Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey

BASQUE COUNTRY
BASQUE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY
NAVARRE
NORTHERN BASQUE COUNTRY

2011
Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey

2011
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Objective: Basque.**
Cristina Uriarte Toledo, Minister for Education, Language Policy and Culture, Basque Government 9

**A Vibrant Horizon for Basque.**
Patxi Baztarrika Galparsooro, Deputy Minister for Language Policy 11

## BASQUE COUNTRY

1. Language competence 15
   1.1. Population according to language competence 15
   1.2. Language competence by age 22
   1.3. Fluency in bilinguals when speaking Basque 25

2. Language transmission 29
   2.1. Mother tongue 29
   2.2. Bilinguals by mother tongue 31
   2.3. Family transmission 34
   2.4. Basque language gains and losses 37

3. Use of Basque 40
   3.1. Basque language use typology 40
   3.2. Use of Basque by age group 42
   3.3. Use of Basque, domain by domain 46
   3.4. Basque language use among bilinguals 50
   3.5. Use of Basque by bilinguals, according to fluency and mother tongue 51
4. Attitude towards efforts to promote Basque 54
   4.1. Typology of attitudes 54

5. Conclusions 58

**BASQUE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY**

1. Population 63

2. Language competence 67
   2.1. Population according to language competence 67
   2.2. Language competence by age 72
   2.3. Fluency in bilinguals when speaking Basque 78

3. Language transmission 83
   3.1. Mother tongue 83
   3.2. Mother tongue by age 85
   3.3. Bilinguals by mother tongue 90
   3.4. Family transmission 93
   3.5. Basque language gains and losses 96

4. Use of Basque 98
   4.1. Basque language use typology 98
   4.2. Use of Basque by age group 103
   4.3. Use of Basque, domain by domain 106
   4.4. Basque language use among bilinguals 112
   4.5. Use of Basque by bilinguals, according to fluency and mother tongue 113
   4.6. Factors determining Basque language use 116
   4.7. Basque language use in online social networks 118

5. Attitude towards efforts to promote Basque 120
   5.1. Typology of attitudes 120
   5.2. Opinions about Basque 122

6. Conclusions 125
NAVARRE

1. Population 129
2. Language competence 133
   2.1. Population according to language competence 133
   2.2. Language competence by age 137
   2.3. Fluency in bilinguals when speaking Basque 141
3. Language transmission 145
   3.1. Mother tongue 145
   3.2. Mother tongue by age 146
   3.3. Bilinguals by mother tongue 150
   3.4. Family transmission 153
   3.5. Basque language gains and losses 154
4. Use of Basque 155
   4.1. Basque language use typology 155
   4.2. Use of Basque by age group 161
   4.3. Use of Basque, domain by domain 165
   4.4. Basque language use among bilinguals 171
   4.5. Use of Basque by bilinguals, according to fluency and mother tongue 172
   4.6. Factors determining Basque language use 175
   4.7. Basque language use in online social networks 178
5. Attitude towards efforts to promote Basque 179
   5.1. Typology of attitudes 179
   5.2. Opinions about Basque 181
6. Conclusions 183
NORTHERN BASQUE COUNTRY

Results of the Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey in the Northern Basque Country: losses continue but recovery moves forward.
Frantxua Maïtia, Director, Public Office for the Basque Language

1. Language competence
   1.1. Population according to language competence
   1.2. Language competence by age
   1.3. Fluency in bilinguals when speaking Basque

2. Language transmission
   2.1. Mother tongue
   2.2. Mother tongue by age
   2.3. Bilinguals by mother tongue
   2.4. Family transmission
   2.5. Basque language gains and losses

3. Use of Basque
   3.1. Basque language use typology
   3.2. Use of Basque by age group
   3.3. Use of Basque, domain by domain
   3.4. Basque language use among bilinguals
   3.5. Use of Basque by bilinguals, according to fluency and mother tongue
   3.6. Factors determining Basque language use
   3.7. Basque language use in online social networks

4. Attitude towards efforts to promote Basque
   4.1. Typology of attitudes
   4.2. Opinions about Basque

5. Conclusions

Factsheet

Basic data in tables
OBJECTIVE: BASQUE

The talented writer Anjel Lertxundi inscribed a sentence on the frontispiece of a memorable book containing his reflections on the evolution of Basque and the Basque culture. A rough translation of the sentence might read “will and resolve: the bridge between name and identity”. In a nutshell, it quite nicely explains the reasons for the progress of Basque. In the process of revitalising a non-hegemonic language like Basque, it is absolutely essential that the only society that supports the language have a strong will and resolve, strength, and spirit of adherence. Needless to say, in order for there to be progress, the resolve, determination and spirit of adherence must be backed by the necessary legal authority as well as a language policy which provides for the allocation of resources and is designed to promote the Basque language. But without the adherence of the general public and the resolve of society, the other two factors are rendered ineffective.

The results of the Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey presented in these pages corroborate this joint effort. The data here shows that in recent decades, the number of people who are able to speak Basque has grown, as has the use of Basque, although, naturally, to a lesser degree. The strength of will, determination and adherence mentioned above have also led to a more positive attitude toward Basque among the population, as seen in the overall data for the Basque territories as a whole.

Unfortunately, Basque is not expanding equally throughout the Basque-speaking territories. The contribution that makes this growth possible is, after all, fundamentally concentrated among the residents of the Basque Autonomous Community. In the other Basque-speaking territories, knowledge of the language is growing moderately (in Navarre) or the number of speakers is on the decline (in the French Basque region, or Northern Basque Country). A similar contrast can be seen with regards to language use.

So, we have reasons to be happy (the general upward trend has not ended), but there is work to do (there is still a long road ahead before Basque takes its deserved place in an equally balanced bilingual society), and many questions to address. And that is
The foremost aim of this publication is to promote new ideas by sharing information. Consensus is the essential ingredient of any language policy, and shared knowledge is the first step on the ladder to consensus.

This book is published in four languages (Basque, Spanish, French and English) and contains the results of the Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, conducted in 2011. On my own behalf and in the name of the Basque Government, I would like to express my appreciation for collaboration on this project from the Public Office for the Basque Language in the Northern Basque Country. This cooperation is a clear reflection of the long-standing commitment by both institutions to promoting Basque, a commitment based on the utmost respect for the authority and area of activity of each institution.

In addition to providing this information on the development of Basque, the data included in this book offer us a portrait of our society in some of its characteristics. It therefore constitutes a valuable tool for anyone who wishes to reflect on the situation and future of Basque and for those who want to learn about the weaknesses, strengths, threats and opportunities facing the language.

Vitoria-Gasteiz, 24 July 2013
The reason behind the sociolinguistic survey has been the same since its inception: to conduct an in-depth, ongoing study in as systematic a way as possible and with the same regularity as the Census and the Register — every five years — on the social evolution of the Basque language. This way data from the censuses can be compared with data drawn from the survey. The study covers the entire territory in which Basque is spoken, made possible by the collaboration between the institutions of the Basque Autonomous Community, the Government of Navarre and the Northern Basque Country.

The First Sociolinguistic Survey was carried out in 1991. The data from that first survey were published in 1995 under the title The Continuity of Basque. Five years later, in 1996, the Second Sociolinguistic Survey was conducted and the resulting data published in 1999. The Third Sociolinguistic Survey was conducted in 2001 and published in 2003. The Fourth Sociolinguistic Survey, published in 2008, reflected data collected in 2006, and the Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, published today, is based on data collected between June and December 2011.

This completes a diachronic study spanning a 20-year period (1991-2011), providing serial information from all of the Basque-speaking territories.

The population of the Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey consists of residents of the Basque Country aged 16 or older (2,649,000 people). Thus, it does not include younger age groups and children, who, owing to the decisive contribution of our schools, account for the greatest density of Basque speakers. A total of 7,900 surveys (4,200 in the BAC, 2,000 in the Northern Basque Country and 1,700 in Navarre) were conducted by phone, using a structured closed-ended questionnaire. The sample was stratified by sociolinguistic area and municipality, and the variables of gender, age and distribution of Basque speakers and non-Basque speakers were taken into account when processing the results.

The sociolinguistic survey presented in this book is, therefore, a study of the first order in the vast panorama of language research: For this reason and others, collabora-
tion between the public authorities of the Basque-speaking territories should be inseparable from a study of these characteristics. In actuality, this has indeed been the case to a certain extent. The Public Office for the Basque Language in the Northern Basque Country has cooperated with the Basque Government in the publication of this book. The Basque Government would view the incorporation of the Government of Navarre in this collaboration in a positive light, and will persevere in its attempts to see this happen. Unfortunately, so far the Government of Navarre has taken no steps in this direction. The Basque

Government will also further its cooperation in this area with the Public Office for the Basque Language in the Northern Basque Country. Indeed, some time ago the Council of Europe recommended collaboration between communities within the same state and between communities that transcend national borders as a contributing factor to the revitalisation of Basque. This collaboration presents nothing but advantages for the Basque language.

With regard to the data from the Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey summarised in this book, I would like to highlight two of the many topics for reflection: first, and taking into account the different ways Basque has evolved in the three communities of the Basque-speaking territory, the factors that determine the social evolution of Basque are, among others, legal status, public planning and language policy and the level of adherence among the population, and the intensity with which these factors are interconnected; and, second, the question of the vitality of Basque, the central aim of our task in this legislature.

As for the vitality of Basque, the data contained on these pages shows an outcome which, in my judgement, stands out from the rest: considered as a whole and leaving aside the important differences between territories, in three or four generations Basque is not at risk of disappearing. As I see it, the survival of Basque, in general and in light of its evolution in the BAC, is ensured, at least for the period mentioned. But, can we say the same for the health and vitality of the language?

There is no question that Basque is the second language for more and more residents, but can we also claim that it is the first language for a growing number of people? This question is decisive to the health of Basque. The challenge is twofold: Basque must continue to be a language spoken by an increasing number of people, and at the same time, it must be used regularly and naturally to a greater extent.

This issue must be discussed in every domain and public forum. And in order for the exchange to be fruitful, it needs to be backed by documentation. The aim of this publication is, among others, to provide a solid basis for this discussion. I hope that the material presented here will prove useful and productive.

Vitoria-Gasteiz, 24 July 2013
BASQUE COUNTRY
Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey
1. Language competence

1.1. POPULATION ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

According to the 2011 survey, 27% of the population aged 16 and over in the Basque Country is bilingual, 14.7% is passive bilingual, and 58.3% is non-Basque speaking, in other words, people who do not know Basque at all.

Thus, of the 2,649,000 people aged 16 or over living in the Basque Country 714,000 are bilingual, 338,000 are passive bilinguals and 1,547,000 non-Basque speakers.

In the BAC, the percentage of bilinguals aged 16 and over is 32% (600,000 people), in Navarre, 11.7% (63,000 people), and in the Northern Basque Country, 21.4% (51,000).
Figure 2. Language competence by territory. Basque Country, 2011 (%)

Table 1. Language competence by territory. Basque Country, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Basque Country</th>
<th>BAC</th>
<th>Navarre</th>
<th>Northern Basque Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2,649,000</td>
<td>1,873,000</td>
<td>537,000</td>
<td>239,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>714,000</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>63,000</td>
<td>51,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
<td>388,000</td>
<td>326,000</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>22,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
<td>1,547,000</td>
<td>947,000</td>
<td>434,000</td>
<td>166,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within the BAC, the analysis of language competence in the three provinces reveals outstanding differences in their percentages. Half of the population aged 16 and over in Gipuzkoa is bilingual (49.9 %), with 300,000 bilinguals. In Bizkaia a quarter of the population is bilingual (25.4 %), with 254,000 bilinguals. Finally, the proportion of bilinguals in Araba is lower than a fifth of its population (16.8 %), with 46,000 bilinguals.

**Figure 3. Language competence, province by province. BAC, 2011 (%)**

Note: size of circles is proportional to population of each territory.

In Navarre, the Basque-speaking area has the highest percentage (59.3 %) and number (30,000 people) of bilinguals. In the mixed area, 9.8 % of the population (28,500 people) is bilingual. The lowest percentage (2.3 %) and number (4,500) of bilinguals is found in the non-Basque-speaking area.

Outstanding differences are also found with respect to language competence in the three districts of the Northern Basque Country. Half of the population aged 16 and over in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa is bilingual, with 17,000 bilinguals (52.1 %). In the Lapurdi hinterland almost a quarter of the population is bilingual, with 25,500 bilinguals (23.9 %). Finally, the proportion of bilinguals in the BAB (Baiona-Anglet-Biarritz) is lower than a tenth of the population, with 8,500 bilinguals (8.7 %).
This survey gives the data obtained for Donostia-San Sebastián, Bilbao, Vitoria-Gasteiz, Pamplona and BAB. No data can however be given for Maule and Saint Jean Pied-de-Port due to the fact that the sample is insufficient.

All five capitals have a lower percentage of bilinguals than their respective regions. In Donostia-San Sebastián, 33.5 % of the population is bilingual, in Bilbao, 16.3 %, in Vitoria-Gasteiz, 15.5 %, in Pamplona, 9.1 %, and in the BAB district, 8.7 %.

Donostia-San Sebastián has the highest percentage (33.5 %) and number (53,000) of bilinguals. The lowest percentage (8.7 %) and number (8,500) of bilinguals is found in the BAB.
Today there are 185,000 bilinguals more than in 1991 (an increase of 4.7 points). In 1991 there were 529,000 bilinguals aged 16 and over in the Basque Country (22.3%). In 2011 the number of bilinguals stands at 714,000 people aged 16 and over (27%).

Table 2. Language competence, by capital. Basque Country, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vitoria-Gasteiz</th>
<th>Bilbao</th>
<th>San Sebastián</th>
<th>Pamplona</th>
<th>BAB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>205,000</td>
<td>308,000</td>
<td>159,000</td>
<td>169,000</td>
<td>99,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>85.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 6. Evolution of bilingual population. Basque Country, 1991-2011
The increase in the percentage of bilingual population has taken place above all in the BAC (an increase of almost 8 points) and to a lesser extent in Navarre (an increase of 2.2 points). Nevertheless, in the Northern Basque Country, losses continue to take place (a decrease of 5 points), although a positive increase in the percentage of bilinguals among young people is observed.

**Figure 7. Evolution of bilingual population by territory. Basque Country, 1991-2011 (%)**

1.2. LANGUAGE COMPETENCE BY AGE

An analysis of bilinguals in the Basque Country according to age shows that the highest increase has taken place in the under-35 age groups. This increase is particularly outstanding in the youngest group. Among young people aged 16 to 24, almost half the population is bilingual (46.8 %), as are more than a third of the population aged 25 to 34 (35.9 %).

The lowest percentage of bilinguals is found in the population more than 35 years old. The percentage of bilinguals in these age groups is lower than 25 %.

An analysis of evolution shows that the highest increase in the percentage of bilinguals has taken place in the population aged under 50, and that the figures rise as age lowers. Twenty years ago almost a quarter of young people aged 16 to 24 were bilingual (22.5 %), while today the figure stands at almost a half (46.8 %). Further, in the 25-to-34 age group, there has been an increase of 15 percentage points, given that in 1991 bilinguals stood at 20.3 %, a figure that rises to 35.9 % in 2011. In the 35-to-49 age group there has been an increase of 5 points in the percentage of bilinguals (19.3 % vs. 24.4 %).

In groups aged over 50 the opposite occurs. Twenty years ago there were more bilinguals between the ages of 50 and 64 than there are today, given that 23 % of the population falling within these ages was bilingual in 1991, whereas the figure is 20.5 % in 2011. Finally, the strongest drop in the percentage of bilinguals occurs in the over-65s, where there is a decrease of 7 percentage points. Thus, whereas 28.5 % of over-65s were bilingual in 1991, the figure stands at 21.4 % in 2011.

Table 3. Evolution of language competence by age group.
Basque Country, 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>&gt;=65</th>
<th>50-64</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>16-24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>2,649,000</td>
<td>594,000</td>
<td>605,000</td>
<td>747,000</td>
<td>446,000</td>
<td>257,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>46.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
<td>58.4</td>
<td>70.2</td>
<td>67.4</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>2,371,000</td>
<td>345,000</td>
<td>549,000</td>
<td>569,000</td>
<td>458,000</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>72.8</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011
An analysis of language competence by territory and age strongly indicates that the highest percentage of bilinguals in the BAC and Navarre is found among young people aged 16 to 24 (59.7 % and 20.8 % respectively). Nevertheless, the Northern Basque Country shows the highest percentage of bilinguals among the over-65s, a percentage that falls as age decreases. However, among young people in the Northern Basque Country, the change in trend perceived five years ago is confirmed, and, according to data for 2011, both the percentage and the number of bilinguals have risen.

In view of the data, we can say that there are more and more bilinguals in the BAC and Navarre, with a faster rate of growth in the BAC and a slower rate in Navarre. However, in the Northern Basque Country losses still occur, although there has been a rise in the percentage and number of bilinguals among young people.

The percentage of non-Basque speakers has decreased in the BAC and Navarre, but has increased in the Northern Basque Country, as have absolute numbers.

### Table 4. Language competence by territory and age group. Basque Country, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Age groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;=65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BAC</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
<td>17.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
<td>50.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Navarre</strong></td>
<td>238,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
<td>69.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.
1.3. FLUENCY IN BILINGUALS WHEN SPEAKING BASQUE

Bilinguals can be divided into three groups according to their fluency in Basque compared to Spanish or French:

- **Bilinguals with a greater command of Basque** are more fluent in Basque than they are in Spanish or French. These people constitute 26.6% of bilinguals in the Basque Country aged 16 and over.

- **Bilinguals with equal command of both languages** are equally fluent in Basque and Spanish or French. Almost a third of bilinguals (30.6%) fall into this category.

- **Bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish or French** are more fluent in Spanish or French than they are in Basque. They constitute the largest group of bilinguals (42.7%).

![Figure 9. Bilingual population according to fluency in Basque. Basque Country, 2011 (%)](image)

Analysis of the results territory by territory shows that there is no particular variation in percentages.

In the BAC most bilinguals are bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish (42.9%). Almost a third (30%) are bilinguals with an equal command of both languages, and a quarter are bilinguals with a greater command of Basque (25%).
In Navarre almost half are bilingual with a greater command of Spanish (47.9 %). More than a quarter of the bilinguals are bilinguals with an equal command of both languages (27.1 %), and bilinguals with a greater command of Basque stand at 25 %.

![Figure 10. Bilingual population according to fluency in Basque, territory by territory. Basque Country, 2011 (%)](image)

In the Northern Basque Country the majority are bilingual with equal command of both languages (42.6 %). Almost a third are bilingual with a greater command of French (30.5 %) and bilinguals with a greater command of Basque are fewer than a quarter (23.1 %).
In twenty years, the bilinguals who have greater fluency in Basque than Spanish or French have dropped by 8 percentage points. In 1991 they constituted 34.6% of bilinguals and today they stand at 26.6%. Nevertheless, balanced bilinguals are increasingly numerous (27.7% vs. 30.6%), as are bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish or French (37.8% vs. 42.7%).

Of the total bilingual population aged 16 or over in the Basque Country, the highest percentage of bilinguals with a more fluent command of Basque is found in the population aged over 65 (43.6%). The percentage drops as age lowers. Among bilinguals younger than 50, less than 25% have a more fluent command of Basque. However, the trend changes on coming to the younger population, where 22.6% in the 16-to-24 age group are Basque-dominant bilinguals, compared to 20.6% of bilinguals aged 25 to 34.

With respect to bilinguals who have an equal command of both languages, no great difference is noted in the percentages according to age (more than 30%), except in the youngest age group (26.2%).

Finally, the percentage of bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish or French rises as age lowers. Whereas a quarter of bilinguals aged 65 and over speak more easily in Spanish or French (26.1%), in young bilinguals aged 16 to 24 the figure stands at half (51.2%).
On comparing today’s data with figures 20 years ago, note should be taken that, in 1991, the percentage of bilinguals who said they spoke more fluently in Basque dropped significantly as age lowered, and that the percentage was lower than in 2011 among under-35s, but much higher among over-35s.

The percentage of balanced bilinguals was generally lower in all age groups.

Table 5. Evolution of fluency in Basque by age.
Basque Country, 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;=65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bilinguals</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>714,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals more fluent in Basque</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals fluent in both languages</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals more fluent in Spanish/French</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>529,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals more fluent in Basque</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals fluent in both languages</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals more fluent in Spanish/French</td>
<td>37.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*

With respect to bilinguals who have a more fluent command of Spanish or French than Basque, in 1991 the percentage was low among the over-65s (18.2 %) and increased remarkably as age decreased. When comparing the data among younger people, we see that the percentage of bilinguals who find it easier to speak in Spanish or French was somewhat higher than today (they were 52.8 % in 1991 and are 51.2 % in 2011).
2. Language transmission

2.1. MOTHER TONGUE

By mother tongue we mean the language or languages acquired from parents or relatives with whom a child has lived until the age of three.

According to the Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, Basque is the mother tongue of 537,000 people aged 16 and over in the Basque Country, i.e. 20.3 % of the population. Only Basque has been transmitted in the home to 15.4 % and Basque with Spanish or French to 4.9 %. Finally, Spanish, French or another language is the mother tongue of four in five inhabitants (79.7 %). We must not forget that there are increasing numbers of people whose mother tongue is neither Basque nor Spanish or French, but another language such as Romanian, Portuguese, Arabic, Russian, etc.

Figure 12. Mother tongue. Basque Country, 2011 (%)
Substantial differences are observed in the percentages for each province. More than half of the population of Lower Navarre and Zuberoa have only Basque as their mother tongue (51.2 %). In Gipuzkoa a third of the population have only Basque as their mother tongue (33.9 %). In the remaining provinces the percentage lowers considerably. In Lapurdi 14.5 % of the population have only Basque as their mother tongue, and in Bizkaia, 11.5 %. The lowest transmission percentages are found in Navarre (6.1 %) and Araba (3.4 %).

Table 6. Mother tongue, province by province. Basque Country, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total (2,649,000)</th>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Araba</th>
<th>Bizkaia</th>
<th>Gipuzkoa</th>
<th>Navarre</th>
<th>Lapurdi</th>
<th>Lower Navarre and Zuberoa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and Spanish/French</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish/French</td>
<td>79.7</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Those over the age of 65 have the highest percentage of Basque transmission as their only mother tongue (20.9 %). This percentage decreases as age lowers. Among the youngest, population trends are changing and the percentage of transmission only in Basque is on the rise (13.7 %). The same applies to Basque with Spanish or French (9.1 %).

