers are literate in Basque; because we have one of the highest percentages of young

³² Illustration taken from Martínez de Luna, I. (2012). Egoeraren gaineko gogoetak eta norabide proposamenak. *BAT Soziolinguistika aldizkaria*, 84, pg. 126.

³³ Basque Govt. Dept. of Education, Language Policy and Culture, Office of Language Policy (2014). *Agenda estratégica del euskera 2013-2016* [“Strategic Agenda for Basque”]. Vitoria-Gasteiz.

people in University education anywhere in Europe, and our young people are destined to be the leaders of the society of the future. If we do not want young people to identify Basque only with education and compulsory use, we need to change the way that they/we currently see the language. Using Basque must be an attractive idea: Basque must have something different to offer to young people, some attraction that other languages do not have, over and above its use merely as a vehicle for communication and its practical utility.

We must bring Basque into contact with the habits and customs of young people, into the places where they enjoy themselves and into new technologies. Apart from specific youth-related policies, there must also be policies that look at youth culture as a whole.

Our proposal for priorities is set out in the following order: the macrosocial dimension is covered in subsection 9.1, the microsocial dimension in 9.2 and the individual dimension in 9.3.

9.1. Priorities in the macrosocial dimension

9.1.1. Support of society: discourse or framing³⁴

As might be expected, there are various discourses among us concerning Basque. We should not strive to do away with this diversity of discourses, first of all because that would be impossible and secondly, and more importantly, because that would be tantamount to trying to do away with diversity in the ways in which people see their Basque-ness and experience the language. In short, it would mean denying plurality. But language coexistence is a core element in the peaceful coexistence of society, so there is a need for a shared framing of the discourse on Basque, i.e. a framing that is shared by a broad majority of society, that takes into account respect for the different language options and that applies a criterion of effectiveness in regard to the advancement of Basque. If we wish to provide ourselves with an effective language policy then it is essential that a renewed framing of this kind be conveyed to society. Such a framing must be based on the broadest possible consensus, and must enable conflicting viewpoints to be overcome. It must set achievable goals and must adapt to the wishes and characteristics of a plural society. It is therefore most important to convey a renewed, consensus-based discourse to society. Obviously, getting such a viewpoint to be shared by the people from the different areas of sensitivity that exist in Basque society is no easy, fast matter.

Nor are we starting from zero as regards framing a renewed, unified discourse. Existing documents include *Euskara 21. Bases para la política lingüística de principios del siglo XXI. Hacia un pacto renovado*³⁵, approved by the Basque Language Advisory Council in 2009 and also approved by the Basque Parliament; we also have the deliverables from the EGOD

³⁴ See Martínez de Luna, I. (2013). Euskarak duen *Framing* Berri baten premia asetzeko proposamena. *BAT Soziolinguistika aldizkaria*, 86, 13-83.

³⁵ Basque Language Advisory Council (2009). *Euskara 21. Bases para política lingüística de principios del siglo XXI. Hacia un pacto renovado* ["Euskara 21. Bases for Language Policy at the Outset of the 21st Century: Towards a Renewed Covenant"]. Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Government Dept. of Culture, Office of Language Policy.

process (*Análisis de los discursos básicos sobre el euskera*³⁶), and the document *Bases para el suelo común de un discurso compartido sobre el euskera*³⁷.

It is obvious that the prevailing discourses at any given time largely condition public sector policies. In the current situation of imbalance between Basque and Spanish, Basque needs a discourse of encouragement and inclusiveness that can be taken on board by social groups, institutions and individuals with widely different cultural backgrounds, ideologies and tendencies. The Basque language should have a higher profile in the collective self-image of Basque society, should gain gravitas and should become a core feature of that society: it needs to be dressed in new clothing, with a renewed, bright, positive, attractive, shared discourse.

A shared discourse provides a firm basis for influencing the public image of Basque. This means strengthening the prestige that goes with knowing and using Basque, so it would be helpful to enlist the aid in supporting that public image of people who, in different ways and to different extents, hold positions of leadership in different areas of society (politics, the economy, sports, the arts, communication, etc).

9.1.2. Support from society: the legitimacy of using Basque

It is necessary to reinforce the climate in favour of using Basque, i.e. to issue a loud and clear invitation in our society to use Basque, to strengthen the feeling of legitimacy among Basque speakers in using the language in a wide variety of contexts, and so that speakers of the language are continually being prompted to use it naturally. A symbol or image should be created and publicised that can make potential Basque speakers more visible in a broad spectrum of social relationships. That symbol should always be associated with a clear connotation of voluntary use and invitation to use the language, avoiding any hint of pressure.

9.1.3. Legal status

To date the regulations in place in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country have proved to be an effective legal instrument, and they have sufficient potential for development to continue being suitable in the future. It would be useful to hold true debates on the legal status of Basque that are not just biased, pointless disputes. In any event, as the process of revitalisation of the language continues, and in view of the changes over time in the characteristics of society itself, there will always be a need for reflection and analysis with a view to identifying potential limitations, improvements and areas for

³⁶ Basque Language Advisory Council [reports drawn up by Martínez de Luna, I., Erize, X., Akizu, B., Etxaniz, J. & Elizagarate, A.] (2016). *Análisis de los discursos básicos sobre el euskera —Proyecto EGOD— Informe de resultados* [“Analysis of Basic Discourses concerning the Basque Language – the EGOD project – Report on Results”] (a project commissioned by the Office of Language Policy). Vitoria-Gasteiz: Basque Government, Dept. of Education, Language Policy & Culture, Office of Language Policy.

³⁷ Office of Language Policy (2016). *Bases para el suelo común de un discurso compartido sobre el euskera*. [“A Common Grounds for a Shared Discourse on Basque”], Basque Govt. Dept of Education, Language Policy and Culture.

adaptation in language-related regulations, so that any changes needed can be made. This must be done in accordance with the will of society at the relevant time, and on the basis of broad agreement between the different actors. The regulations governing the development of Basque should focus in particular on ensuring the proper treatment of the different languages in legislation and sectoral regulations, so as to make it possible to achieve equal status for Basque and Spanish in each sector, as stipulated in our legislation.

9.1.4. The territory where Basque is spoken

The objectives for the revitalisation of Basque must be the same throughout the territory where the language is spoken while, of course, respecting the characteristics and decision-making capabilities of each administrative area. Thus, as recommended by the Committee of Ministers of the Council Europe in its assessment reports on the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, coordination and collaboration must be developed between institutions in Basque speaking territories and investigations must be conducted in the light of the needs of each of those territories with a view to fostering the use of the language in a sustained, effective way. The common goal must be gradually to reduce the current asymmetry in the levels of vitality of the Basque language in the various territories, always taking into consideration the sociolinguistic circumstances of each territory and the will of its population, as mentioned above.

9.1.5. Language policy at domestic and European levels

The protection and promotion of small and medium-sized languages must be fostered at the domestic and European levels. In the current linguistic and geopolitical context the direction taken by language diversity in Europe in the future may affect the development of Basque. We must therefore encourage small and medium-sized languages to help them acquire mainstream status in a European context, making use of the political structures (regional, cross-border and European institutions) and the organisations, forums and studies that promote language diversity in Europe. In this regard we must extend the work already under way. We must strive to make a new language covenant possible in Spain through which Spanish institutions take note in practice of the plurilingual circumstances of the country, so that official languages other than Spanish are given legal recognition as “adult” languages that can be used in nationwide institutions.

9.1.6. Language policy: upgrading the ability to deal in both languages with users of public services provided by the administration

In public services provided by the administration (including the police, the health service, the justice system and others) it is most important to upgrade the ability to deal with people in both languages. These areas directly linked to the administration therefore need to be included among our priorities.

9.2. Priorities in the microsocial dimension

9.2.1. Relational networks and fluency of speakers

The microsocial dimension covers the various types of relational networks built up and used in day-to-day life. The language is used orally in interpersonal communication, so relational networks are highly important. Such networks can form under different language conditions, which directly influence the extent to which Basque is used. The issue of language in relational networks is directly linked to the socialisation of children and young people; and that socialisation transcends family and school settings.

This dimension is also linked to levels of fluency in Basque and with the transmission of the language within families and at school. But these issues are dealt with below in the section on the personal dimension.

The fact is that most young Basque speakers nowadays did not learn Basque at home, because they live in sociolinguistic zones 2 and 3³⁸, and more and more of them express themselves better in Spanish. If the use of Basque among young people who have learned the language mainly or exclusively at school is weak in relational networks (home, group of friends, everyday life, work), then those people will move away from it. And if Basque, or the awareness of the language, is weak in the relational networks of people who learned it at home then we run the risk that it will slip from being their first language to being their second.

The issues of *arnasgunes* or “vital living areas” for Basque and the integration of immigrants (to mention just two very different but important problems) call for specific responses.

The importance of spreading the use of Basque in the world of young people, with their particular ambiances, customs and leisure pastimes, is clear to see. So is the importance of getting them to regard Basque as something attractive and useful. Ultimately, it is a question of getting them to see Basque as something that fits into their everyday lives.

With these starting points leisure, ICTs, the media, the socio-economic field and the world of work (including employers) all become vitally important when it comes to setting priorities. For instance in leisure (including leisure enjoyed via ICTs) Basque could potentially make a giant leap forward, given that it is a field where excellent conditions exist for encouraging its use. As regards the socio-economic field and the world of work, there need to be substantial improvements in the use of Basque in vocational training. But progress is also needed in other areas such as language plans and processes at companies, always linking the use of Basque with a higher standard of service. As far as the media are concerned, Basque speakers and their tastes need to be given core consideration. Any mention of the media must necessarily highlight the task of EITB in strengthening and increasing the use of Basque, and it is absolutely necessary to adapt that task to sociolinguistic changes in society and to the growth of Basque so that it is carried out as effectively as possible in terms of encouraging the language. It is also important to create and improve colloquial expressions.

