



Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey

2021

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2021

EUSKO JAURLARITZA



GOBIERNO VASCO

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POLITIKA SAILA

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Eusko Jaurlaritzaren Argitalpen Zerbitzu Nagusia

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PROLOGUE

The Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey was conducted in the context of a changing society, caught up in the whirlwind of the post-modern, globalised era of the 21st century. An era in which migratory movements are proliferating, creating environments that require us to forge new relations between languages and their speakers. An era in which the ageing of the population is accelerating, generating new needs for care of older people. The path we have taken in the digital environment has placed us in a relationship with other languages, other ways of thinking and doing, and this has led us to begin to manage diversity.

Many changes are taking place in this society and all of them affect what the different language communities speak - this means they also affect the Basque-speaking community.

The Sociolinguistic Survey was set up in order to provide up-to-date information about the evolution of Basque. It sets out to give a current snapshot of the Basque language in the area where it is spoken and, on this basis, create efficient public policy. These same goals lay behind the latest Sociolinguistic Survey in 2021.

For the stakeholders and people working in the processes of revitalising Basque, it is essential to determine the realities of the language in all its spheres. Since 1991 the Sociolinguistic Survey has been a basic tool providing us with data of this kind about all the Basque-speaking regions. It has allowed us to follow the evolution of Basque over the last thirty years, through the main linguistic variables: knowledge, transmission, use and attitude with regard to Basque. The latest Survey also offers this same information.

As in the case of society, the development of Basque is marked by diversity, so that all regions and spheres of the language reveal both strengths and areas for improvement.

In the Basque Autonomous Community, both knowledge and use of Basque have increased, by 12 and 6.4 points respectively, particularly among young people. Also, more and more people state that they are in favour of promoting Basque (an increase of 12 points). Substantial progress has been made in the transmission of Basque within families, but there are still few citizens living in households where the circumstances are conducive to passing on the Basque language. This is why most of the new Basque speakers are people who have learnt the language outside their home, primarily at school. This is causing a change in the features of Basque speakers. The percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Spanish or some language other than Basque has risen (44%), and more and more Basque speakers live in sociolinguistic areas with a very low or fairly low proportion of speakers of the language.

In Navarre the situation is mixed. Despite the impact of population changes (for example, in 2021 16.4% of the population was of foreign origin), in recent decades the percentage of Basque speakers has risen slowly but steadily, especially among young people. While in 1991 only one in ten young people in Navarre spoke Basque well or quite well, in 2021 the figure was nearly three in ten, and in the Basque-speaking area it was over eight out of ten young people. However, this positive trend does not emerge so clearly in all aspects of the language: the use of Basque has risen modestly and attitudes favourable to promoting the language have not spread in Navarrese society as much as might be desired.

In the last ten years, the Northern Basque Country (in France) has seen the greatest population growth in the Basque-speaking regions (9.6% between 2011 and 2021), posing a major challenge to the language, as this growth comes primarily from non Basque-speakers from outside the region. Despite this, the 2021 survey confirms the result for pro-Basque attitudes in recent years: among the young population, competence in Basque is gradually rising (21.5% of young people aged between 16 and 24 are Basque speakers). Thus, for the first time in the northern Basque Country the number of new Basque speakers is higher than the number of speakers the language has lost. In any case, in the coming decades the number of new speakers needs to rise more quickly. The challenge will also be to reinforce the use of Basque, which continues to decline, though a small increase has been recorded among young people.

Since the public body for the Basque language, the Navarrese government and the Basque government signed the collaboration agreement to promote Basque in Pamplona in 2017, the data have been analysed jointly and annual plans agreed on to pursue common language policies. This Sociolinguistic Survey is also the result of collaboration between the signatories to this agreement, for which reason shared

projects and research will continue, because joining forces will consolidate the Basque-speaking community and its language policies.

BINGEN ZUPIRIA GOROSTIDI

Minister of Culture and Language
Policy of the Basque Government

ANA OLLO HUALDE

Second deputy first minister and minister
for memory and coexistence, foreign
affairs and Basque language in the
Government of Navarre

MAÏDER BEHOTEGUY

President of the Public Office of the
Basque Language



BASQUE COUNTRY

SEVENTH SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

1. POPULATION

The Basque Country had 3,167,490 inhabitants in 2021. A comparison of the Basque Country between 2001 and 2021 shows that in absolute terms this had increased by 243,491 people.

Over these seven years, the population trend has not been the same in all territories.

As for the trend in the different territories, up to 2011 the population increased in all of them except Zuberoa (Soule). In the period from 2011 to 2016, however, the population fell in Bizkaia province as well as Zuberoa. Despite the slight decrease recorded in these territories, the population of the Basque Country as a whole increased in all the periods, thanks to the increases recorded in the other territories. In any case, the growth recorded in the last decade was slower than that in previous periods.

Table 1. Population evolution by province and territory. Basque Country, 2001-2021

	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
Basque Country	2,923,999	3,010,433	3,111,929	3,129,310	3,167,490
BAC	2,101,478	2,133,684	2,184,606	2,189,534	2,193,199
Araba	288,793	301,926	319,227	324,126	330,189
Bizkaia	1,132,616	1,139,863	1,155,772	1,147,576	1,144,123
Gipuzkoa	680,069	691,895	709,607	717,832	718,887
Navarre	556,263	601,874	642,051	640,647	661,537
Northern Basque Country	266,258	274,875	285,272	299,129	312,754
Lapurdi	222,097	230,065	239,635	252,492	266,237
Lower Navarre	28,659	29,403	30,357	31,639	31,867
Zuberoa	15,502	15,407	15,280	14,998	14,650

Source: EAS (Indicator System of Basque).

The determining factors in this trend were, on the one hand, natural increases (the difference between numbers of births and deaths) and, on the other, net migration (the difference between the number of immigrants and emigrants).

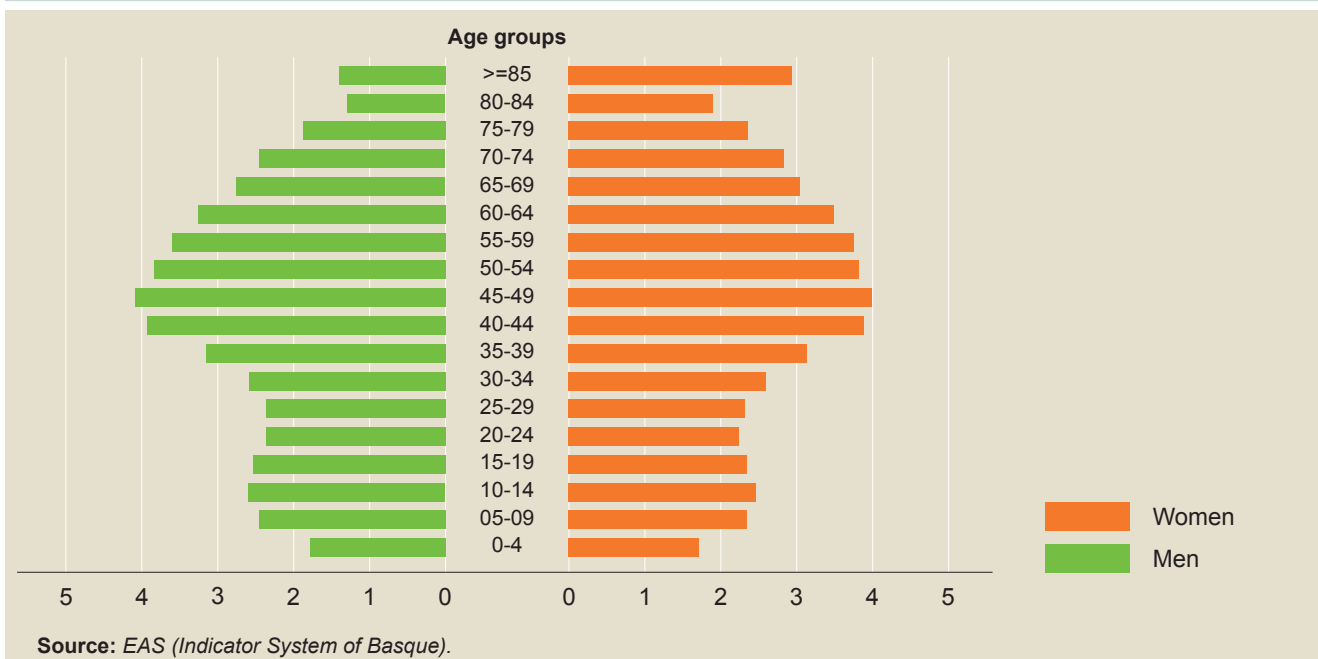
The main features of the population are as follows:

- Society is gradually ageing: life expectancy is steadily increasing while the birth rate remains very low (in the year 2020, 7 births per 1,000 inhabitants in the Basque Country; 9.1 in the European Union 27).
- Immigration is rising, especially people born abroad (in 2021 it stood at 11.1 % of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community and 16.4 % of that of Navarre).

Thus, from 2001 to the present, the percentage of inhabitants aged 65 or older has risen by 5 points, today standing at 23% of the total population in 2020 (up from 18% in 2001).

In parallel, the young population has decreased in proportion. In 2020, people under 20 years old made up 18.3%. Consequently, the population aged 65 or over outnumbers people under 20 (23% versus 18.3%).

Figure 1. Population pyramid. Basque Country, 2020 (%)



2. LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

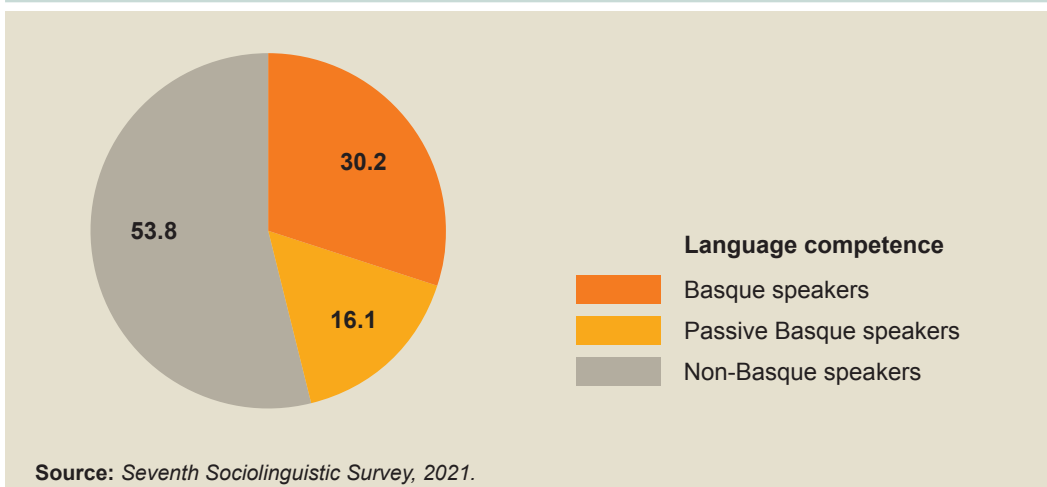
2.1. Language competence among the population of the Basque Country by territories, provinces and capital cities

Three types of speaker are distinguished according to their level of competence in speaking or understanding Basque:

- **Basque speaker (bilingual):** able to speak and understand Basque well or quite well.
- **Passive Basque speaker (passive bilingual):** unable to speak Basque well or quite well. However, they understand Basque to a certain degree. Specifically, this group includes those who meet at least one of the following conditions:
 - They can understand and speak “some” Basque.
 - They can understand Basque “well” or “quite well”.
- **Non-Basque speaker:** unable to speak or understand Basque.

In 2021 30.2% of the population aged 16 or over resident in the Basque Country were Basque speakers, 16.1% were passive Basque speakers and 53.8% were non-Basque speakers.

Figure 2. Language competence. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



There are major differences between the three legal/administrative regions. In the Basque Autonomous Community, over one in three people (36.2%) is a Basque speaker. In Navarre, on the other hand, one in every seven people (14.1%) is a Basque speaker. Finally, in the Northern Basque Country, one in five (20.1%) people is a Basque speaker.

Figure 3. Language competence by territory. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

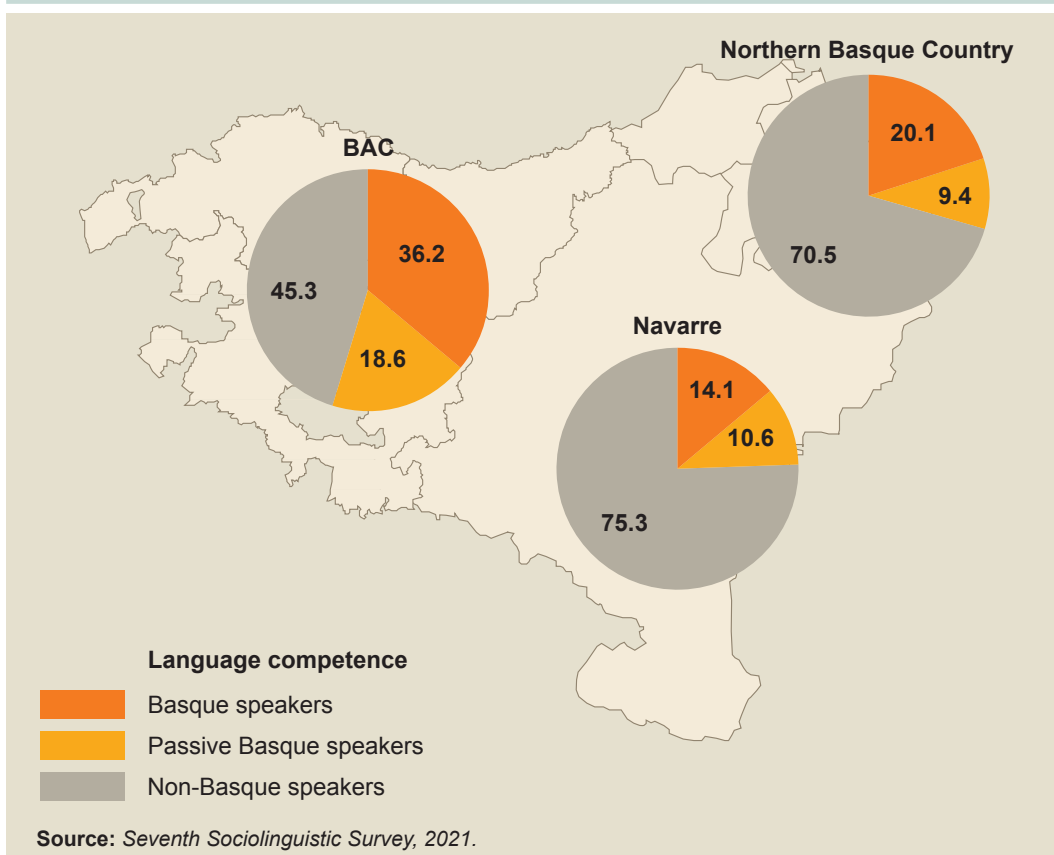


Table 2. Language competence by territory. Basque Country, 2021

	Basque Country	BAC	Navarre	Northern Basque Country
Total	2,683,858	1,882,445	545,476	255,937
Basque speakers	809,341	681,072	76,784	51,484
Passive Basque speakers	431,092	349,253	57,834	24,005
Non-Basque speakers	1,442,868	852,119	410,300	180,448

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Likewise, there are major differences in the percentages of Basque speakers between the different territories of the Basque Autonomous Community and the Northern Basque Country.

Thus, in the Basque Autonomous Community, Gipuzkoa has the highest percentage of Basque speakers (51.8%). Bizkaia, on the other hand, has a lower percentage of Basque speakers (30.6%). Finally, Araba has the lowest percentage of Basque speakers of the three territories in the Basque Autonomous community (22.5%).

Marked differences are also recorded between the different territories of the Northern Basque Country. In fact, while in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa Basque speakers make up 47.5%, in Lapurdi (Labourd, including Bayonne and Biarritz) they account for just 16.1% of the population.

Figure 4. Language competence by province. Basque Country, 2016 (%)

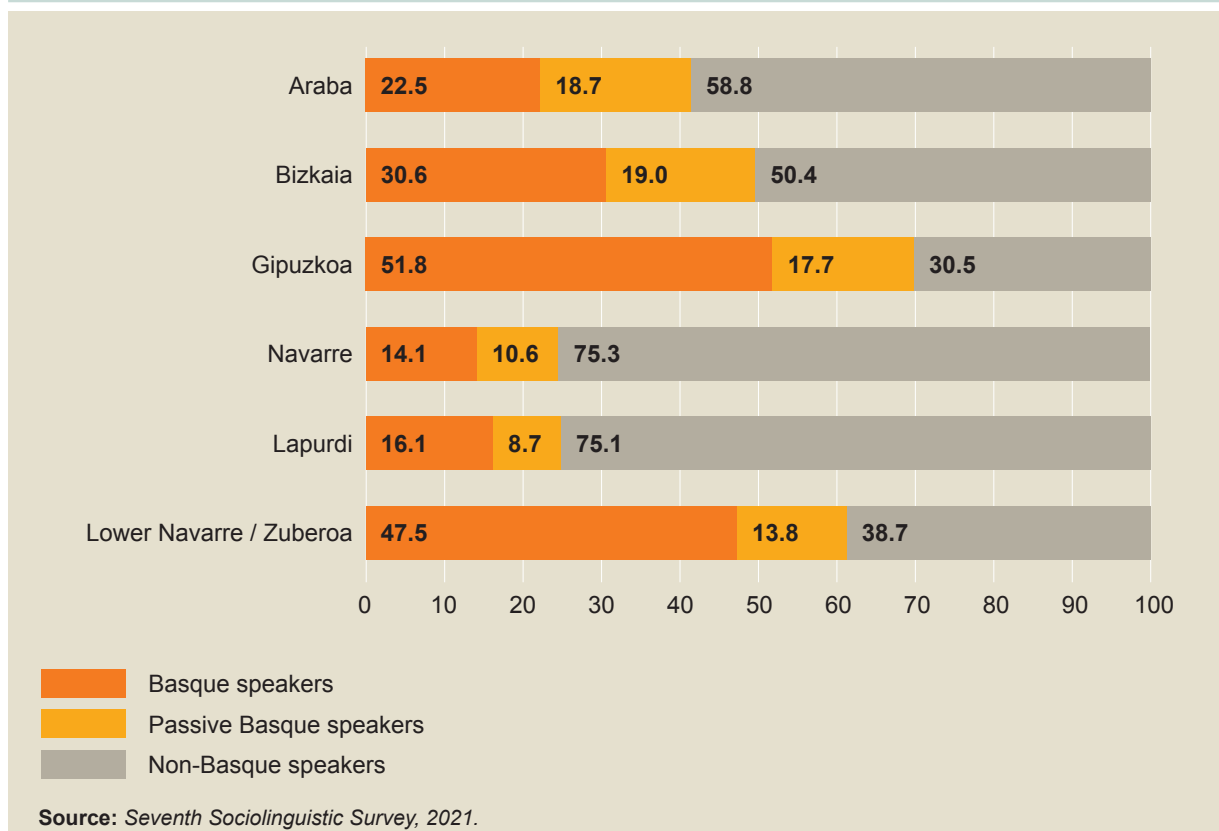
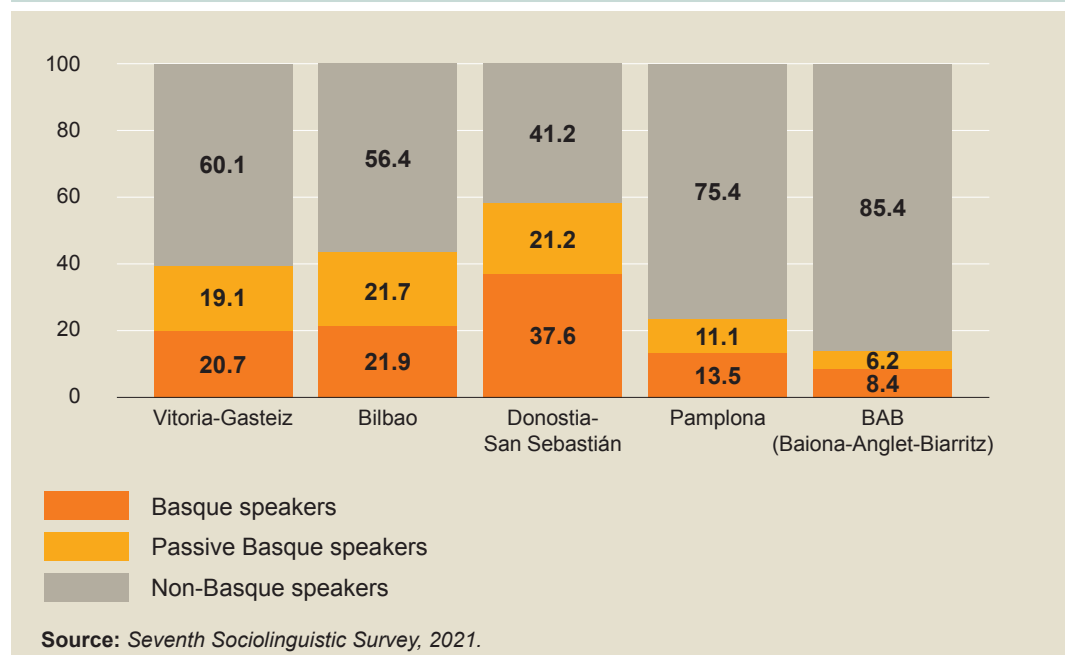


Table 3. Language competence by province. Basque Country, 2021

	Araba	Bizkaia	Gipuzkoa	Navarre	Lapurdi	Lower Navarre / Zuberoa
Total	283,343	994,892	604,210	545,476	223,340	32,597
Basque speakers	63,686	304,211	313,175	76,784	35,995	15,489
Passive Basque speakers	53,048	189,399	106,805	57,834	19,521	4,484
Non-Basque speakers	166,608	501,282	184,229	410,300	167,825	12,623

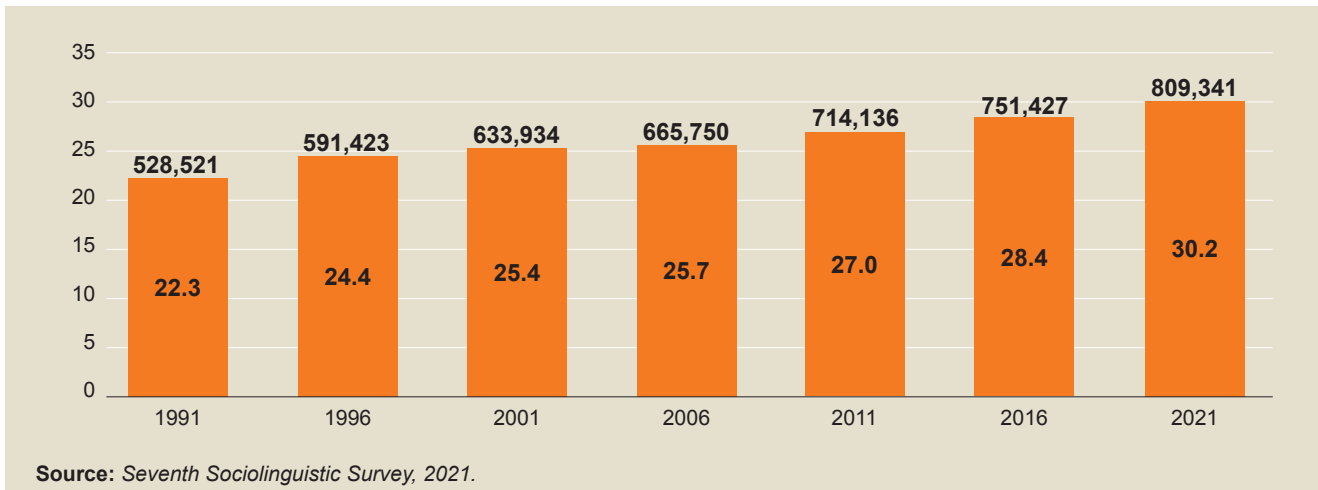
Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

As regards the provincial capital cities, it should be emphasised that they have lower proportions of Basque speakers than their respective territories. Thus, in San Sebastián Basque speakers make up 37.6 %, in Bilbao 21.9 %, in Vitoria 20.7 %, in Pamplona 13.5 % and in BAB (Baiona-Anglet-Biarritz) 8.4 %.

Figure 5. Language competence by capital city. Basque Country, 2021 (%)


With regard to the trend over the last thirty years, in 2021 282,000 more Basque speakers were recorded in the Basque Country than in 1991. The percentage of Basque speakers increased by nearly 8 points (from 22.3 % to 30.2 %).

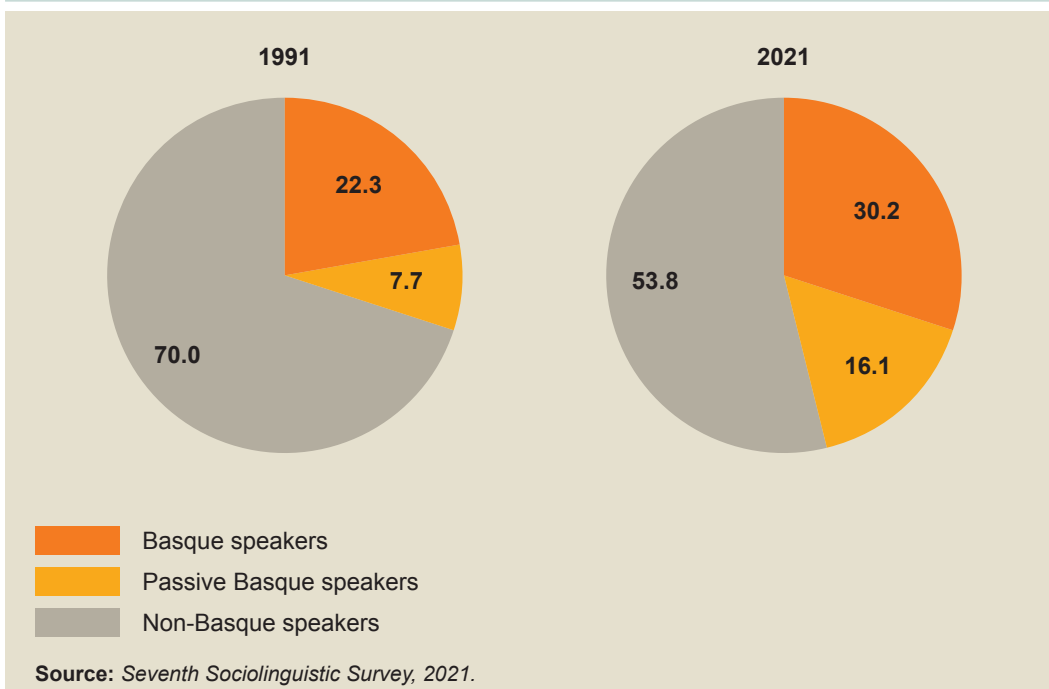
Figure 6. Evolution of Basque speakers. Basque Country, 1991-2021



Moreover, passive Basque speakers have increased by nearly 8 points over the last thirty years (from 7.7 % to 16.1 %).

Non-Basque speakers, on the other hand, are down by 16 points (from 70 % in 1991 to 53.8 % in 2021).