However, note should be taken that this change in trend is mainly taking place in the BAC. In Navarre the percentage of transmission in Basque does not decrease in people under the age of 50, but remains above 4 % in all age groups. However, in the Northern Basque Country, the percentage who have Basque as their mother tongue becomes increasingly lower as age decreases.

With respect to evolution of mother tongue according to age, 20 years ago the greatest percentage of those who had Basque as their mother tongue were aged over 65 (27.7 %), a percentage that lowered remarkably as age decreased.
On the other hand, at the present time, the percentage of Basque transmission with Spanish and French is higher (4.9 %) than it was 20 years ago (3 %), and has increased remarkably among the younger ages. Those aged 16 to 24 who have Basque as their mother tongue with Spanish or French stand at 9.1 %, while 20 years ago the percentage was 3.4 %.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Age groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;=65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>2,649,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and Spanish/French</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish/French</td>
<td>79.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>2,371,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and Spanish/French</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish/French</td>
<td>77.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2.2. BILINGUALS BY MOTHER TONGUE

Below we will analyse the typology of bilinguals in the Basque Country aged 16 or over according to the language they acquired in the home.

More than half of bilinguals (52.5 %) have Basque as their only mother tongue. These people are known as euskaldun zaharras, or native Basque speakers. Another 12.6 % have Basque and Spanish or French as their mother tongue. These people are known as native bilinguals. Lastly, more than a third of bilinguals have not acquired Basque in their homes. These are the so-called euskaldun berriak, or new Basque speakers (34.9 %), people who have acquired Basque outside their homes, either at school or at an euskaltegi (Basque language school).

Bilinguals have changed remarkably as regards typology in the last 20 years. In 1991 the vast majority of bilinguals were native Basque speakers (79.3 %), i.e.
they had Basque as their only mother tongue. Although in 2011 native Basque speakers are still the majority (52.5 %), they have dropped in number by almost 27 percentage points.

On the other hand, native bilinguals hold increasingly more weight, i.e. those who have Basque with Spanish or French as their mother tongue. These are the sons and daughters of mixed couples or new Basque speakers, and they have increased by 5.5 points. But the biggest rise in bilinguals is found among the new Basque speakers, with an increase of more than 21.3 points.
As far as age is concerned, 20 years ago native Basque speakers were the majority in all age groups. Meanwhile, today more than half of the bilinguals aged 16 to 24 and 25 to 34 are new Basque speakers (51.8 % and 52.5 % respectively). In 1991, however, the percentage of new Basque speakers in the same two age groups stood at 25.5 % and 21.3 % respectively.

There are also increasingly more native bilinguals in all age groups and their numbers have risen steeply among young bilinguals aged 16 to 24. Today they constitute 19 % of bilinguals in this age group, while 20 years ago the percentage was 10.7 %.

Among young people, the majority of bilinguals are new Basque speakers in the BAC and Navarre. There are also increasingly more in the Northern Basque Country, a factor that influences their ability to use Basque. Among bilinguals, a majority in the BAC and Navarre finds it easier to speak a language other than Basque, and their numbers are increasing in the North Basque Country.
2.3. FAMILY TRANSMISSION

To track family transmission, all of those surveyed were asked what language or languages they acquired in the home. We must remember that the sample includes people aged 16 up to almost 100. The survey therefore offers the possibility to find out how language has been transmitted in the home over this period of time.

When both parents are bilingual, 85% of children in the BAC, 71.2% in Navarre and 68% in the Northern Basque Country have received only Basque as their mother tongue. On the other hand, 7% of the population of the BAC, 11.6% of Navarre and 12.2% of the Northern Basque Country have acquired Basque with Spanish or French as their mother tongue. Lastly, Basque was not transmitted in the home to 8% of the population of the BAC, 17.3% of Navarre and 19.8% of the Northern Basque Country.
When only one of the parents is bilingual, the majority have not transmitted Basque. In the case of these parents, 36% have transmitted Basque with Spanish or French in the BAC, 29.1% in Navarre and 15.3% in the Northern Basque Country.

Also, to study the evolution of Basque transmission, we selected the universe of parents who had children between the ages of 2 and 15. An analysis of how they transmitted the language was carried out. When both parents are bilingual, 86% of children in the BAC, 78% in Navarre and 54% in the Northern Basque Country have received only Basque as their mother tongue. Also, 11% of the population of the BAC, 17% of Navarre and 33% of the Northern Basque Country has received Basque as their mother tongue with Spanish or French. In the BAC and Navarre the percentage of bilingual parents who have not transmitted Basque is low (3% and 4% respectively). However, in the Northern Basque Country, 13% of bilingual parents have not transmitted Basque.

In the case of mixed couples, i.e. when one of the parents does not know Basque, the majority of children aged 2 to 15 have acquired Basque with Spanish or French in all territories of the Basque Country; but the percentages vary. In the BAC the percentage is 71%, in Navarre, 67%, and in the Northern Basque Country, 56%.

**Figure 17. Language transmitted to children, according to parental knowledge of Basque. Navarre, 2011 (%)**
The greatest change in family transmission has taken place in mixed couples where only one of the two is bilingual. It used to be that the vast majority of these couples did not transmit Basque. However, today a third does not do so in the BAC and Navarre, and 44% in the Northern Basque Country.

The percentages of Basque transmission in the BAC and Navarre are rather similar, although in the BAC the transmission of Basque as the only mother tongue enjoys a higher percentage. However, in the Northern Basque Country, even if both parents are bilingual, many of them either transmit Basque with French (33%) or do not transmit Basque at all (13%).

Also, in the case of mixed couples, the non-transmission of Basque is higher in the Northern Basque Country (44%) than it is in the BAC and Navarre (29% and 33% respectively).

**Figure 18. Language transmitted to children, according to parental knowledge of Basque. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Whole sample</th>
<th>With children aged 2-15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and French</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>33.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>68.0%</td>
<td>54.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole sample</td>
<td>84.6%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With children aged 2-15</td>
<td>56.0%</td>
<td>44.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.
2.4. BASQUE LANGUAGE GAINS AND LOSSES

Most of the people whose mother tongue is only Basque, or Basque with Spanish or French, have retained Basque and are now bilingual (88 % in the BAC, 83 % in Navarre and 75 % in the Northern Basque Country).

However, there are people who have totally or partially lost their Basque (approximately 3 % of inhabitants aged 16 or over). Part of those losses are partial, i.e. they correspond to people who have a good understanding of Basque but do not speak it well. Approximately half of the losses in the BAC and the Northern Basque Country occur in this way and more than a third in Navarre.

**Figure 19.** Evolution in Basque language gains and losses, by age group. BAC, 1991-2011 (%)

Most of the losses, partial or otherwise, are found in people aged over 50.

In addition, among the population of the Basque Country aged 16 and over, 250,000 people have learned Basque and are currently bilinguals, i.e. 178,000 more than in 1991. These are the new Basque speakers or euskaldun berriak.

There are 220,000 people in the BAC who have learned Basque and are now bilingual (160,000 inhabitants more than in 1991), 23,500 (17,000 more than in 1991) in Navarre, and 7,000 (5,000 more than in 1991) in the Northern Basque Country.

The rise in gains of new speakers and the almost complete disappearance of losses is found above all in the youngest age groups in the BAC and Navarre, and also among young people in the Northern Basque Country, although with less intensity.
Figure 21. Evolution in Basque language gains and losses, by age group. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2011 (%)

3. Use of Basque

3.1. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE TYPOLOGY

In 2001, the Sub-Ministry for Language Policy created an index to learn the nature of Basque language use in Basque society, known as the Basque language use typology. This index covers the following domains: the home (partner, children, father, mother and siblings), immediate environment and formal domain (shopping, banks, health centres and municipal offices). The following figures are based on this typology.

Considering the total population of the Basque Country aged 16 and more, 24.2 % uses Basque to some extent:

a. 16.1 % use Basque intensively, i.e. they use it as much as or more than Spanish or French in their daily activity.

b. 8.1 % also uses Basque, but to a lesser extent than Spanish or French.

**Figure 22. Basque language use typology. Basque Country, 2011 (%)**

Basque use varies greatly between the different territories. Those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French, i.e. who use Basque intensively, constitute 20% of the population of the BAC, 9.6% of the Northern Basque Country and 5.5% of Navarre. Also, the percentage of those who use Basque, but less than Spanish or French, stands at 7.3% in the BAC, 7.1% in the Northern Basque Country, and 1.9% in Navarre.

An analysis of evolution in the last 20 years shows that Basque use has increased in the BAC, remained the same in Navarre, and decreased in the Northern Basque Country.

Figure 23. Basque language use typology, by territory. Basque Country, 2011 (%)

An analysis of evolution in the last 20 years shows that Basque use has increased in the BAC, remained the same in Navarre, and decreased in the Northern Basque Country.
3.2. USE OF BASQUE BY AGE GROUP

Among the population of the Basque Country aged 65 and over, 16.4 % use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French and, in the next age group down, 50 to 64, the percentage is 13.8 %. In those aged under 50, the use of Basque increases the lower the age: in the 35-to-49 age group those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French are 15.5 %, in the 25-to-34 age group, 17.6 %, and in the 16-to-24 age group, 20.2 %.

In the last 20 years, the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French has increased in the under-50 population and has decreased in ages over 50.
In the BAC, the inhabitants who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish are at their lowest percentage in the population over 50: in those over 65 it stands at 19.3 %, and in those aged 50-to-64, at 16.7 %. In age groups under 50, the younger the group, the greater the percentage of people who use Basque. The 16-to-24 age group has the highest percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish (26.8 %). This is precisely the age group to have experienced the strongest increase in the last 20 years (14 points). Since 1991, there has been an increase of 8 percentage points in the 25-to-34 age group with respect to those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish (14.2 % vs. 22.3 %). There has also been an increase of 6.4 points in the 35-to-49 age group (13.3 % vs. 19.7 %).
In Navarre, use of Basque descends as the age of the population lowers, until coming to those aged 35. Below this age the trend changes and we start finding a growth in the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish: from 25 to 34 the percentage is 5.7 % and from 16 to 24 it is 7.3 %. Evolution in the last 20 years shows that in the group aged over 35, Basque is presently used less than in 1991. However, below this age, the percentage of people who use Basque is higher than it was at that time.

In the Northern Basque Country, the use of Basque descends as the age of the population lowers. Those who use Basque most are over 65 (16.6 %) and those who use it least are young people aged 16 to 24 (5 %). Evolution in the last 15 years shows that, like in Navarre, those aged over 35 currently use Basque less than they did in 1996. However, below this age the trend has changed since 2001, hence the percentage of those who use Basque as much as or more than French has risen in the population aged under 35.
Figure 27. Evolution of language use by people who speak in Basque as much as or more than in Spanish by age groups. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%).


Figure 28. Evolution of language use by people who speak in Basque as much as or more than in French by age groups. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2011 (%).

3.3. USE OF BASQUE, DOMAIN BY DOMAIN

Basque language use has increased in all domains, except in the home. The strongest increase has taken place in formal domains.

In the home, as we already said, Basque is currently used less than it was 20 years ago. Nevertheless, this decrease has not taken place to an equal extent in all relations in the home, but varies depending on what members of the household are involved. There has been a rise in the percentage of Basque use in relations with children and, although to a lesser extent, with siblings. However, the same does not apply to relations between couples or with parents.

As a domain, the home has a specific particularity with respect to the use of Basque. Unlike other domains, it only takes one non-Basque-speaker for all other members to stop using Basque and start speaking Spanish or French. Even so, there are many cases where the parents, despite having no great ability to speak Basque, use the language in relations with their children, particularly while they are very young.

On the other hand, there are growing numbers of young bilinguals from non-Basque-speaking families who have learned Basque at school. For a great many
of these young people, the only way they can use Basque in the home is with their siblings, who have also learned Basque at school.

In formal domains, health services are particularly notable given the steep increase in the use of Basque in the last 20 years. Whatever the case, note should be taken that the percentage of Basque use in health services is lower than it is in the other domains.

In the BAC Basque is used more in all domains except in the home. The use of Basque has changed very little in this domain, having remained at around 17% in the last 20 years. When it comes to relations between different members of the family, variations in the percentage of use between 1991 and 2011 are less than a percentage point as regards the use of Basque between partners (14.1%) and by children with their mother (16.4%). However, the percentage has increased by 2 points as regards the use of Basque by children with their father (15.9%). The highest increase in the use of Basque between family members has taken place in relations with children (22.8%) and with siblings (20.1%), where it has risen by 4.7 and 3.1 points respectively.

Outside the home, Basque is used in relations with friends (21.8%), co-workers (24.5%), municipal offices (24.8%) and health services (19.8%), with a clear rise in the percentages of those using Basque as much as or more than Spanish.

Figure 30. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish according to domain of use. BAC, 1991-2011 (%)
In Navarre, use of Basque currently stands between 5 % and 8 % in all domains (5.4 % at home, 8 % with children, 7.5 % with friends and 7.1 % with co-workers). In the formal domains of use, the percentage is 6.3 % in relations with municipal office employees and 4.8 % with health service employees. In the last 20 years, the use of Basque has changed very little. The greatest change, almost 2 additional percentage points, has taken place in the formal domain.

**Figure 31.** Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish according to domain of use. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%)

In the Northern Basque Country, use of Basque is approximately 11% in the home and in relations with co-workers. Note should be taken that the highest percentage presently corresponds to relations with friends (14.5%). However, this percentage drops in the formal domains (8.3% with municipal employees, 3.5% with health service employees). Generally speaking, the use of Basque has decreased in the last 15 years.

**Figure 32.** Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than French according to domain of use. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2011 (%)

3.4. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE AMONG BILINGUALS

Considering only the bilingual population of the Basque Country, 59.4 % use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French, 23.9 % use Basque, but less than Spanish or French, and the remaining 16.6 % never or almost never use Basque.

Figure 33. Basque language use among bilinguals. Basque Country, 2011 (%)

In the last 20 years, the percentage of bilinguals who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French has decreased by 1.8 points. Those who use Basque less than Spanish or French have also decreased in number (by less than a point). However, the percentage of bilinguals who never or almost never use Basque has increased by 3.9 points.
3.5. USE OF BASQUE BY BILINGUALS, ACCORDING TO FLUENCY AND MOTHER TONGUE

In the case of bilinguals in the Basque Country with a greater command of Basque, 97.3 % use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French. In other words, almost all bilinguals who find it easier to speak Basque than Spanish or French use the former intensively in their daily lives. Age appears to have very little effect on this behaviour.

In the group of balanced bilinguals, 76.2 % use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French, a percentage that drops as age decreases. In the over 50s, intensive use of Basque is higher than average, while in the 16-to-24 group the percentage is 62.8 %.

Finally, in the group of bilinguals who have greater command of Spanish or French, 23.8 % use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French. The percentage drops as age decreases, just as it did in the case of balanced bilinguals. In those over 35, intensive use of Basque is above-average, whereas in those aged 25 to 34 it is 16.2 %, decreasing to 9 % in those aged 16 to 24.
A person’s fluency in Basque is directly related to their mother tongue, which has a strong influence on how that person uses the Basque language.

Basque is used as much as or more than Spanish or French by 84 % of bilinguals whose mother tongue is Basque, by 54 % of those whose mother tongue is both Basque and Spanish or French, and by 24 % of bilinguals whose mother tongue is Spanish or French.

In view of the results obtained to date, we can confirm that the number of people who use Basque in some way or another in the Basque Country is on the rise, although there are considerable differences between territories.

The population who speak Basque well or rather well is increasing, i.e. the number of potential speakers is on the rise, as is the number of people who use Basque.

Nevertheless, the rise in levels of language competence and use has not occurred to the same extent. Twenty years ago the distance between the population who knew Basque and the population who used it was 8.6 percentage points. Today it stands at 10.9 points.
The difference between competence in and use of Basque is obvious if we compare both variables according to age: as the age of the population decreases, the distance between the percentage of bilinguals and the percentage of people who use Basque increases.

The main reasons why young bilinguals do not make greater use of Basque are as follows: their mother tongue is Spanish or French; they find it easier to speak Spanish or French than they do Basque; and most of them live in non-Basque-speaking areas.

**Figure 36.** Comparison between bilinguals, those whose mother tongue is Basque and those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French, by age group. Basque Country, 2011 (%)
4. Attitude towards efforts to promote Basque

4.1. TYPOLOGY OF ATTITUDES

The Sub-Ministry for Language Policy has developed a typology for the classification of opinions expressed in support of or in opposition to promotion of the Basque language in different domains by inhabitants of the Basque Country aged 16 years or older.

In the BAC, 62.3 % are favourable towards action to promote Basque, as are 38.5 % in the Northern Basque Country and 37.7 % in Navarre.

On the other hand, an substantial percentage or people are neither for nor against such action: 40.2 % in the Northern Basque Country, 27.8 % in Navarre and 26.1 % in the BAC.

Finally, those who oppose action to promote Basque are 11.6 % of the population of the BAC, 21.3 % of the Northern Basque Country and a third (34.5 %) of Navarre.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Basque Country</th>
<th>BAC</th>
<th>Navarre</th>
<th>NBC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,649,000</td>
<td>1,873,000</td>
<td>537,000</td>
<td>239,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For</td>
<td>55.2</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Globally considering the population of the Basque Country aged 16 and over, evolution in the last 20 years shows an increase of 7 points in favourable attitude towards efforts to promote the Basque language. In 1991, those favourable towards action to promote the language were 47.5 % of the population, while today they stand at 55.2 %.
In the last 20 years, the province to have experienced the strongest growth in favourable attitude towards Basque is Navarre, given that, in 1991, 21.6 % of its inhabitants were favourable towards promoting use of the language, and today they stand at 37.7 %.

The Basque Autonomous Community has also experienced progress in favourable attitudes towards the Basque language. In the last 20 years, the percentage has risen by 7 points, from 55 % in 1991 to 62.3 % in 2011.

In the Northern Basque Country the situation has evolved in the opposite direction. In 1996, 42.3 % of the population was in favour of action to promote Basque, while today the percentage is 38.5 %, i.e. a fall of almost 4 points in a period of 15 years.
Attitude towards action to promote Basque is closely related to language competence. Proof of this is that more than 88% of bilinguals in the BAC and Navarre are favourable towards efforts to promote Basque, as are 73% of bilinguals in the Northern Basque Country. However, non-Basque speakers who oppose efforts to promote Basque represent 18.3% in the BAC, 41.2% in Navarre and 27.8% in the Northern Basque Country.

By age group, favourable attitudes towards efforts to promote the use of Basque are widespread among young people in the BAC and Navarre, and among adults in the BAC. In the Northern Basque Country, however, it is precisely the youngest people who show the lowest percentage of support. Even so, in the last five years there has been a rise in support from this age group. With respect to those over 65, the percentage of people favourable towards efforts to promote Basque is high, both in Navarre and in the Northern Basque Country. In fact, this is the age group most favourable towards the Basque language.
Among the questions addressed, note should be taken that the majority of inhabitants of the BAC aged 16 and over consider it indispensable for children to learn Basque (81%) and approve of the requirement of Basque language knowledge to work in the administration (75%). In the Northern Basque Country this opinion is shared by 51% and 53% respectively. On the other hand, in Navarre, the majority agrees that Basque should be required to work in the administration (53%), but only 43% share the opinion that children must necessarily learn Basque, while numerous people believe the opposite (48%).

Moving on to other opinions, with respect to their choice of language model, 66% of inhabitants of the BAC would send their children to model D schools, while the figure stands at 32% in Navarre and 19% in the Northern Basque Country.

A third (34%) of inhabitants of the Northern Basque Country would choose the bilingual language model (Basque and French), and a quarter of the population in Navarre (24%) and in the BAC (25%) would prefer model B.
5. Conclusions

- The society of the Basque Country is progressively aging, with a very high life expectancy and low birth rate. Also, the foreign immigrant population has increased considerably in the last decade, particularly in Navarre and the BAC, where the percentages stand at 11.4 % and 6.5 % of the population, respectively.
- 27 % of inhabitants aged 16 and over are bilingual, 14.7 % are passive bilingual and 58.3 % are non-Basque speakers. Today there are 714,000 bilinguals in the Basque Country, 185,000 more than in 1991.
- The rise experienced by the bilingual population in the last 20 years has been particularly remarkable in the BAC, where the percentage has increased by almost 8 points. In Navarre the increase has been lower (2.2 points). In the Northern Basque Country, however, the percentage of bilinguals continues to fall (5 points less in the last 15 years); even so, note should be taken that this downward trend changes direction in the youngest age group, where the percentage of bilinguals has started to increase.
- The bilingual population of the Basque Country has undergone important changes in last the 20 years. Today the majority of bilinguals are native Basque speakers (52.4 %), representing a decrease of 27 points with respect to the total bilingual population. Today native bilinguals represent 12.6 % of all bilinguals, i.e. they have increased by 5.5 points. New Basque speakers stand at 34.9 %, an increase of 21 points.
- By ages, in the BAC and Navarre we note that more than half of bilinguals under 35 are new Basque speakers, while in the Northern Basque Country they are fewer than half, although they now stand at almost 40 %.
- Today, in homes with children under 16, almost all parents who know Basque transmit the language to their children. When both parents are bilingual, the transmission rate rises to 97 % in the BAC and 95 % in Navarre, often with Spanish (13 % in the BAC and 17 % in Navarre). In the Northern Basque Country transmission by bilingual couples is currently 87 % (33 % in Basque and French). In mixed couples, transmission has increased and now stands at 71 % in the BAC, 67 % in Navarre and 56 % in the Northern Basque Country.
• 20% of inhabitants of the BAC use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, 5.5% in Navarre, and 9.6% in the Northern Basque Country use Basque as much as more than French.

• An observation of evolution in the use of Basque since 1991 shows that increasingly more people use Basque in the BAC (an increase of 4.5 points). In Navarre, however, the percentage of use has changed very little, barely half a point, and in the Northern Basque Country it has fallen by 3.7 points.

• Use of Basque has risen in age groups under 50 in the BAC, and among under-35s in Navarre and the Northern Basque Country.

• Favourable attitude towards efforts to promote Basque has risen in the BAC and Navarre (by 7 and 16 points respectively in the last 20 years), but has decreased in the Northern Basque Country (by 3.8 points in the last 15 years). As regards age, progress in the BAC and Navarre is observed in all age groups, while in the Northern Basque Country note should be taken that, in the last 5 years, favourable attitude towards Basque has risen in the youngest age group.
BASQUE AUTONOMOUS COMMUNITY
Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey
1. Population

Today 2,185,393 people live in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). They are characterised by two main features:

- Progressive aging of the population: life expectancy is rising constantly (82.4 years), while the birth rate remains extremely low (9.92 births per 1,000 inhabitants, EU-27 10.7).
- A strong rise in the foreign immigrant population: in 2011, immigrants constitute 6.5% of the population (almost 10% in Araba; around 6% in Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa).