³⁸ Sociolinguistic zone 2: 20-50% of the population speak Basque. Sociolinguistic zone 3: 50-80% of the population speak Basque. See Basque Govt. Dept. of Education, Language Policy and Culture (2014): *V Mapa Sociolingüístico, 2011* [“5th Sociolinguistic Map: 2011”]. Vitoria-Gasteiz.

It is most important for the natural actors in each area of society (employers, entrepreneurs, trade unions, the media, consumer associations, professional associations, political parties, sports clubs, performers and creative artists, etc) to move firmly to integrate Basque into their everyday activities.

9.2.2. A compact relationship

For the continued growth of the Basque language in the past few decades to turn into sustainable growth in the future is necessary, though not sufficient per se, for its demographic growth also to continue. It is entirely necessary to compact the community of Basque speakers. To that end is important, among other things, to develop *arnasgunes* or “vital living areas” for the language, i.e. to have geographical and above all social/functional areas where Basque is the predominant language used, and to extend and strengthen those areas.

For Basque to be the predominant language of use and relationship in a given setting the consensus of the people in that area and sufficient supporting conditions are required. All this leads us to look in particular at the geographical areas where Basque is spoken most, and at young people there.

9.3. Priorities in the individual dimension

9.3.1. Relative fluency in Basque

Relative fluency is a decisive factor in the use of Basque. The growth of the language in the past few decades has resulted in a diversification in types of bilingual individual. That diversity needs to be taken into account when drawing up plans. As a result of this trend, relative fluency is a weak point for many current bilingual individuals, especially as regards spoken fluency. If an individual’s spoken fluency in a language is low they are unlikely to use it. As mentioned above, there is an increasing number of young bilingual individuals who express themselves more easily in Spanish. When working in the area of Basque language transmission it is therefore important not to take a purely cognitive approach: issues concerned with the socialisation of language also need to be reinforced. Mutual cooperation between speakers must also be encouraged, for instance to foster an attitude of willingness to help new speakers among speakers who have Basque as their mother tongue.

Along similar lines to the points raised above concerning relational networks, we need to consider the issue of relative fluency in Basque as directly linked to the socialisation of children and young people. Clearly, schools comprise one of the chief areas for socialisation, but they are not the only one, and as children get older the influence of schools becomes more limited. At school (or, perhaps more accurately, in education) which vehicular language is used is a decisive factor for fluency, but so is which language is used in out-of-class activities at school. This latter factor becomes increasingly decisive as children get older. Priorities need to be set in the light of these basic considerations. This issue is tackled directly below.

9.3.1.1. Relative fluency in Basque: language optimisation in education system

The education system is one of the keys in determining the number of future Basque speakers and the standard of the language. It is important enough to require special attention. As said previously, the influence of schools is limited – schools are not all-powerful – but to strengthen the transmission of Basque at school we need to focus, among other things, on improving the ability of teachers to communicate in Basque and to encourage the use of the language in non-academic activities at school. Both these factors influence the relative fluency in Basque of children and young people. Indeed, if our goal is to improve the fluency in Basque of pupils (whatever their current language model) then special efforts are needed in training to improve teachers' communication skills, curriculum design and teaching methods. Work on spoken language use at school and on updating and conducting research into language teaching methods can achieve significant improvements. In short, Basque is the second language of a large proportion of pupils and teachers alike, and we have no option but to take that difficulty as a challenge.

9.3.1.2. Relative fluency in Basque: the effectiveness of adult language learning

Basque language learning at all levels among adults will continue to be highly important. With our sights set on society of bilingual individuals, if one of the mainstays of consensus regarding the language is to be the idea that everyone should at least understand both languages so that each individual can opt for whichever they prefer, then we must apply ourselves to the task of extending knowledge of Basque (at least at a receptive or passive level), e.g. by extending social communication customs based on passive multilingualism. Along these lines, efforts to ensure language learning free of charge up to a minimum level, in line with academic performance, would be helpful.

9.3.2. Motivation

Motivation requires close attention if the Basque language is to be promoted effectively. By “motivation” we refer to attitudes towards the language, attachment to it, language awareness, loyalty to and identification with it and willingness to use it. As stated above, not only objective factors but also subjective ones (motivations, attitudes, discourses, emotions, etc) play a decisive role in language use. The subjective factors deserve more attention than has sometimes been paid to them in the past. In the years to come, they must become an important line of research.

We believe that if the social change needed by Basque is to continue taking place then not only are structural changes needed but also changes in individuals and in the interaction between society and individuals and vice versa. In language matters the central actor is not the language itself but the population, and that means not only those people who are most aware of the language and who use it most assiduously but also those who feel furthest away from Basque and most suspicious about it.

Motivations are driving forces in the use of a language, just as broad social and political consensus is. We believe that it is up to everyone to nurture these factors, and that we can all help to do so. We must therefore encourage people's feeling of attachment to the language and strive continually to heighten awareness in favour of Basque, through leadership and exemplary behaviour in all areas.

All this is closely linked to the idea of framing a renewed, shared discourse. Motivation is a broad concept that is linked, among other things, to education and also to leisure. It is well-known that there can be many motivations, and research has shown that identity (in its broadest, most open sense) and integration are among the weightiest of them.

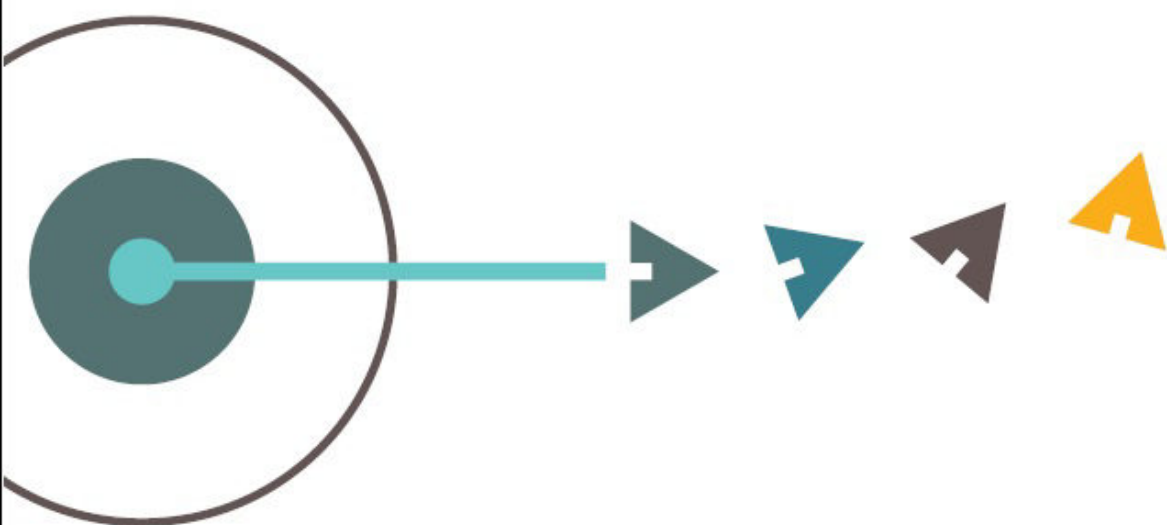
To work on motivation for speaking Basque we need to seek out or, if necessary, create reference points. Work on motivation and on providing Basque with a positive image needs to focus on identification with the language, affection and love for it, interest in it, achievements, etc. It is therefore particularly important to work with particular actors and in particular areas such as the family, leisure, associations and youth-related groups, ICTs, cultural creation, etc.

We know that cultural output created and produced in Basque is particularly important in fostering motivation. The high standard of contemporary cultural output in the language is a clear strong point as regards its attractiveness.

Efforts to raise awareness and motivation clearly need to take all Basque speakers into account (aiming to empower them and encourage the acquisition of Basque), including new learners, passive Basque speakers, monolingual individuals who nevertheless feel close to the world of the Basque language and all those who still see it as something remote. In all cases, for the reasons indicated above, the focus must be on young people as a priority, as it is they who will lead the society of the future.

April 2016

*Euskara 21 Special Committee
Basque Language Advisory Council
Office of Language Policy*



ANNEXES

THE FORECAST OUTLOOK FOR BASQUE IN 2036

This document seeks to forecast what the situation of the Basque language will be in 2036. To that end it uses the RECLUS model drawn up by the Office of Language Policy along with other sources of information, including particularly the population and housing census, statistics on natural population movements, sociolinguistic surveys, statistics on education and the HABA database.

The RECLUS model was drawn up in 1991 to run simulations on the situation of Basque in the long-term. It takes into account the following variables: demographics, structure of relational networks, attitudes of language groups and language policy. The dynamic influence of these variables is calculated each year.

The RECLUS model dates from 1991. Since then the development of the system as a whole has been conditioned by the hypotheses put forward on the basis of exogenous variables.

Since the RECLUS model was drawn up in 1991 there have been substantial changes. It is now possible to access more and better-quality information, so certain modifications have had to be made in order to use the model again here.

First of all, the module used for calculating the population has been changed completely. Secondly, the parameters and functions of the model have been adapted on the basis of information from 1991-2011. These modifications are centred mainly on three things: increased immigration from the year 2000 onwards, the increased use of language model D in education and the increase in the number of bilingual young people who express themselves better in Spanish.