Figure 7. Evolución de la Language competence. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)

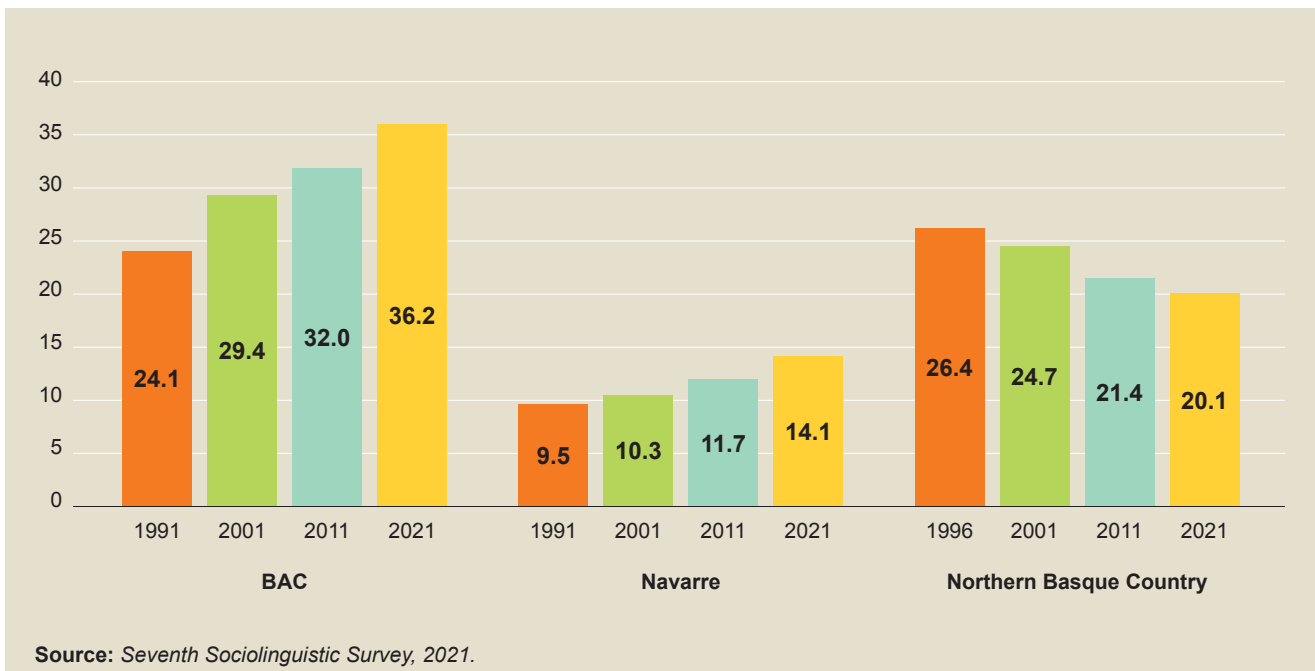


The fall in non-Basque speakers and the increase in Basque speakers are also noteworthy considering the social and demographic changes in our society in recent years. Basque society has gradually aged, and its birth rate is falling; consequently, the younger age groups, precisely those with the largest numbers of Basque speakers, make up a smaller and smaller proportion of society as a whole.

Basque speakers have increased in numbers in the Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre; in the Northern Basque Country, on the other hand, they have declined. Thus, in 1991 Basque speakers made up 24.1 % of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community, while today they make up 36.2 %. Moreover, in Navarre Basque speakers have increased from 9.5 % to 14.1 %. In the Northern Basque Country, in 1996 Basque speakers made up 26.4 % of the population, while in 2021 they stood at 20.1 %.

To determine the trend in the Northern Basque Country, the survey of 1996 was taken as a starting point, rather than that of 1991.

Figure 8. Evolution of Basque speakers by territory. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)



2.2. Language competence by sex and age

In terms of sex, in the Basque Country 30.5% of women and 29.9% of men are Basque speakers. Clearly the percentage of Basque speakers is slightly higher among women than men.

The biggest difference is recorded in the Basque Autonomous Community, where the difference between the percentages of women and men comes to 0.7 points (36.5% of women are Basque speakers versus 35.8% of men).

It should be pointed out that women make up the majority of the people learning Basque in the network of Basque courses for adults in the Basque Autonomous Community. Thus, 65.2% of the people learning Basque in the 2020/21 academic year were women, i.e. two thirds. Consequently, more women become Basque speakers thanks to the system of Basque learning for adults. This fact is nothing new, as it has been the same over the last twenty-five years, i.e. since 1996.

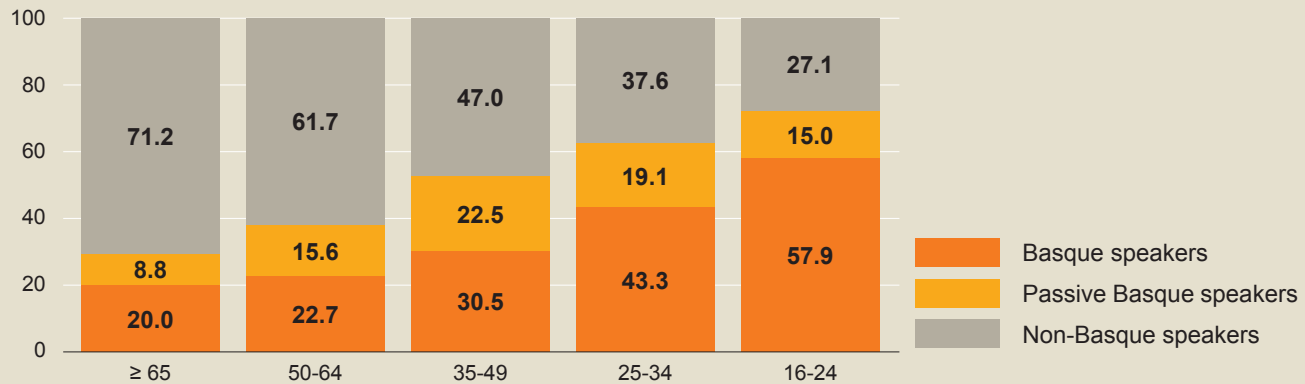
In Navarre and the Northern Basque Country hardly any difference is recorded in sex terms between the percentages of Basque speakers.

Table 4. Basque speakers by sex and territory. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	Basque Country	BAC	Navarre	Northern Basque Country
Total	30.2	36.2	14.1	20.1
Women	30.5	36.5	14.1	20.0
Men	29.9	35.8	14.1	20.3

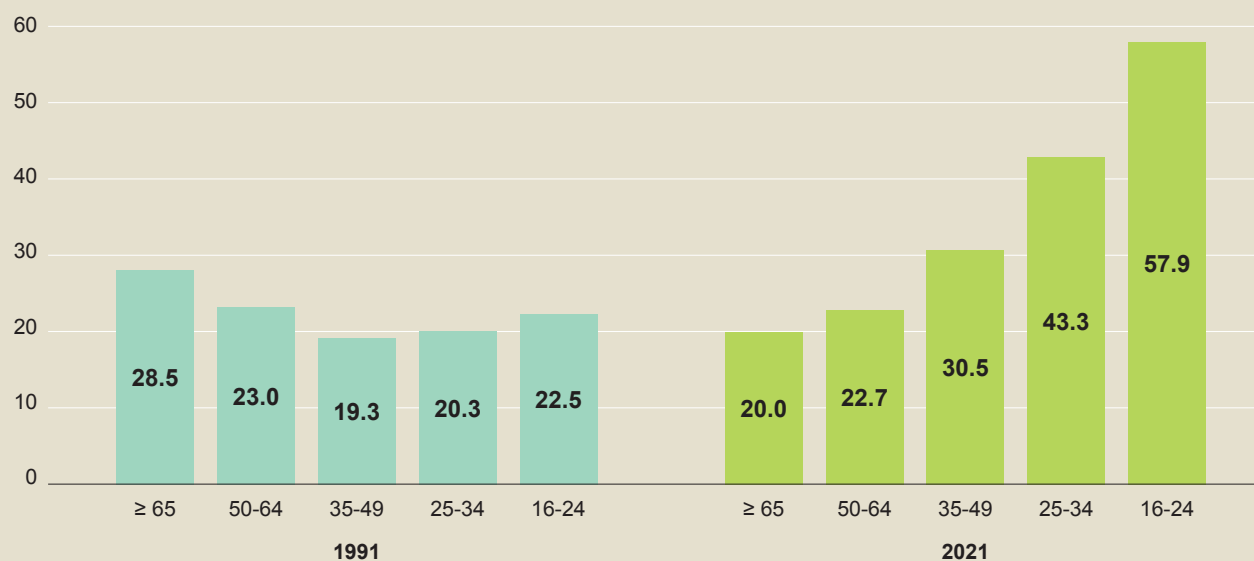
Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In terms of the age of Basque speakers, the highest percentages appear among those under 35 years old. However, all age groups under 50 have seen an increase in the proportion of Basque speakers. Thus, today over half of people between 16 and 24 years old are Basque speakers (57.9%); in 1991, on the other hand, this figure did not even reach a quarter (22.5%).

Figure 9. Basque speakers by age. Basque Country, 2021 (%)


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Consequently, the increase in Basque speakers is among the younger age group. The group with the highest percentage of non-Basque speakers is that of adults, but as the years go by this group is gaining more Basque speakers. That is to say, to the extent that the younger population is increasingly Basque-speaking, the percentage of Basque speakers is also rising in the group of adults.

Figure 10. Evolution of Basque speakers by age. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

This age-linked trend is recorded in the Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre, even though the percentages are radically different in the two regions. That the younger generation is becoming more Basque-speaking is a manifest fact, as is the falling percentage of non-Basque speakers across the board. Among young people aged from 16 to 24, three out of four in the Basque Autonomous Community (74.5%) are Basque speakers, while the percentage is lower (28%) in Navarre, though the trend is the same.

In the Northern Basque Country, however, the highest percentage of Basque speakers is recorded in the population aged 65 and over, and this percentage of Basque speakers falls as age groups get younger, until the 25-34 age group, in which the trend is reversed. In any case, the biggest percentage increase in Basque speakers is recorded among young people aged 16-24 (in 2021 it was 21.5%, while in 1996 it was 11.3%).

Table 5. Basque speakers by age and territory. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	Age groups					
	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
Basque Country	30.2	20.0	22.7	30.5	43.3	57.9
BAC	36.2	22.1	26.6	37.4	54.4	74.5
Navarre	14.1	8.4	9.9	13.4	20.2	28.0
Northern Basque Country	20.1	25.7	19.3	15.1	17.2	21.5

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

2.3. Relative language competence: oral fluency of Basque speakers

The relative competence of Basque speakers, i.e. their fluency in speaking Basque, Spanish and French in the Basque Country, is discussed below.

Basque speakers are classified as follows in terms of their relative language competence:

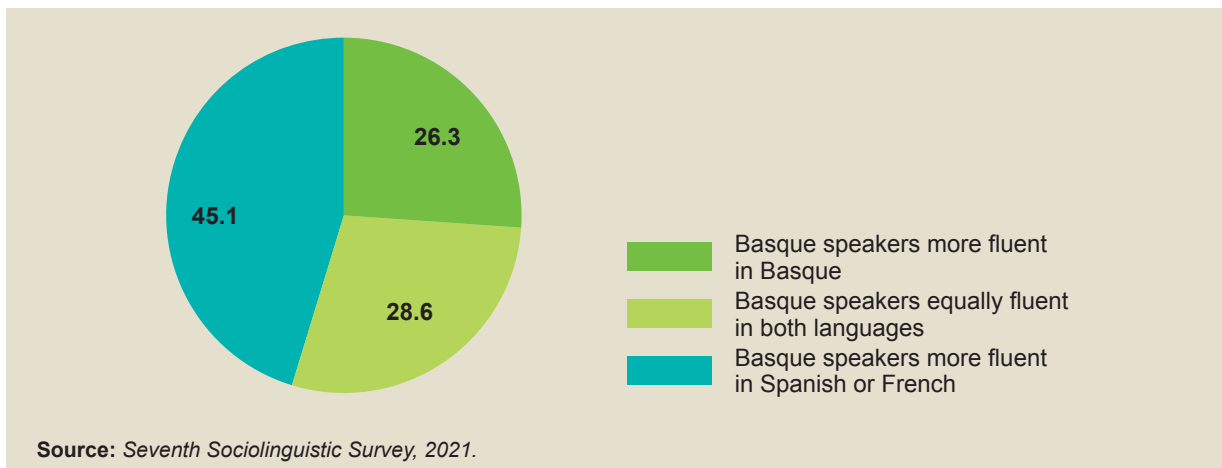
- **Basque speakers more fluent in Basque:** they speak Basque better than Spanish or French.
- **Basque speakers equally fluent in both languages:** they speak both languages equally well. In effect, these Basque speakers speak with the same fluency in Basque as in Spanish or French.
- **Basque speakers more fluent in Spanish or French:** they speak Spanish or French better than Basque.

26.3% of Basque speakers aged 16 or over are more fluent in Basque than in Spanish or French.

28.6% of Basque speakers speak with the same fluency in Basque as in Spanish or French.

Finally, 45.1% of Basque speakers express themselves more fluently in Spanish or French than in Basque. This is the largest group among Basque speakers, and their percentage rises as age gets lower.

Figure 11. Basque speakers by fluency. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

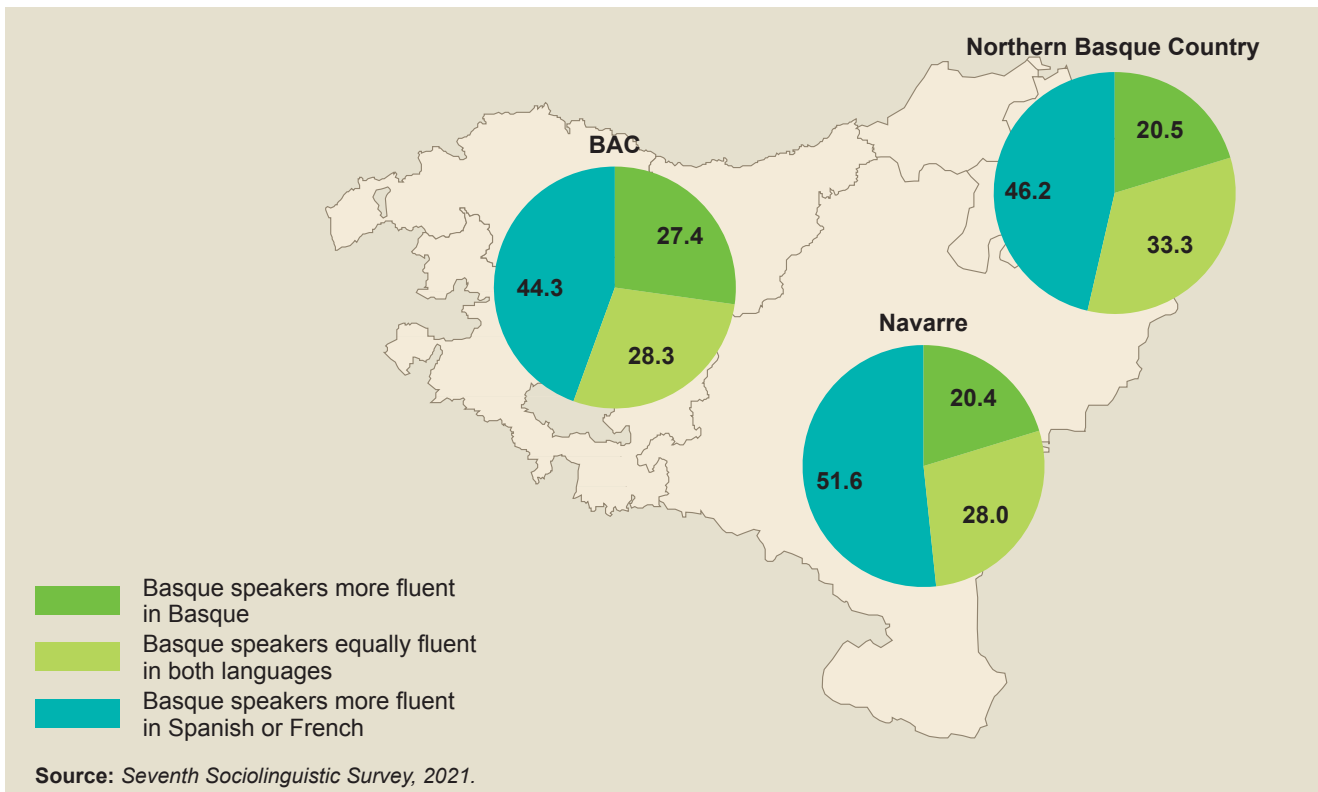


The highest percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Basque is recorded in the Basque Autonomous Community (27.4%), and the lowest in Navarre and the Northern Basque Country: 20.4% and 20.5% respectively.

The highest percentage of Basque speakers equally fluent in Basque as in Spanish or French is recorded in the Northern Basque Country (33.3%), while in the Basque Autonomous Community the figure is 28.3% and in Navarre 28%.

51.6 % of Basque speakers in Navarre express themselves more fluently in Spanish, as do 44.3 % in the Basque Autonomous Community, while in the Northern Basque Country 46.2 % express themselves more fluently in French.

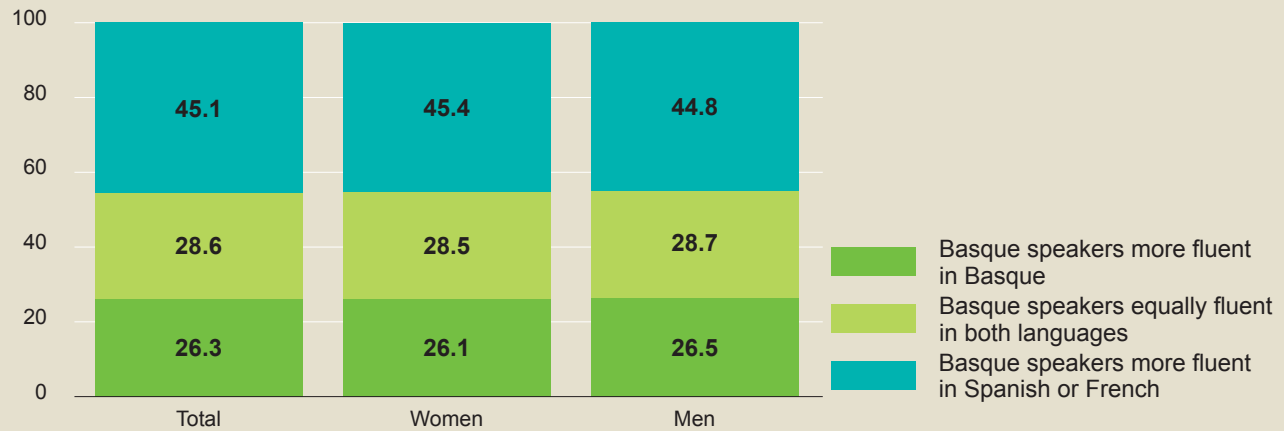
Figure 12. Basque speakers' fluency by territory. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Basque speakers' fluency when expressing themselves in Basque is similar between men and women. The percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Basque is slightly higher among men than women (26.5 % compared to 26.1 %).

The differences between the percentages of bilinguals with equal ease in Basque as in Spanish or French and bilinguals with greater ease in Spanish or French are smaller, 0.2 and 0.6 points respectively. 28.5 % of women and 28.7 % of men are as fluent in Basque as in Spanish or French.

Finally, 45.4 % of women express themselves more fluently in Spanish or French than in Basque, while the figure is 44.8 % among men.

Figure 13. Basque speakers' fluency by sex. Basque Country, 2021 (%)


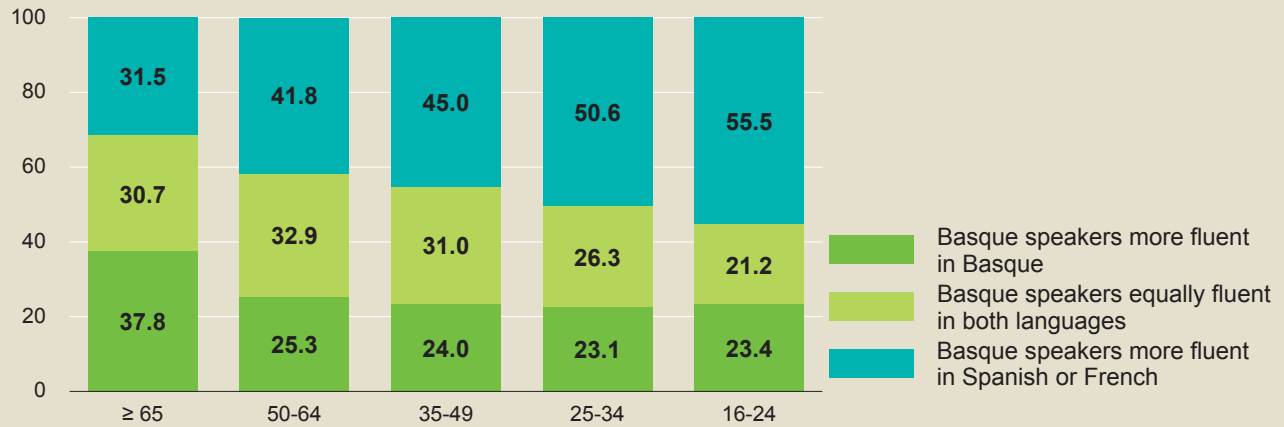
Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In terms of age, the highest percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Basque is found among people over 65 years old (37.8%), and the lowest among the age groups 25-34 years old (23.1%) and 16-24 years old (23.4%).

The highest percentage of Basque speakers equally fluent in Basque and Spanish or French is in the age group between 50 and 64 years old (32.9%).

Finally, the percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in French or Spanish than in Basque grows as age falls. Thus, over half of Basque speakers within the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups express themselves equally fluently in Spanish or French (55.5% and 50.6% respectively).

Figure 14. Basque speakers' fluency by age. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



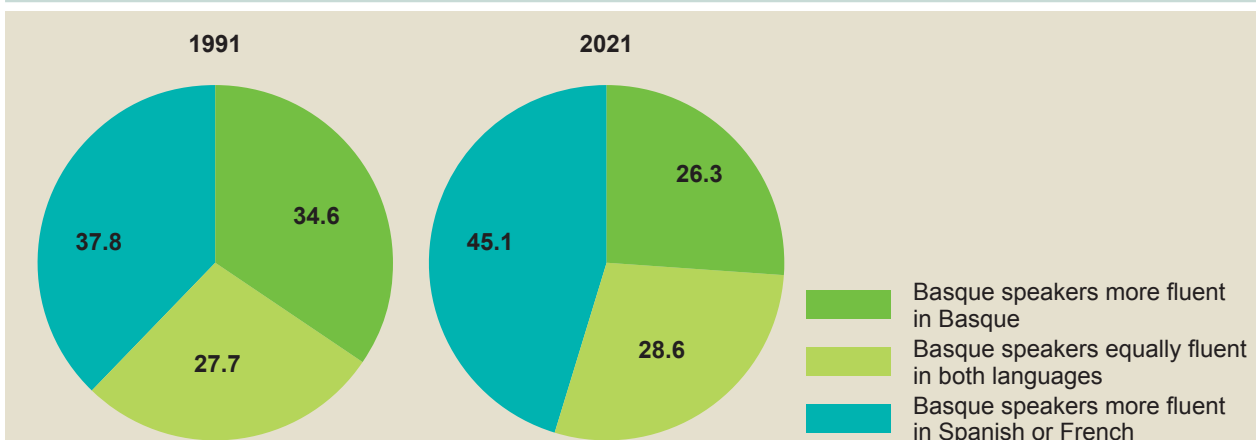
Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

Basque speakers' oral fluency in Basque has changed from 1991 to the present.

Thirty years ago, the percentages of Basque speakers more fluent in Basque and those more fluent in Spanish or French were similar (34.6% compared to 37.8%).

Today, on the other hand, the percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Spanish or French is 18.8 points higher than that of Basque speakers more fluent in Basque (26.3% compared to 45.1%).

Figure 15. Evolution of Basque speakers' fluency. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)



Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

In terms of trends related to age, it was found that in 1991 the percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Basque fell in lower age groups. In 2021 the percentage fell in lower age groups, but more less. In fact, in 2021 the percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Basque in the age groups 16-24 and 25-34 (23.4% and 23.1%) was higher than in 1991 (19.4% and 18.5%).

The highest percentage of Basque speakers equally fluent in Basque and Spanish or French was recorded in the age group 25-34 (32.2%). In 2021, on the other hand, it was in the 50-64 age group (32.9%).

Finally, in 1991 the highest percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Spanish or French was found in the age groups 16-24 and 24-34 (52.8% and 49.3%). This trend had not changed in 2021, as the highest percentages were still in the age groups 16-24 and 25-34 (55.5% and 50.6%).

Table 6. Evolution of Basque speakers' fluency by age. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)

	Age groups					
	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
1991						
Basque speakers	528,521	98,274	126,679	109,512	93,027	101,028
Bilinguals more fluent in Basque	34.6	57.3	44.2	30.6	18.5	19.4
Bilinguals equally fluent in both languages	27.7	24.5	27.2	27.0	32.2	27.8
Bilinguals more fluent in Spanish	37.8	18.2	28.5	42.4	49.3	52.8
2021						
Basque speakers	809,341	137,156	155,839	218,314	140,648	157,383
Bilinguals more fluent in Basque	26.3	37.8	25.3	24.0	23.1	23.4
Bilinguals equally fluent in both languages	28.6	30.7	32.9	31.0	26.3	21.2
Bilinguals more fluent in Spanish	45.1	31.5	41.8	45.0	50.6	55.5

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

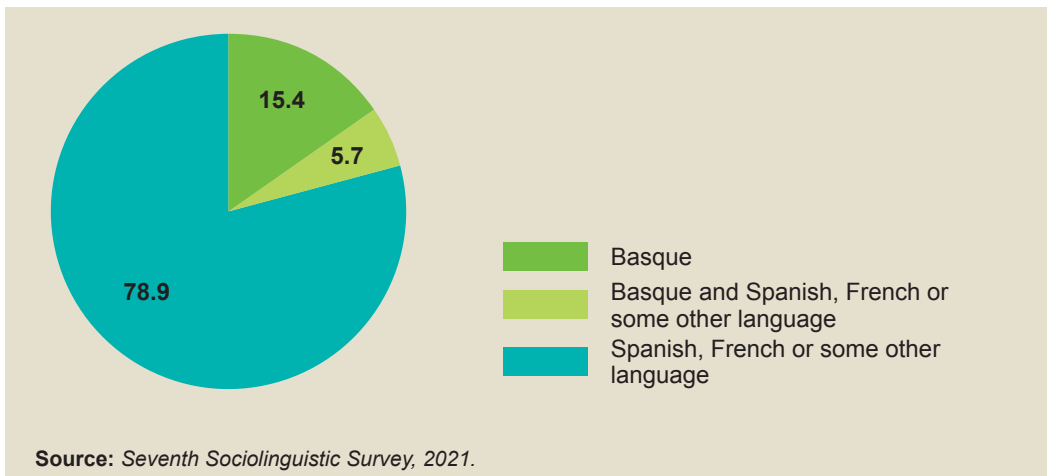
3. TRANSMISSION OF THE LANGUAGE

3.1. Mother tongue in the Basque Country by territories, provinces and capital cities

The mother tongue is taken to mean the language or languages children up to the age of three learn from their parents or the family members with whom they share the household.

15.4% of the population of the Basque Country aged 16 or over learned only Basque at home, while 5.7% learned Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language. In parallel, nearly eight out of ten (78.9%) learned only Spanish, French or some other language. While the languages referred to here are essentially Spanish and French, it should be borne in mind that increasing numbers of people have Romanian, Portuguese, Arabic, Russian or some other mother tongue.

Figure 16. Mother tongue. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Regarding the trend in mother tongue, the percentage of the population with Basque as their mother tongue is lower than 30 years ago: in 1991 it was 19.5%, while in 2021 it was 15.4% (a fall of 4.1 points).

The percentage of the population whose mother tongue is Basque together with Spanish, French or another language, on the other hand, is higher. In 1991 it was 3%, and in 2021 it was 5.7% (up by 2.7 points).

The percentage of the population whose mother tongue is Spanish, French or some other language was higher in 2021, as in 1991 it was 77.5%, while in 2021 it was 78.9% (up 1.4 points).