Population ageing is not a new phenomenon, but a process that began in the 70s. As a result, in the two last decades the population aged 65 and over has risen by 8 percentage points to stand at 19.5% of the total population.

On the other hand, the younger population has lost weight, meaning that the number of under 20s currently stands at 17.4% of the population; 2 points below those aged 65 and over.

The increase in the number of people aged 85 years or over has been even greater; it has almost tripled in the last 20 years to stand at 2.8% of today’s population.

---

1 The data on population in the BAC are provided by the statistics bodies: INE, EUSTAT and IKUSPEGI.
Immigration is nothing new to the BAC. However, there is an obvious difference in the origin of immigrants when compared to the 60s, in that those who have moved here in recent decades largely come from other countries.

The number of foreigners has multiplied by almost seven in the last decade, from 0.7 % of the population in 2000 to 6.6 % in 2011.
As regards the sex of the foreign population, men are generally slightly more numerous than women. Among the Latin American nationalities, women are higher in number, while in those of African origin it is the men.

As for the origin of foreign immigrants, a great many (43.1 %) come from Latin America, although their numbers have started to fall off in recent years. The next group in order of importance is European in origin. Although Europeans constitute a quarter of today’s foreign immigrant population, in the early years of the decade they constituted almost half of it. Finally, people of Maghrebi origin form the third largest group.

The most frequent nationalities are Moroccan and Romanian, followed by Colombian, Bolivian and Portuguese.

As far as age is concerned, the vast majority of foreign men and women immigrants are young. More than half (54.6 %) are aged between 15 and 45 and therefore hold a great deal of weight in these age groups. But the situation is more obvious is in the 20-25 age group, where it rises to around 20 %.
Figure 3. Population pyramid for people born abroad by sex and age.
BAC, 2011 (%)
2. Language competence

2.1. POPULATION ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

According to the Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 32 % of the population aged 16 and over in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) is bilingual, 17.4 % passive bilingual and 50.6 % non-Basque-speaking, in other words, people who do not know Basque at all.

![Figure 4. Language competence. BAC, 2011 (%)](source: Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011)

Thus, of the 1,873,000 people aged 16 or over living in the BAC, 600,000 are bilingual, 322,000 are passive bilingual and 951,000 are non-Basque speakers.
The analysis of data province by province reveals important differences. Half of the population of Gipuzkoa is bilingual (49.9 %, i.e. 300,000 people). In Bizkaia a quarter of the population is bilingual (25.4 %; i.e. 254,000 people). Finally, in Araba the proportion of bilinguals is less than a fifth of the population (16.8 %; i.e. 46,000 people).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BAC</th>
<th>Araba</th>
<th>Bizkaia</th>
<th>Gipuzkoa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,873,000</td>
<td>272,000</td>
<td>999,000</td>
<td>602,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>600,000</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>254,000</td>
<td>300,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
<td>322,000</td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td>177,000</td>
<td>99,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
<td>951,000</td>
<td>180,000</td>
<td>568,000</td>
<td>203,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this Survey we also give data for the three capital cities. Note should be taken that the three capital cities have a bilingual-speaking percentage lower than their respective provinces. Thus, bilinguals in Donostia-San Sebastián stand at 33.5 %, in Bilbao at 16.3 % and in Vitoria-Gasteiz at 15.5 %. The greatest difference in the percentage of bilinguals between the province and its capital is found in Donostia-San Sebastián and Gipuzkoa (49.9 % as opposed to 33.5 %). The difference between Bizkaia and Bilbao also is quite high (25.4 % as opposed to 17.6 %), while the smallest difference is between Araba and Vitoria-Gasteiz (16.8 % as opposed to 15.5 %).
Today the BAC has 181,000 bilinguals more than it did 20 years ago. There has been a rise of almost 8 points in the percentage of bilinguals (24.1 % in 1991 and 32 % in 2011) and a strong rise in the number of passive bilinguals (from 8.5 % in 1991 to 17.2 % in 2011). Finally, there are currently 222,000 non-Basque speakers aged 20 and under (the 67.4 % of 1991 has dropped to 50.8 % in 2011).

**Table 2. Language competence, capital by capital. BAC, 2011 (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vitoria-Gasteiz</th>
<th>Bilbao</th>
<th>Donostia-San Sebastián</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>205,000</td>
<td>308,000</td>
<td>159,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bilinguals</strong></td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Passive bilinguals</strong></td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Basque speakers</strong></td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*

**Figure 6. Evolution of bilingual population. BAC, 1991-2011**

*Source: Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*
With respect to the evolution of data on language competence, the drop in the percentage of non-Basque speakers and the rise of bilinguals is even more remarkable if we consider the sociodemographic changes that have taken place in our society. The local population is aging steadily against a steadily falling birth rate. All this implies that the group of young people, which has the greatest percentage of bilinguals, bears increasingly less weight within the population as a whole.

The percentage of bilinguals is rising in all three BAC provinces, and particularly in Araba. In 1991 the percentage of bilinguals in Araba was 7%; today it stands at 16.8%. In Bizkaia the percentage of bilinguals was 16.5% twenty years ago; today it stands at 25.4%. In Gipuzkoa 43.7% of the population were bilingual twenty years ago; today the figure stands at 49.9%. Thus, from 1991 to 2011 the bilingual population aged 16 and over rose by almost 10 points in Araba, almost 9 points in Bizkaia, and by more than 6 points in Gipuzkoa.
2.2. LANGUAGE COMPETENCE BY AGE

The number of bilinguals has risen in all age groups among people under the age of 50. This increase is nothing new, given that the trend has steadily continued in the last 20 years. However, the rise among the younger population is remarkable: today 59.7 % of youngsters in the 16-24 age group are bilingual, as are 44.5 % of those aged 25 to 34.

The lowest percentage of bilinguals is found in the population aged 35 and over, where it falls below the average in the BAC. This particularly applies to the 50-64 age group (22.9 %).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3. Language competence by age group. BAC, 2011 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A study of evolution in the BAC over the last 20 years shows that the rise in bilinguals is taking place among the youngest members of the population. The largest non-Basque speaking group is constituted by adults. However, as time goes by, the adult group is not only receiving larger numbers of bilinguals as the younger group grows older, but it is also losing non-Basque speakers as they move into the over-65 age group. In other words, while young people are speaking increasingly more Basque, the percentage of non-Basque speakers is rising in the older group (which had the highest percentage of bilinguals until 20 years ago).

The percentage of passive bilinguals rises as age decreases. As in the previous survey, the percentage of passive bilinguals is lower in the 16-to-24 age group
(23.2 %) than it is in the 25-to-34 group (25.0 %). Although it is true that the percentage of bilinguals has grown to the detriment of non-Basque speakers and passive bilinguals, specifically among the younger population, there is lower growth in the percentage of passive bilinguals, with the result of a greater increase in bilinguals.

Non-Basque speakers represent 2 in 3 of the population aged 50 and over. Below this age the proportion gradually decreases: to half in the 35-to-49 age group (50.5 %), to almost a third in the 34-to-25 age group (30.5 %), and to less than a fifth in the 16-to-24 age group (17.0 %).

A study of the evolution of bilinguals in the last 20 years by age group shows that the rise is repeated in all groups under the age of 50. In fact, nowadays almost 60 % of young people aged 16 to 24 are bilingual, compared to the 25 % of bilingual population in 1991. In the next age group (25 to 34) almost half of the population is bilingual, when in 1991 it was a quarter. In the 35-to-49 age group there has also been an increase in the percentage of bilinguals, given that today almost a third is bilingual (29.8 %), when 20 years ago the figure was a fifth (20 %).
These trends are clearly obvious in all three provinces, even if their percentages vary substantially.

In Araba and Bizkaia the evolution in language competence by age group demonstrates that the signs of change observed in 1996 have actually come to pass. The conversion to Basque of the youngest population is a reality, as is the general drop in non-Basque speakers. Bilinguals are also greater in number than non-Basque speakers in the under-25s. In Gipuzkoa the percentage of bilinguals is even higher in all age groups. Eight out of ten young people in Gipuzkoa are bilingual, and more than four out of ten adults.

Let’s take a closer look at the data province by province.
ARABA

The differences in the percentage of bilinguals between the different age groups become much wider as the groups get older. Approximately 5% of the over-65 population in Araba is bilingual. Nevertheless, below that age, the percentage increases progressively to double in the age group immediately preceding the over-65s: there are 7.3% of bilinguals in the 50-to-64 age group; 15.1% in the 35-to-49 group, 29.3% in the 25-to-34 group, and 46.2% in the 16-to-24 group.

As regards passive bilinguals, the lowest percentage (3.9%) is found in the oldest age group, and the highest among young people aged 16 to 24 (30.3%).

The rise in the percentage of bilinguals and passive bilinguals entails a decrease in the percentage of non-Basque speakers. Nine out of ten inhabitants of Araba aged 65 and over are non-Basque speakers (91.5%). Under that age, and particularly under 35, the percentage of non-Basque speakers falls considerably (23.5% in young people aged 16 to 24).

The percentage of young bilinguals has risen spectacularly in these 20 years. In 1991, only 8.9% of young people aged between 16 and 24 were bilingual, and 5.1% of those aged between 25 and 34. Education models D (Basque-medium) and B (mixed-language) have had a strong influence on the rise in bilinguals in Araba. The conversion to Basque of the youngest population is an obvious reality, as is the general drop in non-Basque speakers. There are also more bilinguals than non-Basque speakers among the younger population (16-to-24 age group).

**Figure 9.** Evolution of bilingual population by age group. Araba, 1991-2011 (%)

BIZKAIA

In Bizkaia, like in Araba, the differences in the percentage of bilinguals vary greatly between the different age groups. Thus, more than half of the young people aged 16 to 24 in Bizkaia are bilingual (52.8%). In the 25-to-34 age group the percentage stands at 37.5%, and in the over 35s, at 23.6%. Nevertheless, among those over 50 the percentage of bilinguals drops to 16.6%. The rise in bilinguals has been particularly remarkable among young people: in 1991, 17.9% of the young people aged between 16 and 24 years were bilingual, and 14.5% of those aged between 25 and 34.

With respect to those aged 65 or older, the situation is the opposite, given that 26.2% were bilingual in 1991, while today they are only 16.6%.

The percentage of passive bilinguals increases as age decreases. The highest percentage of passive bilinguals is therefore found in the two younger age groups (around 30%), and the lowest among those aged 65 and over (9.1%).

Non-Basque speakers continue to predominate in groups aged 35 and over. However the proportion of non-Basque speakers in the younger age groups is less than one in five (18.7%).

Figure 10. Evolution of bilingual population by age group. Bizkaia, 1991-2011 (%)

GIPUZKOA

Bilinguals predominate among groups aged 50 and under in Gipuzkoa. In the BAC, like in the other provinces, the younger the age group the higher the percentage of bilinguals. Thus, among younger speakers in the 16-to-24 age group, the percentage is 77.4 %. In Gipuzkoa, the smallest percentage of bilinguals is found in the population aged between 50 and 64 (40.1 %).

The percentage of passive bilinguals in the under-35 age group is slightly lower than average in the BAC. Thus, the percentage of passive bilinguals among the younger population is 11.5 %, the age group with the lowest percentage. The highest percentage of passive bilinguals is found in the 35-to-49 age group (21.2 %).

Non-Basque speakers reach their highest percentage in the over-50 age group (more than 40 %). Nevertheless, in the under-50s, the percentage of non-Basque speakers drops by almost the same amount as the rise in bilinguals: a third in the 35-to-49 age group (32.2 %), a fifth in the 25-to-34 age group (21.9 %), and a tenth in young people aged between 16 and 24 years (11.2 %).

Figure 11. Evolution of bilingual population by age group. Gipuzkoa, 1991-2011 (%)

2.3. FLUENCY IN BILINGUALS WHEN SPEAKING BASQUE

Bilinguals can be divided into three groups according to their fluency in Basque compared to Spanish.

- **Bilinguals with a greater command of Basque** are more fluent in Basque than they are in Spanish. They constitute 27.1 % of bilinguals in the BAC aged 16 and over.

- **Bilinguals with equal command of both languages** are equally fluent in both Basque and Spanish or another language. Almost a third of all bilinguals (30 %) fall into this category.

- **Bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish** are more fluent in another language than they are in Basque. They constitute the largest group of bilinguals (42.9 %).

![Figure 12. Bilingual population according to fluency in Basque. BAC, 2011 (%)](image)

Analysis of the results province by province demonstrates that the variation in percentages is remarkable.
In Araba most bilinguals are bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish (71.4 %). A fifth of the bilinguals are bilinguals with equal command of both languages (21.9 %), while bilinguals who have greater command of Basque stand at 6.7 %.

In Bizkaia more than half of the bilinguals are bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish (52.4 %). More than a quarter of the bilinguals are bilinguals with equal command of both languages (28 %), while bilinguals who have greater command of Basque stand at 19.6 %.

In Gipuzkoa bilinguals with a greater command of Basque are higher in number (36.6 %) than those with equal command of both languages (32.9 %) and bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish (30.5 %).

![Figure 13](https://example.com/image.png)

*Figure 13. Bilingual population according to fluency in Basque, province by province. BAC, 2011 (%)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aruba</th>
<th>Bizkaia</th>
<th>Gipuzkoa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>30.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>32.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to evolution over the last 20 years in the BAC, it should be noted that the percentage of bilinguals who have more fluent command of Basque is lower today than it was in 1991 (27.1 % vs. 35.4 %). The percentage of bilinguals with equal command of both languages is higher (30 % vs. 25.4 %), as is the group who have greater command of Spanish (39.1 % vs. 42.9 %).
Among the total bilingual population aged 16 or over in the BAC, the highest percentage of bilinguals with more fluent command of Basque is found in the population aged 65 and over (46 %). The percentage drops as age gets lower. Among bilinguals under the age of 50, less than 25 % have fluent command of Basque.

The highest percentage of bilinguals with equal command of both languages is found in the 25-to-64 population (one in three).

The percentage of bilinguals who have greater command of Spanish increases as age decreases. Thus, half of the bilinguals aged 16 to 24 have more fluent command of Spanish than Basque (50.6 %).
The data for bilinguals of different ages in the three provinces differs from overall figures for the BAC.

In Araba the biggest group, by a large difference and in all age groups, is that of bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish.

In Bizkaia, half of the bilinguals aged 65 and over is bilingual with a greater command of Basque (49 %). There is a notable drop in this figure (to less than 14 %) in groups aged under 50. Bilinguals who have greater command of Spanish are also more than half in all groups under 50.

In Gipuzkoa the figures vary. Bilinguals who have a greater command of Basque hold the majority in the over-65 and younger age groups (45 % and 42.2 % respectively). The lowest percentage of bilinguals who have a greater command of Basque is found in the 25-to-34 and 35-to-49 age groups (30.5 % and 32.7 %)

Figure 15. Bilingual population according to fluency in Basque by age group. BAC, 2011 (%)
respectively). The highest percentage of bilinguals who have a greater command of Spanish is found in the 35-to-49 and 50-to-64 age groups (35.2 % and 33.2 %). There are no great differences in age between bilinguals who have an equal command of both languages, as all stand at approximately 30 %; the exception is found among those aged 25 to 34 (39.9 %).

### Table 4. Fluency in Basque by province and age group. BAC, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Bilinguals</th>
<th>&gt;=65</th>
<th>50-64</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>16-24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Araba</strong></td>
<td>46,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals more fluent in Basque</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals equally fluent in both languages</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals more fluent in Spanish</td>
<td>71.4</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>73.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bizkaia</strong></td>
<td>254,000</td>
<td>38,000</td>
<td>38,000</td>
<td>66,000</td>
<td>63,000</td>
<td>49,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals more fluent in Basque</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals equally fluent in both languages</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals more fluent in Spanish</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>63.0</td>
<td>66.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gipuzkoa</strong></td>
<td>300,000</td>
<td>57,000</td>
<td>57,000</td>
<td>79,000</td>
<td>64,000</td>
<td>43,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals more fluent in Basque</td>
<td>36.6</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals equally fluent in both languages</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>32.1</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals more fluent in Spanish</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*
3. Language transmission

3.1. MOTHER TONGUE

By mother tongue we mean the language or languages acquired from parents or relatives with whom a child has lived until the age of three.

Basque is the mother tongue of 430,000 people aged 16 or over in the BAC, i.e. 22.9 % of the population. Basque is the only language spoken at home for 17.5 %, and Basque and Spanish for 5.4 %. Finally, Spanish or another language is the mother tongue of three out of four inhabitants (77.1 %). We mustn’t forget that there are increasing numbers of people whose mother tongue is neither Basque or Spanish, but another language such as Romanian, Portuguese, Arabic, Russian, etc.

Figure 16. Mother tongue. BAC, 2011 (%)

Despite the fact that all three provinces show a prevalence of people whose only mother tongue is a language other than Basque, there are notable differences in the percentages for each province. Gipuzkoa is the province with the lowest presence of people whose mother tongue is not Basque (58.5 %). In the other two provinces, a language other than Basque is the mother tongue of a great majority of the inhabitants. Thus, Basque is not the mother tongue of 83.7 % inhabitants of Bizkaia, nor of 93.9 % inhabitants of Araba.

Regarding the provincial capitals, the percentages for the different mother tongues are very similar in Vitoria-Gasteiz and Bilbao. Thus, 3.6 % of the inhabitants of these cities aged 16 or over have only Basque as their mother tongue. Likewise, 2.2 % of the population of Vitoria-Gasteiz and 3.7 % of the population of Bilbao has a combination of Basque and Spanish as their mother tongue. This means that the mother tongue of 9 in 10 inhabitants of Vitoria-Gasteiz and Bilbao is Spanish or another language.

In Donostia-San Sebastián a higher percentage of the population than in Bilbao and Vitoria-Gasteiz only has Basque as its mother tongue (17.9 %) or Basque and Spanish (7.2 %). Three-quarters of the inhabitants of Donostia-San Sebastián have Spanish or a language other than Basque as their mother tongue.

### Table 5. Mother tongue, province by province. BAC, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BAC</th>
<th>Araba</th>
<th>Bizkaia</th>
<th>Gipuzkoa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,873,000</td>
<td>272,000</td>
<td>999,000</td>
<td>602,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basque</strong></td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Basque and Spanish</strong></td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spanish</strong></td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>93.9</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** *Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*
3.2. MOTHER TONGUE BY AGE

Analysis of the first language of the inhabitants of the BAC by age shows that the over-65s represent the highest percentage of those whose only mother tongue is Basque (22.7 %). This percentage decreases the lower the age. Nevertheless, among the youngest population trends are changing and the percentage of transmission only in Basque is on the rise (17.7 %). The same applies to Basque with Spanish (10.9 %).

Thus, 28.6 % of young people in the 16-to-24 age group acquired Basque in the home. Note should be taken that today young people represent the highest percentage of people who acquired Basque at home.

Let’s look at the data according to age in each province.
In Araba the percentage of people whose mother tongue is only Basque or Basque with Spanish is less than 6 % in all age groups, except the youngest. In other words, a language other than Basque is the first language for 9 out of 10 people in Araba. The highest percentage of people whose only mother tongue is Basque is found in the over-65 age group (4.8 %). This percentage drops as age decreases. However, in the youngest age group (16-24), the trend changes to show a rise in both the percentage of those whose only mother tongue is Basque and those whose mother tongue is Basque and Spanish. Here, the percentage of those whose mother tongue is Basque with Spanish almost doubles (7.9 %) those whose mother tongue is only Basque (4.1 %).

Figure 18. Mother tongue by age group. Araba, 2011 (%)
In Bizkaia only Basque or Basque with Spanish is the mother tongue of more than 16% of the population. The same applies to all age groups, except the 35-to-49 group (13%). The highest percentage of people whose only mother tongue is Basque is found in the over-65 age group (15.4%). As age decreases, this percentage drops until coming to the 25-to-34 age group, where transmission of Basque as the only mother tongue is 9.9%. The figure stands at 10.8% for the 16-to-24 age group. As regards those whose mother tongue is Basque with Spanish, the percentage increases as age decreases: from 3.1% of the over-65s to 9.8% of young people aged 16 to 24.

Figure 19. Mother tongue by age group. Bizkaia, 2011 (%)

In Gipuzkoa the highest percentages of those whose mother tongue is only Basque or Basque with Spanish are in the over-65 age group (48.4 %) and in the group aged 16 to 24 (48.3 %). Like in Bizkaia, the smallest percentage is found in the 35-to-49 age group (36.3 %). As age decreases, the same occurs to the percentage of people whose mother tongue is only Basque until coming to the 25-to-34 age group, where mother-tongue transmission of only Basque rises again, as it does in the 16-to-24 age group. As regards those whose mother tongue is Basque with Spanish, the percentage increases as age decreases: from 5.9 % of over-65s to 14 % of youngsters aged 16 to 24.

**Figure 20. Mother tongue by age group. Gipuzkoa, 2011 (%)**

With respect to the evolution of mother tongue by age, 20 years ago the highest percentage of those whose mother tongue was Basque were aged over 65 (34.2 %), a percentage that dropped notably as age decreased. At that time it was the youngest group that had the lowest percentage (20.4 %). However, as indicated above, today it is young people who receive the highest transmission of Basque, either alone, with Spanish, or with another language (28.6 %).

Table 6. Evolution of mother tongue by age.
BAC, 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>&gt;=65</th>
<th>50-64</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>16-24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>1,873,000</td>
<td>417,000</td>
<td>434,000</td>
<td>529,000</td>
<td>319,000</td>
<td>174,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and Spanish</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>77.4</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1,741,000</td>
<td>214,000</td>
<td>413,000</td>
<td>406,000</td>
<td>345,000</td>
<td>363,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and Spanish</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>65.8</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>78.8</td>
<td>79.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3. BILINGUALS BY MOTHER TONGUE

Below we will analyse bilinguals in the BAC aged 16 or over, depending on the language they acquired at home.

Basque is the only mother tongue of more than half the number of bilinguals (51.2 %). They are known as euskaldun zaharrak, or native Basque speakers. Basque with Spanish is the mother tongue of another 12.2 %, known as native bilinguals. Lastly, more than a third of bilinguals have not acquired Basque in their homes. They are the so-called euskaldun berriak, or new Basque speakers (36.6 %), i.e. people who have acquired Basque outside their homes, either at school or at an euskaltegi (Basque language school).