1. The RECLUS hypothesis on the trend from 2011 to 2036

In regard to the exogenous variables considered in RECLUS, the following hypotheses are considered:

Fertility rate

The fertility rate was very low in 1996 but has increased since then. The increase in recent years is assumed to continue until 2026 (synthetic fertility rate for 2026 = 1.55) and then to

hold steady until 2036. The average number of births per year from 2016 to 2036 is assumed to be 19,200.

Mortality rate

Mortality rates have fallen substantially in the last few decades, and this trend is expected to continue in the decades to come, especially among the over 80s (the expected mortality rate for this group in 2036 is 73% of the figure for 2011). From 2016 to 2036 an average of 19,300 deaths per annum is expected, which means that the natural population growth will be close to zero.

Migration rate

Migration rates are expected to decrease in the future, though they will continue to be considerably higher than they were in the 1990s. For 2026-2036 immigration from outside the Basque lands is expected to be 35% lower than it was in 2001-2011. Emigration rates will also drop, but many recent arrivals will also return to their territories of origin. From 2016 to 2036 the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country is expected to lose an average of 1200 inhabitants per annum as a result of migratory movements.

Provision of education

Education with Basque as its vehicular language has increased in the past few decades, in an effort to prevent a lack of supply from conditioning the long-term demand from pupils and parents for education in Basque. It can now be stated with certainty that the compulsory education options on offer (up to age 16) do not constrain demand from society. However, in university education and vocational training the options available continue to be a limiting factor. This simulation envisages that by 2026 supply will have caught up completely with demand.

Language policy

Language policy is a tool for fostering the use of Basque in different settings. The simulation run here envisages a reinforcement in language policy from 2011 to 2036, especially in the formal setting (public administration and public services) but also in informal aspects (private services and consumption of culture). In other settings (family, circle of friends and workplace) the forecast is for direct intervention-based language policy, whose effects will be limited and not great. On average, the simulation indicates that the influence of language policy in 2036 will be 2.5 times greater than in 2011.

Subjective value of Basque

The attachment that Basque speakers feel to the language has been a highly important factor for its use and transmission in the past, and indeed still is. The simulation run here estimates not only the objective utility of Basque but also its subjective value. To that end it uses two variables: the first seeks to measure the influence of this attachment on individual behaviour (identity, affection, fashion, etc) and the second seeks to gauge how parents perceive the future of the language, given that this conditions the way in which they educate their children. The clearest evidence in this case is the huge increase in the use of model D.

In the simulation run here highly positive results are obtained in general for both these variables. High scores for both are obtained among the Basque speaking population throughout the time frame of the simulation. Among those who do not speak Basque a high

score is obtained for the variable concerning perception as regards the future of the language, which conditions the choice of the language model in which children are educated. However a neutral score is obtained for the variable concerning individual behaviour throughout the simulation time frame.

In short, the hypotheses are positive in general and the situation envisaged by RECLUS for the next 20 years is optimistic.

RECLUS	
Total	2,147,300
Age 0-24	517,500
Age 25-49	654,600
Age >_ 50	975,200

Population 2015	
Total	2,189,257
Age 0-24	486,199
Age 25-49	781,786
Age >_ 50	921,272

Source: INE, 2016.

Other possible scenarios have been considered, based on the demographic scenarios used by EUSTAT, which are somewhat more pessimistic in their forecasts for population trends than those in RECLUS.

EUSTAT has developed seven demographic scenarios based on different hypotheses concerning trends in mortality, fertility and migration. For this study we take two of those seven scenarios, selected on the basis of two criteria: firstly, the data for each scenario have been compared to the actual population data up to 2015 (figures for 2005, 2010 2015) and those with the smallest deviations have been selected. Secondly, we needed one scenario that posited a drop in population and another that posited an increase. Accordingly, we select EUSTAT scenarios 2 and 4 (referred to by those names hereafter).

It must be borne in mind that EUSTAT draws up its scenarios at five year intervals, so although the time frame considered in this study runs to 2036 the forecasts are actually based on EUSTAT data for 2035.

2. Characteristics of the two demographic scenarios considered by EUSTAT

The characteristics of the two EUSTAT demographic scenarios considered are as follows:

Scenario 2

This scenario envisages a drop in the population of the ACBC due to a negative rate of natural increase, with the migratory balance expected to be positive in all three historical

territories. This scenario posits a slight increase in fertility rates up to 2020, but the increase in births is not sufficient to offset the drop in population due to deaths.

The number of individuals aged 24 and under is expected to decrease in both absolute and relative terms, and so is the adult population aged 25-50. By contrast, the proportion of the population aged 50+ is expected to increase.

Scenario 2	
Total	1,979,114
Age 0-24	367,473
Age 25-49	581,064
Age >_ 50	1,030,579

Population 2015	
Total	2,189,257
Age 0-24	486,199
Age 25-49	781,786
Age >_ 50	921,272

Source: INE, 2016.

Scenario 4

This scenario envisages an increase in the population of the ACBC. Life expectancy is expected to be high and the fertility rate is considered to be 2.0. However, natural growth is expected to be negative, so the source of the population increase lies in a positive migratory balance.

There is expected to be a slight increase in the proportion of the population aged less than 20 as a result of the increase in the fertility rate. The group aged 50+ is also set to increase, but the group of adults aged 25-50 is expected to decrease.

Scenario 4	
Total	2,201,114
Age 0-24	496,892
Age 25-49	595,543
Age >_ 50	1,108,680

Population 2015	
Total	2,189,257
Age 0-24	486,199
Age 25-49	781,786
Age >_ 50	921,272

Source: INE, 2016.

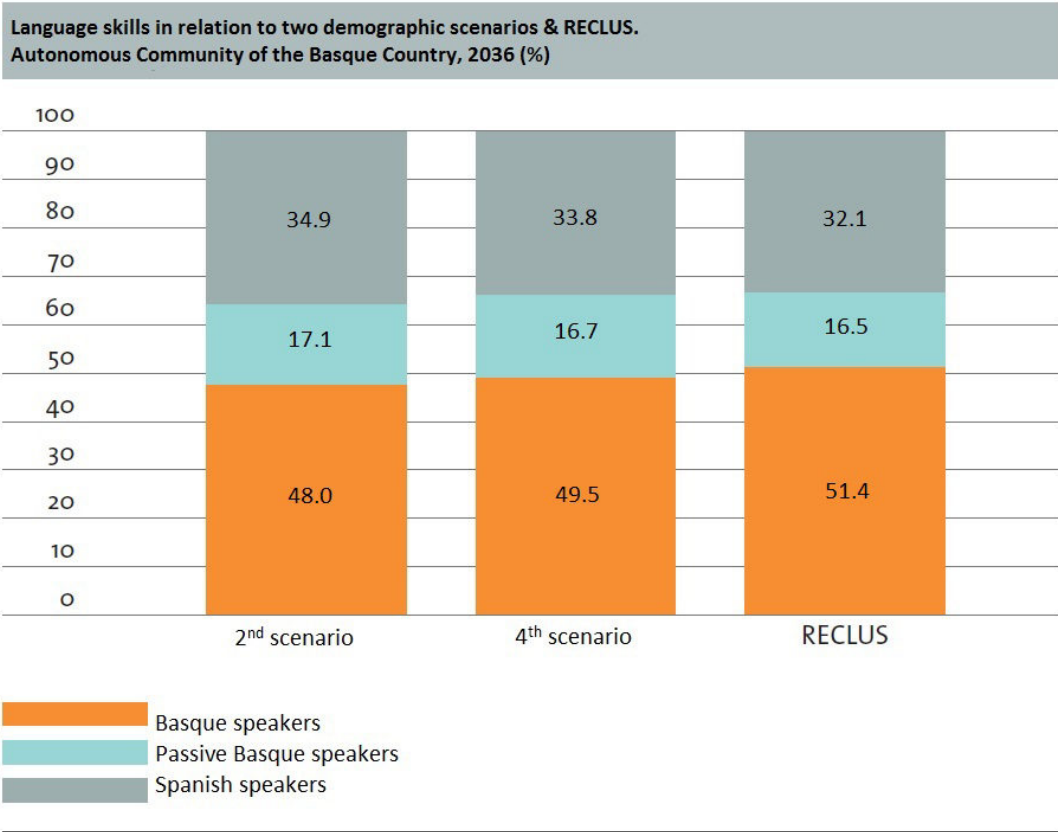
3. Results of the forecast

1. Language fluency

The RECLUS simulation envisages that by 2036 51.4% of the population of the ACBC will speak Basque. In absolute terms, there will be 1,104,100 Basque speakers out of a total envisaged population of 2,147,300.

The current design of RECLUS does not enable us to distinguish between people who speak only a little Basque, those who only understand it (passive Basque speakers) and those who do not speak it at all (Spanish speakers). The basis used for distinguishing categories is the census for 2011. From that census, geographical areas where the Basque speaking population is between 48% and 51% are selected, given that all three forecasts run for the 2036 time frame indicate more or less that percentage. The Basque-speaking population is then excluded and the average proportion of passive Basque speakers and Spanish speakers is calculated, with no weighting factor. This calculation is carried out on the population in full and also broken down by age groups. Finally, the resulting weights are applied to the population proposed in the simulation. The same procedure is used in the scenarios envisaged by EUSTAT.

The RECLUS forecast for 2036 puts the proportion of Basque speakers at 51.4% of the population of the ACBC, with passive Basque speakers accounting for 16.5% and Spanish speakers for 32.1% (see graph).