Table 7. Evolution of mother tongue. Basque Country, 1991-2021

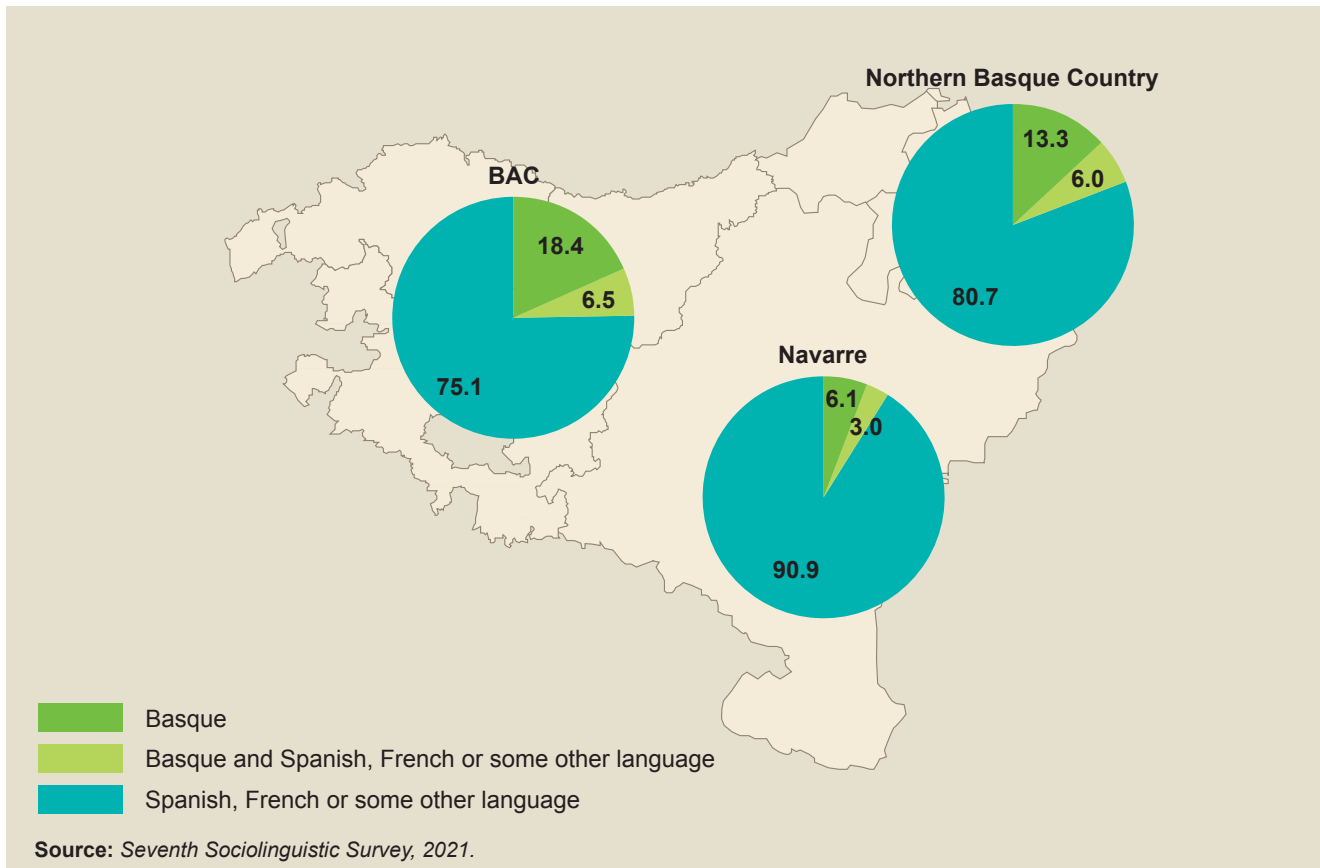
	1991	2021	1991 (%)	2021 (%)
Total	2,371,079	2,683,858	100.0	100.0
Basque	462,118	413,575	19.5	15.4
Basque and Spanish, French or some other language	70,520	153,543	3.0	5.7
Spanish, French or some other language	1,838,442	2,116,739	77.5	78.9

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

The population whose mother tongue is Spanish, French or some other language is the majority in all the legal/administrative regions of the Basque Country, but there are significant differences between them.

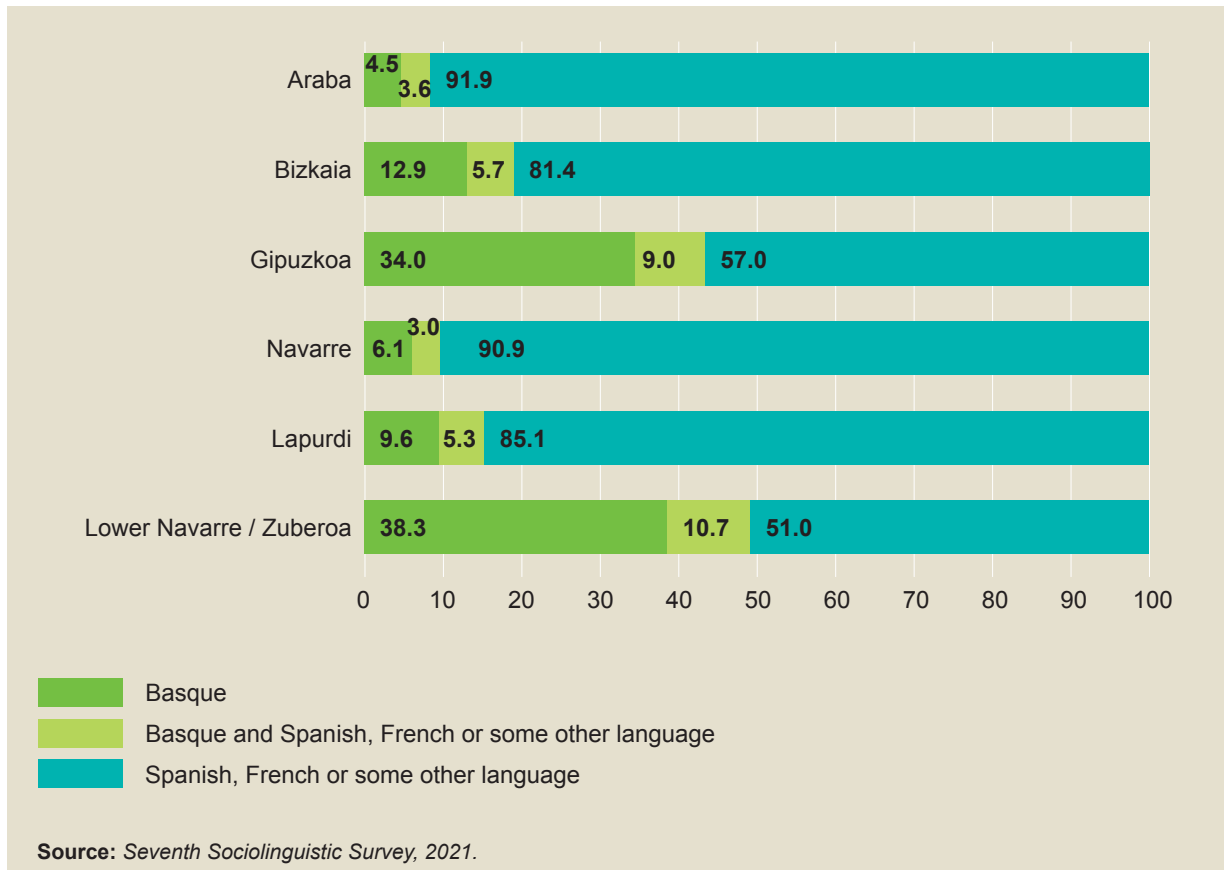
While the population whose mother tongue is Spanish, French or some other language is the majority in all three regions, the lowest percentages of people whose mother tongue is Spanish, French or some other language are to be found in the Basque Autonomous Community and the Northern Basque Country (75.1% and 80.7%). In Navarre, Spanish, French or some other is the mother tongue of 90.9% of the population.

Figure 17. Mother tongue by territory. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



With regard to the province, they show marked differences in the percentages of the population whose mother tongue is Basque.

In fact, the highest percentage of the population who learned only Basque as their mother tongue is recorded in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa (38.3%). In Gipuzkoa, Basque is the mother tongue for a third of the population (34%). In Bizkaia and Lapurdi a lower percentage of the population with Basque as their mother tongue is recorded (12.9% and 9.6% respectively). Finally, Navarre (6.1%) and Araba (4.5%) have the lowest percentages of population who learned only Basque as their mother tongue.

Figure 18. Mother tongue by province. Basque Country, 2021 (%)


The data for provinces and capital cities reveals a lower percentage of population with Basque as their mother tongue in provincial capital cities than in their respective territories. San Sebastián has the highest percentage (17.4%), followed by BAB and Bilbao (5.1% and 5.0%, respectively). Finally, in Vitoria-Gasteiz the percentage of population with Basque as their mother tongue is 4.1% and in Pamplona 3.1%.

The population with Basque together with Spanish, French or another as their mother tongue is 8.9% in San Sebastián, 4.5% in Bilbao, 3.3% in BAB, 3.4% in Vitoria-Gasteiz and 2.8% in Pamplona.

The population whose mother tongue is Spanish, French or some language other than Basque is over 90% in all provincial capital cities except San Sebastián (73.7%).

Table 8. Mother tongue by capital city. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

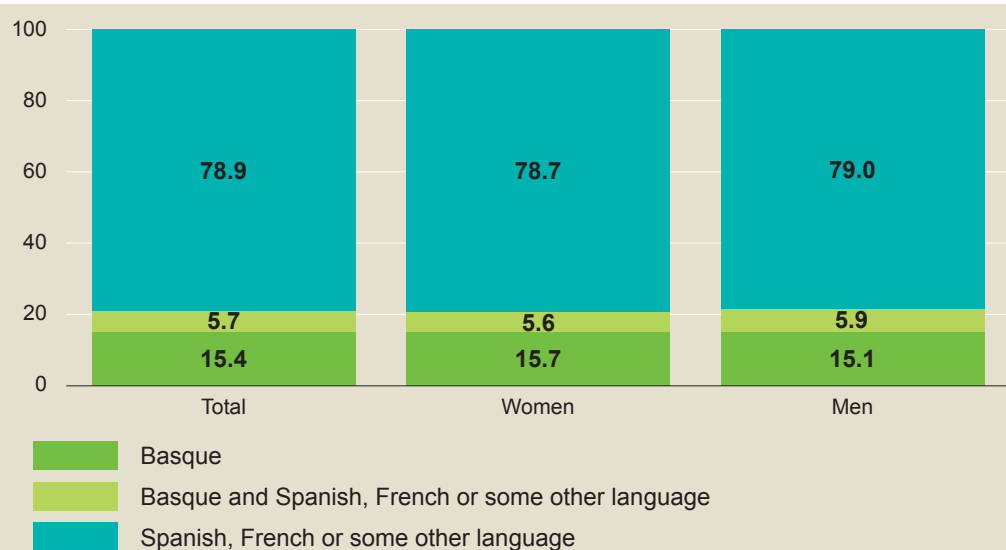
	Vitoria-Gasteiz	Bilbao	Donostia-San Sebastián	Pamplona	BAB
Total	214,865	304,619	163,066	172,176	104,384
Basque	4.1	5.0	17.4	3.1	5.1
Basque and Spanish, French or some other language	3.4	4.5	8.9	2.8	3.3
Spanish, French or some other language	92.5	90.5	73.7	94.1	91.7

Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

3.2. Mother tongue by sex and age

No differences were observed between women and men in the percentages of those with Basque alone as their mother tongue, Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language or only Spanish, French or some other language.

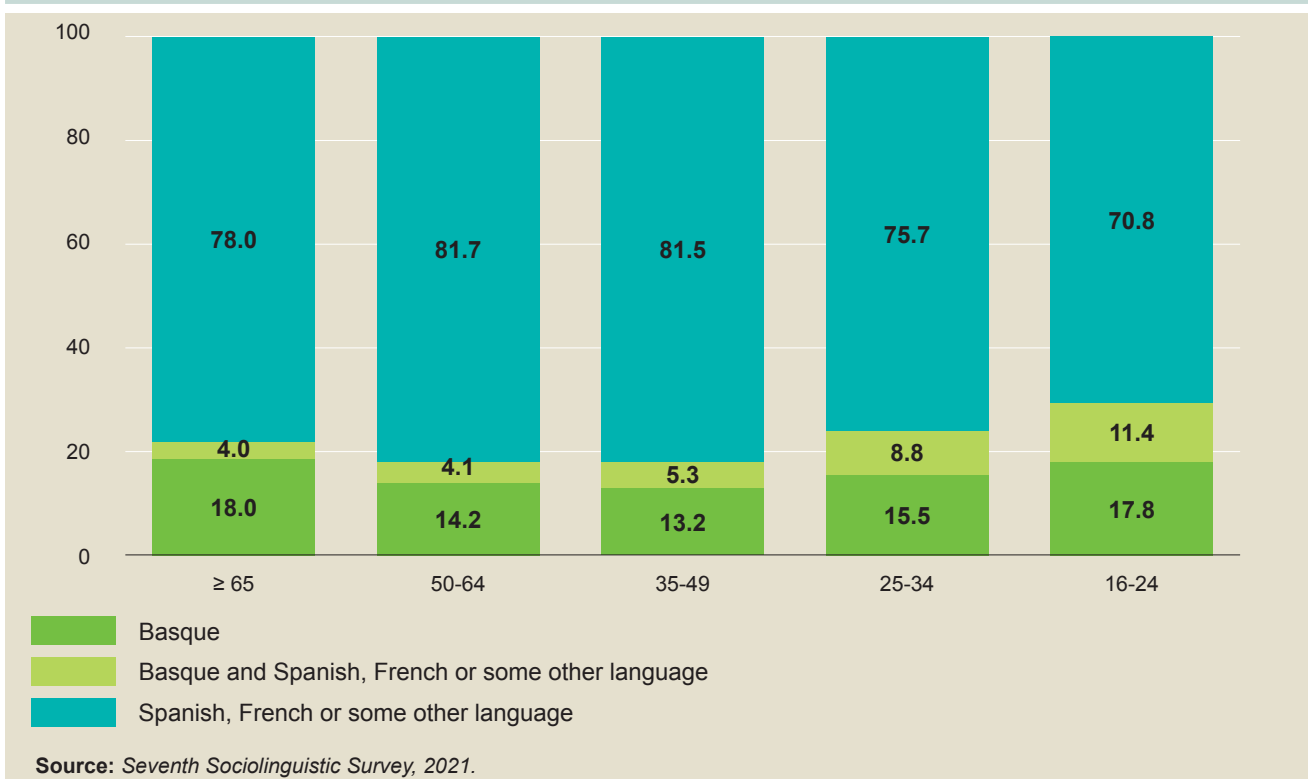
Figure 19. Mother tongue by sex. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

With regard to age, the highest percentage of people who learned only Basque is among those aged 65 or more and young people from 16 to 24 years old (18.0% and 17.8% respectively). The lowest percentage is observed in the 35-49 age group (13.2%).

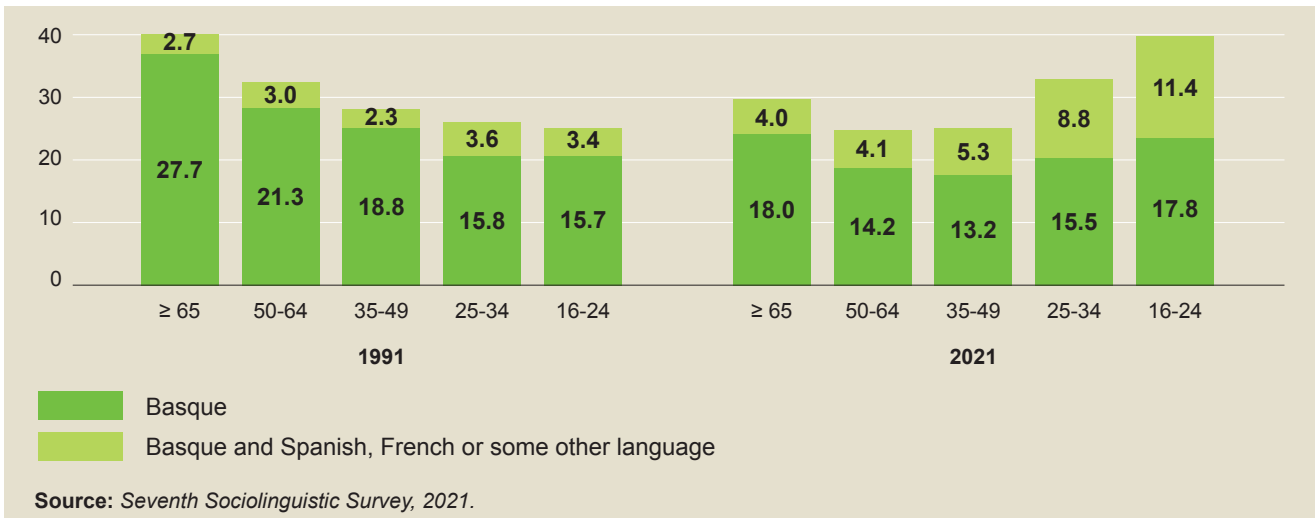
Figure 20. Mother tongue by age. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



30 years ago, the highest percentage of people who learned only Basque as their mother tongue was among those over 65 years old (27.7%), and fell at earlier ages. The lowest percentage was among the youngest. Today, the highest percentages are still found in these two age groups, but the values have converged (18.0% and 17.8% respectively).

In 1991 the percentage of population who had learned Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language was lower than today across all age groups. However, the biggest difference is recorded in the young population. In fact, 30 years ago, 3.4% of young people between 16 and 24 years old had learned Basque together with Spanish, French or some other as their mother tongue; today, on the other hand, 11.4% of young people this age learned both as their mother tongue, a difference of 8 points.

Figure 21. Evolution of mother tongue by age. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)



3.3. Basque speakers by their mother tongue

The language learned at home by Basque speakers aged 16 or over in the Basque Country is analysed below.

These are the Basque speakers by their mother tongue:

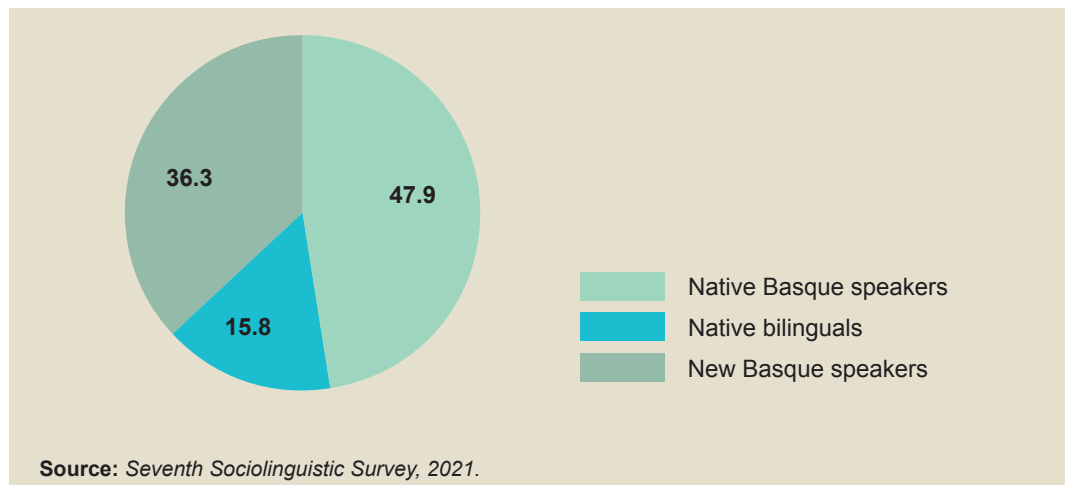
- **Native Basque speakers:** they learned Basque only in the first three years of their life, passed on by their parents or people with whom they lived at home.
- **Native bilinguals:** they learned Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language in the first three years of their life, passed on by their parents or people with whom they lived at home.
- **New Basque speakers:** they did not learn Basque in the first three years of their life, as it was not passed on to them by their parents or people with whom they lived at home. They learned Basque outside the home, either at school or at an *euskaltegi* (Basque language centre).

47.9% of Basque speakers learned only Basque at home, i.e. they are native Basque speakers.

15.8% of Basque speakers learned Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language, and are bilingual by origin.

Finally, over a third of Basque speakers are new Basque speakers (36.3%). They learned Basque outside the home, either at school or at an *euskaltegi* (Basque language centre).

Figure 22. Basque speakers by mother tongue. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

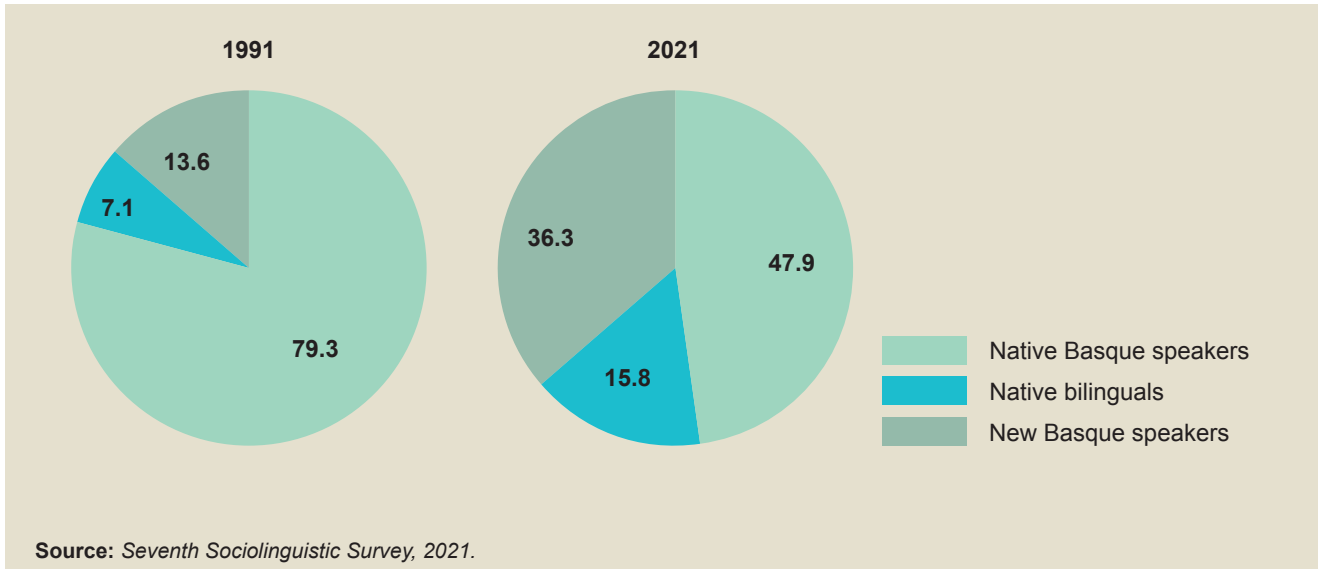


The group of Basque speakers has grown significantly in the last 30 years.

In 1991 most were native Basque speakers (79.3%), i.e. they had learned Basque at home; in 2021, on the other hand, while Native Basque speakers remain the largest category, they make up less than half of all speakers.

The percentage of new Basque speakers is growing, currently standing at 36.3% while it was 13.6% in 1991. The percentage of native bilinguals has also increased (from 7.1% to 15.8%).

Figure 23. Evolution of Basque speakers by mother tongue. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)

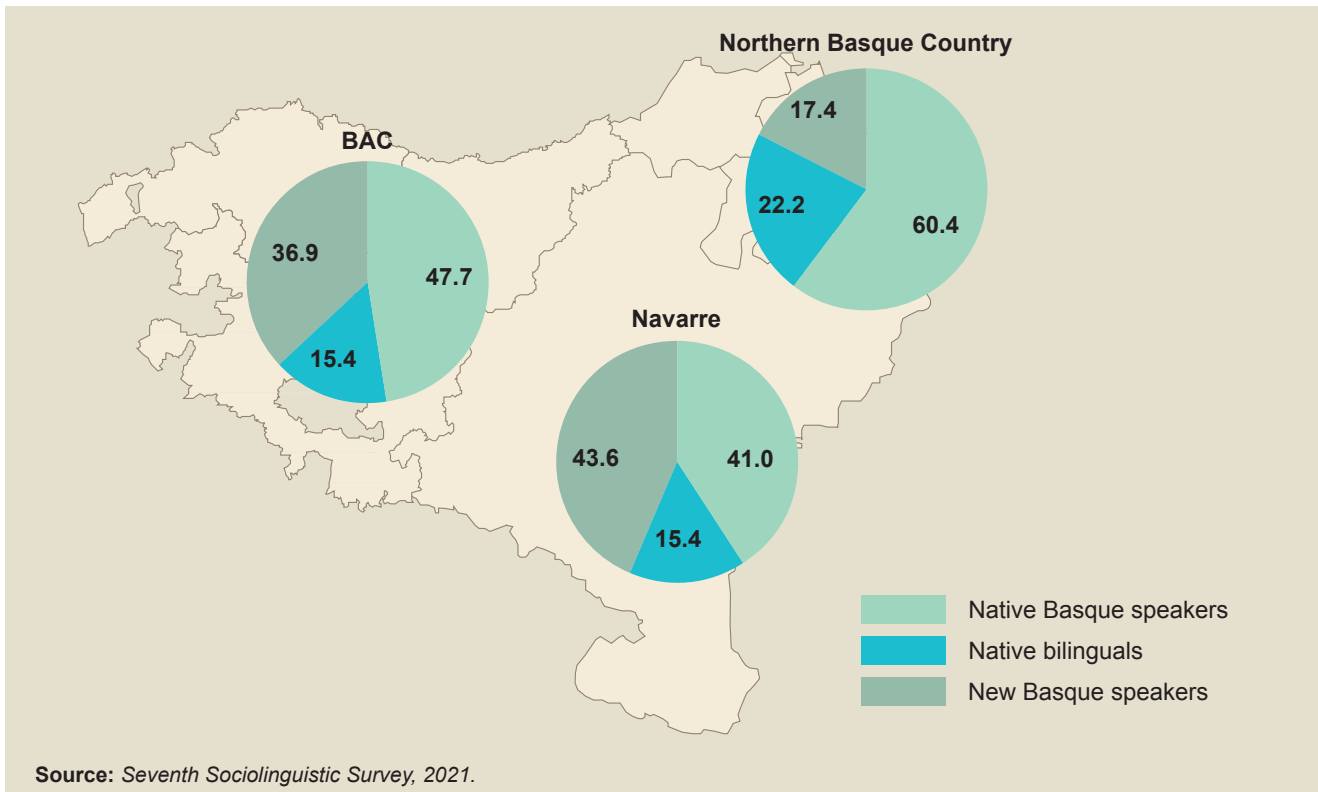


Both in the Basque Autonomous Community (47.7%) and in the Northern Basque Country (60.4%), native Basque speakers are the largest group, though in the former there is a considerable proportion of new Basque speakers (36.9%).

In the Northern Basque Country, the differences between native Basque speakers and new Basque speakers are larger (17.4% of new Basque speakers).

In Navarre there are more new Basque speakers than native Basque speakers (43.6% compared to 41%).

The differences between the different provinces or territories are also considerable. In fact, new Basque speakers are the majority in Araba (68.1%). Native Basque speakers in Araba make up 17.8% and native bilinguals 14.1%.

Figure 24. Basque speakers by mother tongue and territory. Basque Country, 2021 (%)


In Bizkaia, new Basque speakers are also the majority (44.6%), with 38.9% of native Basque speakers and 16.5% of native bilinguals.

New Basque speakers also predominate in Navarre (43.6%), but there is also a high proportion of native Basque speakers (41%). The other Basque speakers are bilingual by origin (15.4%).

In the other territories, the majority of Basque speakers are by origin.

In Lapurdi, native Basque speakers make up 54%, new Basque speakers 21.3% and native bilinguals 24.7%.

In Gipuzkoa, 62.5% of people who know Basque are native Basque speakers, 23% are new speakers and 14.5% native bilinguals.

Finally, in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa, three out of every four Basque speakers are so by origin (75.1%), 8.5% are new Basque speakers and 16.5% are native bilinguals.