![Figure 21. Bilingual population by mother tongue. BAC, 2011 (%)](source)

Below we will analyse the data province by province. In Araba seven out of ten bilinguals are new Basque speakers (71 %). In Bizkaia the percentages of new Basque speakers (44.1 %) and native Basque speakers (42.5 %) are very similar. However, in Gipuzkoa six out of ten bilinguals are native Basque speakers (63.7 %), and over two out of ten are new Basque speakers (24.9 %).
As regards the evolution of bilingual typology, note should be taken of the striking change to have taken place in the last 20 years. In 1991 the vast majority of bilinguals were native Basque speakers (79.3 %), i.e. their only mother tongue was Basque. Native Basque speakers were also a majority in all age groups. Although native Basque speakers continue to hold the majority (51 %), native bilinguals, and to an even greater extent new Basque speakers, are strongly on the rise, particularly in the under-35 age group.
According to the 2011 survey, more than half of the young bilinguals aged 16-24 and 25-34 are new Basque speakers (52.2 % and 53.2 % respectively). Twenty years ago, however, only 26.4 % and 20.3 % of bilinguals in those age groups were new Basque speakers.
3.4. FAMILY TRANSMISSION

To establish the extent of family transmission, all of those surveyed were asked what language or languages they acquired in the home, depending on the language competence of their parents. We must remember that the universe surveyed includes people aged 16 up to almost 100. The survey therefore offers the possibility to find out how language has been transmitted in the home over this period of time.
We should point out that, when both the mother and father are bilingual, transmission in Basque increases as age decreases. The lowest transmission of Basque is found in people aged 50 and over and whose parents are both bilingual. Thus, Basque is the only mother tongue for 81.4 % of people aged 50 and over with bilingual parents, and Basque and Spanish for 7.6 % in the same situation. Another 11 % learned no Basque whatsoever from their parents.

Similarly, Basque was transmitted as their only language to approximately 90 % of people between the ages of 16 and 50 whose parents are both bilingual. Not only does the transmission of Basque increase as their only mother tongue among younger people, but also transmission of Basque with Spanish, particularly among young people aged 16 to 34, given that 6.2 % acquired both languages at home. The non-transmission of Basque has also dropped in younger age groups.

To study the evolution of Basque transmission, we selected a universe of parents who had children between the ages of 2 and 15. An analysis of how they transmitted the language was carried out.

86 % of children whose parents are both bilingual have only Basque as their mother tongue, while another 11 % have Basque and Spanish. Finally, no Basque has been transmitted to 3 %.
These figures demonstrate that the transmission of Basque together with Spanish or another language is rising steadily when both parents are bilingual.

When only one of the parents is bilingual, there are important differences in the transmission of Basque depending on age, given that only 18.1 % aged 50 and over in the universe surveyed had been transmitted Basque together with Spanish. Nevertheless, transmission increases as age decreases in those aged 50 and under.

When only one of the parents is bilingual, 43 % of those aged 35-49 had acquired Basque in the home with Spanish, and 62.2 % of those aged 16-34.

With respect to the universe of parents with children aged 2-15, when the father or mother does not know Basque, most acquire Basque at home together with Spanish (71 %) and almost a third do not (29 %).

**Figure 26. Language transmitted to children when only one parent is bilingual, by age group.**

BAC, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Basque and Spanish</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&gt;50</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-49</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-34</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-15</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>71.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*
### 3.5. BASQUE LANGUAGE GAINS AND LOSSES

Most of the people in the BAC whose mother tongue is only Basque, or Basque with Spanish, have retained the language and are now bilingual (88%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>Gains</th>
<th>Partial losses</th>
<th>Total losses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 27.** Evolution of Basque language gains and losses by age group. BAC, 1991-2011 (%)

However, there are people who have totally or partially lost their Basque (approximately 3 % among inhabitants 16 years old or older). Most of these losses are partial, i.e. they have a good understanding of Basque but do not speak it well.

Most of the losses, partial or otherwise, are found in people aged 50 and over. Most of the total losses occur in people aged 65 and over, whereas partial loss predominates in people aged between 50 and 64.
On the positive side, there are another 220,000 people among the inhabitants of the BAC aged 16 or over who have learned Basque and are now bilingual, 160,000 speakers more than in 1991. They are the new Basque speakers, or euskaldun berriak.

Considering the gains by age reveals significant differences. The percentage of those who have started to speak Basque is very small among the over-65s. However, in the under-50s the percentage of new Basque speakers is steadily growing and the number of new speakers among young people is strongly on the rise.
4. Use of Basque

4.1. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE TYPOLOGY

In 2001, the Sub-Ministry for Language Policy created an index to learn the nature of Basque language use in Basque society, known as the Basque Language Use Typology. The index considers several domains: the home (partner, sons and daughters, father, mother and brothers and sisters), circle of friends and formal domain (local shops, banks, health centres and municipal services). The following figures are based on this typology.

28.9% of the population aged 16 or over in the BAC uses Basque to some extent:

- a. 20% use Basque intensively, i.e. they use it as much as or more than Spanish in everyday life.
- b. 8.9% also uses Basque, but to a lesser extent than Spanish.

The remaining 71.1% always (65.2%) or almost always (5.9%) uses Spanish.

![Figure 28. Basque language use typology. BAC, 2011 (%)](image)
Analysis of the evolution in the use of Basque over the last 20 years in the BAC shows that the trend has been positive. The percentage of people who use Basque more than Spanish has risen, as has the number of people who use Basque as much as Spanish (4.5 points). There are also more people than in 1991 who use Basque less than Spanish (2.1 points). Thus, in the last 20 years the only percentage to have fallen corresponds to people who never or almost never use Basque.

Use of the Basque language varies greatly from province to province. In Gipuzkoa, the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, i.e. those who make intensive use of Basque, is 39 %; in Bizkaia, 12.8 % and in Araba 4.3 %. As regards people who use Basque, but to a lesser extent than Spanish, the percentages are: 11.3 % in Gipuzkoa, 7.7 % in Bizkaia, and 8.3 % in Araba.

Table 7. Evolution of the use of Basque. BAC, 1991-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,741,000</td>
<td>1,807,000</td>
<td>1,873,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>175,000</td>
<td>183,000</td>
<td>238,000</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Basque and Spanish</td>
<td>96,000</td>
<td>133,000</td>
<td>137,000</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>117,000</td>
<td>161,000</td>
<td>167,000</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little Basque</td>
<td>49,000</td>
<td>95,000</td>
<td>110,000</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only Spanish</td>
<td>1,304,000</td>
<td>1,235,000</td>
<td>1,221,000</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>68.3</td>
<td>65.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 1991 and 2011, the percentage of people who used Basque as much as or more than Spanish increased in Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa.

In Araba and Bizkaia the percentage of intensive Basque users has risen by almost four points. In Araba only very few people used Basque intensively in 1991 (0.5 %), while in 2011 intensive Basque users had risen to 4.3 %. In Bizkaia the percentage was 9.1 % in 1991 and 12.8 % in 2011.

Like today, in 1991 Gipuzkoa was the province with the highest percentage of Basque use (33.5 %). This figure has increased by 5.5 points in the last 20 years, bringing the percentage of people who use Basque as much or more than Spanish to 39 %.
With respect to the capitals, the figures for Basque use are very similar in Vitoria-Gasteiz and Bilbao. Both cities are in non-Basque speaking areas, and Basque language use is a reflection of their location. The percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish is 2.8% in Vitoria-Gasteiz and 3.1% in Bilbao. Also, in both capitals, eight out of ten people only speak Spanish or another language. In Donostia-San Sebastián, the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish is 17.6%, while the percentage of those who always speak Spanish or another language is 63.7%.
The differences between sociolinguistic areas are also significant. In the first and second area, intensive use of Basque falls below 10 % (1.3 % and 8.7 % respectively). In the third sociolinguistic area, 51.2 % of the population use Basque as much as or more than Spanish and, in the fourth sociolinguistic area, the percentage rises to 81 %. Basque is also used less than Spanish in 4.1 % of the first sociolinguistic area, 9.4 % in the second and 12 % in the third. In the fourth sociolinguistic area the percentage of those who use Basque less than Spanish is 5.8 %.
Table 8. Use of Basque, by sociolinguistic area. BAC, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>BAC</th>
<th>1st area</th>
<th>2nd area</th>
<th>3rd area</th>
<th>4th area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,873,000</td>
<td>265,000</td>
<td>1,140,000</td>
<td>361,000</td>
<td>107,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>70.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little in Basque</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only Spanish</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>88.1</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4.2. USE OF BASQUE BY AGE GROUP

The percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish recedes constantly in the 65-and-over age group, while it remains steady in the 50-to-64 group and progressively increases as age lowers. The increase also accelerates as age lowers. The percentage of those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish is now 19.3 % in the 65-and-over age group, 22.4 % in the 25-to-34 group and 26.7 % in the 16-to-24 age group.

Those who always use Spanish are a majority in all age groups. However, as age decreases, the difference narrows between those who use Basque and those who do not. Over the age of 65, the difference between the two groups is 53.6 percentage points, whereas in the 16-to-24 group the difference is 10.3 points.
The aforementioned trends are found in all three provinces of the BAC. As age decreases, the percentage of people who use Basque rises (both in those who use it less than Spanish and in those who use it as much as or more than Spanish), and the percentage of those who use Spanish always or almost always declines.

As said above, it is young people who use Basque most in Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. In the 16-to-24 age group, Basque is used as much as Spanish by 6.9 % in Araba, 15 % in Bizkaia and 55.4 % in Gipuzkoa.

In the same 16-to-24 age group Spanish is used always or almost always than Basque by a quarter of young people in Gipuzkoa (25.2 %), and by most of the young people in Araba and Bizkaia (68.4 % and 69.5 % respectively).
If we look at evolution in the last 20 years, we can see that, since 1991, the use of Basque has risen in all age groups under 50, while it has changed very little in the 50-to-64 age group and has dropped among those over 65. As age decreases, Basque is used increasingly more. Thus, in the last 20 years, its use has risen by 6.4 points in the 35-to-49 age group, 8.1 points in the 25-to-34 group and 14.4 points in the 16-to-24 group.

Table 9. Use of Basque by province and age group.
BAC, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>&gt;=65</th>
<th>50-64</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>16-24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Araba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque as much as or more than Spanish</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>24.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Almost) always in Spanish</td>
<td>95.8</td>
<td>91.2</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>83.0</td>
<td>68.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bizkaia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque as much as or more than Spanish</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Almost) always in Spanish</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>83.7</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>74.6</td>
<td>69.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gipuzkoa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque as much as or more than Spanish</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Almost) always in Spanish</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3. USE OF BASQUE, DOMAIN BY DOMAIN

USE OF BASQUE IN THE FAMILY

17.2 % of the population aged 16 and over in the BAC use Basque at home as much as or more than Spanish; 6.5 % use Basque, but less than Spanish, and 76.4 % only use Spanish, always or almost always.

At home different uses occur, depending on what members of the family are involved. The highest percentage of Basque use occurs in relations with sons and daughters (22.8 %) and between brothers and sisters (20.1 %). The percentage of intensive use of Basque in relations between couples is 14.1 % and with parents 14.3 %.

---

**Figure 33.** Evolution of language use by people who speak in Basque as much as or more than in Spanish, by age group. BAC, 1991-2011 (%)
Basque use in the family has changed very little in the last 20 years: in 1991 it was 17.3 %, and today it is 17.2 %. Analysis of evolution in the use of Basque with respect to each member of the family shows a rise in extensive use of Basque in relation to all members, except partners, which has dropped by half a point. The highest increase has occurred in relation to sons and daughters (4.7 points) and between siblings (3.1 points). With respect to parents, use has risen by one point in relation to the mother (16.4 %) and by two points to the father (15.9 %).
USE OF BASQUE IN THE IMMEDIATE COMMUNITY

The percentage of people who use Basque varies in each of the domains that make up the immediate community (friends, neighbours, co-workers, shopping). 24.6 % of the population aged 16 and over in the BAC use Basque as much as or more than Spanish with their co-workers, 21.4 % with their friends, 20.4 % while shopping locally and 18.4 % with their neighbours.

In these four domains, the population who use Basque less than Spanish is between 6 % and 10 %.
The analysis of how Basque use has evolved in the last 20 years does not include data on relations with neighbours, given that no such question was asked in the 1991 survey. Generally speaking, there has been an increase in the use of Basque within the immediate community: the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish with their co-workers is 9.2 points higher than in 1991, while in shops it has risen by 5.6 and with friends by 5.3.
USE OF BASQUE IN THE FORMAL DOMAIN

To analyse the formal domain, we have considered the language or languages used by the sample in their relations with banks, health services, municipal services, the Provincial Councils and the Basque Government.

The use of Basque reaches its highest percentage in relations between the universe surveyed and municipal services (24.7 %), the Provincial Councils, and the Basque Government (23.5 %). In their relations with the health services, 19.8 % of the population uses Basque as much as or more than Spanish, and 21.1 % when dealing with banks, in the private sector.

Earlier sociolinguistic surveys did not include citizens’ relations with the Provincial Councils and the Basque Government. Given that we therefore have no comparative data, this aspect will not be included in the analysis of the last 20 years.

The formal domain is the one to have experienced the highest increase in the use of Basque over the last 20 years. The percentage of people who mostly use Basque in their relations with the health services has risen by 11.5 points. The percentage with respect to municipal services has risen by 10.9 points, and with respect to banks by 6.8 points.
Figure 38. Use of Basque in the formal domain. BAC, 2011 (%)


Figure 39. Evolution of speakers who use Basque in the formal domain as much as or more than Spanish. BAC, 1991-2011 (%)

4.4. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE AMONG BILINGUALS

Taking into consideration only the bilingual population of the BAC, 61.9 % use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, 22.1 % use it less, and the remaining 15.9 % either never or almost never use Basque.

The evolution of the last 20 years has been irregular and provides us with two distinct situations. For the first 10 years, the percentage of bilinguals who used Basque as much or more than Spanish decreased (5.3 percentage points), whilst the percentage of those using Spanish rose (6.7 points).

However, the opposite occurred between 2001 and 2011 with the result that the population using Basque as much as or more than Spanish rose by 3 percentage points and that of those who always or almost always use Spanish dropped by 2.6 points.
4.5. USE OF BASQUE BY BILINGUALS, ACCORDING TO FLUENCY AND MOTHER TONGUE

In the case of Basque-dominant bilinguals, 98 % use Basque as much as or more than Spanish. In other words, almost all bilinguals who find it easier to speak in Basque than in Spanish mostly use the former. Age appears to have very little effect on this behaviour.

In the group of balanced bilinguals, 80.5 % use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, a percentage that drops as age decreases. In the over-65 age group, 86.4 % mostly use Basque, where in the 16-to-24 group the percentage is 65.1 %.

Finally, in the group of Spanish-dominant bilinguals, 26.2 % use Basque as much as or more than Spanish. The percentage drops as age decreases, just as it does in the case of balanced bilinguals. In the over-35 age group, more than a third
mostly use Basque, while in the 25-to-34 group the figure drops to 17.7 %, and in the 16-to-24 age group it drops even further to 9.3 %.

**Figure 41.** Bilinguals who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, according to their fluency in Basque. BAC, 2011 (%)

![Bar chart showing bilinguals' fluency in Basque and Spanish.]


People’s ability to speak in Basque is directly related to their mother tongue, which has a strong influence on how they use the Basque language.

Basque is used as much as or more than Spanish by 88 % of the bilinguals whose mother tongue is Basque, by 58 % of those whose first languages are both Basque and Spanish, and by 26 % of bilinguals whose mother tongue is Spanish.

In view of the results obtained to date, we can confirm that the number of people who use Basque in some way or another in the BAC is on the rise. The population able to speak Basque well or rather well is increasing, i.e. the number of potential speakers is on the rise, as is the number of people who use Basque.
Nevertheless, the rise in levels of language competence and use has not occurred to the same extent. Twenty years ago the distance between the population who knew Basque and the population who used it was 8 percentage points. Today it stands at 12 points.

The gap between competence in and use of Basque is obvious if we compare both variables according to age: as the age of the population decreases, the distance between the percentage of bilinguals and the percentage of people who use Basque increases.

The main reasons why young bilinguals do not make greater use of Basque are as follows: their mother tongue is Spanish, they are more fluent in Spanish than they are in Basque, and most of them live in non-Basque speaking areas.

**Figure 42.** Comparison between bilinguals, those whose mother tongue is Basque and those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish by age group. BAC, 2011 (%)
4.6. FACTORS DETERMINING BASQUE LANGUAGE USE

Our studies of Basque language use have repeatedly shown that two main factors determine language use in the individual:

• density of the Basque-speaking social network, and
• speaker’s command of Basque.

There are also other influential factors, such as mother tongue, sociolinguistic area and interest in the language.

We will now analyse the correlations in the different domains to obtain an exact picture of their influence. A correlation determines the relation between two variables and is expressed by a number between 0 and 1; the greater the influence of the factor, the higher the number.

Below we will explain correlations in the home and in relations with friends and co-workers, sorting the values from highest to lowest.

The factor with the greatest influence in the home is the density of bilinguals who live in it, i.e. how many of them speak Basque (0.753). The second factor is how fluent they are in Basque (0.672). Mother tongue too has a rather strong influence on Basque use in the home (0.66). Sociolinguistic area (0.54) and origin (0.352) also have an influence, but to a lesser extent.

Figure 43. Correlations: use at home. BAC, 2011

The factor with the greatest influence on Basque use with friends is fluency in the language (0.648). The second factor is the percentage of friends who speak Basque (0.62). Sociolinguistic area (0.557) and mother tongue (0.526) also have an influence, but less than on use of the language in the home. Finally, interest in Basque also has an influence, but to a rather lesser extent than the previous factors (0.322).

In use of the Basque language between co-workers, the density of bilinguals present in the network of relations at the workplace has remarkable influence (0.803). The other factors have much less influence than on use in the home and use with friends. The second factor is fluency in Basque (0.396). Other influences are mother tongue (0.307), sociolinguistic area (0.273) and interest in Basque (0.247).
4.7. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE IN ONLINE SOCIAL NETWORKS

A question was asked for the first time in this survey about Basque language use in online social networks. A third of the universe surveyed (34.7 %) say that they use online social networks: 23.8 % use them every day or once or twice a week, and 10.9 % on weekends or occasionally. Online social networks are above all used by young people. They are used by 89 % of those aged 16 to 24, and two in three use them every day (65.9 %).

With respect to Basque language use, 10.1 % of the users use Basque more than Spanish or another language in the social networks, and 5.3 % use Basque to the same extent as Spanish or another language. Young people aged 16 to 24 tend to use Basque more, given that 23.9 % use Basque more than Spanish or another language, and 10.3 % use it as much.
Figure 46. Basque language use in online social networks, by age group. BAC, 2011 (%)

5. Attitude towards efforts to promote Basque

5.1. TYPOLOGY OF ATTITUDES

The Sub-Ministry for Language Policy has developed a typology for the classification of opinions expressed in support of or in opposition to promotion of the Basque language in different domains by inhabitants of the BAC aged 16 years or older.

According to the data of this Sociolinguistic Survey, 62% of inhabitants of the BAC aged 16 years or older view action to promote the use of Basque favourably, 26% are neutral and 12% oppose such action.

Evolution in the last 20 years shows growing support of action to promote Basque, given that comparison between the percentages for 1991 and 2011 shows a rise of 7 points.

Figure 47. Evolution of attitude towards efforts to promote Basque. BAC, 1991-2011 (%)
Attitudes towards Basque are closely related to language competence. 89% of bilinguals, 60% of passive bilinguals and 47% of non-Basque speakers are favourable towards action to promote the use of Basque.

Among non-Basque speakers, more than a third (35%) are neutral. Finally, 11% of passive bilinguals and 18% of non-Basque speakers oppose such action.

As far as the provinces are concerned, the attitude towards efforts to promote Basque is more favourable in Gipuzkoa (75%) than it is in Bizkaia (59%) and Araba (48%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Bilinguals</th>
<th>Passive bilinguals</th>
<th>Non-Basque speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There are also differences between the capital cities. In Donostia-San Sebastián, 62% of the population is favourable towards efforts to promote Basque, in Bilbao 52% and Vitoria-Gasteiz 42%. A third of the inhabitants of the three capitals are neutral. Finally, those who oppose efforts to promote Basque have the highest percentage in Vitoria-Gasteiz (27%), followed at a certain distance by Bilbao (16%) and, lastly, by Donostia-San Sebastián (8%).

There is no great difference as regards attitude in the different age groups. In all age groups, more than 60% view action to promote Basque favourably.

However, the origin of inhabitants of the BAC has a bearing on whether or not they are favourable to language promotion.

When people or their parents were born in the Basque Country, 73.8% view action to promote Basque favourably. However, when one of the parents were born somewhere other than the Basque Country, the percentage drops to 59.8%. The people least favourable towards the promotion of Basque are those who were born...
in the Basque Country with parents born outside (50.2 %) and people born outside the Basque Country themselves (49.7 %).

In the case of people born, both themselves and their parents, in the Basque Country, 7.7 % oppose the promotion of the use of Basque. Further, 11.7 % of those who oppose it are people born in the Basque Country whose mother or father was born outside the BAC, as do 19.8 % of those born in the Basque Country with both parents born outside the BAC, and 13.2 % of those born outside the BAC.

Finally, numerous people are neutral as regards action to promote Basque, particularly when born outside the Basque Country (37.1 %) and when their parents were born outside the Basque Country (30 %).

5.2. OPINIONS ABOUT BASQUE

In the BAC, most of the population aged 16 and over believe it is indispensable for children to learn Basque (81 %) and for knowledge of the language to be required to work in the administration (75 %). There are also a number of people who disagree with these opinions, 14 % and 20 % respectively.

Questions were asked of the universe surveyed to find out to what extent opinions related to the Basque language have taken root in our society. The summarised results are:

- Among inhabitants of the BAC aged 16 and over, those who think that Basque will eventually acquire the importance or presence of Spanish predominate (49 %). On the other hand, a substantial part of the population thinks otherwise, i.e. that Basque will never acquire the importance or presence of Spanish (32 %).
- Regarding the richness of the language, more than half the population (58 %) thinks that Basque is as rich as Spanish, while few think the opposite (17 %).
- The existence of two languages in a society does not pose a problem according to 79 % of the population of the BAC, while 17 % consider that it may be a source of problems.
- Most of the population (83 %) thinks that the placement of children in language immersion programmes is positive.
- The Basque language is not considered to be in danger of extinction by 75 % of the population.
Moving on to other opinions about Basque, 66 % of the population aged 16 and over in the BAC would like their children to go to Basque-medium (model D) schools, and 25 % would opt for mixed-language (model B). Fifteen years ago, those who would have chosen model D were far fewer (41.4 %), whereas model B was much more popular (44.7 %). There has also been a drop in those who would choose model A, from 11.2 % in 1996 to 7.5 % at the present time.