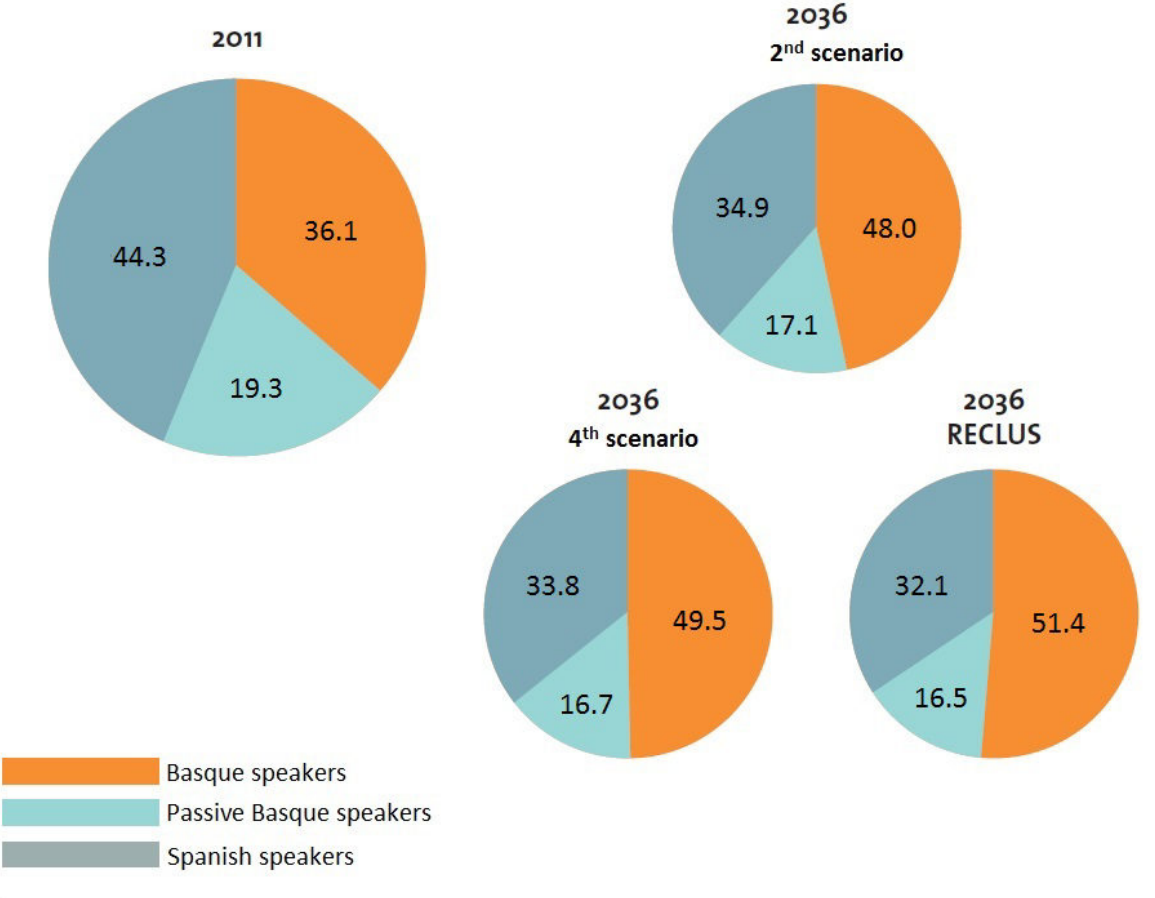


According to EUSTAT demographic scenario 2 the population of the ACBC in 2036 will be 1,979,114, of which 48% will be Basque speakers, 17.1% passive Basque speakers and 34.9% Spanish speakers (see graph).

Finally, EUSTAT demographic scenario 4 puts the population of the ACBC in 2036 at 2,201,114, of which 49.5% will be Basque speakers, 16.7% passive Basque speakers and 33.8% Spanish speakers (see graph).

To show the 20-year trend more clearly, the graphs and tables in the chapters concerned with language fluency and first language use also include data from the 2011 census, which is the most recent available. The language fluency variable used is the same one used by the Office of Language Policy to draw up its sociolinguistic map. It distinguishes between three categories: Basque speakers (bilingual individuals), passive Basque speakers (passive bilingual individuals) and Spanish speakers (referred to in Basque as *erdaldunes*). The forecasts are based on this variable, so the sampling group for 2011 data is the population aged five and over of the ACBC. The same procedure is used in the case of primary education.

Trend in language skills as per the various demographic scenarios. Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, 2011-2036 (%)



Language fluency, 2036 (%)				
	Total	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Spanish speakers
Scenario 2	1,979,114	48.0	17.1	32.2
Scenario 4	2,201,114	49.5	16.7	33.8
RECLUS	2,147,300	51.4	16.5	32.1

Language fluency*, 2011 (%)				
	Total	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Spanish speakers
	2,056,136	36.4	19.3	44.3

* Note: population aged 5 and over.

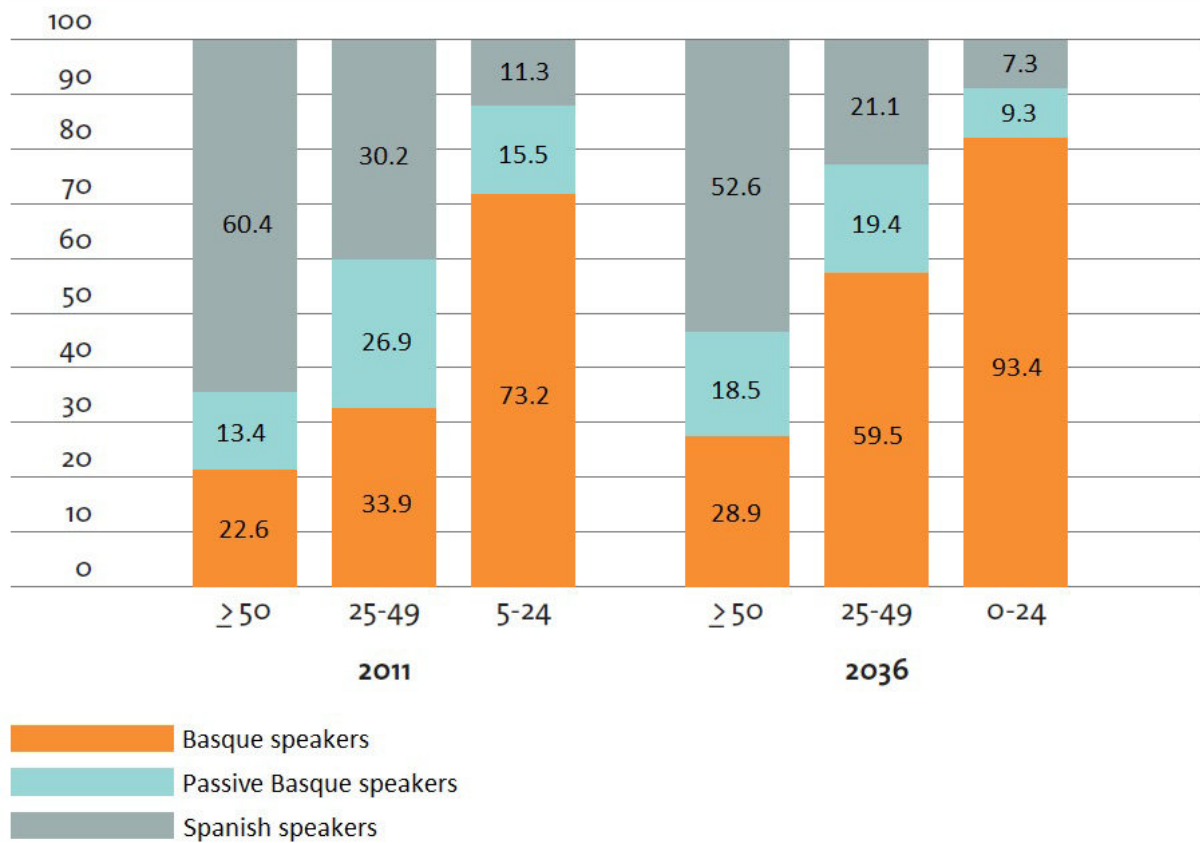
Language fluency, 2036				
	Total	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Spanish speakers
Scenario 2	1,979,114	950,043	337,559	691,515
Scenario 4	2,201,114	1,089,165	366,852	745,098
RECLUS	2,147,300	1,102,915	355,532	688,853

Language fluency*, 2011				
	Total	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Spanish speakers
	2,056,136	749,182	396,922	910,032

* Note: population aged 5 and over.

Three age groups are distinguished: 0-24, 25-49 and 50+. In the RECLUS forecast it is estimated that 83.4% of the first age group (0-24) are Basque speakers, while in the 25-49 age group the figure is 59.5 and in the 50+ age group it is 28.9%. Given that the groups are drawn up with 25 year intervals no major differences are expected for the same age group in different scenarios. For that reason, the percentages envisaged in RECLUS are applied in EUSTAT scenarios 2 and 4.

Tend in language skills by age groups, Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, 2011-2036 (%)



Language fluency by age groups. 2036 (%)

	Total	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Spanish speakers
Age 0-24	100	83.4	9.3	7.3
Age 25-49	100	59.5	19.4	21.1
Age >_50	100	28.9	18.5	52.6

Language fluency by age groups*. 2011 (%)

	Total	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Spanish speakers
Age 0-24	100	73.2	15.5	11.3
Age 25-49	100	33.9	26.9	39.2
Age >_50	100	22.6	13.4	64.0

* Note: population aged 5 and over.