Table 9. Basque speakers by mother tongue and province. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	Araba	Bizkaia	Gipuzkoa	Navarre	Lapurdi	Lower Navarre / Zuberoa
Basque speakers	63,686	304,211	313,175	76,784	35,995	15,489
Native Basque speakers	17.8	38.9	62.5	41.0	54.0	75.1
Native bilinguals	14.1	16.5	14.5	15.4	24.7	16.5
New Basque speakers	68.1	44.6	23.0	43.6	21.3	8.5

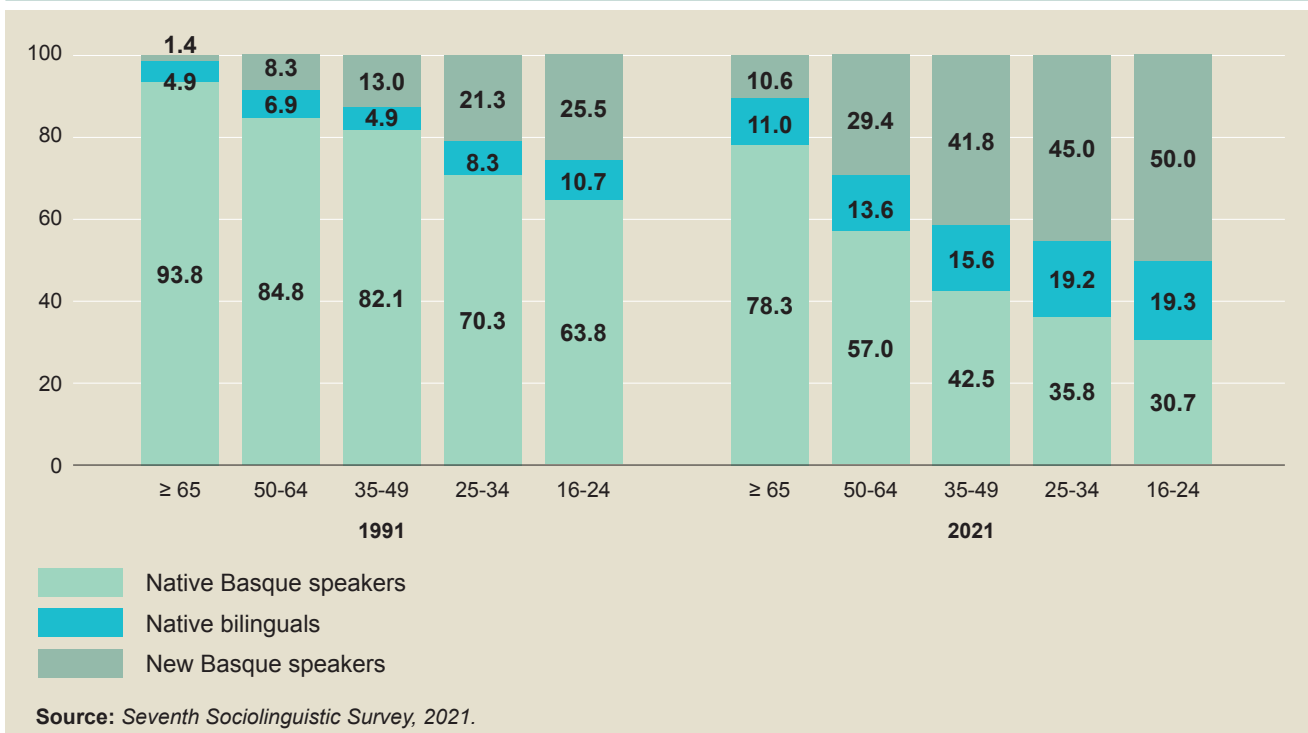
Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In terms of age, the percentage of native Basque speakers falls at earlier ages, as the proportion of new Basque speakers and native bilinguals rises.

There has been a considerable increase in new Basque speakers across all age groups. In 2021, half of Basque speakers aged 16-24 were new speakers (50%), while in 1991 the figure was 25.5%.

Among people aged 25-34 and 35-49 who know Basque, over 40% are new Basque speakers, while in 1991 they made up 21.3% and 13.0% respectively.

Compared with current data, in 1991 native Basque speakers were the majority across all age groups, and there were very few native bilinguals, 10% or less, across all age groups.

Figure 25. Evolution of Basque speakers by mother tongue and age. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)


3.4. Transmission of the language in families

In order to determine the features of transmission of the language in families, all the people surveyed were asked which language they had acquired at home, according to their parents' language competence.

The age range of the people surveyed, from 16 to 100, needs to be taken into account. As a result, we can see how Basque has been passed on by parents from nearly a hundred years ago to the present day.

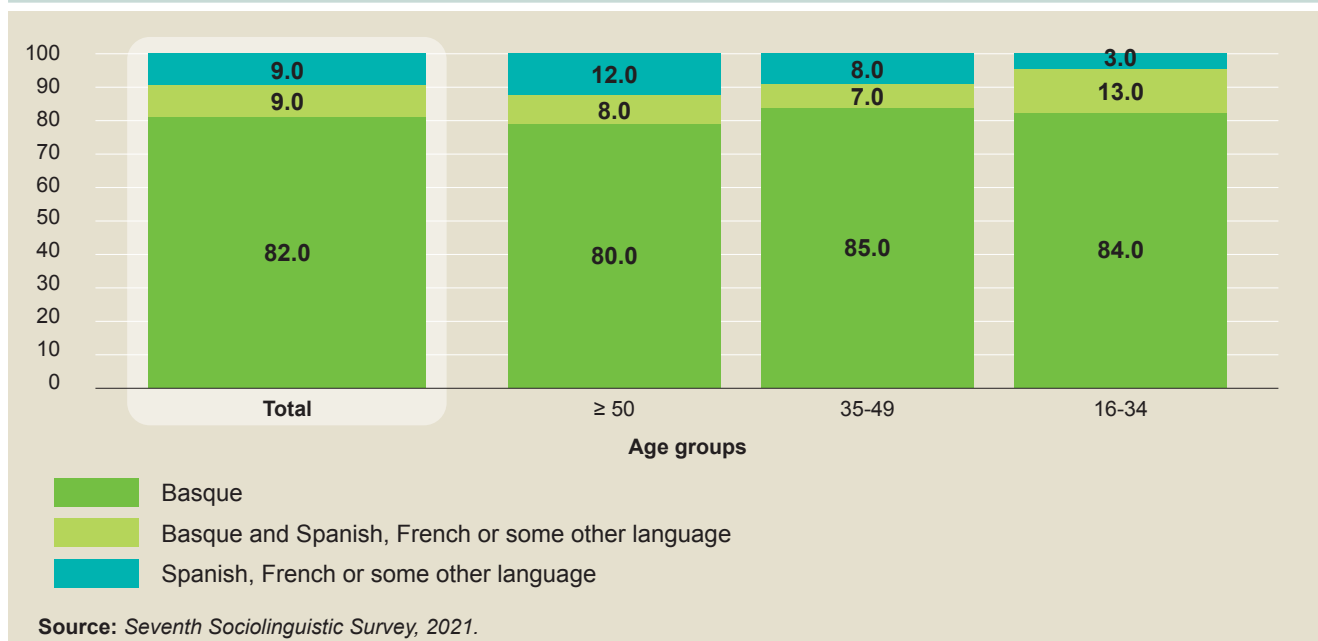
In the Basque Country, when both parents are Basque speakers, 82% of their children learned only Basque at home; 9% Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language, and 9% did not learn Basque.

It should be emphasised that where both parents are Basque speakers, the transmission of Basque rises at earlier ages. Thus, the highest rate of transmission

of Basque is among respondents aged 16-34. In fact, 84 % acquired only Basque at home, and 13 % Basque together with another language. It is worth pointing out the increase in young people who acquired Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, there are less and less of their children who did not acquire the language.

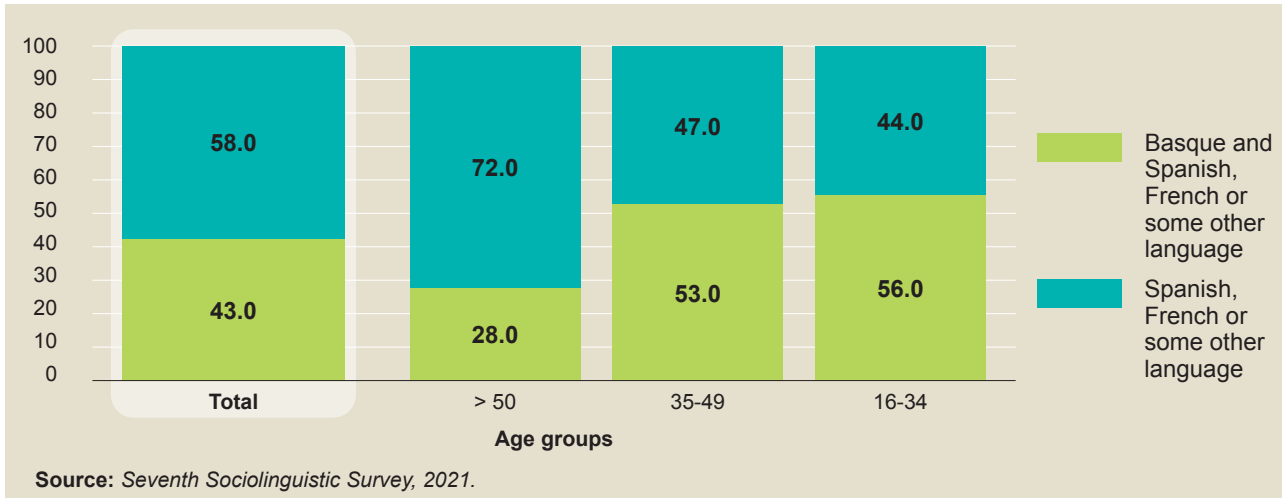
Figure 26. Basque transmission when the both parents are Basque speakers by age. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker, 43 % of their children acquired Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language, and 58 % only Spanish, French or some other language.

Where one of the parents does not know Basque, there are marked differences by age in the transmission of Basque. The earlier the age, the higher the transmission of Basque.

Where one of the parents does not know Basque, 28 % of people aged 50 or over acquired Basque at home (alongside Spanish, French or some other language), 53 % of people between 35 and 49 years old and 56 % of those between 16 and 34 years old.

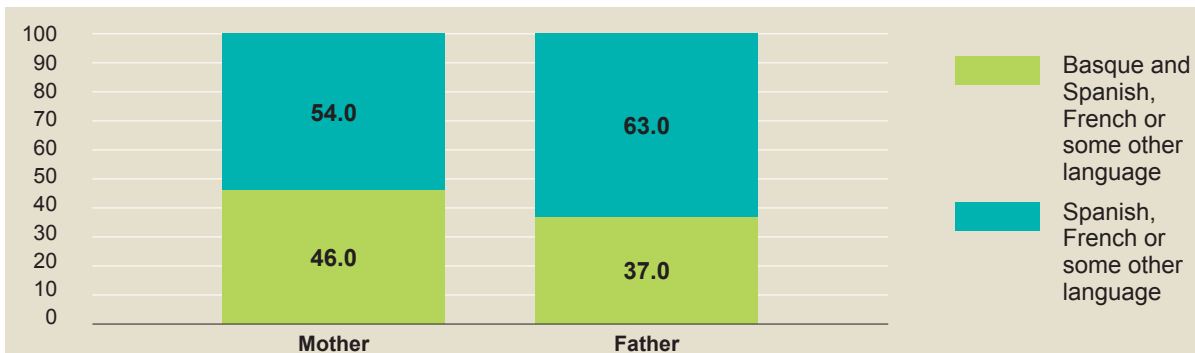
Figure 27. Basque transmission when only one parent speaks Basque by age. Basque Country, 2021 (%)


Where one of the parents does not know Basque, the transmission of Basque varies considerably according to whether it is the mother or the father who speaks it.

Where the Basque-speaking parent is the mother, 46 % of their children acquired Basque (together with Spanish, French or some other language) at home, and 54 % only Spanish, French or some other language.

Where the Basque-speaking parent is the father, 37 % of their children acquired Basque (together with Spanish, French or some other language) at home, and 63 % only Spanish, French or some other language.

In both cases, the lower the age the higher the rate of transmission.

Figure 28. Basque transmission when only one parent speaks Basque. Basque Country, 2021 (%)


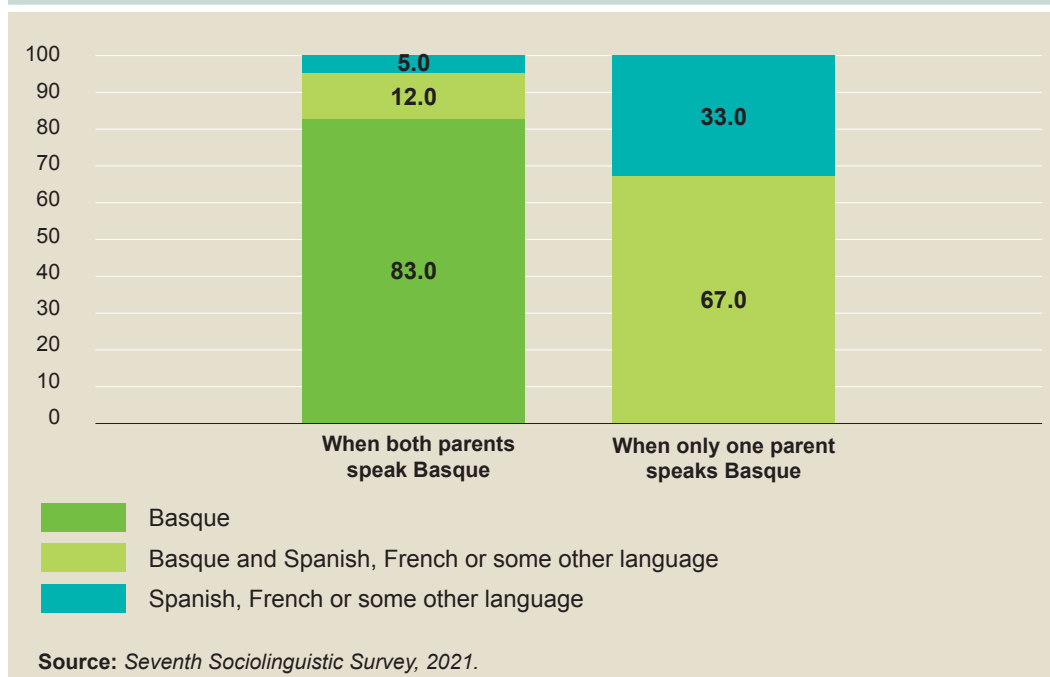
Transmission of the language in families with children between 3 and 15 years old

Respondents with children between 3 and 15 years old were asked which language they had passed on to them.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, 83% of their children acquire only Basque at home, 12% Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language and 5% only Spanish, French or some other language.

Where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker, 67% of their children acquired Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language at home, and 33% only Spanish, French or some other language.

Figure 29. Basque transmission in families with children aged 3-15 by parents' language competence. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



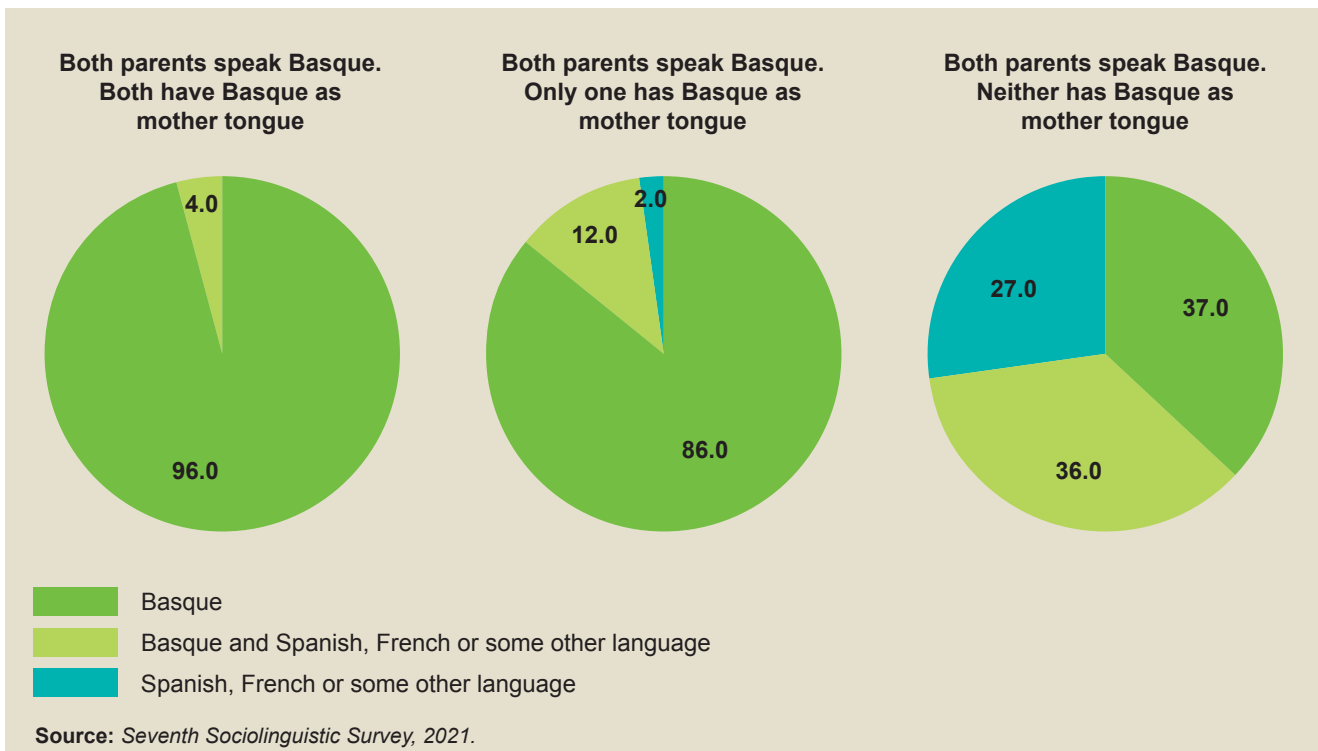
As well as the parents' language competence, their mother tongue also has a strong influence. Crossing these two variables, there follows an analysis according to the parents' knowledge of Basque and what their mother tongue is.

Where both parents are Basque speakers and the mother tongue of both is Basque, 96% of their children acquire only Basque at home, and 4% Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language.

Where both parents are Basque speakers and the mother tongue of one of them is Basque, 86 % of their children acquire only Basque at home, 12 % Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language and 2 % only Spanish, French or some other language.

Where both parents are Basque speakers but this is not the mother tongue of either of them, 37 % of their children acquire only Basque at home, 36 % Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language and 27 % only Spanish, French or some other language.

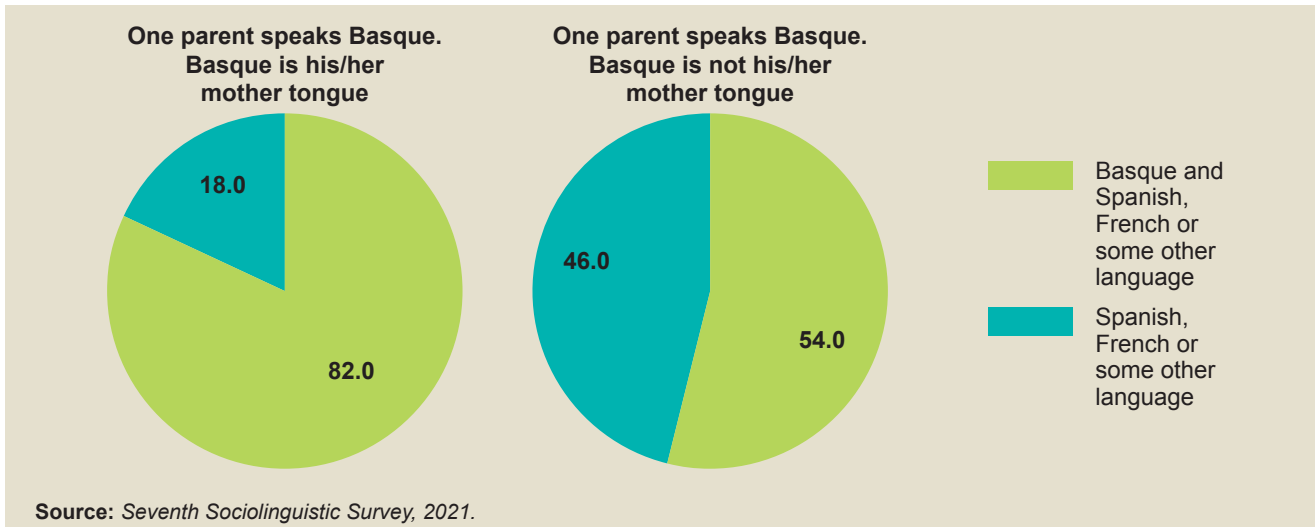
Figure 30. Basque transmission in families with children aged 3-15 by parents' mother tongue. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker and their mother tongue is Basque, 82 % transmit Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language, and 18 % only Spanish, French or some other language.

Where the mother tongue of the Basque-speaking parent is not Basque, 54 % transmit Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language, and 46 % only Spanish, French or some other language.

Figure 31. Basque transmission in families with children aged 3-15 by parents' mother tongue. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



3.5. Gains and losses of Basque

The vast majority of people who learned Basque or Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language as their mother tongue have kept their Basque and are Basque speakers today (88.3%).

However, there are some who have lost some or all of their Basque (1.9% of people aged 16 or over). This loss is, in most cases, partial (1.2%), i.e. even though they do not speak it fluently they understand it (31,600 people).

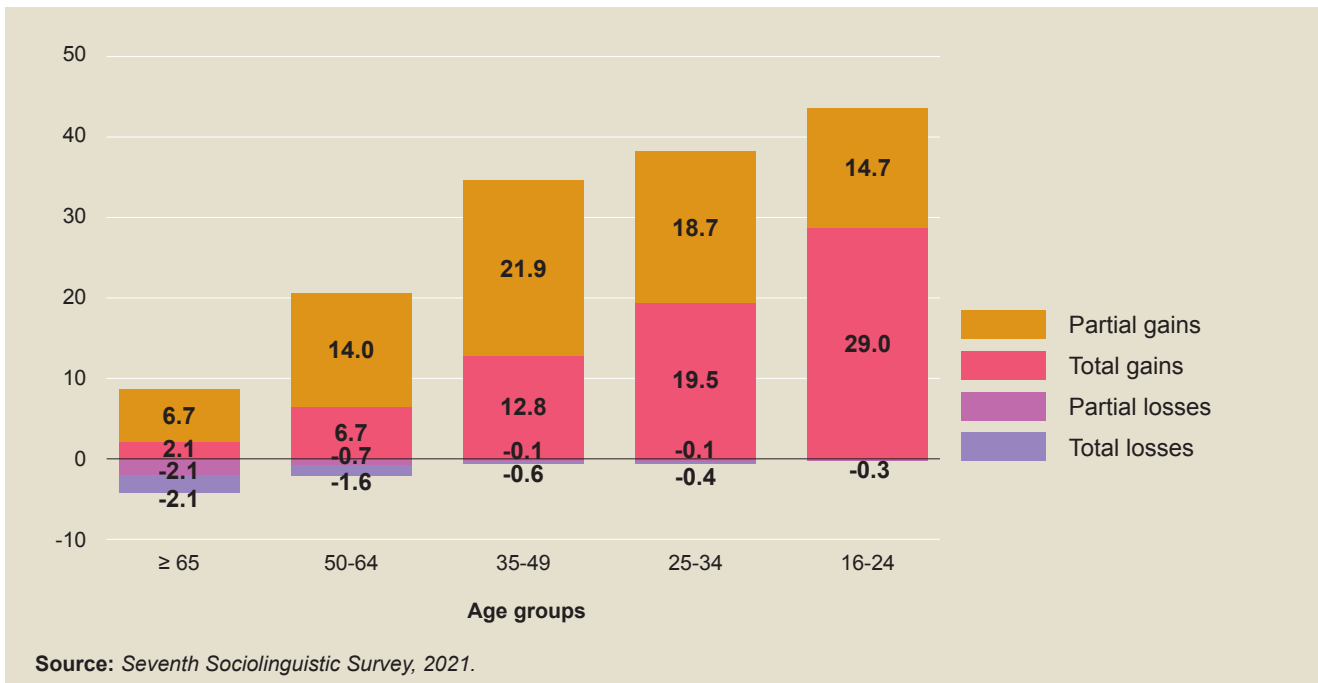
Today, most of the loss of Basque is recorded among the population over 50 years old.

At the same time, however, among the population aged 16 and over, 294,000 people were recorded as having learnt Basque and are now Basque speakers, 222,000 more than in 1991. These people, new Basque speakers, account for all the total gains in Basque.

People who have learnt Basque are distributed as follows: 251,000 in the Basque Autonomous Community, 33,500 in Navarre and 9,000 in the Northern Basque Country.

The increase in gains and practical disappearance of losses are observed particularly among the younger population, including - though to a lesser extent - in the Northern Basque Country.

Figure 32. Basque gains and losses by age. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



4. USE OF BASQUE

4.1. Factors affecting the use of Basque: correlations

Before giving data on the use of Basque, the factors that most influence this are analysed. To this end, a correlation analysis was conducted to see what other variables influence the variable (use) in question, and to what extent.

Correlations were made according to three spheres of use: at home, in the circle of friends and with colleagues at work. In all these spheres, there are two factors that have a big influence on use: the density of the network of relations of Basque speakers (how many people know Basque at home, in the circle of friends or among work colleagues) and their fluency (closely linked to mother tongue).

In the Basque Country the factor that most influences use in the home is their fluency in speaking Basque (0.745). The second factor is the density of Basque speakers in the household, i.e. how many members of the family speak Basque (0.681). The third factor is mother tongue, which is closely linked to fluency (0.602). The fourth factor is the sociolinguistic area (0.521).

Table 10. Correlations: use of Basque at home. Basque Country, 2021

	Fluency in Basque	Proportion of Basque speakers in the household	Mother tongue	Sociolinguistic area
Language spoken at home	0.745	0.681	0.602	0.521

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

With regard to use in the circle of friends, the most influential factor is once again fluency (0.676). The second factor is the sociolinguistic area (0.541). Next come the network of relations, i.e. the proportion of Basque speakers in the circle of friends (0.509) and finally the mother tongue (0.504).

Table 11. Correlations: use of Basque in the circle of friends. Basque Country, 2021

	Fluency in Basque	Sociolinguistic area	Proportion of Basque speakers among friends	Mother tongue
Language spoken in the circle of friends	0.676	0.541	0.509	0.504

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In use with work colleagues, the most influential factor is the density of Basque speakers (0.778), i.e. how many of them know Basque. The second factor is fluency (0.357). Next come the sociolinguistic area (0.270) and mother tongue (0.242).

Table 12. Correlations: use of Basque with work colleagues. Basque Country, 2021

	Proportion of Basque speakers at work	Fluency in Basque	Sociolinguistic area	Mother tongue
Language spoken at work	0.778	0.357	0.270	0.242

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Therefore, according to analysis of the correlations taken from the data in the Sociolinguistic Survey, fluency in speaking Basque and the percentage of Basque speakers in the network of relations are the main factors determining the use of Basque. Other factors also affect the use of the language: attitude to and interest in Basque.

4.2. Use of Basque in the Basque Country by territories, provinces and capital cities

In the Basque Country 17.5% of the population aged 16 or over uses Basque as much as or more than Spanish, i.e. makes intensive use of Basque; 10.2% use Basque but less than the other language; 5% use Basque very little, and the rest of the population uses Spanish, French or some other language (67.3%).