![Figure 48. Preferred language model for children’s education. BAC, 1996-2011 (%)](image)

As regards opinion about the work done by the Basque Government, 48.6 % consider that the action taken to promote Basque is appropriate and 34.6 % find it inappropriate. Another 14.4 % don’t know or don’t answer, and 2.4 % say that it is immaterial to them.

When asked about their reasons, 44.8 % of the population answers that the work is appropriate because a great deal has been done and 3.3 % because there is no need to do more. On the other hand, the work carried out is considered to be insufficient by 27.3 % of the population and excessive by 7.2 %.

If we consider the language competence of the sample, the work done by the Basque Government is considered to be appropriate by 39 % of bilinguals and inappropriate by 42.9 %. Among passive bilinguals, 48.1 % consider the work to be sufficient, while 35.4 % find it insufficient. Finally, 48.6 % of non-Basque...
speakers consider the work of the Government to be sufficient, while 27.9 % find it insufficient.

On the other hand, 86 % of the population aged 16 and over in the BAC are of the opinion that in the future both Basque and Spanish should be spoken, while 11 % think only Basque ought to be spoken.

Finally, when asked if they have ever felt discriminated for not being able to speak in Basque, 38 % of bilinguals responded affirmatively. When non-Basque speakers were asked if they have ever felt discriminated for not knowing Basque, 24 % responded affirmatively.
6. Conclusions

- Basque society is characterised by two main features: progressive ageing of the population and a steep rise in foreign immigration in recent years. Today the population of the BAC aged 65 and over is more numerous (19.5 %) than the under-20 population (17.4 %). Immigrants currently constitute 6.5 % of the population of the BAC.

- 32 % of the inhabitants aged 16 and over in the BAC are bilingual, 17.2 % passive bilingual and 50.8 % are non-Basque speakers. The bilingual population continues to grow and presently stands at 600,000, i.e. 181,000 more than in 1991.

- The highest number of bilinguals is found among young people: 60 % of young people aged 16 to 24 are bilingual, a figure that doubles the percentage in 1991. This said, the fact that young people hold less weight in the population as a whole means that the increase in bilinguals is not clearly reflected in the overall results.

- Slightly over six in ten bilinguals learned Basque in the home, either as their only language (native Basque speakers) or together with Spanish (native bilinguals). A study of the different age groups shows that the percentage of euskaldun berriak (new Basque speakers) increases as age decreases. More than half of the bilinguals aged 16 to 34 learned Basque outside the home, i.e. at school or at an euskaltegi (Basque language school).

- Fluency in Basque speakers varies greatly in the three provinces. Bilinguals with greater fluency in Basque than Spanish and those with equal command of both languages constitute 28.6 % in Araba, 47.6 % in Bizkaia and 69.5 % in Gipuzkoa.

- Today, almost all parents who speak Basque transmit the language to their children. When both parents are bilingual, 97 % of children acquire Basque in the home, 86 % of them only Basque. In mixed-language couples, family transmission is 71 %.

- The number of people who speak Basque in the BAC is rising. In the last 20 years, the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish has risen by 4.5 points to stand today at 20 % of the population. Another 8.9 % use Basque, but to a lesser extent than Spanish.
• Use of the Basque language has increased in all three provinces, in the first, second and third sociolinguistic areas, and in the population aged 50 and under.

• Formal domains have seen the strongest rise in use of the Basque language. In the home, the rise has been rather more discreet, except in relations with children and between siblings, where use continues to rise.

• Knowledge and use of the Basque language have not increased to the same extent. The explanation for this phenomenon lies in the main factors that influence use of the Basque language: the speakers’ fluency in Basque and whether their social network includes Basque or non-Basque speakers.

• 37 % of the bilingual population learned Basque outside the home, a percentage that rises to 53 % in the case of bilinguals under the age of 35. We must add to this the fact that almost half of all bilinguals live in the first and second sociolinguistic areas, i.e. their home and immediate environment is largely non-Basque-speaking.

• Opinions favourable to promoting use of the Basque language have increased in the last 20 years. Today, 62 % of the population views this action favourably, i.e. 7 points more than in 1991. However, attitudes that oppose such action have changed very little over the years, having dropped from 14 % in 1991 to 12 % today.
NAVARRE
Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey
1. Population

Today 640,322 people live in Navarre. They are characterised by two main features:

- Progressive aging of the population: life expectancy is rising constantly (83.5 years), while the birth rate remains equivalent to the European average (10.8 births per 1,000 inhabitants, EU-27 10.7).

- A steep rise in the foreign immigrant population in the last decade: in 2011, immigrants constitute 11.4 % of the population.

Population ageing is not a new phenomenon, but a process that began in the 70s. As a result of this process, in the last two decades the over-65 population has risen by 2 percentage points to stand at 17.6 % of the total population.

The increase in the number of people aged 85 years and over has been even greater, almost doubling in the last 20 years to stand at 2.8 % of today’s population.

On the other hand, the younger population has lost weight, and today under-20s represent 20 % of the population. Thus, in last the two decades the population aged 20 and under has dropped by 5 percentage points with respect to the total population.

---

1 Population data provided by the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE) and the Navarre Institute of Statistics.
The second important feature is the rise in foreign immigrants; in Navarre the percentage of immigrants has risen from 1.7 % in 2000 to 11.4 % in 2011.
As regards the sex of the foreign population, men are generally more numerous than women. Among the African and European nationalities, men are higher in number, while among those of Latin American origin it is the women.

As for the origin of foreign immigrants, a great many immigrants in Navarre (41 %) are European in origin. The weight of Latin American immigrants is also very substantial and amounts to almost a third (30.5 %) of the total. Finally, people of Maghrebi origin form the third largest group.

The most frequent nationalities are Moroccan, Romanian and Bulgarian, followed by Ecuadorian and Portuguese.

As far as age is concerned, the vast majority of foreign immigrants are young people. Two thirds (68.8 %) are aged between 15 and 45 and therefore hold a great deal of weight in these age groups. But the situation is more obvious in the 20-25 age group, where more than 30 % of young people were born in countries other than Spain.
Figure 3. Population pyramid for people born abroad by sex and age. Navarre, 2011 (%)
2. Language competence

2.1. POPULATION ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

According to the Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 11.7 % of the population aged 16 and over in Navarre is bilingual, 7.5 % passive bilingual and 80.8 % non-Basque speaking, in other words, people who do not know Basque at all.

Thus, of the 537,000 people aged 16 and over who live in Navarre, 63,000 are bilingual, 40,000 are passive bilingual and 434,000 are non-Basque speakers.

The Basque-speaking area has the highest percentage and highest number of bilinguals (59.3 % and 30,000 people, respectively). In the mixed area 9.8 % of the population is bilingual, i.e. 29,000 people. The non-Basque-speaking part of Navarre has the smallest percentage and the lowest number of bilinguals (2.3 % and 4,000 people, respectively) among its population.
Figure 5. Language competence by area. Navarre, 2011 (%)

Note: size of circles is proportional to population of each area.


Table 1. Language competence by area. Navarre, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Navarre</th>
<th>Basque-speaking area</th>
<th>Mixed area</th>
<th>Non-Basque speaking area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>537,000</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>292,000</td>
<td>195,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>63,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>29,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
<td>434,000</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>235,000</td>
<td>185,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Today Pamplona has a population of 169,000 inhabitants aged 16 and over, of whom 15,000 are bilinguals, i.e. 9.1 %. Passive bilinguals stand at 9.3 % and the remainder, non-Basque speakers, at 81.7 %. As we can see, the figures are almost the same as they are in the mixed area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Language competence. Pamplona, 2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pamplona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In order to lend perspective to the aforementioned data, it is important to consider the weight of the number of inhabitants of each area in relation to the population of Navarre as a whole. A little over half of the population of Navarre lives in the mixed area (290,000 people, 54.3 %), more than a third in the non-Basque-speaking area (195,000 people, 36.3 %), and less than a tenth in the Basque-speaking area (50,000 people, 9.3 %).

Twenty years ago in Navarre there were 421,000 people aged 16 years and over, of whom 217,000 lived in the mixed area (51.6 %), 157,000 in the non-Basque-speaking area (37.4 %) and 46,000 in the Basque-speaking area (11 %). As can be seen from the data, the mixed area has ever greater weight, especially in comparison with the Basque-speaking area.

Looking back, in twenty years there has been a rise of 2.2 percentage points among bilinguals. In fact, in 1991 the number of bilinguals in Navarre stood at 9.5 %; it is now 11.7 %. There has also been an increase in passive bilinguals, who have risen from 4.6 % to 7.6 % in the last 20 years.
The increase in bilinguals has taken place mainly in the mixed area (from 5.2 % to 9.8 %). Today there are few bilinguals in the non-Basque-speaking area, 2.3 %; but 20 years ago they were only 0.6 %. Nevertheless, during these twenty years the percentage of bilinguals (around 60 %) has remained the same in the Basque-speaking area.
2.2. LANGUAGE COMPETENCE BY AGE

The highest percentage of bilinguals is found in the age groups under 35, where today 20.8 % of young people aged between 16 and 24 are bilingual, as are 14.5 % of those aged between 25 and 34.

The lowest percentage of bilinguals is found in the population aged 35 and over, where it falls below average in Navarre for all age groups (between 9 % and 10 %).

A study of evolution in the last 20 years shows that the rise in bilinguals is taking place among the youngest members of the population. Thus, 20 years ago 10 %

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>&gt;=65</th>
<th>50-64</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>16-24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>537,000</td>
<td>114,000</td>
<td>115,000</td>
<td>156,000</td>
<td>95,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>80.7</td>
<td>76.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


of people aged between 16 and 24 were bilingual, a figure that has doubled today. In the following age group (25-to-34), the number of bilinguals has also doubled in the last 20 years (from 7 % in 1991 to 14.5 % in 2011). Nevertheless, in the other age groups the percentages have remained virtually unchanged, with variations of a single point.

In all three areas young people form the largest group of bilinguals. However, given that situations vary greatly, we will proceed to analyse them separately.
BASQUE-SPEAKING AREA

In the Basque-speaking area 59.3 % are bilingual, i.e. 30,000 people. Among the over-65s, 58.9 % are bilingual; however, as age decreases the percentage follows suit, until we come to the 35-to-49 age group, where 51.4 % are bilingual. In those aged 35 and under the tendency reverses and the percentage of bilinguals rises again. As a result of this rise, today the highest figure (76.7 %) is found among young people aged 16 to 24.
**MIXED AREA**

In the mixed area 9.8 % are bilingual, i.e. 29,000 people. In this area there are 5 % of bilinguals among the over 65s. As the age groups lower, the percentage of bilinguals rises, until we come to the highest group (16 to 24), with a total of 22.7 %. Figures for Pamplona are similar, i.e. 5 % of those over 65 are bilingual, as are 18.8 % of those aged 16 to 24.
Figure 10. Evolution of bilingual population by age group in the mixed area. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%)

NON-BASQUE-SPEAKING AREA

In the non-Basque-speaking area, 2.3 % are bilingual, i.e. 4,000 people. Here the highest percentage is found in the younger population (around 5.2 %). In the other age groups the percentages are very low.
2.3. FLUENCY IN BILINGUALS WHEN SPEAKING BASQUE

Bilinguals can be split into three groups according to their fluency in Basque and Spanish.

**Figure 11. Bilingual population according to fluency in Basque.**
Navarre, 2011 (%)

- **25.0** More fluent in Basque
- **27.1** Equally fluent in both
- **47.9** More fluent in Spanish

**Source:** Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.

**Bilinguals with a greater command of Basque** are more fluent in Basque than they are in Spanish. These people constitute 25% of bilinguals. The mother tongue of almost all bilinguals is Basque and almost all live in the Basque-speaking area (nine out of ten).

**Balanced bilinguals** are equally fluent in Basque and Spanish or another language. These people constitute 27.1% of bilinguals. Most live in the Basque-speaking area, while four out of ten (41%) live in the mixed area. Almost all bilinguals with equal command of both languages have Basque as their mother tongue (81%).
Bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish are more fluent in Spanish or another language than they are in Basque. This is the most numerous group of bilinguals (47.9 %). Most bilinguals with a greater command of Spanish live in the mixed area (66 %), and most of them have Spanish as their mother tongue (67 %).

Fluency in speakers varies greatly between the three areas. In the Basque-speaking area almost half of the bilinguals (46.8 %) are more fluent in Basque than they are in Spanish. Almost a third (30.5 %) are equally fluent in both languages, and a little more than the remaining fifth (22.7 %) are more fluent in Spanish.

Nevertheless, in the mixed area the bilinguals who claim to be more fluent in Spanish are in the majority (69.7 %). Bilinguals with an equal command of both languages constitute a quarter (24.5 %) and those with a greater command of Basque, 5.8 %.

Figure 12. Bilingual population according to fluency in Basque by area. Navarre, 2011 (%)
The percentage of bilinguals in the non-Basque-speaking area is very small (2.3 %) and the sample insufficient for the purposes of classifying bilinguals according to their relative competence. However, we can say that there is a predominance of those who are more fluent in Spanish.

With respect to evolution in the last 20 years, it should be noted that bilinguals show an important change as regards fluency. Thus, in 1991, 40.6 % of bilinguals were more fluent in Basque than in Spanish, whereas the figure now stands at 25 %. The percentage of those who are equally fluent in Basque and Spanish is largely the same (26.6 % in 1991 and 27.1 % at the present time). However, there has been a significant rise in those who are more fluent in Spanish. In 1991 they stood at 32.8 % of bilinguals, while today they represent 47.9 %.

Differences by age are also important. Thus, the highest percentage of Basque-dominant bilingual population is found in those over 65 (43.3 %). This percent-

---

**Figure 13.** Evolution of bilingual population according to fluency in Basque. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%)
As age decreases, the percentage of bilinguals with greater command of Spanish increases. This means that more than half of young bilinguals aged 16-to-24 and 25-to-34 (57.4 % and 53.9 % respectively) are more fluent in Spanish than they are in Basque. On the other hand, the smallest percentage of bilinguals with greater command of Spanish is represented by those over 65 (28.5 %).
3. Language transmission

3.1. MOTHER TONGUE

By mother tongue we mean the language or languages acquired from parents or relatives with whom a child has lived until the age of three.

Basque is the mother tongue of 47,600 inhabitants of Navarre aged 16 and over, i.e. 8.9 % of the population. 6.1 % was only spoken to in Basque in their homes and 2.8 % in Basque with Spanish. Finally, a language other than Basque was the only language transmitted in the home to nine out of ten inhabitants of Navarre (91.1 %).

There are differences by sociolinguistic area. Basque is the mother tongue of almost half of the population in the Basque-speaking area (47.1 %), where as for 9.3 % it is both Basque and Spanish, and for 43.6 % only Spanish.
Those who have a language other than Basque as their mother tongue absolutely predominate in the mixed (94.2 %) and non-Basque-speaking (98.9 %) areas.

As far as Pamplona is concerned, mother tongue percentages are very similar to the mixed area. In fact, only 3.4 % of the population of Pamplona aged 16 and over have only Basque as their mother tongue, while the percentage of inhabitants who have received two languages is 2.5 %. However, more than nine out of ten inhabitants of Pamplona have Spanish as their mother tongue (94.1 %).

3.2. MOTHER TONGUE BY AGE

The percentage of those who have only Basque as their mother tongue is highest in the population over 65 (9.5 %). This percentage drops as age decreases. Among young people aged 16 to 24, a higher percentage acquired both languages simultaneously (5.1 %) than those who only acquired Basque as their mother tongue (4.4 %).

Figure 16. Mother tongue by age group. Navarre, 2011 (%)
In the Basque-speaking area, those who have acquired only Basque or Basque and Spanish as their mother tongue predominate in all age groups, except in those aged 35 to 49. However, as age decreases, the percentage of those to have acquired only Basque as their mother tongue also drops (from the 59 % of those aged 65 and over to the approximately 40 % in those aged 50 and under).

Nevertheless, as age drops, there are increasingly large numbers of people who have Basque and Spanish as their mother tongue. This translates into 5 % of the oldest part of the population and 20 % of the youngest.

The highest percentage of those who only have Spanish as their mother tongue is found in the 35-to-49 and 50-to-64 age groups (51 % and 45.1 % respectively), and the lowest in those over 65 (36 %).

**Figure 17. Mother tongue in the Basque-speaking area, by age group. Navarre, 2011 (%)**

In the **mixed area**, those who have Spanish as their mother tongue totally predominate, given that nine out of ten inhabitants have only Spanish or a language other than Basque as their mother tongue. The highest percentage of those to have acquired Basque as their mother tongue is found in the population aged 65 and over (6.7 %). This percentage drops as age lowers. However, in the youngest age group (16-to-24), the trend changes with a rise (in comparison with the previous age group) in those who have acquired only Basque as their mother tongue (2.3 %).

The opposite occurs in those to have acquired two languages. In other words, the lower the age the higher the percentage in almost all age groups. Among the younger ages, many more people have acquired Basque and Spanish (6.2 %) as their mother tongue than only Basque (2.3 %). The same applies to Pamplona.

**Figure 18.** Mother tongue in the mixed area, by age group. Navarre, 2011 (%)
As previously occurred, in the non-Basque-speaking area the sample was not of sufficient size to permit the classification of mother tongue by age. However, taking all age groups into consideration, we can say that 98.5 % have Spanish as their mother tongue.

As regards the evolution of mother tongue by age, 20 years ago it was those over 65 who had the greatest number (13.8 %) of people to have acquired Basque or both languages as their mother tongue. As age dropped, the percentage decreased with it, with the lowest of all corresponding to those aged between 25 and 34 (5.4 %).

Today the over-65s continue to represent the highest percentage (12 %) in this respect. However, as mentioned previously, it is the youngest who have a higher percentage of transmission (9.5 %) than the previous age groups due to the rise in those who acquire Basque with Spanish as their mother tongue. In fact, 5.1 % of young people aged 16 to 24 have received both Basque and Spanish in the home, a higher percentage than those who have acquired only Basque (4.4 %).

Table 4. Evolution of mother tongue by age. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Age groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&gt;=65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>537,000</td>
<td>114,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and Spanish</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>88.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>421,000</td>
<td>84,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and Spanish</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>89.8</td>
<td>86.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3. BILINGUALS BY MOTHER TONGUE

Below we will analyse bilinguals in Navarre aged 16 and over, according to the language they acquired in the home.

In Navarre, Basque is the only mother tongue of nearly half the bilinguals (47.6 %). These people are known as euskaldun zaharrak, or native Basque speakers (30,000 people). Bilinguals to have acquired both Basque and Spanish in the home stand at 15.3 %. These people are known as native bilinguals (10,000). Finally, more than a third of bilinguals acquired no Basque in their homes. These are the so-called euskaldun berriak or new Basque speakers (37.1 %), and they constitute 23,000 people. These are people who have acquired Basque outside their homes, either at school or at an euskaltegi (Basque language school).

Twenty years ago almost all bilinguals were native Basque speakers. Thus, three out of four were native Basque speakers (76.6 %), 7.4 % native bilinguals and 16 % new Basque speakers.

![Figure 19. Evolution of bilingual population by mother tongue. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%)](image-url)

An analysis of the data by area shows strong variations. Thus, almost eight out of ten bilinguals are native Basque speakers (77.1 %) in the Basque-speaking area and one in ten new Basque speakers (9.9 %). In the mixed area, six out of ten bilinguals are new Basque speakers (61.2 %) while native Basque speakers and native bilinguals have similar numbers (20.4 % and 18.4 %, respectively). Finally, in the non-Basque-speaking area, almost seven out of ten bilinguals are new Basque speakers (66.7 %), two out of ten are native Basque speakers (20.8 %), and one in ten is a native bilingual (12.5 %).

**Figure 20.** Bilingual population by mother tongue and area. Navarre, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilingual typology</th>
<th>Navarre</th>
<th>Basque-speaking area</th>
<th>Mixed area</th>
<th>Non-Basque speaking area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Native Basque speakers</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native bilinguals</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Basque speakers</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*
As regards evolution by age, the bilingual group has changed enormously in the last 20 years. In fact, in 1991, unlike today, native Basque speakers predominated in all age groups.

By contrast, although in 2011 the number of native Basque speakers remains highest, the same cannot be said in all age groups, and in groups aged 50 and under the percentage is increasingly lower. In addition, despite the fact that native bilinguals have gained statistical weight, those who have done so to the greatest extent are the new Basque speakers, and particularly those aged under 35. On the other hand, it should be noted that there are more native bilinguals than native Basque speakers among young people aged 16 to 24.

Today more than half of bilinguals aged 16 to 24 and 25 to 34 are new Basque speakers (54.3 % and 51.7 %, respectively). By way of contrast, in 1991, the number of new Basque speakers among bilinguals in these age groups only represented 25.5 % and 30.2 % respectively.

**Figure 21. Bilingual population according to mother tongue, by age group. Navarre, 2011 (%)**
3.4. FAMILY TRANSMISSION

To learn about transmission in the family, all of those surveyed were asked what language or languages they acquired in the home. We must remember that the target population includes people aged 16 up to almost 100. The survey therefore offers the possibility to find out how language has been transmitted in the home in this period of time.

When both parents are bilingual, in Navarre 71.2 % of their children have acquired only Basque in the home, 11.6 % Basque and Spanish and 17.3 % only the Spanish.

When only one of the parents is bilingual, in most cases only the Spanish has been transmitted (70.9 %), and in almost a third both Basque and Spanish (29.1 %).

In addition, to study the evolution of Basque transmission, we selected the universe of parents who had children between the ages of 2 and 15. An analysis of how they transmitted the language was carried out. According to the data, when both parents are bilingual, 95 % of their children acquire Basque in the home, and, of the total, most only acquire Basque (78 %), and the remainder both languages (17 %). Only a very few bilingual couples do not transmit Basque (4 %).

In the case of mixed couples, i.e. when one of the parents does not speak Basque, the majority of children have acquired both languages (67 %), and a third have acquired no Basque (33 %).

![Figure 22. Language transmitted to children, according to parental knowledge of Basque. Navarre, 2011 (%)](image-url)
3.5. BASQUE LANGUAGE GAINS AND LOSSES

Most of those whose mother tongue is only Basque, or Basque with Spanish, have retained Basque and are still bilingual.