Scenario 2. Language fluency by age groups. 2036

	Total	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Spanish speakers
Age 0-24	367,473	306,472	34,175	26,826
Age 25-49	581,064	345,733	112,726	122,605
Age >_ 50	1,030,579	297,837	190,657	542,085
Total	1,979,114	950,043	337,559	691,515

Scenario 4. Language fluency by age groups. 2036

	Total	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Spanish speakers
Age 0-24	496,892	414,408	46,211	36,273
Age 25-49	595,543	354,348	115,535	125,660
Age >_ 50	1,108,680	320,409	205,106	583,166
Total	2,201,114	1,089,165	366,852	745,098

RECLUS. Language fluency by age groups. 2036

	Total	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Spanish speakers
Age 0-24	517,500	431,595	48,128	37,778
Age 25-49	654,600	389,487	126,992	138,121
Age >_ 50	975,200	281,833	180,412	512,955
Total	2,147,300	1,102,915	355,532	688,853

Language fluency by age groups*. 2011

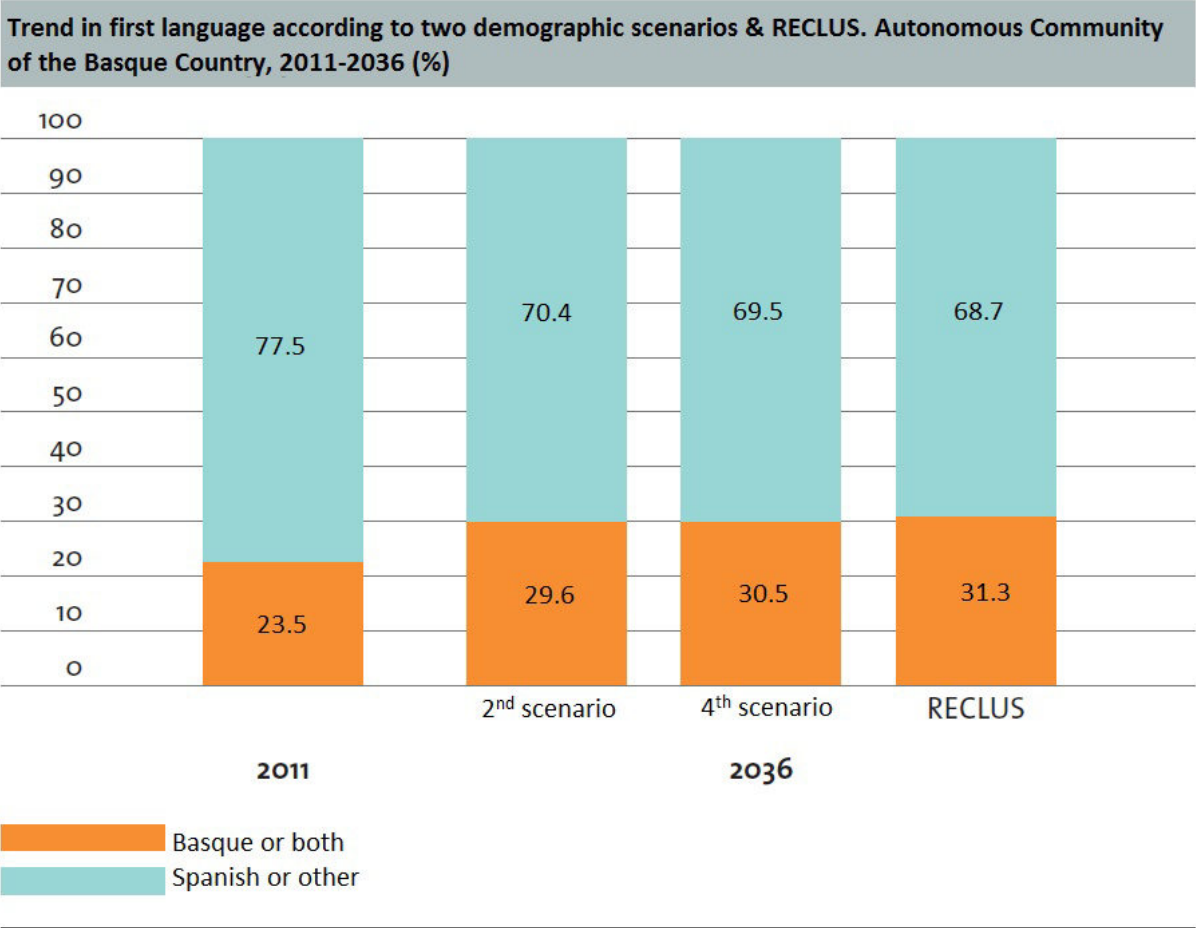
	Total	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Spanish speakers
Age 0-24	376,059	275,187	58,138	42,734
Age 25-49	836,782	283,690	225,047	328,045
Age >_ 50	843,295	190,305	113,737	539,253
Total	2,056,136	749,182	396,922	910,032

* Note: population aged 5 and over.

2. First language

First language is calculated in two ways: firstly, the data from the 2011 census are applied to the population aged 25 and over. Secondly, for the population aged 24 and under first language is allocated in line with the percentage of fluency of their parents, as provided by RECLUS (we assume that an individual’s first language depends on the fluency of their parents).

To determine which language will be the first language in 2036 we take as our basis the first-language data from the 2011 census and project it forward 25 years. Individuals who were aged 0-4, 5-9, 10-14, etc. in 2011 will be 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, etc. in 2036. We consider that a person’s first language remains the same throughout their lifetime.



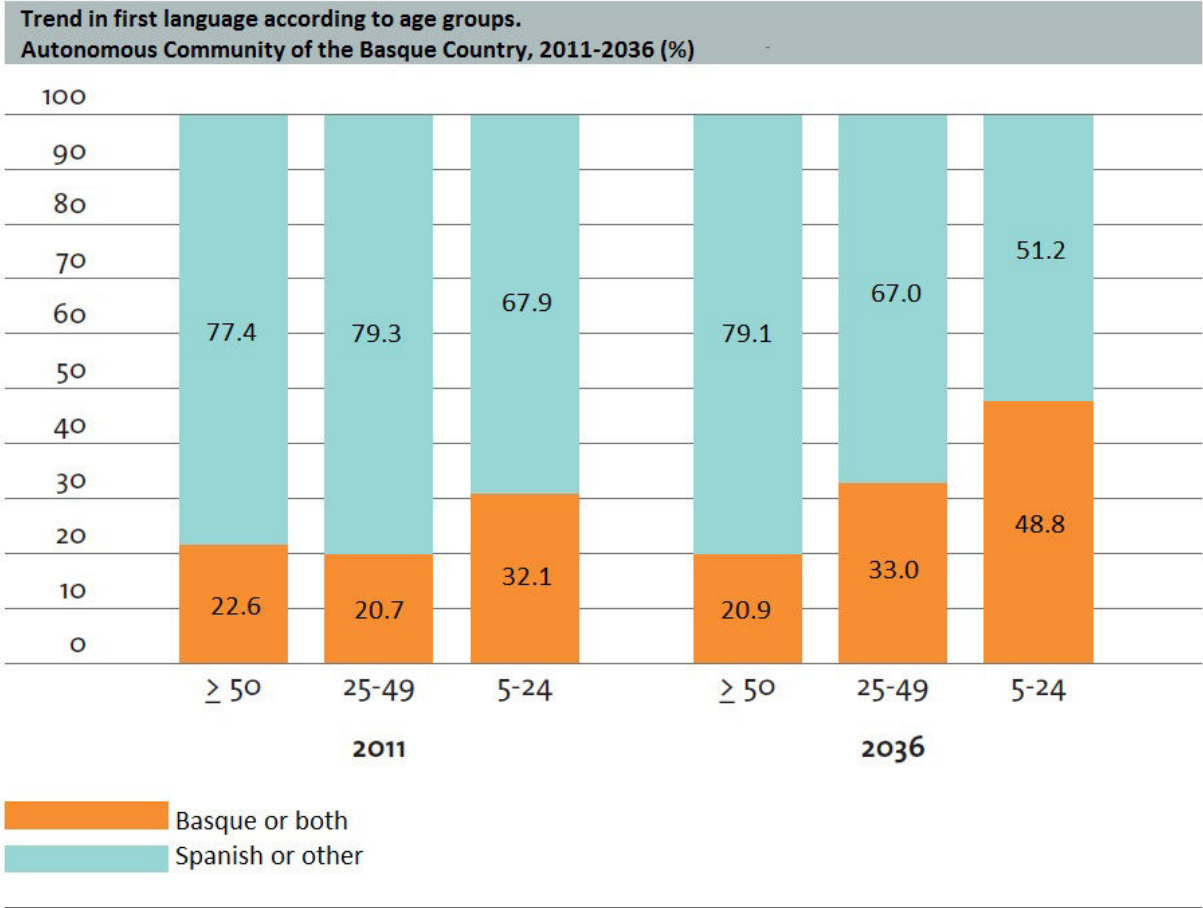
The next step is to calculate which is the first language of the 0-24-year-old age group. To that end we use the data from RECLUS concerning the fluency of the parents of the members of the said group.

The parents of 0-24-year-olds are in the 20-50 and 50+ age groups. We know that the average age for motherhood in Spain is 34, and that of fatherhood is somewhat higher. We therefore assume that two thirds of parents are in the 25-50 age group and the remaining

third in the 50+ group. RECLUS predicts that 59.5% of the population aged 25-50 will be Basque speakers, as will 28.9% of those aged 50+.