Figure 33. Basque language use. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

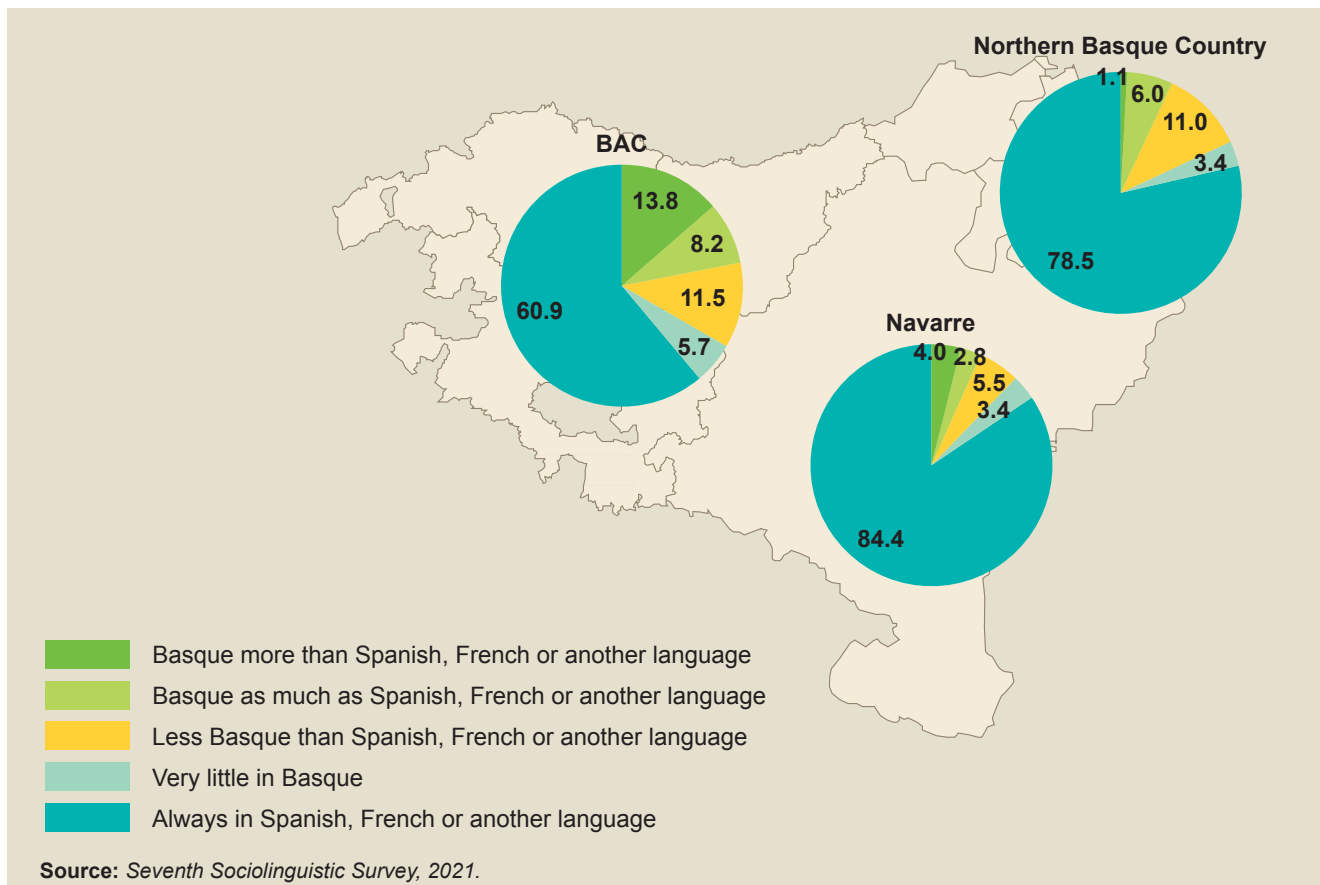


Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

A classification has been devised to measure use of Basque. In structuring this classification, the following spheres of use were taken into consideration:

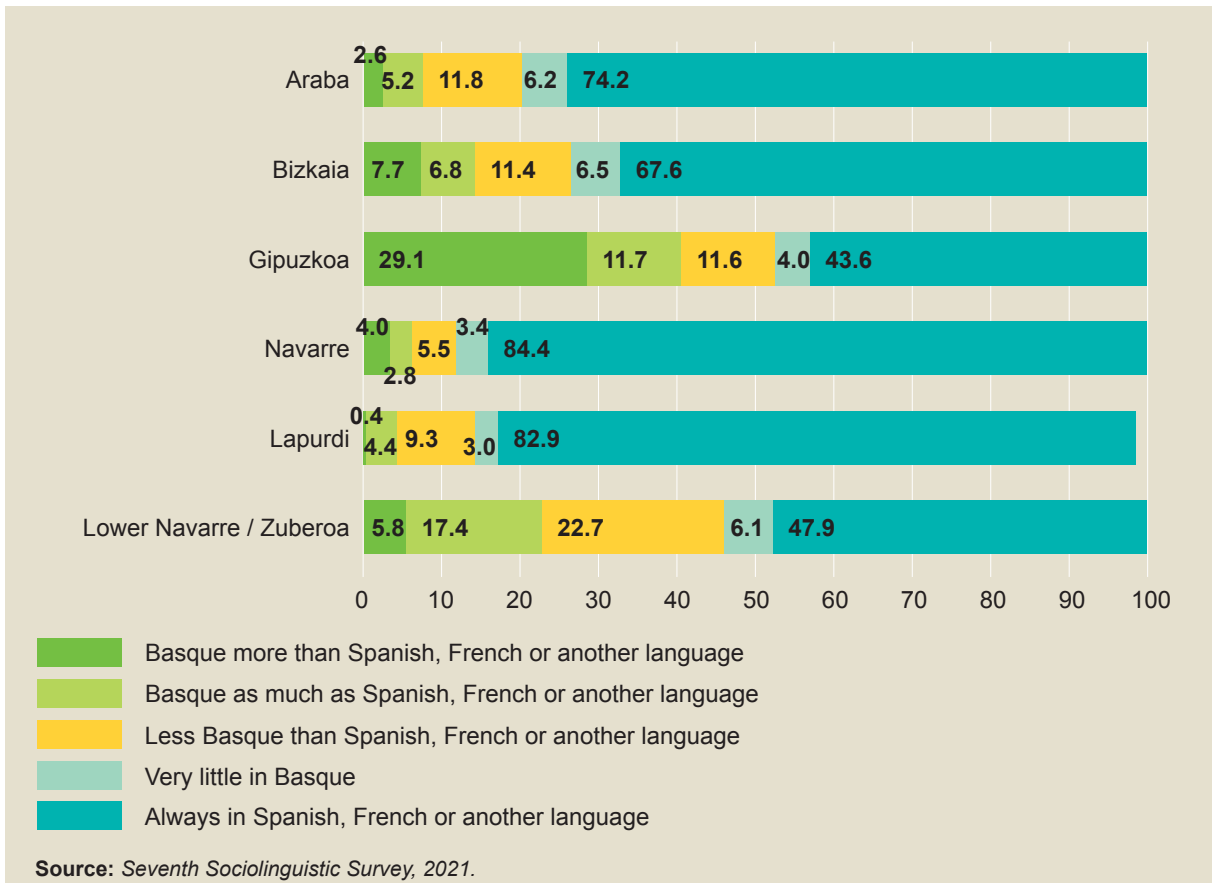
- use at home
- use with friends
- formal use (in shops and the bank, on the one hand, and in health and municipal services on the other).

Notable differences in use were recorded between the different regions or legal/administrative spheres. In fact, the people using Basque as much as or more than Spanish, French or some other language make up 22 % in the Basque Autonomous Community, 6.8 % in Navarre and 7.1 % in the Northern Basque Country. Basque is also used, though to a lesser extent, by 11.5 % in the Basque Autonomous Community, 5.5 % in Navarre and 11 % in the Northern Basque Country.

Figure 34. Basque use by territory. Basque Country, 2021 (%)


There are also differences between the different provinces in the use of Basque. Intensive users of Basque make up 4.8% in Lapurdi, 6.8% in Navarre and 7.8% in Araba. In Bizkaia, intensive users of Basque make up 14.5%, and in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa 23.2%. The most intensive users of Basque are recorded in Gipuzkoa (40.8%).

Figure 35. Basque use by province. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



As regards provincial capital cities, the highest percentage of use of Basque as much as or more than Spanish or another language is recorded in San Sebastián (22.8%). The percentage of intensive use of Basque is 6.6% in Vitoria, 6.5% in Bilbao, 3.2% in Pamplona and 1.9% in BAB.

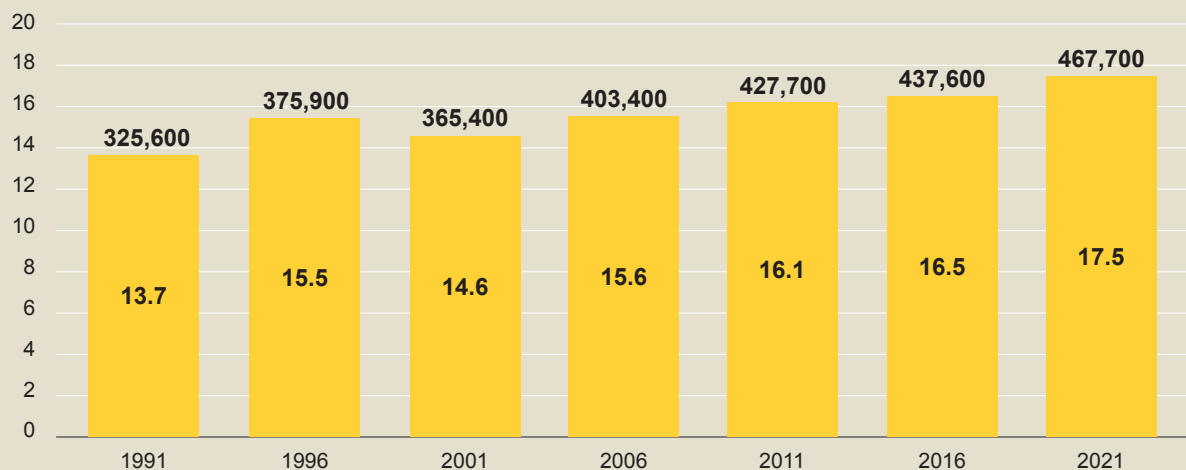
Table 13. Basque use by capital city. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	Vitoria-Gasteiz	Bilbao	Donostia-San Sebastián	Pamplona	BAB
Basque more than Spanish, French or another language	1.7	2.0	10.8	0.6	0.3
Basque as much as Spanish, French or another language	4.9	4.5	12.0	2.6	1.6
Less Basque than Spanish, French or another language	11.7	10.4	14.6	7.4	5.1
Very little in Basque	5.9	7.1	4.7	4.3	2.6
Always in Spanish, French or another language	75.8	76.0	58.0	85.0	90.4

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Regarding the sociolinguistic areas of the Basque Country, the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than another language is 4.4% in the first sociolinguistic area, 19.5% in the second, 51.4% in the third and 75.2% in the fourth.

Over the last 30 years, the use of Basque has risen 3.8 points throughout the Basque Country. In comparison with 1991, there are now 142,000 more people who use Basque as much as or more than another language.

Figure 36. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

This increase in the use of Basque is mainly due to the increase recorded in the Basque Autonomous Community. Over the last 30 years, the increase in the intensive use of Basque has been 6.4 points in the Basque Autonomous Community and 0.8 points in Navarre (6.7 % in 2021). In the Northern Basque Country, on the other hand, it has fallen by 6.2 points over the last 25 years (7.1 % in 2021).

Table 14. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by region. Basque Country, 1991-2021

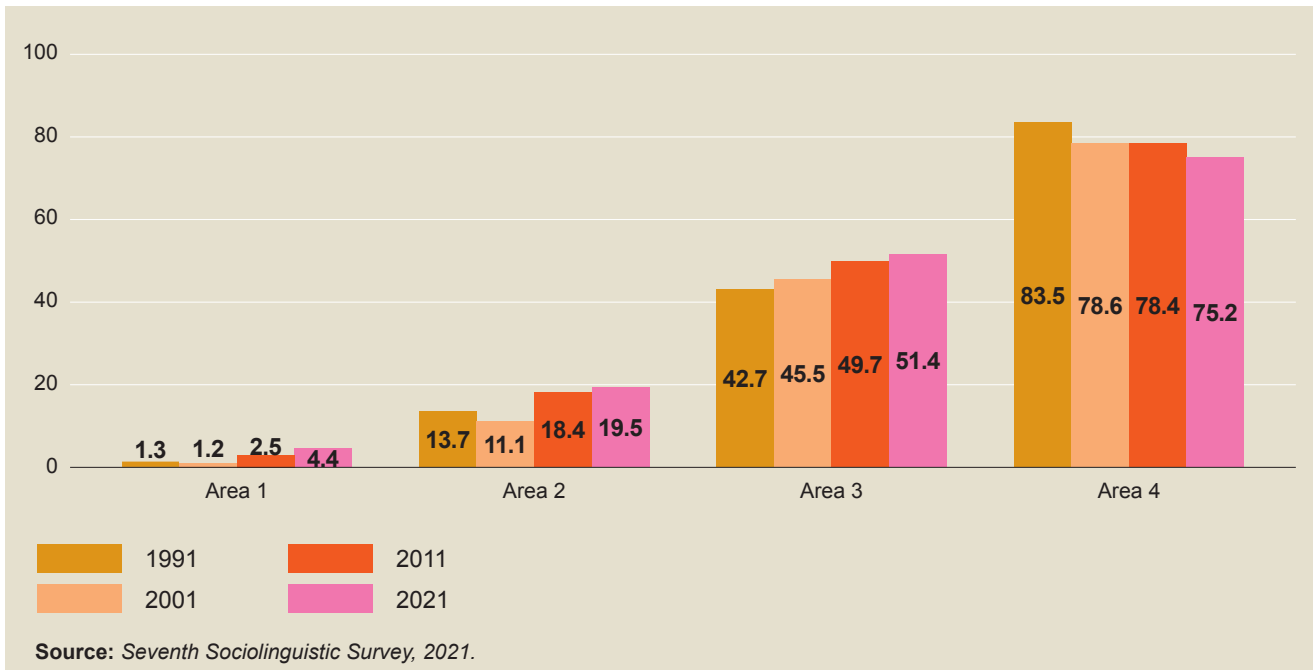
	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
Basque Country	13.7	15.5	14.6	15.6	16.1	16.5	17.5
BAC	15.5	18.1	17.5	18.9	20.0	20.5	21.9
Navarre	5.9	5.8	5.8	5.6	5.5	6.6	6.7
Northern Basque Country	—	13.3	9.9	10.6	9.6	8.1	7.1
Basque Country	325,619	375,931	365,400	403,459	427,730	437,668	467,725
BAC	271,121	321,976	315,826	349,425	375,139	382,419	412,821
Navarre	25,214	25,697	27,528	29,551	29,714	34,993	36,629
Northern Basque Country	—	28,258	22,045	24,484	22,877	20,256	18,275

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Between 1991 and 2021 the use of Basque has risen in the first three sociolinguistic areas of the Basque Country: by 3.1 points in the first area, 5.8 points in the second and 8.7 points in the third.

In the fourth sociolinguistic area, on the other hand, the use of Basque has declined (-8.3 points). This decline is due to population movements over the last two decades. While in the least Basque-speaking area these movements have favoured Basque, in the most Basque-speaking area, in general, this has not been the case.

Figure 37. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by sociolinguistic area. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)



4.3. Use of Basque by sex and age

In relation to sex, in general no significant differences are recorded between women and men in the use of Basque. In fact, the percentage of people using Basque as much as or more than another language comes to 17.2% among women and 17.7% among men. Nor have there been any significant differences by sex in the use of Basque over the last 30 years.

Table 15. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by sex. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)

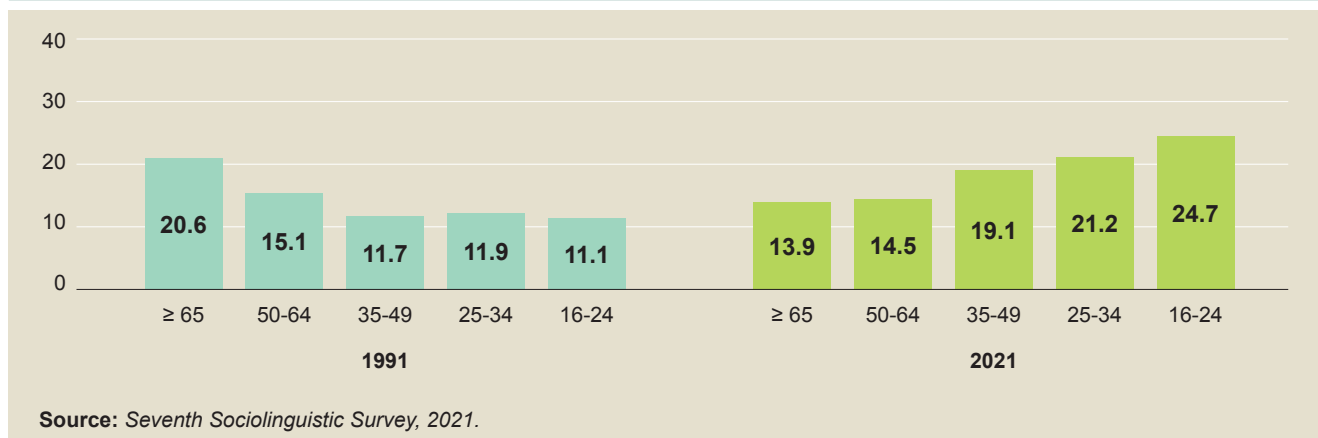
	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
Men	14.2	16.3	14.9	15.8	16.1	17.0	17.7
Women	13.3	14.6	14.4	15.3	16.2	16.1	17.2
Total	13.7	15.5	14.6	15.6	16.1	16.5	17.5

Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

When use of Basque is analysed by age, the highest percentage of Basque use is recorded among young people. In fact a fourth of young people between 16 and 24 years old use Basque as much as or more than another language (24.7%).

The lowest percentage of use is among people over 65 years old (13.9%), and the earlier the age the higher the percentage of people who use Basque. However, 30 years ago the opposite was the case.

Figure 38. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by age. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)



This use by age groups is repeated, in general terms, in the Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre, but not in the Northern Basque Country. In fact, in the Northern Basque Country people over 65 years old are those who speak Basque the most, and as age falls the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than French or another language declines. However, among young people under 35, signs of a change in the trend are detected in the Northern Basque Country.

Those who always use Spanish, French or some other language are over half in all age groups, except among those under 25 years old (the percentage of young people between 16 and 24 who always use Spanish, French or some other language is 46.3%).

Table 16. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by territory and age. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	AGE					
	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
Basque Country	17.5	13.9	14.5	19.1	21.2	24.7
BAC	22.0	16.7	17.8	24.3	27.8	33.5
Navarre	6.7	5.8	5.3	7.4	7.7	8.7
Northern Basque Country	7.1	9.4	8.0	4.8	5.8	5.7

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

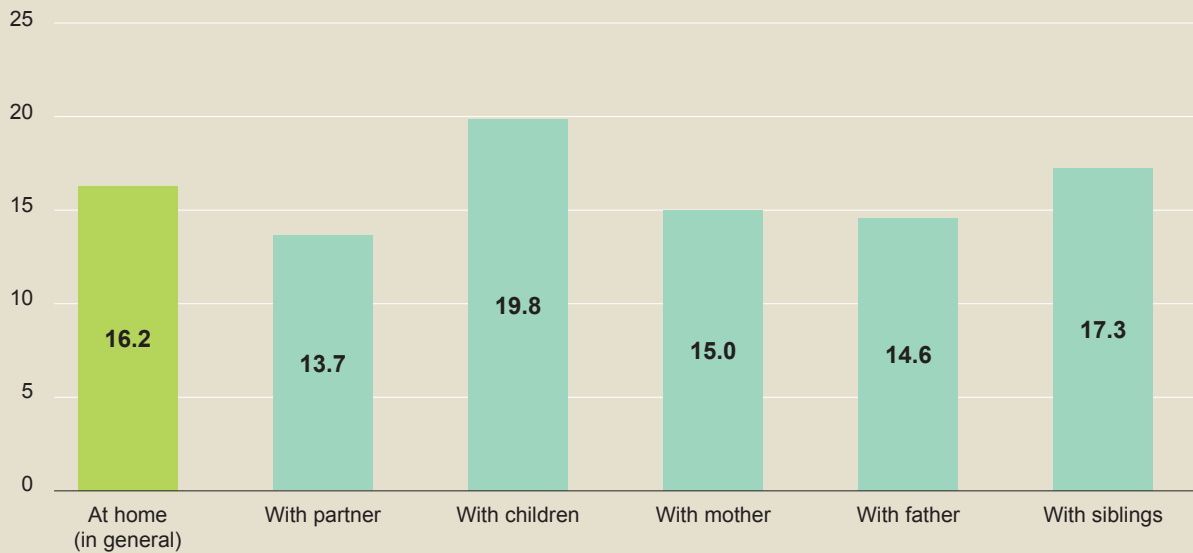
4.4. Use of Basque in different spheres: home, circle of friends, formal sphere

Use of Basque at home

In the Basque Country, 16.2% of people aged 16 or over use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, French or some other language at home, 8.8% use Basque, but less than another language and 75% only Spanish, French or some other language.

Basque use varies among members of the family. The highest use is with children (19.8%) and the lowest with the partner (13.7%). Between siblings, the use of Basque comes to 17.3%, with the father 14.6% and with the mother 15%.

Figure 39. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language at home. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Over the last 30 years, use at home has varied slightly (2 points at the most). In the last 5 years, the percentage of people using Basque as much as Spanish, French or some other language has risen by 0.6 points (16.2%).

With regard to use between members of the family, the percentage of people using Basque as much as or more than Spanish, French or some other language with their children has risen by 4 points, between siblings by 1.8 points and with their father 1.6 points. The percentage of use of Basque with the mother has risen by 0.4 points. Use between partners has risen by 0.4 points in 30 years.

Table 17. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language at home. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)

	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
At home (in general)	15.6	16.5	14.6	15.3	14.2	15.6	16.2
With partner	13.3	13.9	10.7	11.7	11.8	12.1	13.7
With children	15.8	19.0	16.9	19.4	18.7	18.7	19.8
With mother	14.6	15.6	13.1	15.0	13.4	13.9	15.0
With father	13.0	14.2	12.6	14.3	12.9	14.3	14.6
With siblings	15.5	17.7	15.8	16.8	16.8	16.9	17.3

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Use of Basque in the circle of friends

In the Basque Country, 18.3% of people aged 16 or over use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, French or some other language with their friends, 8.1% use Basque, but less than another language and 73.8% only Spanish, French or some other language.

In 30 years the percentage of people using Basque with their friends has risen by 3.6 points.

Table 18. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language with friends. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)

	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
Use with friends	14.7	17.5	15.8	17.7	17.8	17.9	18.3

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Use of Basque in the formal sphere

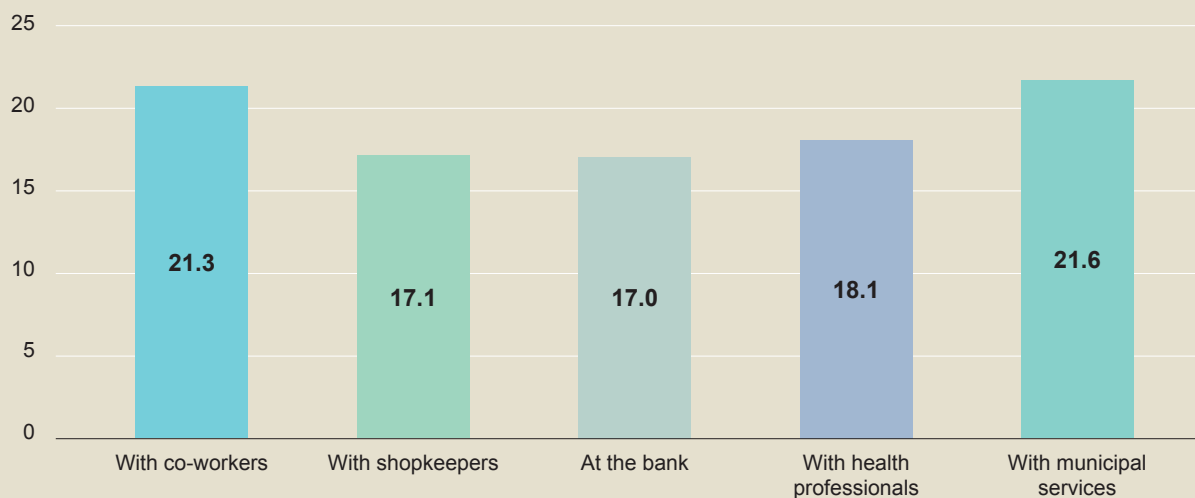
This section analyses three spheres of use: at work (with colleagues), in the private sphere (with staff of shops and banks) and in the public sphere (with the staff of health and municipal services).

In the Basque Country, at work 21.3% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, French or some other language. 9.6% use Basque, though less than another language, and 69.1% use only Spanish, French or some other language.

In the private sphere, 17.1% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, French or some other language in shops, and 17% at the bank. In these two spheres, the percentages of people who use Basque, though less than Spanish, French or another language, are 8.1% and 6.2% respectively.

In the public sphere, 18.1% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, French or another language in health services, and 21.6% in municipal services. In these two spheres, the percentages of people who use Basque, though less than Spanish, French or another language, are 7.5% and 6.2% respectively.

Figure 40. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language in formal situations. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Over the last 30 years, the percentage of people using Basque at work as much as or more than Spanish, French or some other language is up by 7.8 points; those who use it in shops by 4.4% and those who use it at the bank 4.8%. In the public sphere, there has been a rise of 11 points in health services and 8.6 points in municipal services.

Table 19. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language in formal situations. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)

	1991	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
With co-workers	13.5	15.7	14.6	18.3	19.6	20.5	21.3
With shopkeepers	12.7	15.4	13.8	15.4	16	16.5	17.1
At the bank	12.2	16.7	16	16.4	16.4	15.7	17.0
With health professionals	7.1	11.4	11.5	13.4	15.3	15.6	18.1
With municipal services	13.0	18.4	16.6	17.9	19.4	20.6	21.6

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

4.5. Use of Basque on social networks

The languages used most on Internet social networks in the Basque Country are Spanish and French: Spanish in the Basque Autonomous Community and Navarre, and French in the Northern Basque Country. However, 15.6% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or French on social networks. The highest percentage of use is among young people aged 16-24 (21.7%).

Apart from Spanish, French and Basque, users also employ other languages on Internet social networks, Basically English.

5. ATTITUDE TOWARDS PROMOTION OF THE USE OF BASQUE

5.1. Attitude towards the promotion of the use of Basque by territories, provinces and capital cities

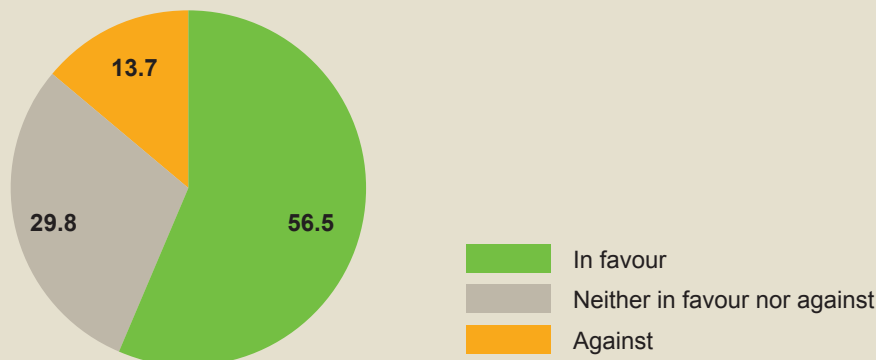
In order to determine attitudes towards the promotion of Basque use, the language policy department has devised a classification based on the opinion expressed by the respondents concerning the promotion of Basque use in different spheres.

In order to construct this classification, the following statements were used:

- One must know Basque to get into the Administration.
- It is preferable to learn English than Basque (those who express disagreement are considered favourable to the promotion of Basque).
- All children should learn Basque.
- More radio and television programmes should be broadcast in Basque.

56.5% of the population of the Basque Country aged 16 or over expressed approval of the promotion of Basque, 29.8% were neither for nor against and 13.7% were against it.