However, there are people whose mother tongue is Basque and are not currently bilingual (8,000): they have totally or partially lost the language. They constitute 17 % of those who have acquired only Basque, or Basque with Spanish at home. Most of these people are aged 50 and over, acquired Basque with Spanish rather than only Basque, and live in the mixed area.

Similarly, as mentioned above, there are 23,500 people (37.2 % of bilinguals) who, having only acquired Spanish as their mother tongue, have learned Basque and are now bilingual. Most of these people live in the mixed area.

Considering gains by age reveals significant differences. The percentage of those who have started to speak Basque is small among the over-65s. However, in the under-50s the percentage of new Basque speakers is steadily growing, particularly amongst the youngest (11.3 %).

Figure 23. Evolution in Basque language gains and losses, by age group.
Navarre, 2011 (%)

4. Use of Basque

4.1. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE TYPOLOGY

In 2001, the Sub-Ministry for Language Policy created an index to learn the nature of Basque language use in Basque society, known as the Basque Language Use Typology. This index covers the following domains: the home (partner, children, father, mother and siblings), circle of friends and formal domain (shopping, banks, health centres and municipal offices). The following figures are based on this typology.

In Navarre, 10.1 % of the population aged 16 and over use Basque to some extent:

a. 5.5 % use Basque intensively, i.e. they use it as much as or more than Spanish.

b. 4.6 % also use Basque, but to a lesser extent than Spanish.

The remaining 89.8 % always (87.4 %) or almost always (2.5 %) use Spanish.

Figure 24. Basque language use typology. Navarre, 2011 (%)
Analysis of the evolution of the use of Basque in the last 20 years in Navarre shows that the use of Basque has changed very little. In all cases the differences between 1991 and 2001 are 1.5 percentage points or less.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>421,000</td>
<td>469,000</td>
<td>537,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>16,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>19,000</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As much Basque as Spanish</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little in Basque</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always in Spanish</td>
<td>374,000</td>
<td>410,000</td>
<td>469,000</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>87.6</td>
<td>87.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Use of the Basque language varies widely between the different areas. In the Basque-speaking area, the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, i.e. those who make intensive use of Basque, is 48.6 %; in the mixed area, 1.7 %, and in the non-Basque-speaking area, 0.2 %. Also, those who use Basque, but less than Spanish, are 7.9 % in the Basque-speaking area, 6.2 % in the mixed area, and 1.3 % in the non-Basque-speaking area.
In Pamplona, 1.4 % use Basque intensively, and 6.7 % use Basque, but less than Spanish. The remaining 91.9 % speak Spanish.

These percentages obviously demonstrate that Basque is used in the Basque-speaking area of Navarre. In the mixed area, and particularly in the non-Basque-speaking area, the percentage of Basque users is very low. However, if we look at the absolute figures, under no circumstances can we undervalue the number of Basque users in the mixed and non-Basque-speaking areas.

In the mixed area, 4,700 people (2,400 of whom are from Pamplona) use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, and another 18,200 (11,300 of whom are from Pamplona) use Basque, although less than Spanish.

In the non-Basque-speaking area there are around 500 people aged 16 and over who use as much Basque as they do Spanish, and another 2,600 who use Basque, although less than Spanish.
As mentioned above, the highest number of people who use Basque live in the Basque-speaking area: 24,500 people aged 16 and over speak Basque as much as or more than Spanish in their daily lives, and another 3,900 use Basque, although less than Spanish.

**Figure 26.** Basque language use by area. Navarre, 2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>As much as or more Basque than Spanish</th>
<th>Less Basque than Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>29,000</td>
<td>25,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque-speaking area</td>
<td>24,500</td>
<td>3,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed area</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>18,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speaking area</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>2,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*
An analysis of the evolution of the use of Basque in the last 20 years shows that the situation generally remains the same in Navarre. In 1991, 5.9 % of the inhabitants used Basque as much as or more than Spanish, in 2001, 5.8 %, and in 2011, 5.5 %. On the other hand, the percentage of those who use Basque, although less than Spanish, has risen slightly: in 1991 they constituted 3.2 %, in 2001, 4.3 %, and 2011, 4.6 %.

By area, there has also been very little variation in the last twenty years. In the Basque-speaking area use has risen slightly: in 1991, 46.8 % of the inhabitants used Basque as much as or more than Spanish, and in 2011, 48.6 %. However, there have been no changes in the mixed and non-Basque-speaking areas.

Figure 27. Evolution of language use by people who speak in Basque as much as or more than in Spanish, by area. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%)

As regards Pamplona, 1.4 % of bilinguals use Basque as much as or more than Spanish. Basque is used by 6.7 %, although less than Spanish, and the remaining 91.9 % always or almost always use Spanish.
4.2. USE OF BASQUE BY AGE GROUP

The highest percentage of Basque users in Navarre is found among the younger population. Thus, 7.3% of those aged between 16 and 24 use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, and 7.4% use Basque, although less than Spanish. In the other age groups, the percentages of Basque users always fall below the 6% mark, to a lesser or greater extent.

Figure 29. Basque language use, by age group. Navarre, 2011 (%)
In the Basque-speaking area the highest percentage of those who use Basque is also found among the younger population. Among bilinguals aged 25 to 34, those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish stand at 56.7%, a figure that rises to 60.9% among those aged 16 to 24; in addition, 10.2% of the latter age group use Basque, but less than Spanish. In the other age groups, less than half use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, and the highest percentage corresponds to those over 65 (49.5%).

**Figure 30.** Basque language use, by age group in the Basque-speaking area. Navarre, 2011 (%)

In the mixed area, the number of people who use Basque more than Spanish is significantly lower in all age groups than those who use Basque, although less than Spanish. However, in this case it is once again young people who use Basque most. Among bilinguals aged 16 to 24, Basque is used as much as or more than Spanish by 4 % and in the other age groups by less than 2 %. Among bilinguals aged 16 to 24, those who use Basque less than Spanish stand at 10.9 % and among those aged 25 to 34 at 8.2 %. In the other age groups they constitute around 5 %.

Figure 31. Basque language use, by age group in the mixed area. 
Navarre, 2011 (%)
In the last 20 years, use of Basque has experienced very little variation when studied by age (around 1.5 points in all age groups). Between 1991 and 2011, the percentage of those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish has decreased among the population of Navarre aged over 35. However, nowadays there are more people who use Basque among the under-35s than there were 20 years ago, with the highest percentage found among those aged 16 to 24 (7.3%).

**Figure 32.** Evolution of language use by people who speak in Basque as much as or more than in Spanish, by age group. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%)
4.3. USE OF BASQUE, DOMAIN BY DOMAIN

USE OF BASQUE IN THE FAMILY

In Navarre, 5.4% of the population aged 16 and over use Basque at home as much as or more than Spanish; 2.9% use Basque, but less than Spanish, and 91.7% only use Spanish, always or almost always.

However, in the home different language uses occur, depending on what members of the family are involved. The highest percentage of Basque use occurs in relations with children (8%) and with siblings (7%). Use of Basque within the couple is 4.3% and with parents, 3.8%.

Figure 33. Use of Basque at home. Navarre, 2011 (%)
In the last 20 years, use of Basque in the home has decreased slightly in Navarre. In 1991, 6.6% of the inhabitants used Basque as much as or more than Spanish, and in 2011, 5.4%. An analysis of evolution in the use of Basque with respect to each member of the family shows a drop in the intensive use of Basque with partners (-0.7 points), and with parents (-1.6 points with respect to mothers and -1.2 points with respect to fathers). However, use has risen in relations with children and between siblings (1.5 and 0.8 points, respectively).

**Figure 34.** Evolution of speakers who use Basque at home as much as or more than Spanish. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%)

USE OF BASQUE IN THE IMMEDIATE COMMUNITY

The percentage of people who use Basque varies in each of the domains that make up the immediate community (friends, neighbours, co-workers, shopping). Among the population of Navarre aged 16 and over, 7.2 % use Basque as much as or more than Spanish with their co-workers, 7.1 % with their friends, 5.7 % with their neighbours, and 5.1 % while shopping.

There is also a group of people who use Basque, but less than Spanish: 4.2 % with their friends, and around 3 % in the other domains.

Figure 35. Use of Basque in the immediate community. Navarre, 2011 (%)

In the last 20 years, the percentage of those who use Basque as much as Spanish with their friends remains unchanged, while those who use the language with their co-workers and while shopping has risen (1.7 and 0.4 points, respectively).

**Figure 36. Evolution of speakers who use Basque in their immediate community as much as or more than Spanish. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%)**

USE OF BASQUE IN THE FORMAL DOMAIN

To analyse the formal domain, we have considered the language or languages used by the population of Navarre in their relations with banks, health services, municipal offices and the Government of Navarre.

Those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish in their relations with municipal offices are 6.4 %, and with banks, 5.4 %, with health services, 4.9 %, and with the Government of Navarre 2.6 %.

Figure 37. Use of Basque in the formal domain. Navarre, 2011 (%)

On comparing figures on the use of Basque in 2011 and 1991, we can say without a shadow of a doubt that use in the formal domain has risen. The rise is slightly higher in the public domain (around 2 points). This said, use of Basque has weakened since 2001, and in some cases it has even shrunk.

Figure 38. Evolution of speakers who use Basque in the formal domain as much as or more than Spanish. Navarre, 1991-2011 (%)

4.4. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE AMONG BILINGUALS

Considering the bilingual population alone, 47.2% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, 31.8% use it less than Spanish, and the remaining 21% either never or almost never use Basque.

In the last 20 years the percentage of those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish has decreased (15.6 points), although absolute numbers indicate that users have increased by 4,500. Nevertheless, the number of bilinguals who use Basque, although less than Spanish, has risen both in percentage (by 4.7 points) and in absolute numbers (an increase of 9,100 people).
4.5. USE OF BASQUE BY BILINGUALS, ACCORDING TO FLUENCY AND MOTHER TONGUE

Basque is used as much as or more than Spanish by 94.6% of Basque-dominant bilinguals in Navarre. In other words, almost all bilinguals who find it easier to speak Basque than Spanish use the former intensively.

In the group of balanced bilinguals, 63.1% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish.

Finally, in the group of bilinguals who have greater command of Spanish, 13.4% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish.

A person’s ability to speak in Basque is directly related to their mother tongue, which has a strong influence on how that person uses the Basque language.

**Table 6. Evolution of Basque language use among the bilingual population. Navarre, 1991-2011**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>48,000</td>
<td>63,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>15,500</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>19,500</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>30.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both equally</td>
<td>9,500</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Basque than Spanish</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>31.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little Basque</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always Spanish</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>4,500</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.
Basque is used as much as or more than Spanish by 75 % of the bilinguals whose mother tongue is Basque only, by 43 % of those whose mother tongue is both Basque and Spanish, and by 13 % of bilinguals whose mother tongue is Spanish.

In Navarre, the population able to speak Basque well or quite well is rising, i.e. the number of potential speakers is on the increase. However, the same does not occur with its use. In fact, in the last 20 years, the percentage of those who use Basque has remained almost the same.

Further, the difference between bilinguals and those who use Basque is constantly widening. The difference between those who knew and used Basque 20 years ago was 3.5 points, while today it is 6.2 points.

There are also two very different linguistic realities in Navarre, and the differences between knowing and using the language are far larger in the mixed area and, logically, in the non-Basque-speaking area than they are in the Basque-speaking area.

The imbalance between competence in and use of Basque is obvious if we compare both variables according to age: as the age of the population decreases, the
distance between the percentage of bilinguals and the percentage of people who use Basque increases.

The main reasons why young bilinguals do not make greater use of Basque are as follows: their mother tongue is v; they find it easier to speak Spanish than they do Basque, and most of them live in non-Basque-speaking areas.

**Figure 41.** Comparison between bilinguals, those whose mother tongue is Basque and those who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, by age group. Navarre, 2011 (%)
4.6. FACTORS DETERMINING BASQUE LANGUAGE USE

Our studies of Basque language use have repeatedly shown that two main factors determine language use in the individual:

- density of the Basque-speaking social network, and
- speaker fluency in Basque.

There are also other influential factors, such as mother tongue, sociolinguistic area and interest in the language.

We will now analyse the correlations in the different domains to obtain an exact picture of their influence. A correlation determines the relation between two variables and is expressed by a number between 0 and 1. The higher the number, the greater the influence of the factor.

Below we will explain correlations in the home, in relations with friends and with co-workers, arranging the values from highest to lowest.

The factor with greatest influence on use of Basque in the home is the density of bilinguals who live in it, i.e. how many of them speak Basque (0.775). The second factor is how fluent they are in Basque (0.72). Sociolinguistic area (0.629) and mother tongue (0.587) also have a strong influence in the home.

![Figure 42. Correlations: use at home. Navarre, 2011](image-url)
The factor with the greatest influence on Basque language use with friends is the percentage of friends who speak the language (0.736). The second factor is their fluency in Basque (0.646). The sociolinguistic area (0.621) also has a strong influence, as does mother tongue (0.432), but to a lesser extent.

Figure 43. Correlations: use with friends. Navarre, 2011

In Basque language use between co-workers, the density of bilinguals present in the network of relations at the workplace has remarkable influence (0.885). Other factors have much less influence than on use in the home and use with friends. The second factor is fluency in Basque (0.408). Sociolinguistic area (0.281) and mother tongue (0.278) also have an influence.
Figure 44. Correlations: use at work. Navarre, 2011

4.7. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE IN ONLINE SOCIAL NETWORKS

A question was asked for the first time in the 2011 survey about use of online social networks. A third of the sample (37.7 %) say that they use online social networks: 24.7 % use them every day or once or twice a week, and 13 % on weekends or occasionally. Online social networks are above all used by young people. They are used by 91.6 % of young people aged 16 to 24, and every day by 60.8 %.

With respect to Basque language use, 2.1 % of the users use Basque as much as Spanish or another language, and 3.5 % use Basque more than Spanish or another language. Young people aged 16 to 24 who use Basque as much as Spanish or another language stand at 4.3 %, and those who use Basque more than Spanish or another language at 9.1 %.

Figure 45. Basque language use in online social networks, by age group.
Navarre, 2011 (%)
5. Attitude towards efforts to promote Basque

5.1. TYPOLOGY OF ATTITUDES

The Sub-Ministry for Language Policy has developed a typology for the classification of opinions expressed in support of or in opposition to promotion of the Basque language in different domains by inhabitants of Navarre aged 16 years and over.

The results show that 37.7% of the population of Navarre aged 16 and over view action to promote Basque favourably, 27.8% are neutral and 34.5% oppose such action.

Evolution in the last 20 years in Navarre shows a rise of 16 points in support of action to promote Basque, given that, in 1991, 21.6% of the people of Navarre supported the initiative while today they represent 37.7%.

On the other hand, note should be taken that attitude towards Basque is very closely related to language competence. In fact, 88.7% of bilinguals, 64.6% of
As regards age, young people from 16 to 24 and the over 65s represent the highest percentage favourable towards action to promote the use of Basque.

Among non-Basque speakers, almost a third (31 %) is neutral. Finally, 1.1 % of bilinguals, 13.7 % of passive bilinguals and 41.2 % of non-Basque speakers oppose such action.

By area, the attitude towards efforts to promote Basque is much more favourable in the Basque-speaking area (69 %) than in the mixed area (42.5 %) and in the non-Basque-speaking area (22.5 %).

In Pamplona, 42.8 % are favourable towards efforts to promote Basque, and 34.5 % oppose such action.

| Table 7. Attitude to the promotion of Basque, by area and in the capital. Navarre, 2011 (%) |
|------------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| For                                      | Basque-speaking area | Mixed area     | Pamplona   | Non-Basque-speaking area |
| For                                      | 69                | 42.5           | 42.8       | 22.5               |
| Neutral                                  | 21.6              | 26.6           | 22.6       | 31.3               |
| Against                                  | 9.4               | 30.9           | 34.5       | 46.2               |


As regards age, young people from 16 to 24 and the over 65s represent the highest percentage favourable towards action to promote Basque (41.8 % and 39.7 %, respectively). However, it is the population aged 25 to 24 and 35 to 49 who are least favourable towards such action (34.6 % and 36.3 %, respectively).

The origin of inhabitants of Navarre also has a bearing on whether or not they are favourable to the action.

When people or their parents were born in Navarre, 40.8 % view action to promote Basque favourably. However, when one of the parents was born somewhere other than Navarre, the percentage drops to 36.2 %. Also, 30 % of people born in Navarre whose parents were both born outside Navarre and immigrants are favourable towards action to promote Basque.
5.2. OPINIONS ABOUT BASQUE

From all of the questions asked, it should be noted that the majority of the population of Navarre (53 %) approve of the requirement of Basque language knowledge to work in government administration.

On the other hand, 43 % consider it indispensable for children to learn Basque, while there are also many (48 %) who think the opposite.

Questions were asked of the universe surveyed to find out to what extent opinions related to the Basque language have taken root in society. The summarised results are:

• Among inhabitants of Navarre aged 16 and over, those who think that Basque will never acquire the importance or presence of Spanish predominate (59 %). On the other hand, a quarter of the population thinks the opposite (25 %).

• Regarding the richness of the language, more than half the population (43 %) thinks that Basque is as rich as Spanish, while few think the opposite (10 %).

• The existence of two languages in a society does not pose a problem according to 79 % of the population, while 17 % consider that it may cause problems.

• Finally, 82 % of the population of Navarre thinks that the placement of children in language immersion programmes is positive.

• The Basque language is not considered to be in danger of extinction by the majority (68 %) of the population.

Moving on to other opinions about Basque, 55.9 % of the population aged over 16 in Navarre would like their children to study model D (Basque-medium) or B (mixed-language), (32.2 % and 23.7 %, respectively), and 43.1 % models A or G (19 % and 24.1 %, respectively).

In order to assess its evolution and learn the opinion of the population of Navarre with regard to this question 15 years ago, we unified the models to permit comparison of data then and now. It should be noted that, 15 years ago, far fewer people chose models D and B (38.3 %) and far more models A and G (55.1 %). In fact, in 1996, 30.1 % chose model A and 25.1 % model G.

As regards opinion on the work done by the Government of Navarre, 47.8 % consider that the action taken to promote Basque is inappropriate and 18.3 % find it appropriate. In addition, 29.1 % don’t know or didn’t answer.
When asked for their reasons, 94.3 % answers that the work is inappropriate because not enough has been done, and the remaining 5.7 % because too much has been done.

In the Basque-speaking area, 66.3 % of the population of Navarre believes that the work carried out by the Government of Navarre is inappropriate, and 5.5 % that it is appropriate. In the mixed area, 56 % think that the work of the Government of Navarre is inappropriate, and 19.5 % that is appropriate. Finally, in the non-Basque-speaking area, 30.7 % think that the work of the Government of Navarre is inappropriate, and 19.8 % that it is appropriate.

On the other hand, 83 % of the population aged 16 and over in Navarre are of the opinion that in the future both Basque and Spanish should be spoken, 14 % Spanish only and 3 % Basque only.

Finally, when asked if they have ever felt discriminated for not being able to speak in Basque, 49 % of bilinguals responded affirmatively. When non-Basque speakers were asked if they have ever felt discriminated for not speaking Basque, 19 % responded affirmatively.
6. Conclusions

- The society of Navarre is characterised by two main features: progressive aging of the population and a high percentage of immigrant population. Today 17.6% of the population is aged over 65, and life expectancy is rising (83.5 years). For their part, immigrants currently constitute 11.4% of the population.

- 11.7% of the inhabitants aged 16 and over are bilingual, 7.5% are passive bilinguals and 80.8% are non-Basque speakers. The number of bilinguals in Navarre has risen by 2.2 percentage points in the last 20 years. Today Navarre has 63,000 bilinguals, 23,000 more than in 1991.

- The highest number of bilinguals is found among young people: today 20.8% of young people aged 16 to 24 are bilingual, a figure that doubles the percentage in 1991.

- 47.5% of bilinguals in Navarre live in the Basque-speaking area, and 45.3% in the mixed area. The remaining 7.2% live in the non-Basque-speaking area.

- One in three bilinguals is a native Basque speaker or a native bilingual, i.e. they acquired Basque in the home. However, the percentage of euskaldun berriak is rising among the younger population. Thus, between 16 and 34 years, more than half of the bilinguals learned Basque outside the home, i.e. at school or at an euskaltegi (Basque language school).

- Mother tongue is directly related to the fluency acquired in a language. Today, almost half of all bilinguals are more fluent in Spanish than in Basque; and in the case of young people, almost six out of ten are more fluent in Spanish.

- Today, almost all bilingual parents with children under 16 transmit Basque to them. When both parents are bilingual, 95% of children acquire Basque in the home, of whom the majority (78%) acquire only Basque, and 17% Basque with Spanish. When one of the parents does not speak Basque, 67% of children learn Basque in the home, and always with Spanish. The remaining 33% acquired only the Spanish from their parents.
• 5.5% of the population of Navarre use Basque intensively, i.e. they use it as much as or more than Spanish. Another 4.6% also use Basque, but to a lesser extent than Spanish. It is young people who use Basque most.

• Use of Basque varies greatly depending on the area. Thus, in the Basque-speaking area, the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish is 48%; in the mixed area 1.7% and in the non-Basque-speaking area 0.2%.

• The general use of Basque has changed very little in the last 20 years. The differences stand at 1.5 points or less.

• In the last 20 years, Basque use has increased in formal domains, has remained largely unchanged in informal domains in the immediate community, and has decreased in the home (except with children and between siblings).

• Favourable attitude towards action to promote Basque has risen by 16 points in the last 20 years; today 37.7% of the population of Navarre is favourable to such action. In addition, opposition to action to promote Basque has decreased, and today 34.5% of the population opposes such action. There are substantial differences depending on the area: in the Basque-speaking and mixed areas the more people are favourable towards action to promote Basque than against it, but in the non-Basque-speaking area the contrary occurs.
The goal: well-rounded speakers; the priority: the younger generations. This is the strategy set out in the Language Policy Project for the revitalisation of Basque in the Northern Basque Country. The framework document was approved unanimously in 2006 at a meeting at the Public Office for the Basque Language with the French Government, the Regional Council of Aquitania, the Pyrénées-Atlantiques General Council, the Council of Elected Officials of the Northern Basque Country and intermunicipal unions for the promotion of Basque culture. It was the first time that a public policy in support of Basque had been set in motion. The meeting was organised with a spirit of impetus and founded on a respect for free choice among speakers and promoters.