Taking into account parents' ages, we add up the two thirds of Basque-speaking parents aged 25-50 (two thirds of 59.5% = 39.3%) and one third of Basque-speaking parents aged 50+ (one third of 28.9% = 9.5%). The sum of the two gives us a figure of 48.8% (39.3% + 9.5%) of Basque-speaking parents with children aged 0-24, and that is the percentage of users of Basque as a first language users that we consider for that group.

The data available concerning language transmission at home indicates that practically 100% of Basque-speakers currently pass the language on (alone or together with Spanish or another language). If a similar transmission rate is assumed for the future then Basque will be the first language of 48.8% of the population aged 0-24, in some cases alone and in others jointly with Spanish or another language.



In EUSTAT demographic forecast scenarios 2 and 4 and in the RECLUS model the data on first language use from the 2011 census for the population aged 25 and over are projected forward 25 years, and the percentage of Basque-speaking parents envisaged in RECLUS is applied to the 0-24 age group. This results in the following forecasts regarding first language use broken down by age groups:

First language by age groups. 2036 (%)			
	Total	Basque or both	Spanish or other
Age 0-24	100	48.8	51.2
Age 25-49	100	33.0	67.0
Age >_50	100	20.9	79.1
Total	100	30.5	69.5

First language by age groups. 2011* (%)			
	Total	Basque or both	Spanish or other
Age 0-24	100	29.5	70.5
Age 25-49	100	20.4	79.6
Age >_50	100	22.6	77.4
Total	100	23.6	76.4

* Note: population aged 5 and over

First language, 2036 (scenario 2)			
	Total	Basque or both	Spanish or other
Age 0-24	367,473	179,327	188,146
Age 25-49	581,064	191,751	389,313
Age >_50	1,030,579	215,391	815,188
Total	1,979,116	586,469	1,392,647

First language, 2036 (scenario 4)			
	Total	Basque or both	Spanish or other
Age 0-24	496,892	242,483	254,409
Age 25-49	595,543	196,529	399,014
Age >_50	1,108,680	231,714	876,966
Total	2,201,115	670,727	1,530,388

First language, 2036 (RECLUS)			
	Total	Basque or both	Spanish or other
Age 0-24	517,500	252,296	265,204
Age 25-49	654,600	216,018	438,582
Age >_50	975,200	203,817	771,383
Total	2,147,300	672,131	1,475,169

First language*, 2011			
	Total	Basque or both	Spanish or other
Age 0-24	509.184	150.222	358.962
Age 25-49	703.657	143.321	560.336
Age >_50	843.295	190.824	652.471
Total	2.056.136	484.367	1.571.769

* Note: population aged 5 and over

3. Education

All mentions of education in this study refer to the general education system, i.e. the following levels: infant education (EI), primary education (EP), compulsory secondary education (ESO), upper secondary education, medium level vocational training and upper level vocational training.

To predict potential trends as regards language models at these education levels, the following hypotheses are considered:

- At pre-university levels it is parents who choose the language model, as they are responsible for enrolling their children. This is how things are at present and how they are expected to continue in the future.
- Provided that the supply-side permits, students do not switch language models on their path through education up to university level.
- By 2036 the full range of language models will be available for infant, primary, compulsory secondary and upper secondary level education.
- In vocational training it is possible that model D may still be in limited supply in 2036, but model B should be widely available.

An examination of trends in language models in compulsory education (up to age 16) over the past 10 years reveals the following:

- A continuous increase in model D.
- A decrease in model A by almost the same amount as the increase in model D.
- Growth in model B, but to a lower extent. This model has also decreased at all levels of compulsory education in recent years.
- Model X has stabilised at 0.6%.

These trends are expected to be maintained up to 2036. Availability of Model B will extend to the whole of upper secondary and a large proportion of vocational training.

Taking enrolment data for infant education and primary education in academic year 2015-2016 and enrolment in the past few decades as reference points, the forecast for pupils in non-university education in the general education system is as follows: 81.3% are expected to study under model D, 15.1% under model B, 3% under model A and 0.6% under model X.

Non-university education in the general education system. ACBC, 2035-2036 (1)			
Language models			
D	B	A	X
81.3	15.1	3.0	0.6

The biggest changes are expected to take place in upper secondary education and medium-level and upper-level vocational training. The availability and use of model B are expected to increase considerably at these levels, in detriment to model A.

A second scenario can also be envisaged in which the demographic weight of the 16-and-under age group decreases (as it is forecast to do in EUSTAT scenario 2). This would result in model D growing somewhat less, and model B somewhat more. In this second scenario the distribution of pupils at pre-university levels would be as follows: 79% in model D, 17.4% in model B, 3% in model A and 0.6% in model X.

Non-university education in the general education system. ACBC, 2035-2036 (2)			
Language models			
D	B	A	X
79.0	17.4	3.0	0.6

In both the foregoing scenarios the percentage of enrolment in model A is considered to be stable at 3%. For the next two scenarios considered below it is assumed that model A will continue to decrease, as it has done ever since the implementation of the current system of models.

The children enrolled in infant education in 2015-2016 will have completed their non-university education at least five years before academic year 2035-2036. In 2015-2016 model A accounted for 3.1% of enrolments (in the 0-3 age group, known as “first cycle” or C1 the figure was 2.6%).

Based on these data, and applying the average trend for model A over the past five years, the proportion of pupils enrolled in that model in non-university education in academic year 2035-2036 will be 2% (1.7% if only C1 is considered). The decrease in model A will be taken up mainly by model B.

The data will therefore look like this:

Non-university education in the general education system. ACBC, 2035-2036 (1)			
Language models			
D	B	A	X
81.3	16.1 (16.5)	2.0 (1.7)	0.6

*The figures in brackets are for C1 only.

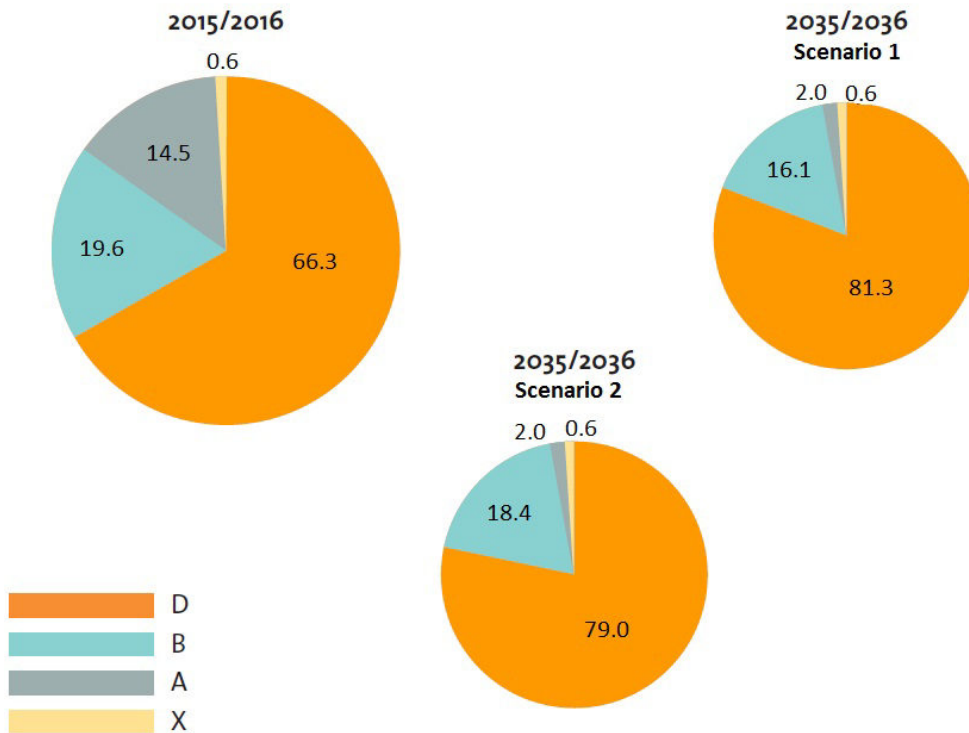
Non-university education in the general education system. ACBC, 2035-2036 (2)			
Language models			
D	B	A	X
79.0	18.4 (18.7)	2.0 (1.7)	0.6

* The figures in brackets are for C1 only.

Non-university education in the general education system. ACBC, 2015-2016 (1)			
Language models			
D	B	A	X
66.3	18.6	14.5	0.6

Source: Dept. of Education, Language Policy & Culture, 2016.

Trend in language models in non-university education under the different scenarios.
Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, 2015/2016-2035/2036 (%)



4. Basque language learning among adults

This section seeks to calculate how many people will learn Basque at Basque language schools or *euskaltegis* in 2036, and more specifically how many people whose level of Basque is currently A2 or lower will attain level B1.

In the European framework, B1 is the minimum or threshold level for considering an individual as an “independent speaker” of a language. This means being able to hold conversations with interlocutors of the same language level in known contexts, provided that the topics discussed are general and habitual and the objective is to exchange information. Independent users are also capable of giving instructions to friends, family members, classmates and workmates, giving short descriptions of objects, giving short accounts of events, expressing opinions briefly and making their intentions known.

As mentioned above, the calculations here consider people whose initial level is A2 or lower. Many people who begin to study Basque have no previous notions of the language, but others start with some basic knowledge either because they live in the Basque Country or because they have come into contact with Basque before. They therefore have a minimum level of language use but cannot be classed as independent users.