Figure 41. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

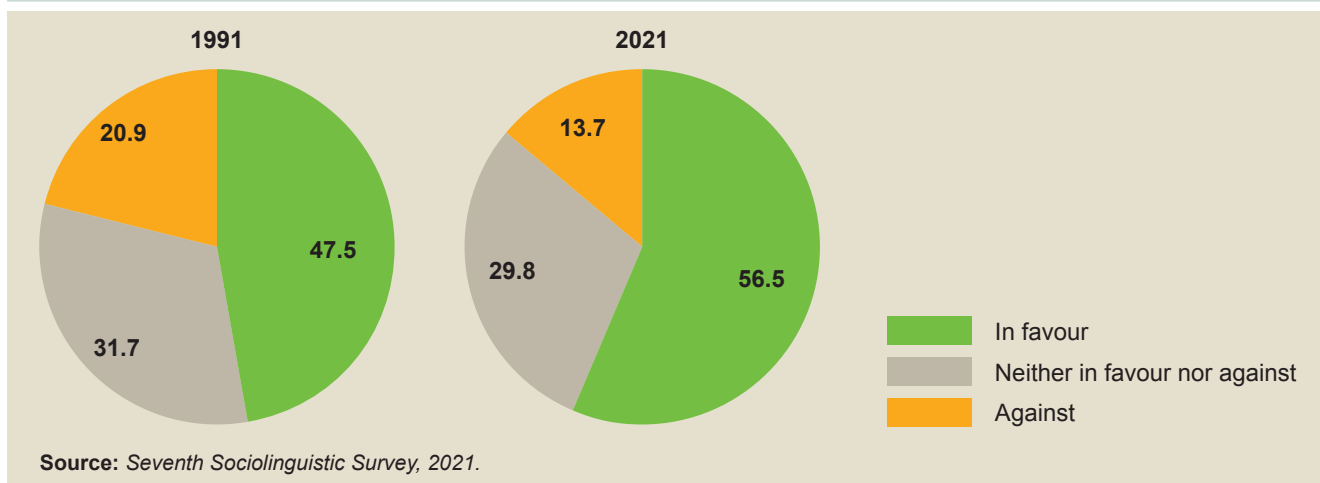


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

The attitude favourable to the promotion of Basque has increased over the last thirty years. If data from 1991 and 2021 are compared, the percentage of people in favour of promoting Basque has risen by 9 points (from 47.5% to 56.5%).

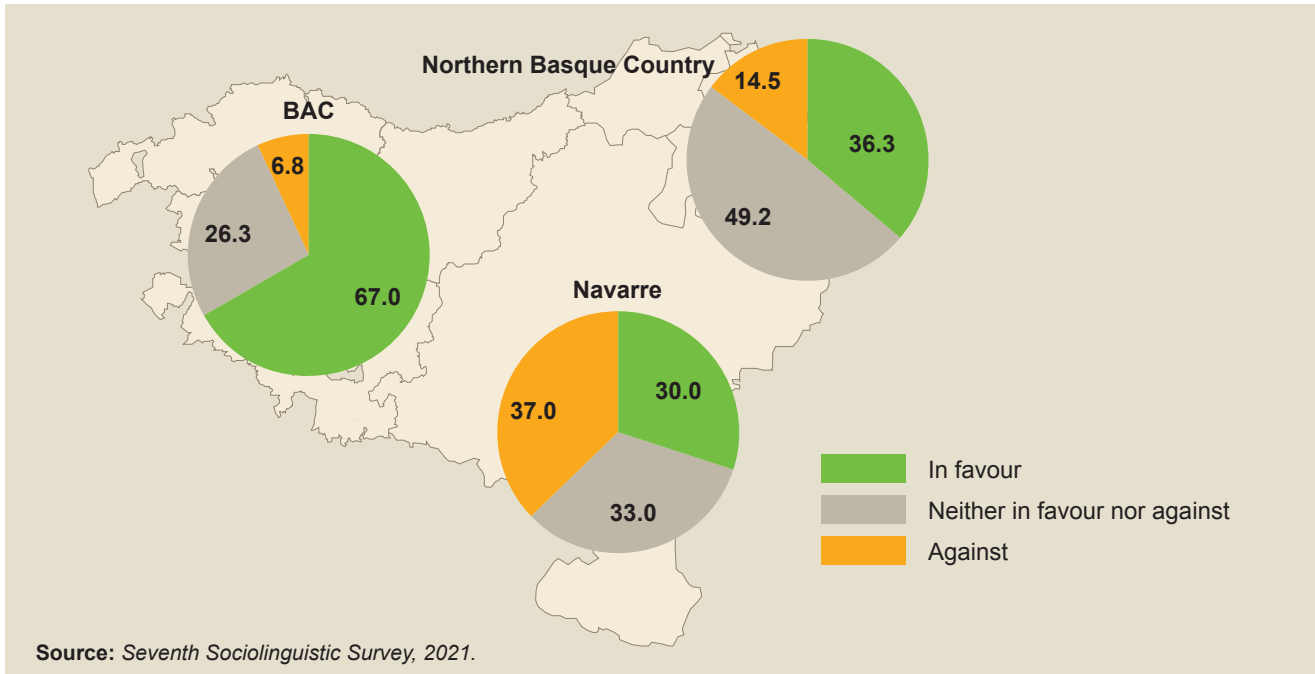
In 2021 less people were neither for nor against (down from 31.7% to 29.8%), and the percentage of people against it had fallen (from 20.9% to 13.7%).

Figure 42. Evolution of attitudes towards Basque language promotion. Basque Country, 1991-2021 (%)



A favourable attitude towards the promotion of Basque is much more widespread in the Basque Autonomous Community (67%) than in Navarre (30%) and the Northern Basque Country (36.3%).

Figure 43. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by territory. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



The most favourable attitude to the promotion of Basque is recorded in Gipuzkoa (76.4%), Bizkaia (65.1%), Araba (53.3%) and Lower Navarre/Zuberoa (48.7%); and the least favourable in Navarre (30%) and Lapurdi (34.5%).

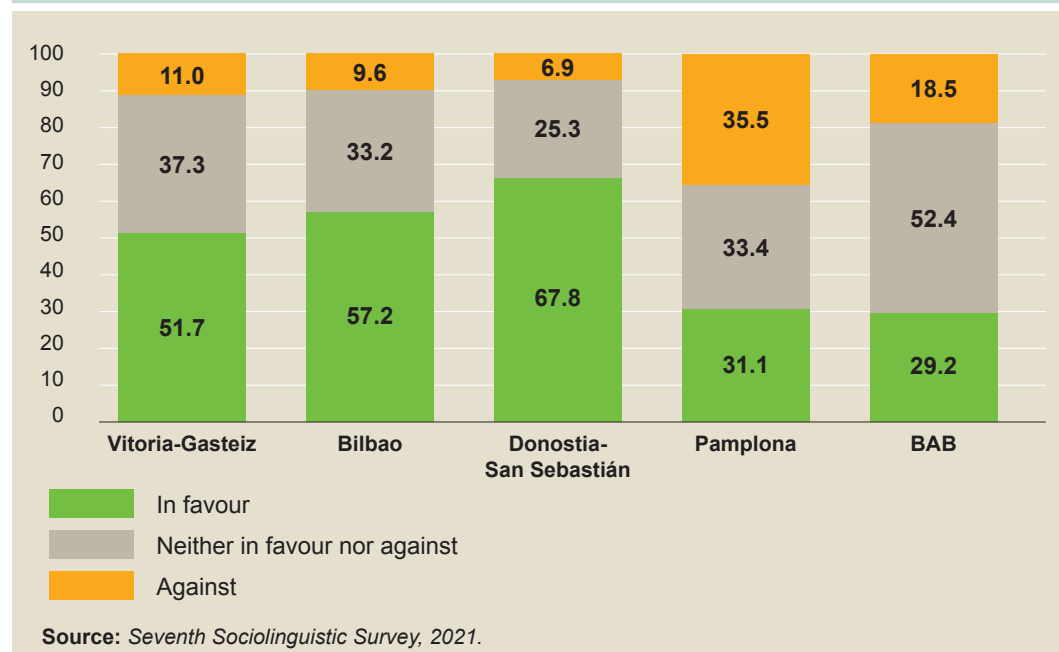
Table 20. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by province. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	Araba	Bizkaia	Gipuzkoa	Navarre	Lapurdi	Lower Navarre / Zuberoa
Total	283,343	994,892	604,210	545,476	223,340	32,597
In favour	53.3	65.1	76.4	30.0	34.5	48.7
Neither in favour nor against	36.5	26.9	20.4	33.0	50.8	38.4
Against	10.2	8.0	3.2	37.0	14.7	12.9

Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

With regard to provincial capital cities, 67.8% of the population of San Sebastián are favourable towards the promotion of Basque, 57.2% of that of Bilbao, 51.7% of that of Vitoria-Gasteiz, 31.1% of that of Pamplona and 29.2% of that of BAB.

Figure 44. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by capital city. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

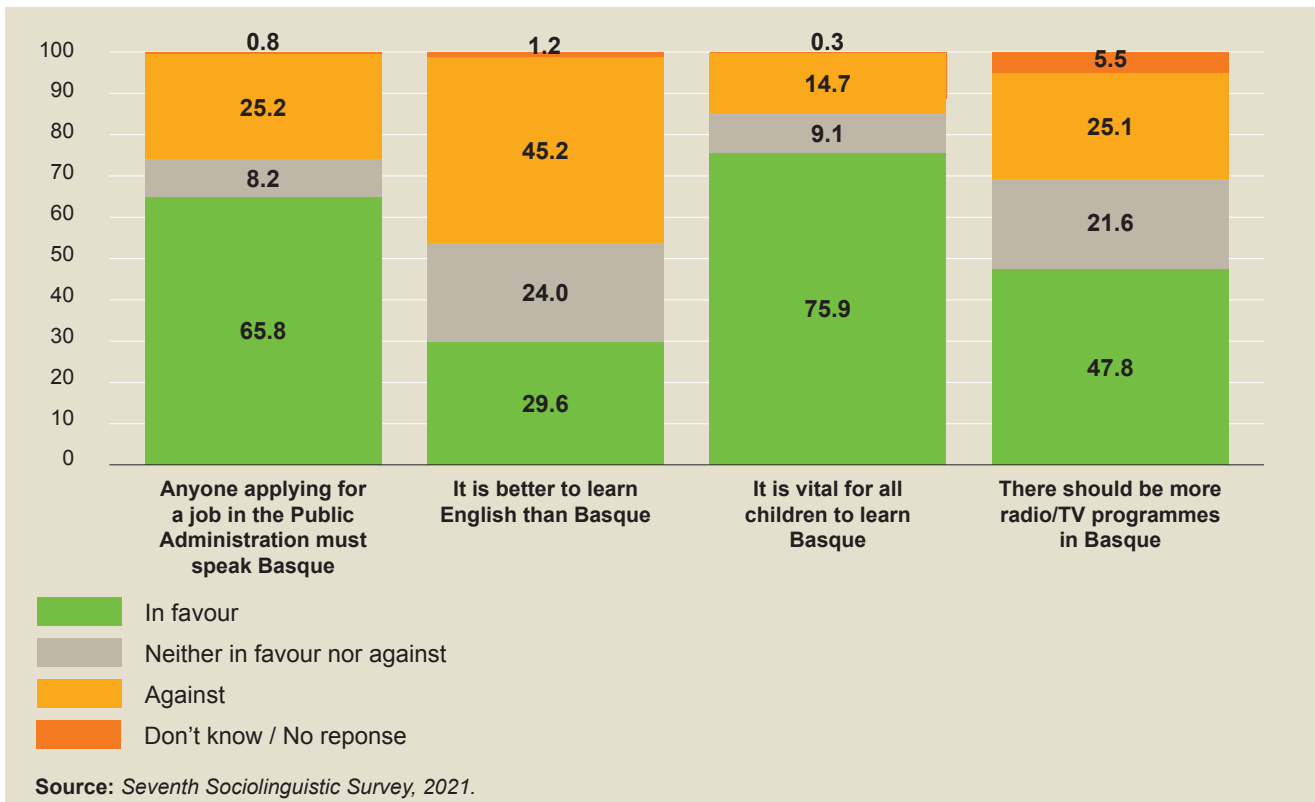


The responses to the statements to establish the classification with regard to attitudes towards the promotion of Basque are as follows:

- 65.8% of the population of the Basque Country feel that learning Basque is necessary to work in the Administration, and 8.2% are neither for nor against this. On the other hand, 25.2% are against this opinion and 0.8% do not answer.
- 29.6% feel it is preferable to learn English than Basque (opinion unfavourable to promoting the use of Basque), and 24% are neither for nor against this; 45.2% are against (opinion favourable to promoting the use of Basque). The remaining 1.2% do not answer.
- 75.9% of the population feels that all children should learn Basque, 9.1% are neither for nor against this, 14.7% are against and 0.3% do not respond.

- Finally, 47.8% feel that radio and television channels should broadcast more programmes in Basque, 21.6% are neither for nor against this, 25.1% are against it and 5.5% do not respond.

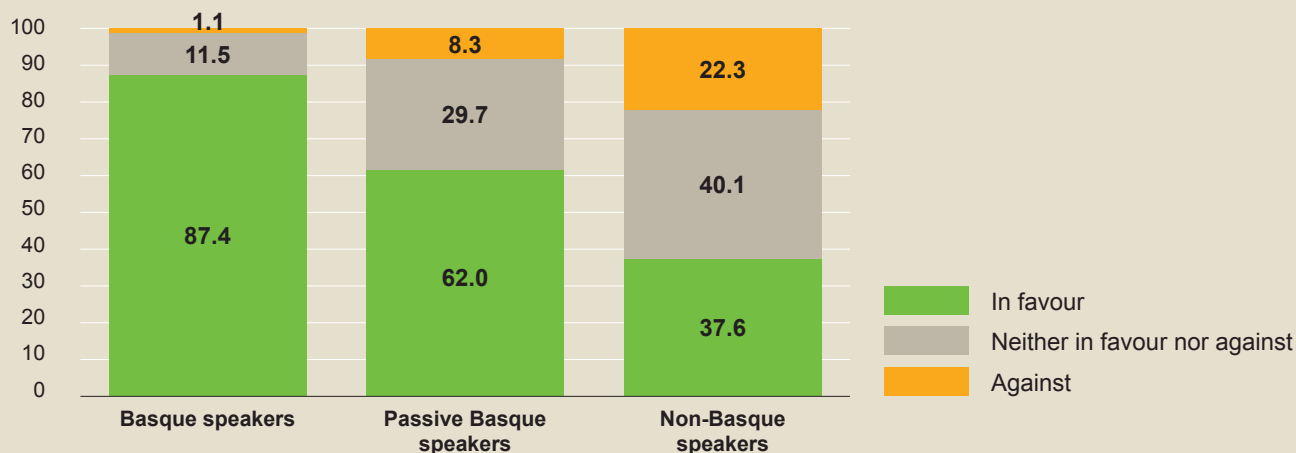
Figure 45. Opinions used to established attitude categories. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



5.2. Attitude towards the promotion of the use of Basque by language competence, sex and age

Attitudes towards Basque are closely linked to language competence. In fact, 87.4% of Basque speakers are in favour of promoting the use of Basque, as are 62% of passive Basque speakers and 37.6% of non-Basque speakers.

Figure 46. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by language competence. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

With regard to sex, there is not much difference between women and men in attitudes favourable to the promotion of Basque, though women's attitude is seen to be slightly more favourable (57.1% compared to 55.9%).

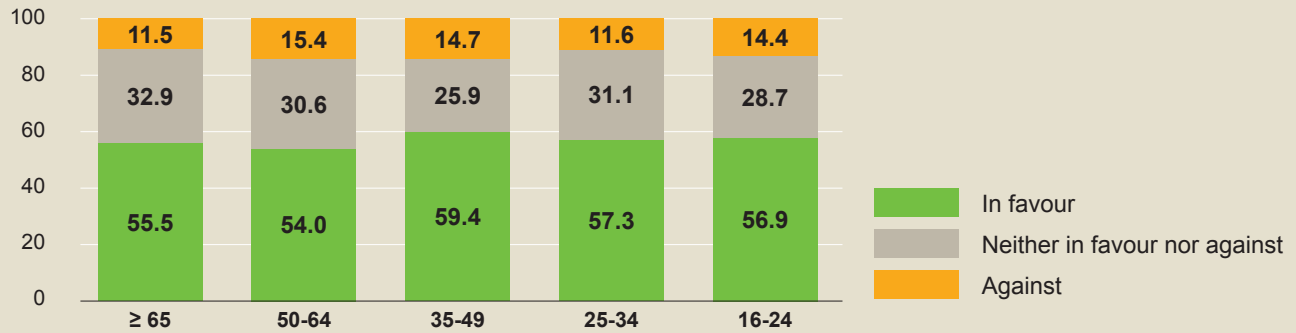
Table 21. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by sex. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	In favour	Neither in favour nor against	Against
Total	56.5	29.8	13.7
Women	57.1	29.6	13.4
Men	55.9	30.1	14.0

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In terms of age, the lowest percentage of attitudes favourable to promoting the use of Basque is seen among people aged 50-64 (54%), while the highest percentage is among people aged 35-49 (59.4%).

Figure 47. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by age. Basque Country, 2021 (%)

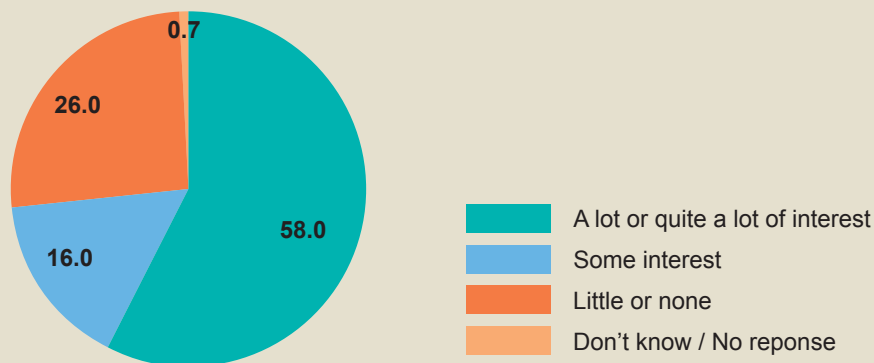


Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

5.3. Interest in Basque and other opinions

When asked about their interest in Basque, a majority of the population of the Basque Country expresses an interest in the language. In fact, 58% of the population express a lot or quite a lot of interest, 16% express some interest and 26% little or none.

Figure 48. Interest in Basque. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

With regard to other opinions about Basque, 59.9% of the population of the Basque Country prefers model D (all in Basque, with Spanish or French as a subject) for their children, 19.9% prefer model B (in Basque and in Spanish or French), 8.9% model A (all in Spanish or French, with Basque as a subject) and 8.8% model X/G (all in Spanish or French). The remaining 0.7% do not know or do not answer.

Figure 49. What language model would you choose for your children's education?
 Basque Country, 2021 (%)



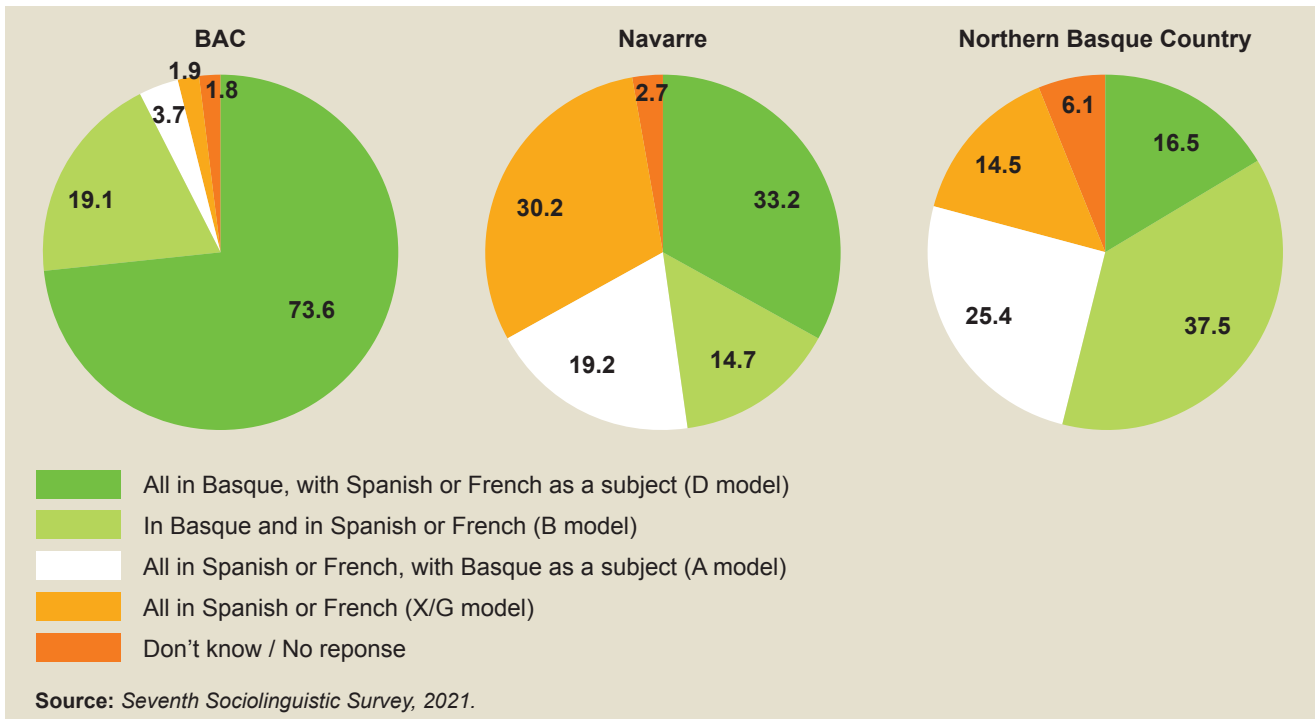
Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In the Basque Autonomous Community, the majority would choose model D (73.6%) and 19.1% of the population would opt for model B as a model for their children's schooling.

In Navarre, 33.2% would choose model D and another 30.2% model G (all in Spanish). The 14.7% would choose model B and 19.2% model A.

Finally, the preferred model in the Northern Basque Country is B, which would be chosen by 37.5%, followed by model A (25.4%). Finally, in the Northern Basque Country 16.5% of the population would choose model D (all in Basque) and 14.5% all in French.

Figure 50. What language model would you choose for your children’s education? By territory. Basque Country, 2021 (%)



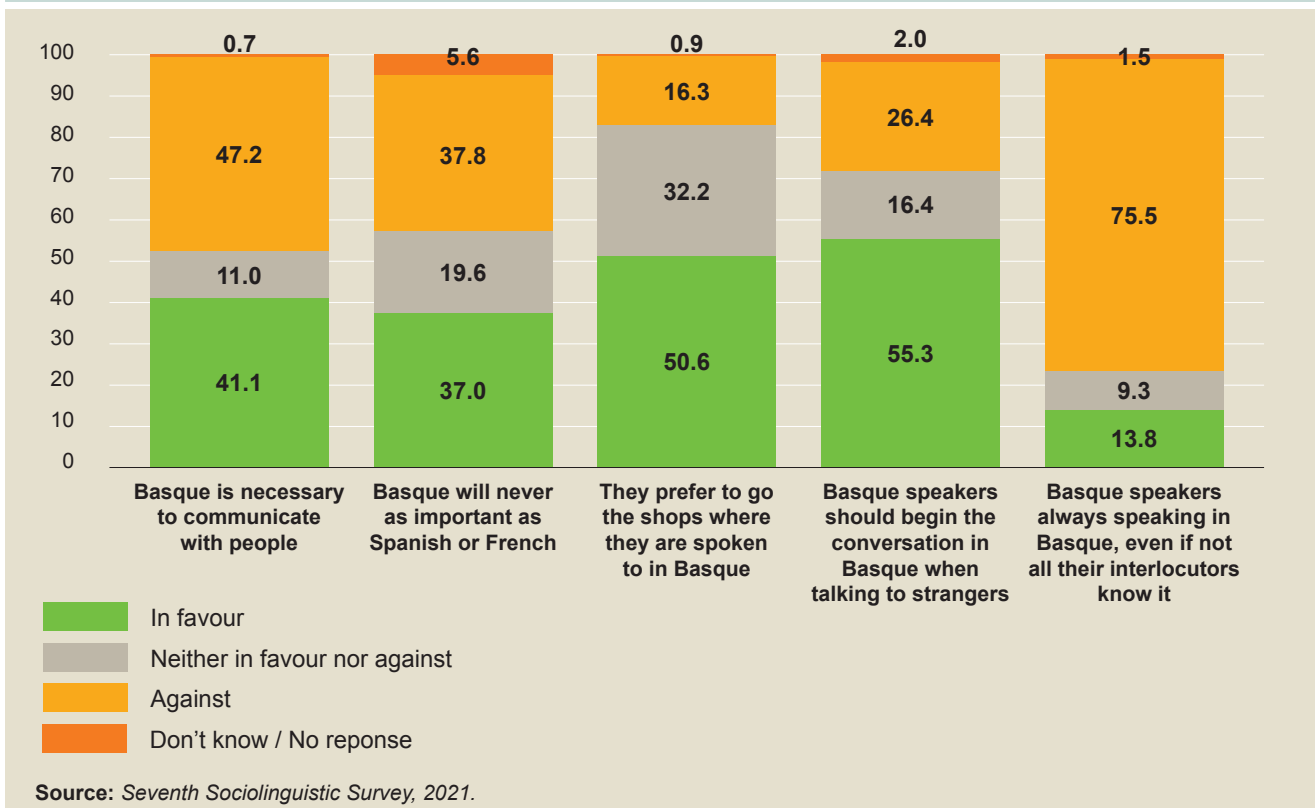
88.1 % of the population of the Basque Country aged 16 or over believes that in the future Basque and Spanish or French should be spoken. 7.2 % think only Basque should be spoken, 3.3 % only Spanish or French and 1.4 % do not respond.

Basque speakers were also asked whether they have ever felt discriminated against in not being able to use Basque, with 36.7 % answering in the affirmative. Non-Basque speakers, on the other hand, were asked whether they have ever felt discriminated against for not knowing Basque, to which 23.9 % responded affirmatively.

Other opinions were also collected from the respondents. In summary, the results are the following:

- In response to the statement “Basque is necessary to communicate with people,” 41 % were in favour and 47.2 % against.
- 37.8 % of the population aged 16 or over feel that Basque will have the same importance as Spanish or French. It is also the case, however, that 37 % of the population believe the opposite, i.e. that Basque will never be as important as Spanish or French.

- When asked whether they prefer to go to shops where they are spoken to in Basque, half of the Basque speakers said yes (50.6%).
- Regarding whether Basque speakers should begin the conversation in Basque when talking to strangers, 55.3% of the population of the Basque Country were in favour and 26.4% were against. The rest are neither favourable nor unfavourable (16.4%) or do not respond (2%)
- 75.5% are against Basque speakers always speaking in Basque, even if not all their interlocutors know it.

Figure 51. Other opinions about the Basque language. Basque Country, 2021 (%)


Finally, in the opinion of the majority (60.7%), Basque is not in danger of disappearing. On the other hand, taking only Basque speakers, more of them (48.4%) believe that Basque is at risk of disappearing than the opposite (40.3%).

Likewise, taking only the population of the Northern Basque Country, those who believe that Basque is in danger of disappearing (46.7%) outnumber those who believe the opposite (40.5%).