The policy was defined based on a specific sociolinguistic context. The 1991, 1996 and 2001 surveys showed a loss of speakers and a discontinuance in family language transmission. This panorama clearly indicated that the revitalisation of Basque had to stem from the younger generations, and that the transmission of Basque had to be fomented, primarily through schools and preschools. The 2006 survey showed that, although the number of speakers continued to decline, for the first time there was also a growing proportion of Basque speakers among the youngest age ranges. This fact provided a reason for hope, while at the same time confirming the effectiveness of the strategy set down in the Language Policy Project.

The 2011 survey shows, above and beyond mere inklings of hope for Basque, that we are on a path to revitalisation.

The proportion of Basque speakers is still on the decline in the Northern Basque Country, due to the fact that a third of the speakers are over 65 and to the growing number of people coming in from outside the Basque Country. Nonetheless, for the first time there has been a slowdown in the decline.
The proportion of Basque speakers is on the rise among the younger age brackets, and it is worth pointing out that the rate of Basque speakers in the 16-24 age group is higher than in the 35-49 age group. As for family transmission, the data shows that when either one or both of the parents are Basque speakers, Basque is transmitted in greater measure. However, in the younger age groups, a majority of the Basque speakers express themselves better in French than in Basque; this would not hold true in the rest of the age groups.

These positive trends clearly indicate that the job of promoting the transmission of Basque in schools and preschools should continue, as should efforts aimed at raising awareness in the home of the importance of family transmission.

In the same regard, the survey shows that promoting spaces for the use of Basque is fundamental. Everyone agrees that transmission is essential for acquiring the language, but just as important is the actual use of the language. Learning a language comes with use, a necessary step in language acquisition. And given the fact that adults are a reference for the younger generations, it is equally important to foment the use of Basque among adults. For this purpose Basque should be promoted in all areas of social life so that in the process of learning the language, children are motivated to continue studying and speaking. By seeing adults use Basque, children and teenagers will also want to use the language as they move toward adulthood.

For all of the above reasons, in October 2010 the Executive Board of the Public Office for the Basque Language added the promotion of Basque in free time activities and other spheres of social life to its priorities, knowing full well that Basque is a living language precisely because people use it. Therefore, it is essential for this language policy to promote well-rounded speakers. If people become fluent in the language they will feel at ease communicating and will decide to ultimately use Basque in their daily lives. Only this way can we give the people of the Northern Basque Country what they hope for every time: 94% of survey-takers say that their expectation for the future is to have a bilingual region.

In closing, we would like to thank our colleagues in the BAC for having organised the fifth edition of the Sociolinguistic Survey. The Basque Government was in charge of conducting this survey; the part corresponding to the Northern Basque Country was conducted in close collaboration with the Public Office for the Basque Language. We worked with the INSEE to define the sample population, organised the work conditions, and wrote up, translated and disseminated the reports. Our participation in the area of linguistic policy has grown from one year and one survey to the next.
1. Language competence

1.1. POPULATION ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

According to the survey data, 239,000 people 16 years of age or older live in the Northern Basque Country. Of them, 51,000 people (21.4 %) are bilingual (meaning that they speak both Basque and French well). A further 22,000 are passive bilinguals (9.1 %) who, despite not speaking Basque well, are able to understand it well. The rest of the population (166,000 people, 69.5 %) is made up by non-Basque speakers who do not know any Basque.

By analysing the data by districts, significant differences can be seen. Lower Navarre and Zuberoa are the districts which have the highest percentage of bilinguals since 52.1 % of their population is bilingual (17,000 people). Nevertheless the largest numbers of bilinguals in the Northern Basque Country live in the Lapurdi hinterland,
with 23.9 % of its population being bilingual (26,000 people). With respect to BAB (Bayonne-Anglet-Biarritz), it has both the lowest percentage and the lowest number of bilinguals. 8.7 % of its inhabitants are bilinguals (8,000 people).

Upon comparison with data from previous years, it can be observed that the population of the Northern Basque Country aged 16 and over is in constant growth, above all in the Lapurdi hinterland. This is not happening with the percentage of bilinguals. Confirming the trend from prior years, in the BAB, the Lapurdi hinterland, Lower Navarre and Zuberoa in general, the percentage of bilinguals continues to pull back, although not with the same intensity as in previous years.
With respect to the evolution of the percentage of bilinguals, there has been a drop of 5 points over fifteen years. In 1996, 26.4 % of the population of the Northern Basque Country was bilingual, 24.7 % in 2001, 22.5 % in 2006 and 21.4 % today. Passive bilinguals have not undergone any great change: they were 9.3 % of the population 15 years ago and stand at 9.1 % at present.
We will analyse the evolution of the bilinguals in each district. There has been almost no variation in the percentage of bilinguals over the last fifteen years in the BAB (Bayonne-Anglet-Biarritz). 9.1% of the population was bilingual fifteen years ago and now it is 8.7%.

In the Lapurdi hinterland the percentage of bilinguals has dropped 7.1 percentage points. 31% of the population was bilingual fifteen years ago and now it is 23.9%.

The greatest drop in the bilingual percentage has occurred in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa. Over fifteen years bilinguals have suffered a drop of 11.9 percentage points. In 1996, Lower Navarre and Zuberoa had a bilingual percentage of 64%, and currently 52.1% of the population is bilingual.
1.2. LANGUAGE COMPETENCE BY AGE

The largest percentage of bilinguals is found among those aged 65 or over, and as the age decreases, the percentage of bilinguals falls consistently until it reaches the youngest age group, in which the trend changes.

As mentioned, the drop in the bilingual percentage does not occur in the same manner in all the age groups. In addition, among the youngest, instead of decreasing an increase is produced in comparison with the previous age group. The smallest percentage of bilinguals is found in youth from 25 to 34 (13.9 %) and the greatest in those over 65 (30.6 %). The most significant data is that presented by the percentage of bilinguals in the 16 to 24 age group since its percentage is 17.6 %. This means that among youth the drop in the bilingual percentage that was previously occurring has been halted and has begun to climb.

The highest percentage of passive bilinguals is found in the 16-to-50 age group, approximately 10 %. Among those over 50 the percentage of passive bilinguals drops. For example, in the 50-to-64 age group, the percentage of passive bilinguals is 7.2 % and for those 65 or over it is 7.6 %.
The greatest percentage of non-Basque speakers is found in the 35-to-49 age group (75.1%) and the smallest in the group of 65 and over (61.8%). It is worth highlighting that if we compare the 16-24 age group with the 25-34 group the percentage of non-Basque speakers descends almost three points (71.1 % versus 73.7 %).

15 years ago the percentage of bilinguals consistently dropped as age dropped. So 37.6 % of the population 65 and over and 11.3 % of youth from 16 to 24 were bilingual. Currently, the percentage of bilinguals has increased among youth from 16 to 24 with regard to the group that precedes it (17.6 %), having achieved a change in the descending trend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>&gt;=65</th>
<th>50-64</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>16-24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Basque Country</td>
<td>239,000</td>
<td>62,000</td>
<td>57,000</td>
<td>61,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Basque speakers</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>73.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6. Evolution of the bilingual population by age group. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2011 (%)


The data we have just mentioned shows differences between the three districts. While the data from the BAB and the Lapurdi hinterland coincide, the same does not occur in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa since knowledge of Basque continues to decrease among the youngest. Let us analyse the data separately.
BAB

Bilinguals constitute 12.1 % of the population of those over 65. The percentage drops as age decreases until it reaches the youngest age group. The percentage of bilingual youth from 16-24 is 8.3 % and despite this it is 4.6 % for those 25-34.

On the other hand, it is worth highlighting that the percentage of passive bilinguals is greater than that of bilinguals between 25 and 34 (8.7 %).

Figure 7. Evolution of the bilingual population by age group. BAB, 1996-2011 (%)
LAPURDI HINTERLAND

In Lapurdi hinterland, as in the entire Northern Basque Country, the greatest percentage of bilinguals corresponds to the 65 and over age group (36 %). Nevertheless, as age decreases it falls significantly. The lowest percentage of bilinguals is found in the 35-to-49 age group (15 %). The percentage of bilinguals rises again among those under 35 and in the 16-to-24 group it is 23.5 %.

The percentage of passive bilinguals is over 10 % among all age groups under 50. The greatest percentage corresponds to the 35 to 49 group (12.7 %).

Figure 8. Evolution of the bilingual population by age group. Lapurdi hinterland, 1996-2011 (%)

LOWER NAVARRE AND ZUBEROA

Both in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa the percentage of bilinguals descends significantly as age drops, but it seems that among the youngest the downward trend has been interrupted. The differences in percentages of bilinguals among the old and the young are very significant, since it is 70.1 % among those 65 or older, nearly three out of four, and 32 %, almost a third, among youth from 16-to-24.

As for passive bilinguals, as age decreases the percentage increases. The percentage of passive bilinguals among those over 65 is 6.2 % and over 20 % among those under 35.

Figure 9. Evolution of the bilingual population by age group. Lower Navarre and Zuberoa, 1996-2011 (%)

1.3. FLUENCY IN BILINGUALS WHEN SPEAKING BASQUE

Bilinguals can be split into three groups according to their fluency in Basque and French.

**Bilinguals with a greater command of Basque** are more fluent in Basque than they are in French. They constitute 23.1% of the bilinguals and 4.8% of the Northern Basque Country population. The mother tongue for almost all of them has been Basque, the majority live in Basque speaking centres and in municipalities with few inhabitants, mainly in Lower Navarre and in Zuberoa.

**Balanced bilinguals** are equally fluent in both Basque and French. They make up the largest collective of bilinguals since they are 42.6% of the all bilinguals and 10.9% of the population. The majority live in Lower Navarre, Zuberoa and the Lapurdi hinterland. Basque is mother tongue for almost all of them.

**Bilinguals with a greater command of French** are more fluent in French than they are in Basque. These people constitute 34.3% of bilinguals and 8.3% of the population. The majority of bilinguals with greater command of French live in Lapurdi, both in the BAB and the hinterland. With regard to mother tongue, the majority have Basque as their mother tongue and a few French.

**Figure 10. Bilingual population according to fluency in Basque. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)**

The survey by districts shows clear differences between them.

In the BAB over half of the bilinguals express themselves with greater fluency in French (53.4 %). A third of the bilinguals are equally fluent in Basque and French (32 %). Those who are more fluent in Basque than French are a minority, 17.1 %, less than one in five.

In the Lapurdi hinterland balanced bilinguals constitute the greatest collective (45.4 %). A third are bilinguals who are more fluent in French than Basque (34.6 %), and those who are more fluent in Basque are a minority (20 %).

In Lower Navarre and Zuberoa, just like in Lapurdi hinterland, balanced bilinguals constitute the greatest collective (43.8 %). A third use are more fluent in Basque (32.2 %). Finally, unlike Lapurdi, the bilinguals who are more fluent in French are a minority (24.1 %).

---

**Figure 11.** Bilingual population according to fluency in Basque, district by district. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)
With respect to the evolution over the last 15 years, there has been a notable variation in the fluency of Northern Basque Country bilinguals. In 1996, 34 % of the bilinguals expressed themselves more fluently in Basque and 23.1 % do it currently. The percentage of bilinguals who speak both languages fluently is greater (in 1996 it was 32.1 % and it is currently 42.6 %). The percentage of bilinguals with greater fluency in French has hardly changed (33.9 % in 1996 and 34.3 % today).

By age, of the total bilingual population aged 16 or over, the highest percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Basque is found in the population aged 65 and over (31.5 %). The percentage drops as age gets lower. 11.9 % between 16 and 24 are Basque-dominant bilinguals.

The percentage of bilinguals with equal fluency in both languages is over 40 % in all age groups, except in the 16-to-24 age group (38.5 %).
The percentage of bilinguals with greater fluency in French rises as age decreases. A quarter of those over 65 express themselves more fluently in French than Basque (26.7%), and almost half of the bilingual youth between 16 and 24 (49.6%).

Figure 13. Bilingual population according to fluency in Basque by age group. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)
2. Language transmission

2.1. MOTHER TONGUE

By mother tongue we mean the language or languages acquired from parents or relatives with whom a child has lived until the age of three.

Basque is the mother tongue for 24.9% of the population aged 16 or over in the Northern Basque Country (59,500 people). 19.5% have only been spoken to in Basque at home (46,500 people) and for 5.4% Basque along with French (13,000 people). Finally, French or another language is the mother tongue for 75.1% of the inhabitants (179,000 people).

Those who have French as their mother tongue predominate in the BAB and the Lapurdi hinterland, but in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa over half of the population have Basque as their mother tongue. Let us analyse the data separately.
The mother tongue for the majority of BAB inhabitants is French (89 %) and for a small minority it is exclusively Basque (8.8 %) or Basque along with French (2.3 %).

In the Lapurdi hinterland French is the mother tongue for 73.2 % of inhabitants; only Basque as a mother tongue for 19.8 %, and Basque along with French as mother tongue for 7 %.

Nevertheless, in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa the opposite occurs, since the mother tongue for the majority of inhabitants is Basque (51.2 %) or Basque along with French (9.7 %). French is the mother tongue for four out of every ten inhabitants (39.1 %).

### Table 3. Mother tongue by district. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Northern Basque Country</th>
<th>BAB</th>
<th>Lapurdi hinterland</th>
<th>Lower Navarre and Zuberoa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>239,000</td>
<td>99,000</td>
<td>107,000</td>
<td>33,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and French</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.

### 2.2. MOTHER TONGUE BY AGE

The percentage of people who have Basque as a mother tongue drops continuously as age decreases.

The greatest percentage of those who have Basque as their mother tongue or Basque and French are those who are 65 or older (35.8 %), and that percentage drops considerably as age drops. The percentage of youths from 16 to 24 whose mother tongue is only Basque or Basque and French is 13.4 %. Therefore,
the percentage of those who have French as mother tongue increases as age decreases. In fact, French is the mother tongue for 64.1 % of those aged 65 or more and for 86.6 % of youth between 16 and 24.

The number of people who only have Basque as a mother tongue is falling in the three Northern Basque Country districts. Despite this occurring in the three districts, there are great differences between the percentages from one district to another.

In the BAB, approximately 5 % of the group between 16-24 and 25-34 have Basque only or Basque with French as their mother tongue. The greatest percentage is found among 65 year olds, more than triple (17.2 %).
In the Lapurdi hinterland only Basque and Basque along with French is the mother tongue of 41% of inhabitants 65 or older, but that percentage drops significantly and constantly, and is 14.3% in youth between 16 and 24.
In Lower Navarre and Zuberoa as age decreases the percentage of those who have only Basque or Basque along with French as their mother tongue also decreases significantly. In fact, 76.1% of those 65 or more have Basque or Basque and French as their mother tongue and 40.7% of youth between 16 and 24.
With respect to evolution of mother tongue according to age, 15 years ago the greatest percentage of those who had Basque as their mother tongue were aged over 65 (40.4 %), and this percentage lowered as age decreased. At that time it was the youngest group (16-24 years of age) that had the lowest percentage (21.4 %).

Currently, it is also those above 65 who have the greatest percentage of Basque as a mother tongue (35.8 %), and the youngest continue to have a percentage lower than the age groups which precede it (13.4 %).
### 2.3. BILINGUALS BY MOTHER TONGUE

Below we will analyse the typology of bilinguals in the Northern Basque Country aged 16 or over, depending on the language they acquired in the home.

Almost three quarters of bilinguals aged 16 and over in the Northern Basque Country have Basque only as mother tongue (73.8 %). These people are known as euskaldun zaharrak, or native Basque speakers (38,000 speakers). Another 13.1 % have Basque and French as their mother tongue, they are native bilinguals (7,000 people). Lastly, another 13.1 % of bilinguals have not acquired Basque in their homes. These are the so-called euskaldun berriak, or new Basque speakers, people who have acquired Basque outside their homes, either at school or at an euskaltegi (Basque language academy) (7,000 people).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age groups</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>&gt;=65</th>
<th>50-64</th>
<th>35-49</th>
<th>25-34</th>
<th>16-24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>2011</strong></td>
<td>239,000</td>
<td>62,000</td>
<td>57,000</td>
<td>61,000</td>
<td>32,000</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and French</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>64.1</td>
<td>72.6</td>
<td>79.4</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>86.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1996</strong></td>
<td>212,000</td>
<td>53,000</td>
<td>41,000</td>
<td>56,000</td>
<td>34,000</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>38.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque and French</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>77.2</td>
<td>78.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** *Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*
15 years ago, the great majority of bilinguals were native Basque speakers (85 %), 11.1 % were native bilinguals and the percentage of new Basque speakers was very small (3.9 %). In 15 years the percentage of new Basque speakers has experienced a rise of nine points.

By analysing the data by districts, significant differences can be found. Although in the BAB and the Lapurdi hinterland the percentage of native Basque speakers is substantial (73.3 % and 66.7 % respectively), new Basque speakers are more and more numerous (17.4 % and 17.1 % respectively).

On the other hand, the greatest percentage of native bilinguals (16.2 %) is in the Lapurdi hinterland and almost as many as new Basque speakers. In the BAB the percentage of native bilinguals is less than in the Lapurdi hinterland (9.3 %).

In Lower Navarre and Zuberoa the vast majority of bilinguals are native Basque speakers (84.3 %). Also, one out of every ten bilinguals is a native bilingual and the percentage of new Basque speakers is very low (5.5 %).

Figure 21. Bilingual population according to mother tongue, district by district. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Native Basque Speakers</th>
<th>Native Bilinguals</th>
<th>New Basque Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BAB</td>
<td>73.3%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lapurdi hinterland</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Navarre and Zuberoa</td>
<td>84.3%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With regard to the evolution of bilingual typology in function of age, we must underline that it has varied considerably in the last 15 years.

Although in 2011 the native Basque speakers continue being a majority in all the age groups, its percentage is less and less as age drops. Also, native bilinguals have more and more weight among youth, and new Basque speakers even more, above all among those under 35.

### Figure 22. Bilingual population according to mother tongue by age groups.
Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)

![Bar chart showing bilingual population by age group and mother tongue.


### 2.4. FAMILY TRANSMISSION

To learn about transmission in the family, all of those surveyed were asked what language or languages they acquired in the home. We must remember that the target population includes people aged 16 up to almost 100. The survey therefore offers the possibility to find out how language has been transmitted in the home over this period of time.
When both parents are bilingual the mother tongue of 68 % of children is Basque, 12.2 % Basque and French; Basque was not transmitted to the remaining 19.8 %.

When only one of the parents is bilingual, the majority have not transmitted Basque (80.5 %). Almost a fifth has transmitted Basque and French (19.5 %).

In addition, to study the evolution of Basque transmission, we selected the universe of parents who had children between the ages of 2 and 15. An analysis of how they transmitted the language was carried out. According to the data, with both parents bilingual, Basque has been transmitted to 87 % of the children. To 54 % only Basque has been transmitted and to 33 % Basque and French. Finally, 13 % of bilingual parents have not transmitted Basque.

When the father or mother does not know Basque, most children acquire Basque at home together with French (56 %) and 44 % do not.

In family transmission of Basque the greatest change has occurred in mixed-language couples. When we include all ages in the analysis, the great majority of mixed-language couples do not transmit Basque (84.6 %), but upon analysing those with children between 2-15 less than half fail to do so (44 %).

---

**Figure 23.** Language transmitted to children, according to parental knowledge of Basque.
Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)

- **When both parents know Basque**
  - Whole sample: 19.8%
  - With children aged 2-15: 12.2%
  - Basque: 68.0%
  - Basque and French: 13.0%
  - French: 15.3%

- **When one parent knows Basque**
  - Whole sample: 15.3%
  - With children aged 2-15: 44.0%
  - Basque: 84.6%
  - Basque and French: 33.0%
  - French: 56.0%

**Source:** Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.
2.5. BASQUE LANGUAGE GAINS AND LOSSES

Three quarters of the population who have had only Basque or Basque and French as their mother tongue have conserved their Basque and are currently bilingual (74.7 %). Therefore, a quarter of the population who has had Basque as their mother tongue is no longer bilingual (24.3 %). This means that they lost their Basque partially or completely (15,000 people). The majority of the losses are partial (10,000 people): they are not able to speak Basque well, but they are able to understand it well. Also, another 5,000 people have lost their Basque completely. Meaning their loss has been total.

All the while, there are 7,000 people who have had another mother tongue other than Basque. These people have learned Basque and are currently bilingual and constitute 13.1 % of bilinguals. They are the Basque speaking gains.

There are another 12,000 people who, having French or another language (not Basque) as their mother tongue, are capable of understanding Basque, meaning they are partial new Basque speakers.

As can be observed, the losses are greater than the gains but although there continue to be losses of speakers who have had Basque as their mother tongue, there are more and more gains: people who, having French as their mother tongue, learn Basque and are currently bilingual.

There are substantial differences by age. The percentage of people who have learned Basque are small among those over 35. To give an example, the percentage of new Basque speakers among those between 35 and 49 is 2.5 %. Nevertheless, among youth between 16 and 24 the percentage of new Basque speakers is 6.8 %, almost triple.
Although losses and gains occur in the three Northern Basque Country districts, the percentages vary.

In the BAB 3.9 % of the total population has partially or totally lost their Basque and 1.5 % have learned Basque. One can observe that there are more who have lost Basque than those who have learned it. 3.9 % are partial new Basque speakers.

In the Lapurdi hinterland 6.9 % of the total population has partially or totally lost their Basque. Despite that, the percentage of new Basque speakers is constantly increasing (4.1 %), and also the percentages of partial new Basque speakers (6.2 %). Due to this the difference between the losses and gains of bilinguals from the Lapurdi hinterland is much less than in the rest of the districts, because of the increase in new Basque speakers.

In Lower Navarre and Zuberoa 11.7 % of the population has partially or totally lost their Basque. The percentage of new Basque speakers is 2.9 % and partial new Basque speakers are 5.1 %. As can be appreciated, there are many more who have lost their Basque compared to those who have become Basque speakers, meaning that the losses are much greater that the gains.
3. Use of Basque

3.1. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE TYPOLOGY

In 2001, the Sub-Ministry for Language Policy created an index to learn the nature of Basque language use in society, known as the Basque Language Use Typology. The index includes the following domains: the home (partner, sons and daughters, father, mother and brothers and sisters), circle of friends and formal domain (local shops, banks, health services and municipal services). The following figures are based on this typology.

18.9 % of the population aged 16 or over in the Northern Basque Country uses Basque to some extent:

- 9.6 % of the population makes intensive use of Basque, which is to say they use it as much or more than French in their daily activity.
- 9.3 % also uses Basque, but to a lesser extent than French.

The remaining 81.1 % always (77.1 %) or almost always (4 %) use French.