The forecast for 2036 is based on the results for the past five years. The calculations are based on three steps:

1. We calculate the number of people who attained level B1 between academic years 2010-2011 and 2014-2015.
2. From that group, we select those who held level A2 or lower when they began to attend the *euskaltegi*. In other words, we exclude people with levels higher than A2 (i.e. those who began learning the language at the levels or *urratsak* formerly referred to as 5 and 6).
3. From the results obtained each year in the five-year period, we discard those individuals who sign up for the same level as the previous year. This means that individuals who pass level B1 in one year and B2 in the next are counted only once.

In academic years 2010-2011 and 2014-2015 a total of 58,351 people attained level B1 or higher. An examination of their learning processes reveals that 22,883 of them started out with level A2 or lower. Calibrating the average for the past five years, this means that 4577 students per year have attained level B1 or higher starting from A2 or lower.

The average age of these students who have passed level B1 is 40. At the levels below B1 the average age of students is higher, and at higher levels it is lower.

The hypotheses applied in drawing up the forecast for 2036 are the following:

1. The number of people learning Basque in 20 years time will be more or less the same as it is now.
2. The average age of students learning Basque at *euskaltegis* is expected to rise considerably. This rise will be offset in part by immigrants enrolling at *euskaltegis*, comprising new, younger students. The trend in recent years indicates that more

immigrants will attend *euskaltegis* to learn Basque, and that both the absolute number of students and their percentage of the total will increase. From 2010-2011 to 2014-2015 the percentage of immigrants increased by 16.6% (a total of 287 individuals), most of them at the beginners' level.

Accordingly, in academic year 2035-2036 the *euskaltegis* of the ACBC will be teaching Basque to 4500 students with the profiles indicated above, i.e. there will be 4500 people who reach level B1 or higher having started from level A2 or lower.

The scenario envisaged as regards age is as follows:

- ▶ The starting point for calculations is the average ages of students enrolled in level A1 from 2010-2011 to 2014-2015. Over that period, the average age increased by 0.24 years per year. If that rate of increase is carried forward then in academic year 2035-2036 the average age of adults studying Basque will be 46.6. However, the scenario must take into account that the proportion of immigrants among students will increase. At present 26.5% of the students who enrol in level A1 are immigrants and their average age is 35.6. In 2035-2036 the figure is expected to reach at least 30%, though their average age will be similar. As a result, the overall average age of students enrolled in *euskaltegis* is expected to be 46.2.
- ▶ In any event, if the number of students enrolled on beginners' level courses at *euskaltegis* in 20 years time is to be similar to the current figure their level of motivation needs to be similar to the current level. However, it is known that instrumental motivation is lower among students of that age, so other motivations need to be reinforced and the promotion of beginners' level learning must be stimulated so that it is regarded as socially valuable.

April 2016

COMMON GROUND FOR A SHARED DISCOURSE CONCERNING BASQUE

INTRODUCTION¹

I would like to say something of which I am convinced. I have said it before of several occasions, but it is this conviction that underlies everything else that follows here.

The Office of Language Policy is convinced that to act effectively in the process of revitalising the Basque language we need many things. We know that. We need suitable regulations and policies, effective plans and all the various means required to implement them, and of course we need scientific expertise and cooperation between the public and private sectors. But underlying all these needs are two basic, essential foundations: one is an attachment to the language (goodwill, desire) on the part of the general public and the other is a broad social and political consensus, i.e. a quantitatively and qualitatively wide-ranging consensus between widely differing viewpoints.

We realise, of course, that consensus alone is not enough, but we also know that we cannot make progress without it.

Basque has clearly made great progress in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country in the past thirty years, and that progress has called for broad social and political consensus. Without the support and legitimacy provided by that consensus we could not have produced the legal and administrative corpus that we have built up or undertaken the cooperation-based policies that we have implemented in so many areas.

We need to care for, update, nurture and revitalise that social and political consensus.

This is an ongoing task, and one in which the framing of our discourse concerning Basque plays a particularly significant part.

The discourse in regard to Basque is one of our most deeply-rooted concerns and is a major area of work for the Office of Language Policy. I must at this point mention the broad-based, successful Euskara 21 process. The document *Euskara 21. Bases para política lingüística de*

¹ This introduction is a transcript of the address by Junior Minister for Language Policy Patxi Baztarrika Galparsoro at the presentation of the “Common Ground for a Shared Discourse Concerning Basque” held in San Sebastián on 4 February 2016.

principios del siglo XXI. Hacia un pacto renovado. [“Euskara 21. Bases for Language Policy at the Outset of the 21st Century: Towards a Renewed Covenant”] sets out the outcomes of that process in the shape of a renewed discourse that was unanimously approved in 2009 by the Basque Language Advisory Council and subsequently – also unanimously – by the Basque Parliament. In the wake of that document, 2012 saw the emergence of the ESEP (Action Plan for the Promotion of Basque), which was drawn up and approved by the Basque Language Advisory Council and subsequently adopted by the Cabinet of the Basque Government and the Basque Parliament.

Since the start of the current legislature we have been working on the EGOD project (Analysis of Basic Discourses concerning the Basque Language). Our reasons and goals in this project can be summed up clearly in the programme for work proposed by the Office of Language Policy to the Basque Language Advisory Council in the following words: “analyse, contrast, renew and open up channels to enable discourses concerning the Basque language to be unified”, and is further clarified in the following terms: “efforts to open up channels to enable discourses concerning Basque to be unified mean accepting and implementing a broad social and political consensus”. The final report on the EGOD project was submitted to the Euskara 21 Committee on 6 November 2015 and to the Basque Language Advisory Council in its plenary session on 11 November.

The Basque Language Advisory Council is currently examining and discussing a report titled “Where do we go from here?”, drawn up by the Office of Language Policy, which seeks to consider the bases and framework of priorities of language policy for the next twenty years. It has already been studied and discussed in three meetings of the Euskara 21 Special Committee and more than thirty contributions have resulted. The final document that emerges from this debate will be issued in the coming months.

Widespread awareness of the importance of discourse has led also to other initiatives, among which I would particularly like to highlight the report drawn up in the summer of 2015 by Topalabea under the title *Topaberri 66: berrikasi eta berrikusi* (“Topaberri 66: re-learning and reviewing”).

The document published today, however, is the result of an analysis conducted under the EGOD. Various investigations have been carried out under the project, and the information from those investigations has provided us with specific content on where the intersection between different discourses could lie.

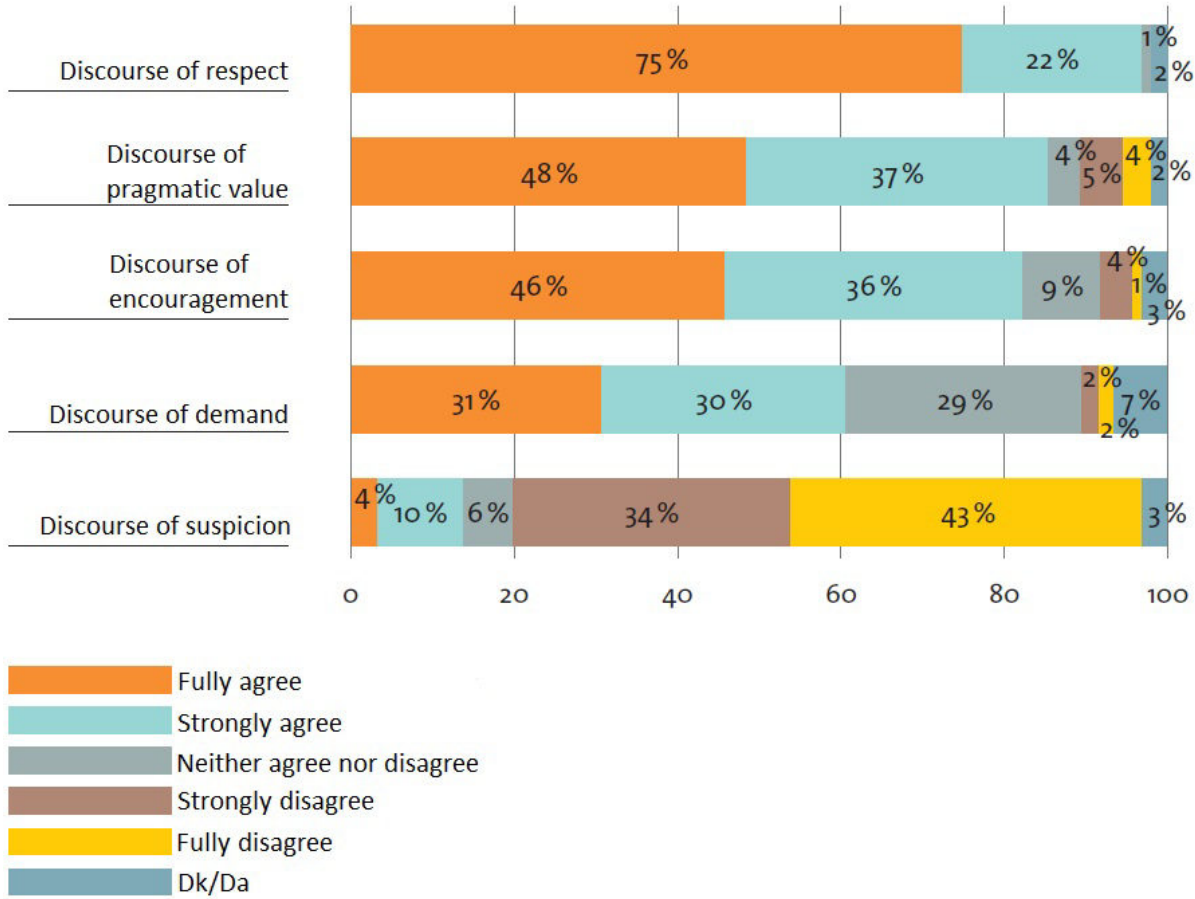
It is worth recalling that the Office of Language Policy set out a specific goal in its proposal to the Basque Language Advisory Council when the EGOD project was set in motion: to “analyse, contrast, renew and open up channels to enable discourses concerning the Basque language to be unified”. As a result, for two years the EGOD project has been seeking to help identify potential bases for strengthening common ground between the various discourses that tend to be present in any plural society as an essential part of its very plurality. It is this content and the potential points of intersection set out in EGOD that can provide the basis for common ground in a shared discourse concerning Basque. That grounding is set out here, along with a list of statements that fail (in some cases narrowly and in others by a great deal) to meet the requirements for common ground.