6. SYNTHESIS

- 30.2 % of the population aged 16 or over resident in the Basque Country are Basque speakers, 16.1 % passive Basque speakers and 53.8 % non-Basque speakers.
- There are currently 282,000 more Basque speakers than in 1991; the percentage of Basque speakers has risen by 8 points in the last 30 years (from 22.3 % to 30.2 %).
- The increase in the Basque-speaking population has come about especially in the Basque Autonomous Community, where the percentage has risen by 12.1 points. Growth in Navarre was lower (4.6 points). In the Northern Basque Country, however, the percentage of Basque speakers continues to decline (-6.3 points since 1996), but the percentage of Basque-speaking young people has started to recover.
- The highest percentage of Basque speakers is in the group of young people between 16 and 24 years old: 57.9 %. In 1991 this was 22.5 %.
- 30.5 % of women are Basque speakers and 29.9 % of men (a difference of 0.6 points). The biggest difference is recorded in the Basque Autonomous Community (0.7 points).
- With the increase in the number of Basque speakers, their features have changed. The biggest change is to do with diversity: the Basque-speaking community is increasingly mixed. Among Basque speakers, as in Basque society in general, the realities are different depending on their territory, sociolinguistic area, origin, age and sex.
 - The origins of some of these changes lie in the socio-demographic change in society as a whole in the Basque Country.
 - Basque society is gradually ageing: life expectancy is getting longer and the birth rate is falling.
 - More and more people born abroad are living in the Basque Country; and this in turn is a young population. In the Basque Autonomous Community, over half the population born abroad (54 %) is less than 40 years old.
 - The population is more mobile.
 - The effects of globalisation are increasingly evident.

- With regard to the Basque-speaking population, over half the people who speak Basque live in an area that is very or fairly Spanish or French-speaking (57%). Therefore, the network of relations of many Basque speakers with other people who know Basque is currently very limited.
- Today, 45.1% of Basque speakers express themselves more fluently in Spanish or French (in 1991 the figure was 37.8%), and in the case of young people, over half of them have greater mastery of Spanish or French than Basque (55.5%).
- Fluency in speaking Basque is closely linked to mother tongue, which has undergone a considerable change in the last 30 years. In 2021 47.9% of Basque speakers had Basque as their mother tongue, while in 1991 this figure was 79.3%. There are now twice as many new Basque speakers and bilinguals as there were 30 years ago.
- Family transmission of Basque has increased both in Basque-speaking couple and those with mixed languages:
 - When both parents are Basque speakers, transmission of Basque is 92%, reaching 100% in the case of families where both parents are not just Basque speakers but have it as their mother tongue.
 - In mixed couples, transmission of Basque (always together with Spanish, French or some other language) is 43%, and where the mother tongue of the Basque-speaking parent is Basque, this rises to 82%.
 - In the case of mixed couples, the transmission of Basque is higher when the Basque speaker is the mother (46%) than when the Basque speaker is the father (37%).
- In the Basque Country, 17.5% of people over 16 years old use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, French or some other language; 10.2% use Basque less than another language; 5% use Basque very little, and the remaining 67.3% only use Spanish, French or some other language.
- In the last 30 years, the use of Basque has risen 3.8 points in the Basque Country. Today Basque is used as much as or more than another language by 142,000 more people than in 1991. The increase in the use of Basque is due to the increase recorded in the Basque Autonomous Community.

- From 1991 to 2021, use of Basque has increased in the first three language areas: by 3.1 points in the first area, 5.8 points in the second and 8.7 points in the third. In the fourth area, on the other hand, the use of Basque has declined (-8.3 points). This decline is basically a consequence of population movements recorded in the last two decades.
- The highest percentage of people using Basque is recorded among young people (24.7%), and the lowest percentage is among people aged 65 and over (13.9%).
- Use of Basque has increased in all spheres of use, especially in the formal sphere.
- Attitudes favourable to promoting the use of Basque increased by nearly 9 points in the period between 1991 and 2021. The opinions that the majority showed a favourable attitude towards were the following: 75.9% of society feels that all children should learn Basque, and 65.8% believe that it should be necessary to know Basque to join the Administration.



**BASQUE AUTONOMOUS
C O M M U N I T Y**

SEVENTH SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

1. POPULATION¹

The Basque Autonomous Community had 2,193,199 inhabitants in 2021, according to EUSTAT.

A comparison between the population of the Basque Autonomous Community in 1991 and 2021 shows that in absolute terms this had increased by 89,158 people, but this growth was not constant over this period of time. Up to the year 2000, the population was falling, but from this year onwards it grew significantly until 2019. This trend was however cut short by the COVID-19 crisis, as the positive migratory balance has fallen, the negative natural balance has risen and the population of the Basque Autonomous Community has fallen.

In Araba the population increased in all the periods studied, but the highest growth was recorded in the first decade of the 21st century. Gipuzkoa, on the other hand, displayed a similar trend to the Basque Autonomous Community as a whole. Finally, Bizkaia lost population in nearly all the periods.

Table 1. Evolution of population by province. BAC, 1991-2021

	1991	2001	2011	2021
BAC	2,104,041	2,082,587	2,179,815	2,193,199
Araba	272,447	286,387	321,254	330,189
Bizkaia	1,155,106	1,122,637	1,153,351	1,144,123
Gipuzkoa	676,488	673,563	705,210	718,887

Source: Eustat. Population and housing censuses.

¹ The data were obtained from EUSTAT and INE.

The determining factors in this trend were, on the one hand, natural increases (the difference between numbers of births and deaths) and, on the other, net migration (the difference between the number of immigrants and emigrants).

The population of the Basque Autonomous Community is characterised by the following main traits:

- Society is gradually ageing: life expectancy is steadily increasing (86.3 years for women and 80.7 years for men). However, in comparison with 2019, due to COVID-19 this had fallen 3 decimal points in the case of women and 1 in that of men.

On the other hand, the birth rate remains very low (6.5 births per 1,000 inhabitants), lower than the EU-27 (8.9 births per 1,000 inhabitants).

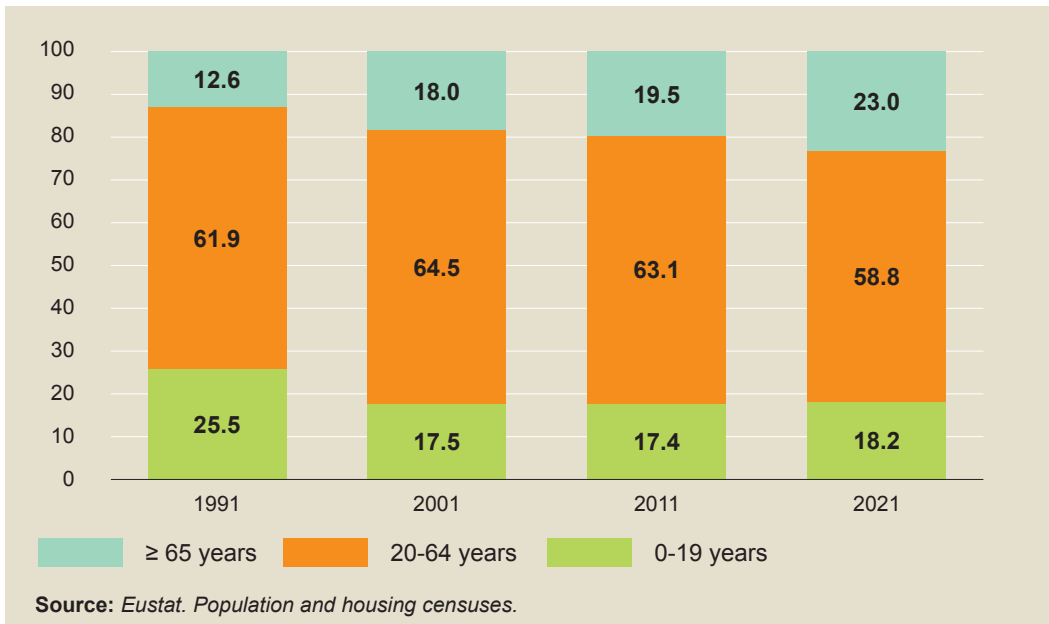
- The number of people born abroad rose, making up 11.2% of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community in 2021.

Thus, from 1991 to the present, the percentage of inhabitants aged 65 or older has risen by 9 points, today standing at 23% of the total population (up from 12.6% in 1991).

In parallel, the young population has decreased in proportion. In 2021, people under 20 years old made up 18.2% (down from 25.5% in 1991).

Even more striking is the increase in older people, i.e. those aged 85 and over. In fact, their percentage has quintupled in 30 years, and they now account for 4.1% of the whole population.

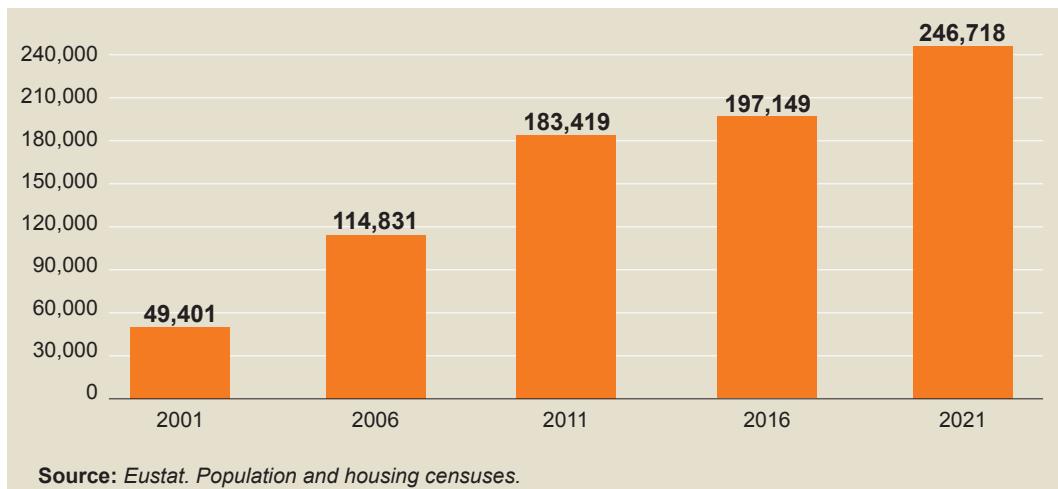
Figure 1. Evolution of population by age. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)



With regard to people's origins, as of 1st January 2021, 28.7% of the population resident in the Basque Autonomous Community were born outside the territory, and one in three of these (39.2%) were born abroad.

The percentage of people born outside the Basque Autonomous Community has remained steady since 2001, but what has changed is the origin of these people. Over this period, the percentage of residents in the Basque Autonomous Community born abroad rose by nearly 9 points. On the other hand, the percentage of those born elsewhere in Spain fell from 25.3% to 17.82%.

In 2021, 11.2% of the population resident in the Basque Autonomous Community was born abroad.

Figure 2. Evolution of population born abroad. BAC, 2001-2021


There is almost no difference in the overall percentage of women and men (50.1 % women and 49.9 % men) among foreign nationals residing in the Basque Autonomous Community, but there are differences in terms of their continents of origin.

In terms of the origins of foreign immigrants, the population from the Americas makes up a very high percentage in the Basque Autonomous Community (40.7 %). The majority come from South America. Within this group, Colombia and Nicaragua stand out. 60.5 % of the resident population with American nationality in 2021 were women.

The proportion of immigrants originating in Africa is also very high (27 %), or whom over half are Moroccan (53.4 %). Regarding distribution by sex, men make up 61.2 %.

The third largest contingent is that made up of immigrants of European origin (23.9 %). 43.7 % of European immigrants are from Romania, followed by Portugal (14.9 %). The distribution by sex is similar, though with a slightly higher proportion of males (52.3 %).

Finally 8.4 % come from Asia and Oceania, and it should be underlined that nearly all of these come from China and Pakistan, specifically three out of four.

In terms of age, notable differences are recorded in relation to average age depending on whether people were born in the Basque Autonomous Community, elsewhere in Spain or abroad.

With regard to the average age of the population, by far the oldest group are those born in other autonomous regions of Spain, with an average age of 64.8. They are followed by the population born in the Basque Country, with an average age of 41.8. Finally, the average age of the foreign-born population resident in the Basque Autonomous Community is 37.7.

In terms of the classification according to age, one of the main features of the foreign-born population can be seen in the pyramid. This population is shown to be very young, as 84.6% of them are less than fifty years old.

Figure 3. Pyramid of the population born abroad. BAC, 2021 (%)



Population growth in the Basque Autonomous Community can be linked to trends in migration, as the natural balance can be expected to remain negative in the coming years. In fact, due to low birth rates, the number of births is going to decrease, and as there are more and more people of advanced age, the death mortality rate will increase.

2. LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

2.1. Language competence in the Basque Autonomous Community by provinces and capitals

Three types of speaker are distinguished according to their level of competence in speaking or understanding Basque:

- **Basque speaker (bilingual):** able to speak and understand Basque well or quite well.
- **Passive Basque speaker (passive bilingual):** unable to speak Basque well or quite well. However, they understand Basque to a certain degree. Specifically, this group includes those who meet at least one of the following conditions:
 - They can understand and speak “some” Basque.
 - They can understand Basque “well” or “quite well”.
- **Non-Basque speaker (monolingual Spanish speaker):** unable to speak or understand Basque.

In 2021 36.2% of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community aged 16 or over were Basque-speaking, 18.6% were passive Basque speakers and 45.3% were non-Basque speakers.

Figure 4. Language competence. BAC, 2021 (%)

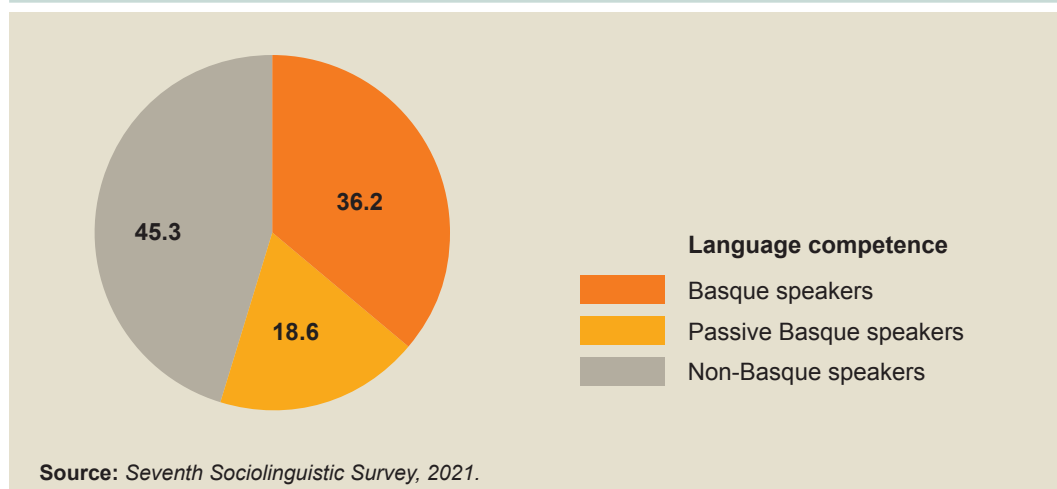


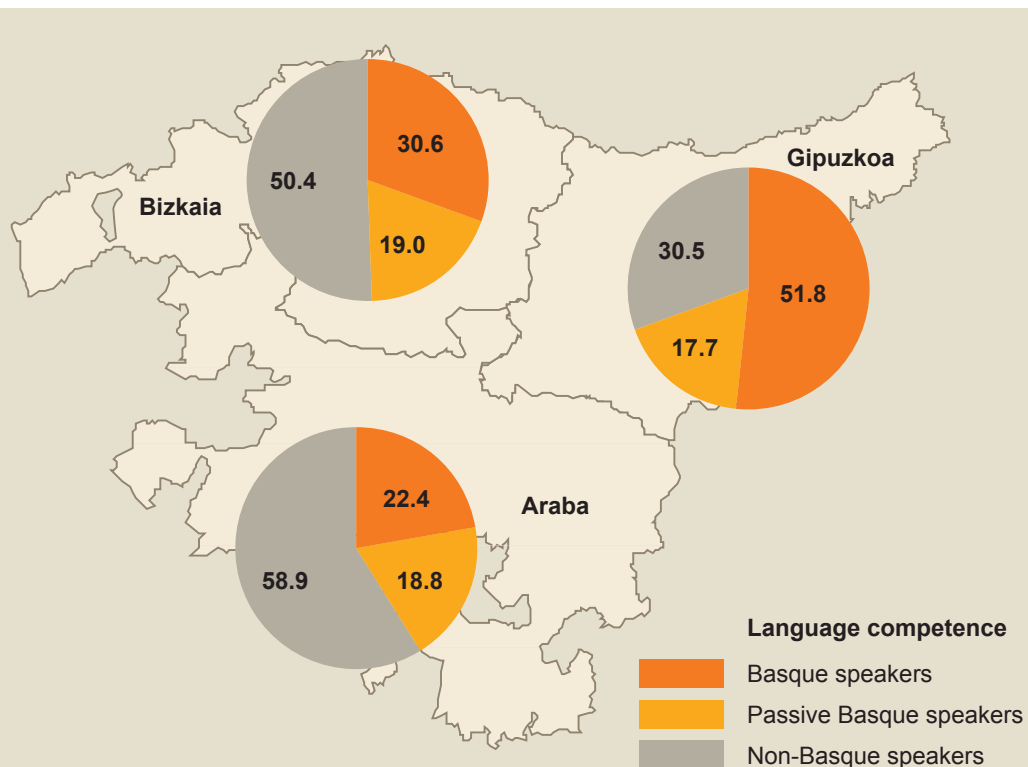
Table 2. Language competence by province. BAC, 2021

	BAC	Araba	Bizkaia	Gipuzkoa
Total	1,882,445	283,343	994,892	604,210
Basque speakers	680,629	63,243	304,211	313,175
Passive Basque speakers	349,253	53,048	189,399	106,805
Non-Basque speakers	852,119	166,608	501,282	184,229

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Taking the three provinces, there are significant differences between them. Over half the population of Gipuzkoa province is Basque-speaking (51.8%). In Bizkaia province, on the other hand, nearly a third of the population is Basque-speaking (30.6%). Finally, nearly a quarter of the population of Araba province is Basque-speaking (22.4%).

Figure 5. Language competence by province. BAC, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

It should be emphasised that the three provincial capitals have lower proportions of Basque speakers than their respective provinces. Thus, in Donostia-San Sebastián Basque speakers make up 37.6%; in Bilbao 21.9% and in Vitoria-Gasteiz 20.7%.

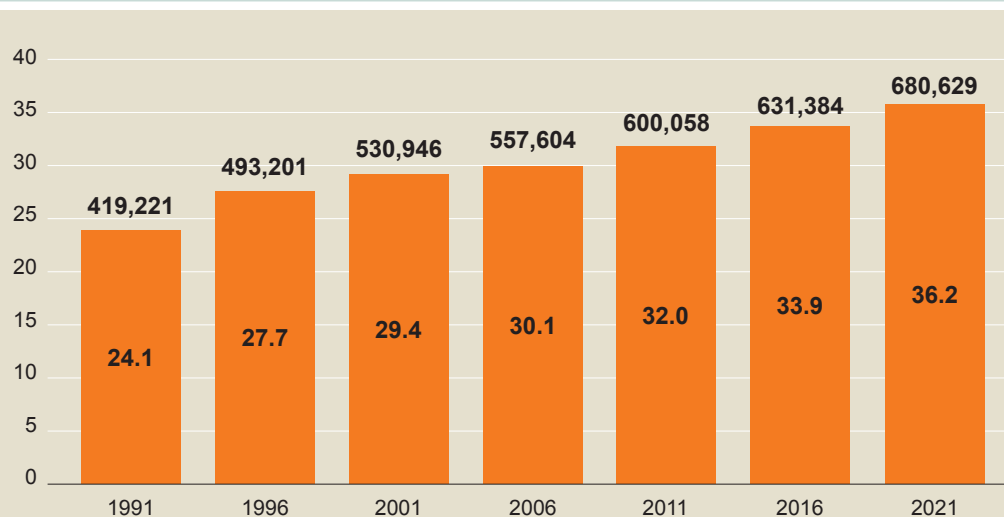
Table 3. Language competence by capital city. BAC, 2021 (%)

	Vitoria-Gasteiz	Bilbao	Donostia-San Sebastián
Total	214,865	304,619	163,066
Basque speakers	20.7	21.9	37.6
Passive Basque speakers	19.1	21.7	21.2
Non-Basque speakers	60.1	56.4	41.2

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

With regard to the trend over the last thirty years, in 2021 261,000 more Basque speakers were recorded in the Basque Autonomous Community than in 1991. The percentage of Basque speakers increased by 12 points (from 24.1% to 36.2%).

Figure 6. Evolution of Basque speakers. BAC, 1991-2021



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Moreover, passive Basque speakers have increased by nearly 10 points over the last thirty years (from 8.5% to 18.6%).

Non-Basque speakers, on the other hand, are down by 22 points (from 67.4% in 1991 to 45.3% in 2021).

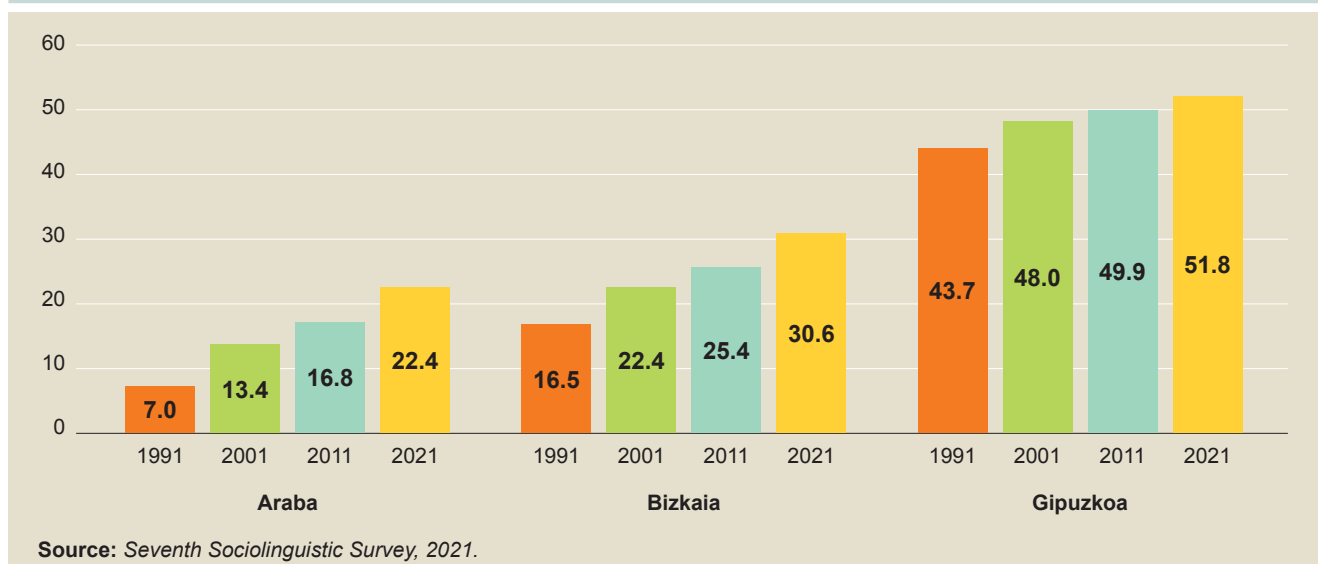
The fall in non-Basque speakers and the increase in Basque speakers are also noteworthy considering the social and demographic changes in our society in recent years. On the one hand, Basque society has aged steadily. The birth rate is very low; consequently, the younger age groups, precisely those with the largest numbers of Basque speakers, make up a smaller and smaller proportion of society as a whole.

Basque speakers have increased in numbers in all three provinces of the Basque Autonomous Community, but the increase recorded in Araba deserves a special mention. Thus, in 1991 Basque speakers made up 7% of the population of Araba province, while today they make up 22.4%. Basque speakers have increased in Araba by 15.4 points between 1991 and 2021.

In Bizkaia province, thirty years ago Basque speakers made up 16.5% of the population, while in 2021 they were 30.6%. Consequently, the percentage of Basque speakers aged 16 or over has risen by 14.1 points.

The lowest percentage increase in Basque speakers was recorded in Gipuzkoa province: 8.1 points (in 1991 they made up 43.7% of the population and in 2021 51.8%). However, the starting point should be borne in mind; i.e. in 1991 the percentage of Basque speakers in Gipuzkoa was much higher than in Bizkaia or Araba.

Figure 7. Evolution of Basque speakers by province. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)



2.2. Language competence by sex and age

As regards sex, 36.5% of women in the Basque Autonomous Community are Basque speakers, as are 35.8% of men. This means the percentage of Basque speakers is higher among women than men, to be precise 0.7 points higher.

In terms of provinces, the biggest difference is recorded in Araba: a 2.6-point difference between men and women in the province (23.6% of women and 21% of men are Basque speakers).

In Bizkaia too there is a slightly higher percentage of women than men Basque speakers. In any case, the difference is small (0.9 points). However, in Gipuzkoa there is no difference (0.1 points).

It should be borne in mind that most of the adults who learn Basque are women. In fact, in the 2020/21 academic year, women made up 65.4% of adults learning Basque, i.e. two thirds. Consequently, more women learn Basque thanks to the system of Basque learning for adults. This fact is nothing new, as the same has been happening in recent years.

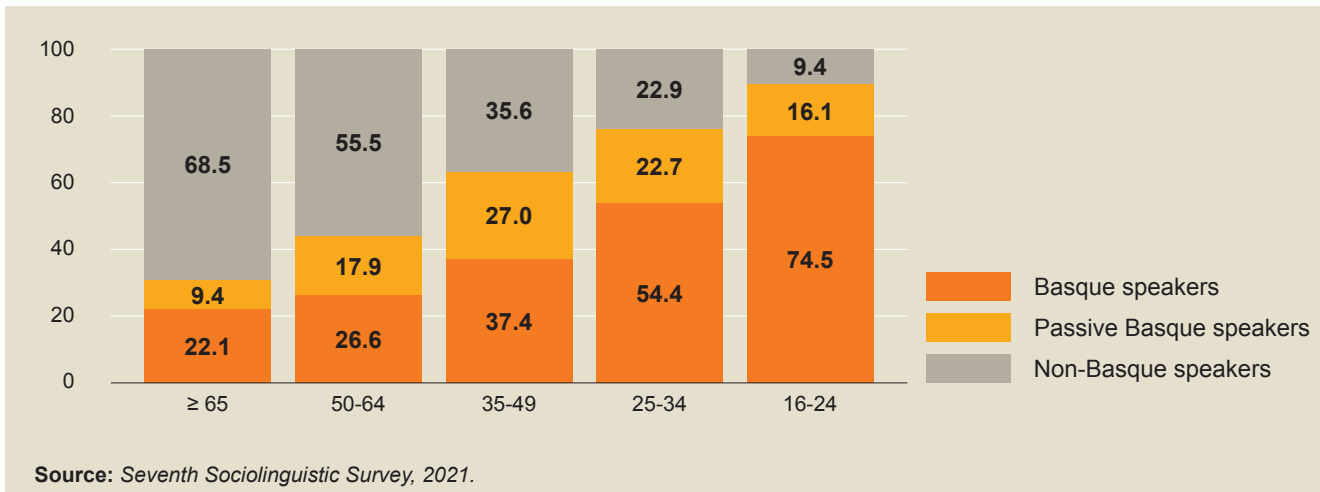
Table 4. Basque speakers by sex. BAC, 2021 (%)

	BAC	Araba	Bizkaia	Gipuzkoa
Total	36.2	22.4	30.6	51.8
Women	36.5	23.6	31.0	51.8
Men	35.8	21.0	30.1	51.9

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

If the age of Basque speakers is considered, the highest percentage of Basque speakers is to be found among people aged less than 35, in the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups.