**Figure 25. Basque language use typology. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)**

Over the last 15 years the use of Basque in the Northern Basque Country has diminished. The percentage of people who use Basque more than French has descended to half (from 5.4 % in 1996 to 2.5 % in 2011). The percentage of the population who uses Basque as much as French has also dropped, but to a much lesser degree, (fall of 0.8 points) and those who use Basque less than French (fall of 0.5 points).

Use of the Basque language varies greatly between districts. People who use Basque as much as or more than French, which is to say, they make intensive use of Basque, make up 2.1 % of the BAB population, 10.2 % of the Lapurdi hinterland and 30.6 % of Lower Navarre and Zuberoa. Also, the percentage of those who use Basque, but less than French, is 4 % in the BAB, 11 % in the Lapurdi hinterland and 19.6 % in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa.
Analysing the evolution over the last 15 years one can see that use of Basque in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa continues to fall. Nevertheless, the drop produced over the last decade has been noticeably less than in previous years: in 1996 45.6 % of the population used Basque as much as or more than French, 33.2 % in 2001 and 30.6 % in 2011.

Use has also dropped over the last 15 years in the Lapurdi hinterland. In 1996, 15.7 % of the population used Basque as much as or more than French, and only 10.2 % in 2001. It is worth highlighting that between 2001 and 2011 a small rise of 0.5 percentage points occurred, which is not noteworthy in absolute terms, but it deserves special attention in subsequent surveys.

Variations of importance cannot be appreciated in the BAB. In 1996 1.7 % of the population used Basque as much as or more than French, and 2.1 % in 2011. This small advance has occurred over the last decade, as in the Lapurdi hinterland.
3.2. USE OF BASQUE BY AGE GROUP

In the Northern Basque Country the percentage of Basque use reaches its highest value in the population group above 50: 10.2 % between 50 and 64 use Basque as much as or more than French, and 16.6 % of those 65 and over.

Under 50 years of age, the population percentage in all the age groups is similar for those who use Basque as much as or more than French: 5 % of 16-24 year olds and 6 % of 25-34 and 35-49 year olds.

People who use Basque, but less than French, reach percentages somewhat higher among the young (12.1 % in the 16 to 24 group and 11.6 % for the 25 to 34), but the percentage does not reach 10 % in any of the groups over 35 years of age.
In the BAB those above 65 are the ones who most use Basque (4.2%). In the rest of the age groups, the people who use Basque as much as or more than French are less than 2% and less than 1% in the case of those under 35.

The opposite occurs with people who use Basque less than French. In this case, the highest percentage is achieved by youth under 35 (6.6% in the 25-34 group and 7% for the 16-24 group). Above 35 the percentage of those who use Basque less than French falls significantly.
In the Lapurdi hinterland, again it is the population over 65 which provides the highest percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than French (17.8 %): This percentage descends as age drops, until it reaches the age of 35 (between 35 and 49 it is 4.7 %). From that age the trend is reversed and the percentage of those who use Basque as much as or more than French begins to increase, until it reaches 6.9 % in the youngest group (16-24 years old).

The percentage of people who use Basque less than French reaches its highest values in the youngest groups of the population (14.7 % in the 16 to 24 group and 12.9 % between 25 and 34). After them is the over 65 group (11.3 %).
In Lower Navarre and Zuberoa 49.2% of people over 65 years use Basque as much as or more than French. This percentage falls noticeably as age drops. In the 35 to 49 age range 23% of the population uses Basque as much as or more than French, and in the 16 to 24 group it is 14.4%.
Between 1996 and 2011 the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than French has diminished in all the age groups above 35. Nevertheless, under that age the use of Basque is currently greater compared to 15 years ago. Although the lowest percentage of use continues to be found in the under 35 population, it is worth noting that the range from 16 to 24 is where it has grown most over the last 15 years.
3.3. USE OF BASQUE, DOMAIN BY DOMAIN

USE OF BASQUE IN THE FAMILY

10.7 % of the population aged 16 or more in the Northern Basque Country uses Basque at home as much as or more than French, 6.6 % use Basque, but less than French, and 82.6 % use only French, always or almost always.

At home different uses occur, depending on what members of the family are involved, but great differences do not exist. The highest percentage in the use of Basque is reached in relationships with brothers and sisters (13.6 %), then with children (11.1 %) and with the spouse (10.8 %). Finally, it is used less in relationships with parents (7.3 %).
Over the last 15 years the use of Basque in Northern Basque Country homes has dropped 5.3 points: in 1996, 16 % of the population used Basque in the home as much as or more than French, and 10.7 % in 2011. Analysing the evolution of the use of Basque with respect to each member of the household, a drop can be seen in all of them: with the spouse 5.7 points less, with the mother 9.3 points, with the father 9.6 points, with siblings 6 points, with sons and daughters 5.7 points. In this context of downturn it is worth noting an increase, although minor, of the use of Basque in relationships with children over the last 10 years.
USE OF BASQUE IN THE IMMEDIATE COMMUNITY

Below we refer to the use of Basque in relationships that speakers maintain with their friends, neighbours, co-workers and when shopping. 14.5 % of the population 16 years old or more in the Northern Basque Country uses Basque as much as or more than French with his/her friends, 10.9 % with his/her co-workers, 10.4 % with neighbours and 6.6 % when shopping in the area.

On the other hand, those who use Basque less than French are: 6.3 % of the population in their relationships with friends, 5.1 % when shopping, and around 4 % in other domains of use.

It can be confirmed that over the last 15 years there has been a drop in the percentage of those who use Basque as much as or more than French in the three domains analysed. Nevertheless, the data for the last 10 years points towards a change in the trend of relationships with friends and co-workers.
USE OF BASQUE IN THE FORMAL DOMAIN

To analyse the formal domain, we have considered the language or languages used by the sample in their relations with bank employees, health services, municipal services, the Public Administration.

8.4 % of the inhabitants of the Northern Basque Country use Basque as much as or more than French in their relationship with municipal employees, 3.5 % of the population in their relationship with health service employees, and 3.1 % with bank employees. In their relationship with the Public Administration 0.6 % of those surveyed declare they have used Basque as much as or more than French.
Over the last 15 years the use of Basque in the formal domain has dropped, with significant drops both in the public domain (municipal and health services) and the private (banks).
3.4. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE AMONG BILINGUALS

The data relating to the use of Basque used up until now corresponds to the population aged 16 and over in its totality, which is to say, it includes both inhabitants who know Basque and those who do not. By contrast, in this section only the bilingual population is considered.

43.5 % of bilinguals in the Northern Basque Country use Basque as much as or more than French, 35.6 % use Basque less than French and the remaining 20.8 % never or hardly ever use Basque.
Over the last 15 years the percentage of those who use Basque more than French has dropped 8.9 points. On the other hand, the percentage of those who use Basque as much as French has increased 3.4 points.

The percentage of people who use Basque less than French has also increased (3.1 points). Finally, the percentage of bilingual people who always or almost always use French has suffered a small drop (2.3 points) during the period.
Between 1996 and 2011, the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than French has diminished in the bilingual population over 50. Nevertheless, under that age the use of Basque is currently greater compared to 15 years ago. In 1996, bilinguals between 35 and 49 using Basque as much as or more than French were 27.5 %, while in 2011 they were 38.7 %. In the bilingual group between 16 and 24 the percentage was 23.1 % in 1996 and 30.4 % in 2011.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56,000</td>
<td>55,000</td>
<td>51,000</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Basque than French</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both equally</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Basque than French</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little in Basque</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always in French</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>8,000</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5. USE OF BASQUE BY BILINGUALS, ACCORDING TO FLUENCY AND MOTHER TONGUE

Finally, in the group of bilinguals with greater command of Basque, 91.3 % use Basque as much as or more than French. In other words, almost all bilinguals who find it easier to speak in Basque than in French use Basque with intensity.

In the case of balanced bilinguals, 50.6 % use Basque as much as or more than French, and the percentage drops as age decreases.

Finally, in the group of bilinguals with greater command of French 5.9 % use Basque as much as or more than French.

Figure 40. Bilinguals who use Basque as much as or more than French, according to their fluency in Basque. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)

A person's ability to speak in Basque is directly related to their mother tongue, which has a strong influence on how that person uses the Basque language.

Basque is used as much as or more than French by 52% of the bilinguals whose mother tongue is Basque, by 31% of those whose mother tongues are both Basque and French, and 16% of bilinguals whose mother tongue is French.

3.6. FACTORS DETERMINING BASQUE LANGUAGE USE

The studies of Basque language use have repeatedly shown that two main factors determine the individual use of the language:

- density of the Basque-speaking social network, and
- speaker fluency in Basque.

There are also other influential factors, such as the speaker's mother tongue, sociolinguistic area and interest in the language.

With the aim of establishing the exact level of influence of the factors in the different domains of use, we will analyse the correlations. A correlation determines the relation between two variables and is expressed by a number between 0 and 1. The greater the influence of the factor, the higher the number.

Below we will explain correlations in the home, in relations with friends and with co-workers, and the values will be shown arranged from highest to lowest.

The factor with greatest influence on use of Basque in the home is the density of bilinguals who live in it, i.e. how many of them speak Basque (0.709). The second factor is how fluent they are in Basque (0.57). Sociolinguistic area (0.321), mother tongue (0.294) and attitude (0.263) are also influential, but to a lesser extent.
In relationships with friends the factor which most influences the use of Basque is the proportion of those who know how to speak the language (0.727). The second factor in importance is the speaker’s command of Basque (0.677). Interest in Basque has an influence (0.308) as well as attitude (0.284), but to a notably lesser extent. Finally, the sociological area (0.271) has a much smaller influence than in the BAC and Navarre.
In Basque use between co-workers it is worth pointing out the importance of the density of bilinguals present in the network of relationships at the workplace (0.821). Other factors have much less influence in this domain than at home and with friends. The second factor in importance is fluency in Basque (0.402), followed by interest (0.28), attitude (0.246) and the sociolinguistic area (0.201).

**Figure 43. Correlations: use at work. Northern Basque Country, 2011**

![Bar chart showing correlations between number of Basque speakers at work, fluency, interest, attitude, and sociolinguistic area.](chart)

*Source: Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*

### 3.7. BASQUE LANGUAGE USE IN ONLINE SOCIAL NETWORKS

This survey has posed a question on the use of online social networks. 29.2% of those surveyed confirm the use of online social networks: 17.5% use them every day or twice or three times a week, and 11.7% at weekends or occasionally. Online social networks are above all used by young people: 85.8% of young people aged 16 to 24, and 37.4% use them every day.
With respect to the use of Basque online, 2.9 % use Basque as much as French or another language and 1.7 % use Basque more than French or another language. Among youth from 16 to 24, 4.1 % use Basque as much as French or another language and 2.5 % use Basque more than French or another language.

**Figure 44. Basque language use in online social networks, by age group. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)**

4. Attitude towards efforts to promote Basque

4.1. TYPOLOGY OF ATTITUDES

94 % of the population 16 or older in the Northern Basque Country believes that Basque and French should be spoken in the future while 3 % favour only Basque and 2 % only French.

Regarding the richness of the language, more than half the population (56 %) thinks that Basque is as rich as French, while few think the opposite (6 %).

An ample majority of the population considers that the presence of two languages in society does not provoke conflicts (84 %), and 10 % believe that it can be a source of problems.

On the other hand, 76 % of the population is not in agreement with the affirmation that language immersion programmes are counterproductive for children.

With reference to the population’s interest in Basque, 85 % of people surveyed say they are interested, to a greater or lesser degree, in the language. 25 % of the population shows great interest, 36 % is quite interested and 24 % somewhat interested. It is worth noting that there is interest in Basque in all three districts of the Northern Basque Country.

Table 7. Interest in Basque by district. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Northern Basque Country</th>
<th>BAB</th>
<th>Lapurdi hinterland</th>
<th>Lower Navarre and Zuberoa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quite</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/No answer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38.5 % of the population 16 and over in the Northern Basque Country show attitudes favourable to promoting Basque, 40.2 % are neutral and 21.3 % against it.

Over the last 15 years, the attitudes of the population towards promoting the use of Basque have undergone small variations.

The most stable percentage corresponds with those people who favour the promotion of the use of Basque, constituting 42.3 % of the population in 1996, 38.2 % in 1991 and 38.5 % currently.

It is worth mentioning that the percentage of those who are neither for nor against has dropped, 45 % in 1996, 47 % in 2001 and 40.2 % today.

Finally, the percentage of those who are contrary to the promotion of Basque has increased. In 1996 it was 12.7 % of the population, five years later it was 14.8 % and in the last survey it was 21.3 %.
Considered by districts, the BAB presents the lowest percentage in support of promoting Basque. In any case, the population favouring promotion (29.3 %) is greater than those who do not favour it (26.8 %); the remaining 43.9 % are neither for nor against.

In Lower Navarre, Zuberoa and the Lapurdi hinterland those in favour are a majority. In the Lapurdi hinterland 42.4 % are in favour and 19.6 % against, while in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa 54.2 % are in favour and 10 % are against.
Bilingual people are those who show the most favourable attitude towards Basque language promotion since 73 % say they are in favour or very in favour of the promotion of the language. 22.1 % of bilinguals are neither for nor against and 4.9 % are against.

On the other hand, passive bilinguals are primarily in favour of promoting the use of Basque (62.8 %), 27.3 % are neutral and 9.9 % are against.

The percentage of non-Basque speakers who favour promoting Basque is much less (24.7 %). Nevertheless, the majority of non-Basque speakers are neutral (47.5 %) and 27.8 % are against.

### 4.2. OPINIONS ABOUT BASQUE

With reference to specific measures to promote the use of Basque, the opinions and attitudes shown by citizens on the measures used to promote Basque in education, the administration and the media have been examined.

The most favourable attitude corresponds to the subject of making children Basque speakers. 51 % of the population considers it indispensable that they all learn Basque, and 34 % are against.

**Table 8. Attitude with respect to promoting the use of Basque by districts. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Northern Basque Country</th>
<th>BAB</th>
<th>Lapurdi hinterland</th>
<th>Lower Navarre and Zuberoa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The attitude in favour of using Basque in the administration is also a majority since 53 % of the inhabitants of the Northern Basque Country are in agreement that the knowledge of Basque be required for posts in the administration, and 31 % are in disagreement with such a measure.

With reference to the media, 55 % of the population is of the opinion that more radio and television programmes should be broadcasted in Basque, while 20 % are of the opposite opinion.

41 % of the Northern Basque Country’s population thinks that Basque in danger of extinction and 49 % believe the contrary.

Going back to more opinions surrounding education, a majority of 53 % of the population opt for bilingual education, which is to say “in Basque with French as a subject” or “in Basque and French”, whilst only 44 % would choose French as the principal language of education. It is worth noting the growth of 12 percentage points that has occurred in the educational option of “in Basque with French as a subject” over the last 15 years.

**Figure 47.** Evolution of preferred language model for children’s education.
Northern Basque Country, 1996-2011 (%)

(Source: *Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey, 2011.*

- In Basque with French as subject
- In Basque and French
- In French with Basque as subject
- Only in French
- Don’t know/No answer)
Analysed by districts, differences can be appreciated. In the BAB, 40 % of the population would choose a bilingual education for their children, 55 % would opt to have French as the primary language of education.

Nevertheless, in the Lapurdi hinterland, Lower Navarre and Zuberoa the majority are in favour of bilingual education. In the Lapurdi hinterland 59 % of the population is in favour of bilingual education and 39 % are in favour of education primarily in French. In Lower Navarre and Zuberoa 69 % are in favour of bilingual education and 27 % prefer mainly French.

| Table 9. Preferred language model for children’s education, by district. Northern Basque Country, 2011 (%) |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                                                  | Northern Basque Country | BAB | Lapurdi hinterland | Lower Navarre and Zuberoa |
| In Basque with French as subject                 | 19                       | 13  | 20               | 31               |
| In Basque and French                            | 34                       | 27  | 39               | 38               |
| In French with Basque as subject                | 24                       | 26  | 23               | 19               |
| Only in French                                  | 20                       | 29  | 16               | 8                |
| Don’t know/No answer                            | 4                        | 5   | 3                | 4                |


With reference to the evaluation of public language policies, 29.9 % of the population believes that they have not been adequate and 25.3 % consider them adequate. In addition, numerous people do not know or did not answer (28.4 %). When asked for reasons, 26.4 % answered that they consider the work done insufficient.

Finally, bilinguals, when asked if they have ever felt discriminated for not being able to speak in Basque, 33 % of bilinguals responded affirmatively. When non-Basque speakers were asked if they have ever felt discriminated for not knowing Basque, 46 % responded affirmatively.
6. Conclusions

- In the Northern Basque Country 21.4% of the inhabitants aged 16 or more are bilingual, 9.1% are passive bilingual and 69.5% are non-Basque speakers. The bilingual population has dropped over the last 15 years and presently stands at 51,000 people, 5,000 less than in 1996.

- The greatest percentage of bilinguals corresponds to those 65 and older, and falls as age drops, until it reaches the youngest group. In this last group, between 16 and 24, the percentage of bilinguals is 17.6%, 6 points more than in 1996.

- A little over eight out of every ten bilinguals acquired Basque in the home. A study of the different age groups shows that the percentage of euskaldun berriak (new Basque speakers) increases as age decreases. Between 16 and 24 years old, almost 40% of bilinguals learned Basque outside their homes, either at school or at an euskaltegi (Basque language school).

- The level of fluency of bilinguals to express themselves in Basque has diminished over the last 15 years. In 1996, 34% of the bilinguals expressed themselves with greater ease in Basque than in French, while today that percentage has dropped to 23.1% and is reduced even further to 11.9% among youth.

- Currently, most bilingual parents with offspring under the age of 16 transmit the Basque language to them. When both parents are bilingual, 87% of children learn Basque in the home, over half as the only language (54%) and a third (33%) together with French. In the case of mixed couples, over half of the children learned both languages in the home (56%).

- Currently, 9.6% of inhabitants in the Northern Basque Country make intensive use of Basque, which is to say, they use it as much as or more than French. Another 9.4% also uses Basque, but to a lesser extent than French.

- The use of Basque has dropped, especially in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa. It has also dropped in the Lapurdi hinterland, but a slight recovery during the last decade can be appreciated, a reason for paying special attention to the data in subsequent surveys. On the other hand, the use of Basque in the BAB has hardly undergone any variation.
The use of Basque has dropped in all domains, in the home, in the immediate environment and in the formal domain.

Looking exclusively at the bilingual population, in the range above 50 years of age one can be see that use of Basque is less than 15 years ago. The opposite occurs in age groups under 50, where Basque is used more today than 15 years ago.

Observing the evolution of the use of Basque in the bilingual population during the last 15 years, the overall data indicates that the percentage of bilinguals who use Basque has diminished. Nevertheless, data by age show that youths use Basque more now than in 1996.

The attitudes relating to promoting the use of Basque has undergone small variations over the last 15 years. Currently 38.5 % of the population favours the promotion of the language, a percentage which is 3.8 points lower than in 1996.

The majority of the population shows great interest in Basque (61 %), and would choose a bilingual education for their children (53 %).
Factsheet

- The target population for the Sociolinguistic Survey consisted of residents of the Basque Country over the age of 16 (2,649,000 people).
- The fieldwork was conducted by Siadeco Koop EM.
- The data was collected from June to December 2011, by phone, using a structured closed-ended questionnaire.
- A multistage sampling system was used, stratified by sociolinguistic area and municipality to select homes surveyed.
- In each territory the results were weighted to represent the population of persons aged 16 or more by gender, age, and distribution of Basque speakers and non-Basque speakers.
- The sample for the Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey consisted of 7,900 surveys: 4,200 in the BAC, 2,000 in the Northern Basque Country and 1,700 in Navarre.
- The margin of error for the data from the whole Basque Country is ±1.48 % for a 95.5 % confidence interval, using \( p = q = 50 \) %. For the same confidence levels, the sample error is ±1.86 % for Basque speakers and ±1.91 % for non-Basque speakers.
- The margin of error for the data from the whole Basque Autonomous Community is ±1.87 % for a 95.5 % confidence interval, using \( p = q = 50 \) %. For the same confidence levels, the sample error by territory is as follows: ±4.01 % in Álava, ±2.78 % in Bizkaia and ± 3.02 % in Gipuzkoa.
- The margin of error for the data from Navarre is ±3.1 % for a 95.5 % confidence interval, using \( p = q = 50 \) %. For the same confidence levels, the sample error by zones is as follows: ±4.79 % in the Basque-speaking zone, ±4.30 % in the mixed zone, and ±5.85 % in the non-Basque speaking zone.
- The margin of error for the data from the Northern Basque Country is ±2.31 % for a 95.5 % confidence interval, using \( p = q = 50 \) %. For the same confidence levels, the sample error by geographic areas is as follows: ±3.65 % in Bayona-Angle-Biarritz (BAB), ±3.65 % in Lapurdi and ±4.47 % in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa.
### Basic data in tables

#### Evolution of language competence. 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bilinguals</td>
<td>Passive bilinguals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque Country</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAC</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC*</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Comparative fluency among bilinguals. 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More fluent in Basque</td>
<td>Equal in both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque Country</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAC</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC*</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Bilingual population. 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Native Basque speakers</td>
<td>Native bilinguals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque Country</td>
<td>79.3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAC</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC*</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note: data on the Northern Basque Country are from 1996-2011.
### Mother tongue. 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>Basque &amp; Spanish/French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque Country</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAC</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC*</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Use of Basque. 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As much or more than Spanish/French</td>
<td>Less than Spanish/French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque Country</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAC</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC*</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note: data on the Northern Basque Country are from 1996-2011.
### People who speak Basque as much as or more than Spanish/French in the home. 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>At home (general)</td>
<td>With partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque Country</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAC</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC*</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### People who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish/French in familiar and more formal settings. 1991-2011 (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>With friends</td>
<td>With co-workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basque Country</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAC</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC*</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Note: data on the Northern Basque Country are from 1996-2011.
The table below shows the attitude towards the promotion of Basque from 1991 to 2011 in different regions of the Basque Country.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2011</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque Country</td>
<td>For: 47.5, Neither for nor against: 31.7, Against: 20.9</td>
<td>For: 55.2, Neither for nor against: 27.7, Against: 17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAC</td>
<td>For: 55, Neither for nor against: 31.1, Against: 14</td>
<td>For: 62.3, Neither for nor against: 26.1, Against: 11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarre</td>
<td>For: 21.6, Neither for nor against: 26.6, Against: 51.8</td>
<td>For: 37.7, Neither for nor against: 27.8, Against: 34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBC*</td>
<td>For: 42.3, Neither for nor against: 45, Against: 12.7</td>
<td>For: 38.5, Neither for nor against: 40.2, Against: 21.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: data on the Northern Basque Country are from 1996-2011.*