Today we are publishing all this information with a view to enriching the process of reflection and debate in society which is so necessary for the revitalisation of the Basque language.

COMMON GROUND FOR A SHARED DISCOURSE

The report *Analysis of Basic Discourses concerning the Basque Language* (EGOD project) (15/10/2015) sets out the framing of five main discourses concerning Basque, referred to under the following names: the discourse of respect, the discourse of pragmatism, the discourse of encouragement, the discourse of demand of the discourse of suspicion.

Each of these five framings is represented by a number of statements (at least four and at most eight), and each statement is associated with the degree of acceptance that it elicits in line with a quantitative study conducted expressly by the Sociological Prospecting Unit under the EGOD project. In all there are 33 such statements. The study clearly reveals that these discourses are not mutually exclusive, i.e. people may agree with more than one of them. The exercise presented below entails going beyond these discourses to identify the main ideas (questions or statements) shared by a broad majority of people in society.



Threshold of acceptance as common ground for a shared discourse

The conclusions drawn from this exercise suggest that there is common ground for a shared discourse in which people with different attitudes take mutual respect as a basis for clearly expressing a favourable attitude towards Basque and its protection.

At the Office of Language Policy we believe that it is essential to strengthen this common ground. It must be stressed that we do not seek to eliminate anyone's discourse or viewpoint. Any framing that respects the discourses and language options of others is legitimate and respectable. Peaceful coexistence requires that this be so. But peaceful coexistence also requires that certain basic premises be held in common, and language issues are no exception.

To lay the foundations for this common ground we have selected the statements that obtained favourable scores (full agreement + strong agreement) from more than 66.6% of society², regardless of whether they form part of the five main discourses or emerged from other questions asked in the course of the investigations undertaken in the EGOD project (remember that the studies conducted by the Basque Government's Sociological Prospecting Unit for the EGOD project included a quantitative survey). This figure of two thirds is a mere convention, but we take it as our threshold because we believe that it reflects a broad level of social and political consensus.

21 statements that pass the threshold for acceptance

Out of the total of 33 statements collected for the five discourses, the list below shows the 17 that passed the two thirds acceptance threshold along with four more statements originating elsewhere that also passed the threshold. The total is therefore 21. The list contains statements from all but one of the five discourses: the discourse of suspicion produced no statements that passed the threshold.

Obviously, some viewpoints entail disagreement and argument. Among the 33 statements and the five discourses there are some which fail to meet the criteria for common ground by a lesser or greater extent. But a broad majority of the general public is willing to take on board the ideas of mutual respect, the pragmatic value of Basque and the encouraging of Basque.

² To clarify the type or response in each case, when the degree of agreement with the questions and statements in the graphic below is not exactly "fully agree + strongly agree", the statements are identified as follows:

[*] statements where the possible responses are "Strongly Agree", "Moderately Agree", "Neutral", "Moderately Disagree", "Not Interested" and "DK/DA".

[**] statements where the possible responses are "Very Important", "Relatively Important", "Neutral", "Relatively Unimportant", "Not at all Important" and "DK/DA".

[***] statements where the possible responses are: "I would like only Basque to be spoken in the future"; "I would like both Basque and Spanish to be spoken"; "I would like Basque to be spoken more than it is now"; "I would like Basque and Spanish to be spoken as they are now"; "I would like Basque and Spanish to be spoken, but with less Basque than now"; "I would like only Spanish to be spoken in the future"; and "DK/DA".

The exercise therefore provides us with the following information:

1. What ideas are accepted by at least two thirds of society.
2. What proportion of the people in the ACBC agree with all the statements in question, i.e. where the intersection between those who agree with each statement is located.

Ideas accepted by at least two thirds of society										
Nº	Q. Nº	Framing	Questions & statements	A ³	B	C	D	E	F	G
1	p1403		It is important for children to learn English [*]	96	72	24	1	1	1	1
2	p1402		It is important for children to be able to speak Spanish [*]	95	70	25	2	2	0	1
3	p1401		It is important for children to be able to speak Basque [*]	93	73	20	2	3	1	1
4	p1905	Respect	Everyone should be entitled to choose whichever language they prefer & duty bound to respect the choices of others	93	70	23	1	2	2	2
5	p2601	Respect	Basque and Spanish speakers must be encouraged to respect each other	93	75	18	1	1	1	5
6	p2106	Respect	The wish of customers to be dealt with in Basque or Spanish should be respected at shops, businesses and offices of the public authorities	90	63	27	3	2	2	3
7	p2602	Encouragement	People who do not speak Basque should also support its mainstreaming	87	62	25	3	1	1	7
8	p24	Encouragement	It is important for Basque speakers to have the opportunity to use Basque wherever they wish to [*]	87	58	29	2	4	2	5
9	p27	Encouragement	It is important to reach an agreement that respects the language rights of everyone [**]	86	66	20	1	2	2	10
10	p1906	Pragmatism	People who speak Basque should have more opportunities	86	52	34	4	5	3	2
11	p2303	Respect	The whole population, including those who do not speak Basque, should feel proud that Basque exists here and nowhere else.	84	57	27	4	4	3	5
12	p2301	Encouragement	It would be important for most of the population of the Basque Country to be able to speak Basque	83	51	32	5	4	4	3
13	p2603	Respect	Basque speakers must understand that many people are unable to learn Basque	80	52	28	3	5	4	7
14	p1909	Pragmatism	Speaking Basque facilitates integration in our society and our culture	79	45	34	5	7	6	3
15	p2103	Pragmatism	Basque is more and more necessary for finding a job	76	39	37	7	8	4	5
16	p2306	Respect	Efforts must be made to ensure that Basque and Spanish are on the same level, and that neither is set above the other.	75	45	30	4	8	6	6
17	p2101	Demand	It is essential for public funding to be used to promote Basque	75	39	36	6	8	6	5
18	p2604	Encouragement	Even though they do not speak Basque, Spanish speakers must accept that Basque speakers will speak to each other in Basque	71	49	22	5	9	9	7
19	p2104	Demand	A knowledge of Basque should be required in certain jobs	71	42	29	6	10	8	5
20	p18		In general, how interested are you in the Basque language? [*]	69	39	30	13	9	8	1
21	p2022	Demand	Presence (use) of Basque in the future [***]	68	13	55	23	1	1	6

³ A. Fully + strongly agree; B. Fully agree; C. Strongly agree; D. Neither agree nor disagree; E. Strongly disagree; F. Fully disagree; G. Dk/Da

Intersection of consensus

The table below shows the point of intersection of the statements that obtained a two thirds consensus, i.e. the proportion of the population of the ACBC who simultaneously share the ideas supported by at least two out of three people.

Number of people who expressed agreement with ALL the statements that pass the 66.6% acceptance threshold		
	Nº	%
Fully + Strongly agree	1,463	67.7
Resto	697	32.3
Total	2,160	100.0

This reveals that 67.7% of the population of the ACBC are included in the common ground for consensus.

Statements that fail to pass the threshold for common ground for a shared discourse

As indicated above, 17 of the 33 statements representing the five discourses set out in the EGOD project pass the two thirds acceptance threshold. However not all of the 16 that do not are equally far away from the threshold: some have acceptance scores of 59%, while others have 4% and 11%.

To show distance from the acceptance threshold, we have taken the statements that fail to reach a 50% acceptance level. There are 11 such statements (ideas), and they are set out in the graphic below. Eight of them are from the discourse of suspicion (in which all statements obtained acceptance scores of less than 50%)⁴.

⁴ There are 5 ideas with more than 50% but less than 66.6%, all from the discourse of demand.

Ideas that failed to reach the 50% acceptance level in society			
Nº	Framing	Statements	Fully + strongly agree
1	Pragmatism	People who speak Basque have more prestige	47
2	Encouragement	Speaking Basque is essential for feeling oneself to be a full member of this people	45
3	Suspicion	Learning Basque is too much effort for the benefits entailed	31
4	Encouragement	The rights of Basque speakers are contravened here	29
5	Suspicion	Measures to encourage Basque discriminate against Spanish speakers	26
6	Suspicion	It is better to learn English than Basque	25
7	Suspicion	Basque is not suited to new communication needs in the world of work, with new technologies, etc.	22
8	Suspicion	Using Basque is a burden for companies and for trade	18
9	Suspicion	It is absurd to make such an effort in favour of Basque	13
10	Suspicion	Basque is just for Basque nationalists, not for everyone	11
11	Suspicion	I would not care if Basque were lost	4