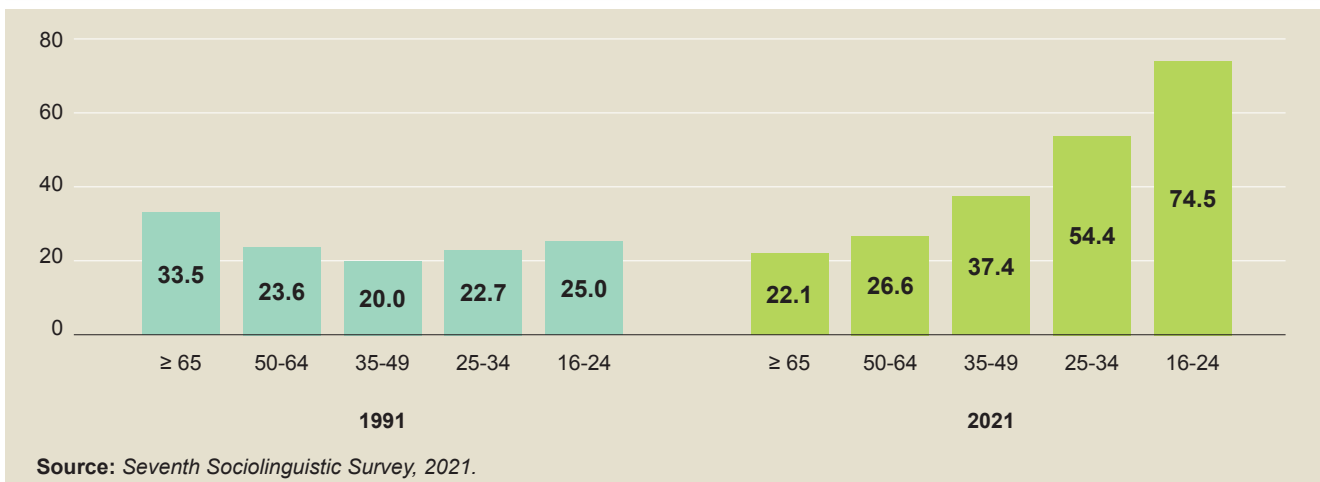
Figure 8. Language competence by age. BAC, 2021 (%)



However, an increase in Basque speakers has been recorded across all age groups under 65, though more so among the youngest age groups. Thus, today three quarters of people aged between 16 and 24 are Basque speakers (74.5%); in 1991, on the other hand, it was only a quarter (25%).

Consequently, the increase in Basque speakers is speeding up among the youngest people. The group with the highest percentage of non-Basque speakers is that of people aged 65 or over. As the young population gains an increasing percentage of Basque speakers, as the years go by the proportion of adults has also risen.

Figure 9. Evolution of Basque speakers by age. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)



This trend in terms of age can be seen in all three provinces, though the percentages are different in all of them.

In Araba and Bizkaia, the trend detected thirty years ago has accentuated. That is to say, the percentage of Basque speakers among the young population has increased. Among young people aged from 16 to 24, more than six out of ten are Basque speakers in Araba and more than seven out of ten in Bizkaia.

In Gipuzkoa province, the proportion of Basque speakers by age group is even higher. More than eight out of ten young people aged between 16 and 24 in Gipuzkoa are Basque speakers (82.8%), as well as two thirds of people aged between 25 and 34 (68.7%). Furthermore, over half of people between 35 and 49 years old are Basque speakers (52.9%). Finally, among the population aged 50 or over, Basque speakers make up more than four out of ten.

Table 5. Basque speakers by age and province. BAC, 2021 (%)

	Age groups					
	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
BAC	36.2	22.1	26.6	37.4	54.4	74.5
Araba	22.4	5.0	13.2	22.8	42.4	64.6
Bizkaia	30.6	15.7	20.6	32.4	49.1	72.1
Gipuzkoa	51.8	40.2	42.9	52.9	68.7	82.8

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

2.3. Relative language competence: oral fluency of Basque speakers

The relative language competence of Basque speakers is considered below; i.e. their fluency in Basque and another language (in most cases Spanish).

Basque speakers can be classified according to their relative language competence:

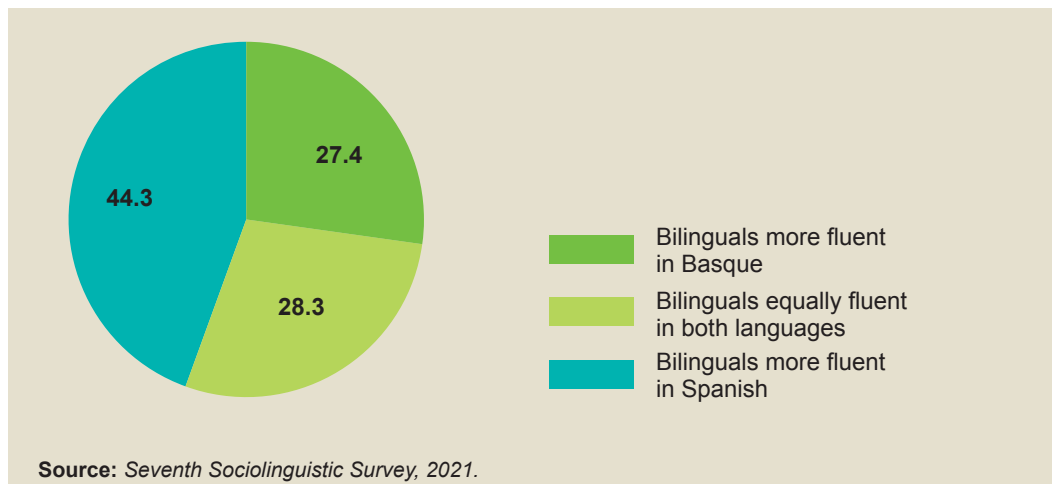
- **Bilinguals more fluent in Basque:** they speak Basque better than Spanish.
- **Bilinguals equally fluent in both languages:** they speak both languages equally well. In effect, these Basque speakers speak with the same fluency in Basque as in Spanish.
- **Bilinguals more fluent in Spanish:** they speak Spanish better than Basque.

In the Basque Autonomous Community, 27.4% of Basque speakers aged 16 or over are more fluent in Basque than in Spanish or French.

Bilingual people who express themselves equally fluently in Basque and in Spanish make up 28.3% of Basque speakers.

Finally, people who express themselves more fluently in Spanish than in Basque make up 44.3% of Basque speakers. This is the largest group among Basque speakers, and their percentage rises as age gets lower.

Figure 10. Basque speakers by fluency. BAC, 2021 (%)

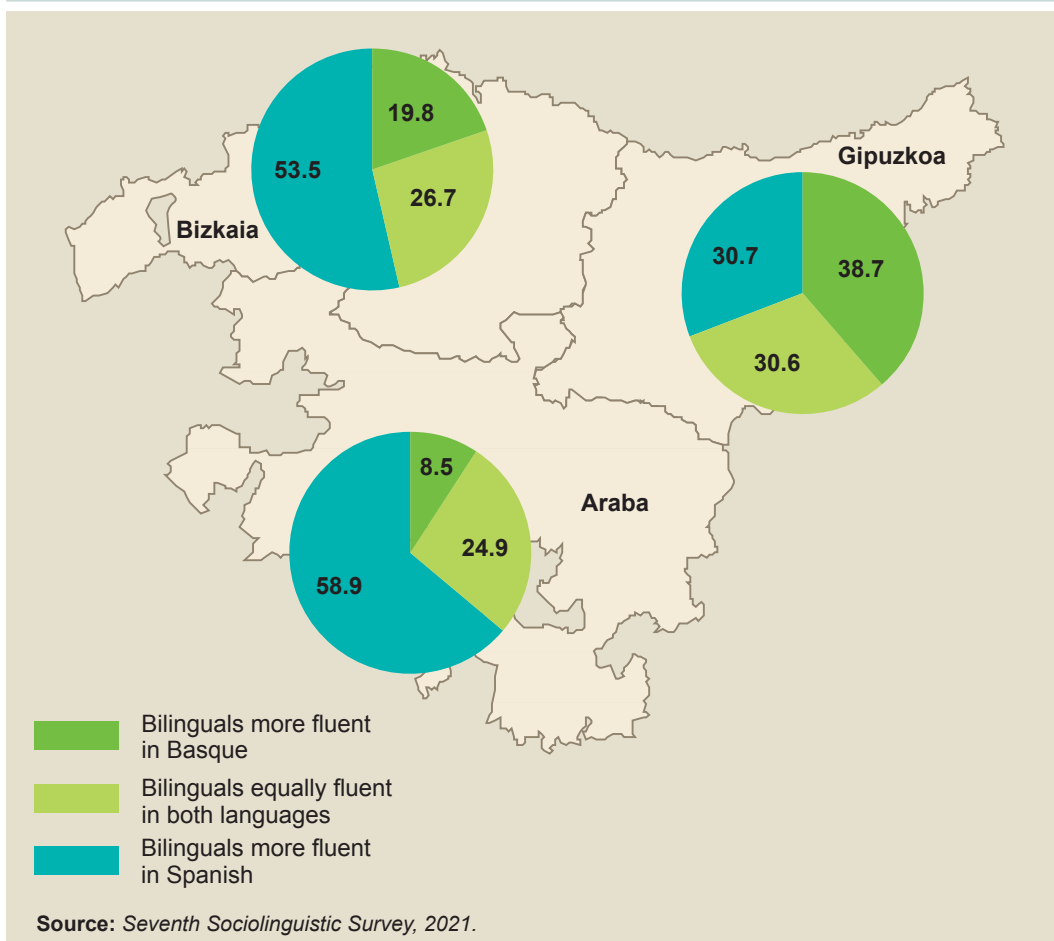


The highest percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Basque is recorded in Gipuzkoa (38.7%), and the lowest in Araba (8.5%). Likewise, 19.8% of Basque speakers in Bizkaia province express themselves more fluently in Basque.

Moreover, the highest percentage of bilinguals equally fluent in Basque and Spanish is recorded in Gipuzkoa province (30.6%). Bizkaia and Araba have similar percentages (26.7% and 24.9% respectively).

The highest percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Spanish is recorded in Araba (58.9%); this is also true of 53.5% of Basque speakers in Bizkaia and 30.7% in Gipuzkoa.

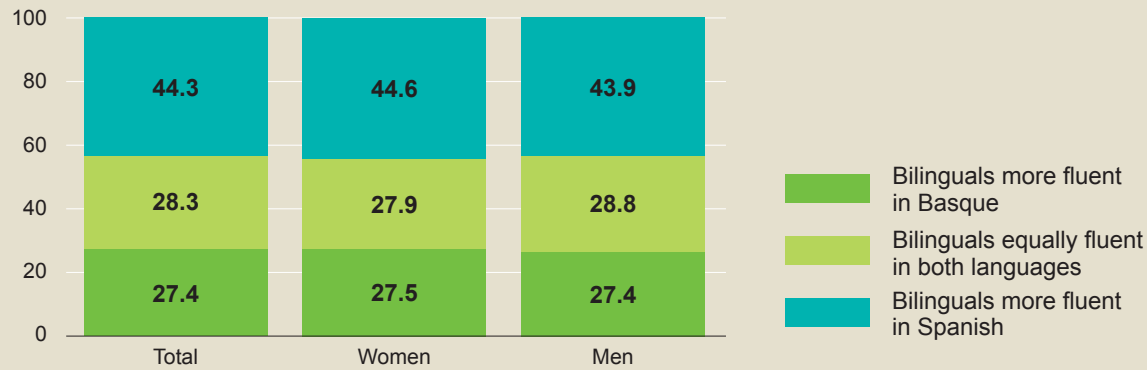
Figure 11. Basque speakers' fluency by province. BAC, 2021 (%)



Basque speakers' fluency when expressing themselves in Basque is similar between men and women (27.4% versus 27.5%).

The differences between the percentages of bilinguals equally fluent in Basque as in Spanish and those more fluent in Spanish are minimal: 0.9 and 0.7 points respectively. Bilingual people equally fluent in Basque and in Spanish make up 27.9% of women and 28.8% of men. Finally, 44.6% of women express themselves more fluently in Spanish than in Basque, while the figure is 43.9% among men.

Figure 12. Basque speakers' fluency by sex. BAC, 2021 (%)



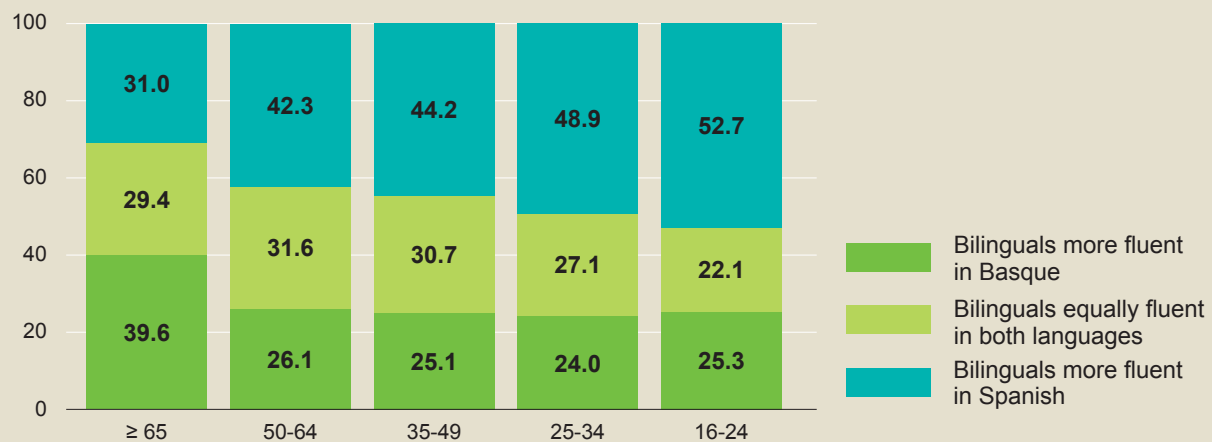
Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In terms of age, the highest percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Basque is found among people over 65 years old (39.6%), and the lowest among the age groups 25-34 years old (24%).

The highest percentage of Basque speakers equally fluent in Basque and Spanish is in the population between 35 and 64 years old (over 30%).

Finally, the percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Spanish than in Basque grows as age falls. Thus, over half of Basque speakers aged between 16 and 24 express themselves more fluently in Spanish (52.7%).

Figure 13. Basque speakers' fluency by age. BAC, 2021 (%)

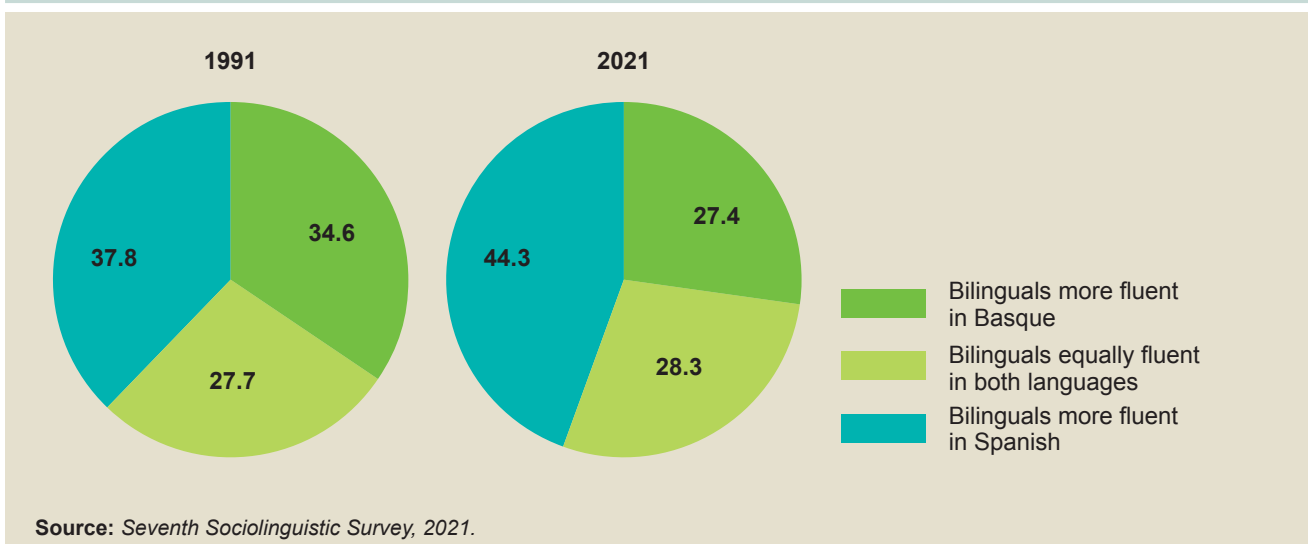


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Basque speakers' fluency in expressing themselves in Basque has changed from 1991 to the present. Thirty years ago, the percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Basque was higher than today (34.6% versus 27.4%), and the percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Spanish was lower (37.8% versus 44.3%).

On the other hand, the percentage of bilinguals equally fluent in Basque and Spanish has risen slightly (27.7% versus 28.3%).

Figure 14. Evolution of Basque speakers' fluency. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)



Analysis of the trend in relation to age shows that in 1991 the percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Basque was lower at earlier ages, something particularly noticeable in the two youngest age groups. However, in 2021 the trend for bilinguals more fluent in Basque had changed. The percentage of the Basque-speaking population more fluent in Basque in the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups (25.3% and 24% in 2021) is higher than thirty years ago (the figures were 19.6% and 19.7% in 1991).

In 1991 the highest percentage of bilinguals equally fluent in Basque and Spanish was recorded in the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups (27% and 29.9%). In 2021, on the other hand, it was found in the 35-49 and 50-64 age groups (30.7% and 31.6%).

Finally, in 1991 the highest percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Spanish was found in the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups (53.4% and 50.3%), and this did not change in 2021; i.e. the highest percentages continued to be found among the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups (52.7% and 48.9%).

Table 6. Evolution of Basque speakers' fluency by age. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)

	Age groups					
	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
1991						
Basque speakers	419,221	71,612	97,595	81,331	78,103	90,580
More fluent in Basque	35.5	58.9	47.9	32.8	19.7	19.6
Equally fluent in both languages	25.4	23.0	24.0	22.9	29.9	27.0
More fluent in Spanish	39.1	18.1	28.1	44.3	50.3	53.4
2021						
Basque speakers	681,072	107,581	130,607	189,035	120,836	133,013
More fluent in Basque	27.4	39.6	26.1	25.1	24.0	25.3
Equally fluent in both languages	28.3	29.4	31.6	30.7	27.1	22.1
More fluent in Spanish	44.3	31.0	42.3	44.2	48.9	52.7

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

3. TRANSMISSION OF THE LANGUAGE

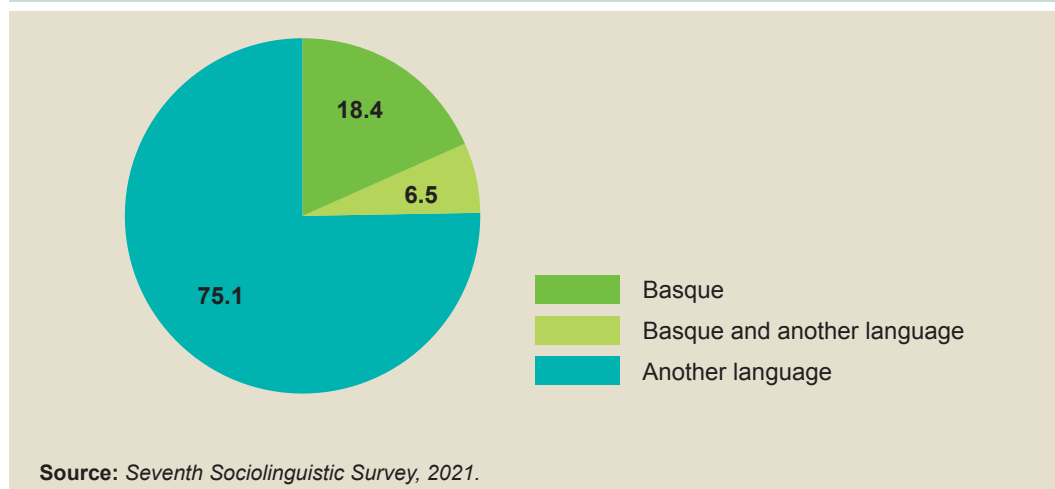
3.1. Mother tongue in the Basque Autonomous Community by provinces and capitals

The mother tongue is taken to mean the language or languages children up to the age of three learn from their parents or the family members with whom they share the household.

18.4% of the population of the Basque Country aged 16 or over learned only Basque at home, while 6.5% learned Basque together with Spanish or some other language.

Furthermore, three out of four (75.1%) learned only Spanish or some other language other than Basque at home. While the language referred to here is essentially Spanish, it should be borne in mind that increasing numbers of people have as their mother tongue one or more languages other than Spanish.

Figure 15. Mother tongue. BAC, 2021 (%)



The percentage of the population aged 16 or over with Basque as their mother tongue is lower than 30 years ago. In 1991 it was 20.7%, and in 2021 it was 18.4% (down by 2.3 points). It should be borne in mind, however, that in the last five years the percentage of people with Basque as their mother tongue has risen nearly a point.

The percentage of the population whose mother tongue is Basque together with Spanish or some other language has risen 3.9 points in the last 30 years: in 1991 it was 2.6% and in 2021 it was 6.5%.

The percentage of the population whose mother tongue is Spanish or some other language was similar in 1991 and 2021 (76.7% versus 75.1%).

Table 7. Evolution of mother tongue. BAC, 1991-2021

	1991	2021	1991 (%)	2021 (%)
Total	1,741,470	1,882,445	100.0	100.0
Basque	360,232	346,431	20.7	18.4
Basque and another language	45,488	121,899	2.6	6.5
Another language	1,335,750	1,414,115	76.7	75.1

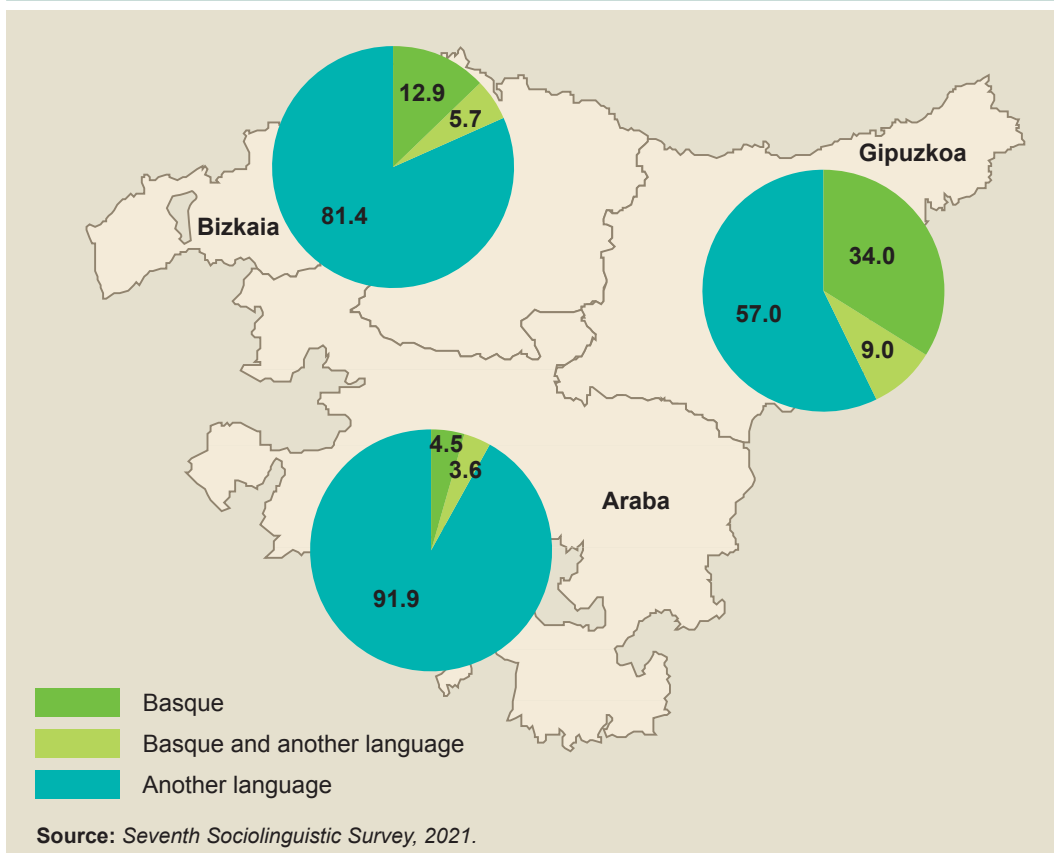
Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

The population whose mother tongue is Spanish or some other language is the majority in all the provinces and age groups of the Basque Autonomous Community, but there are significant differences between them.

While the population whose mother tongue is not Basque is the majority in all three provinces of the Basque Autonomous Community, it is lowest in Gipuzkoa (57.0%). In the other three provinces, there is a general preponderance of having a mother tongue other than Basque. Thus, Spanish or some language other than Basque is the mother tongue of the vast majority of the population of Bizkaia and Araba provinces (81.4% and 91.9% respectively).

Those with Basque as their mother tongue make up 4.5% in Araba, 12.9% in Bizkaia and 34.0% in Gipuzkoa.

By provinces, the difference between those with Basque as their mother tongue together with Spanish or some other is smaller, making up 3.6% in Araba, 5.7% in Bizkaia and 9.0% in Gipuzkoa.

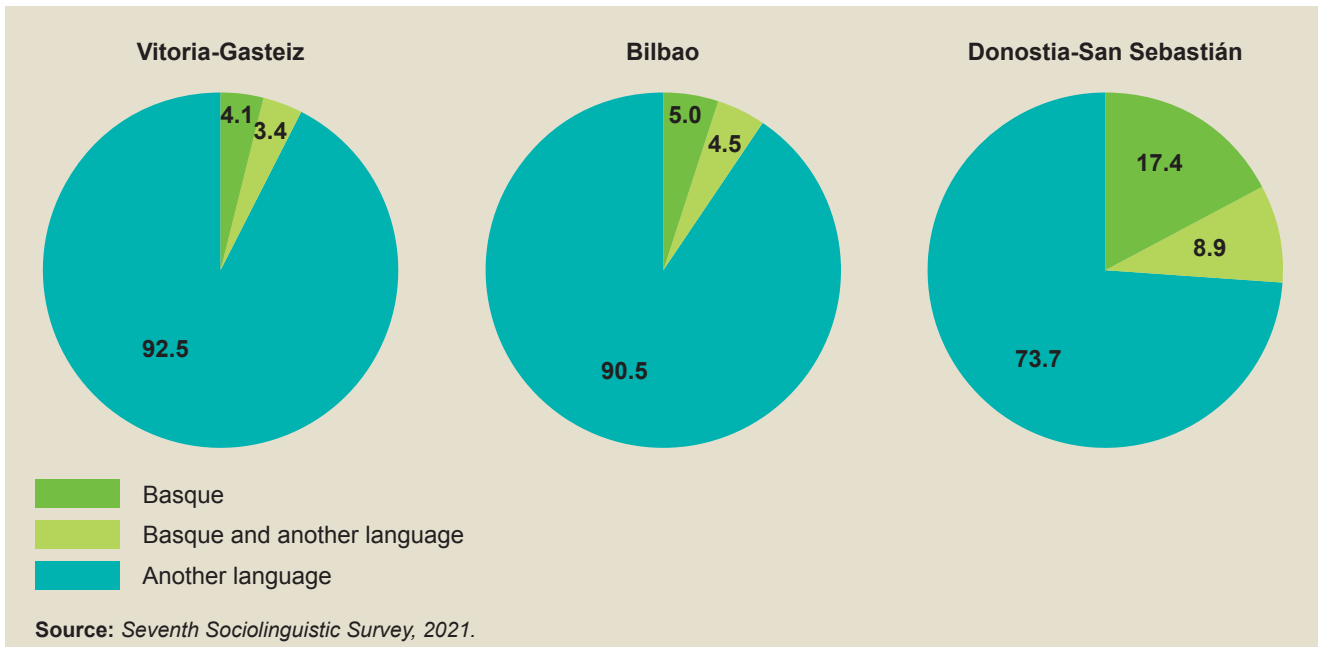
Figure 16. Mother tongue by province. BAC, 2021 (%)


In the provincial capitals the percentage of the population whose mother tongue is Basque is lower in comparison with the figures for their respective provinces.

Donostia-San Sebastián has the highest population whose mother tongue is Basque (17.4%). In Bilbao and Vitoria, the percentage of the population whose mother tongue is Basque is 5.0% and 4.1% respectively.

The population whose mother tongue is Basque together with Spanish or some other language makes up 8.9% in Donostia-San Sebastián, 4.5% in Bilbao and 3.4% in Vitoria.

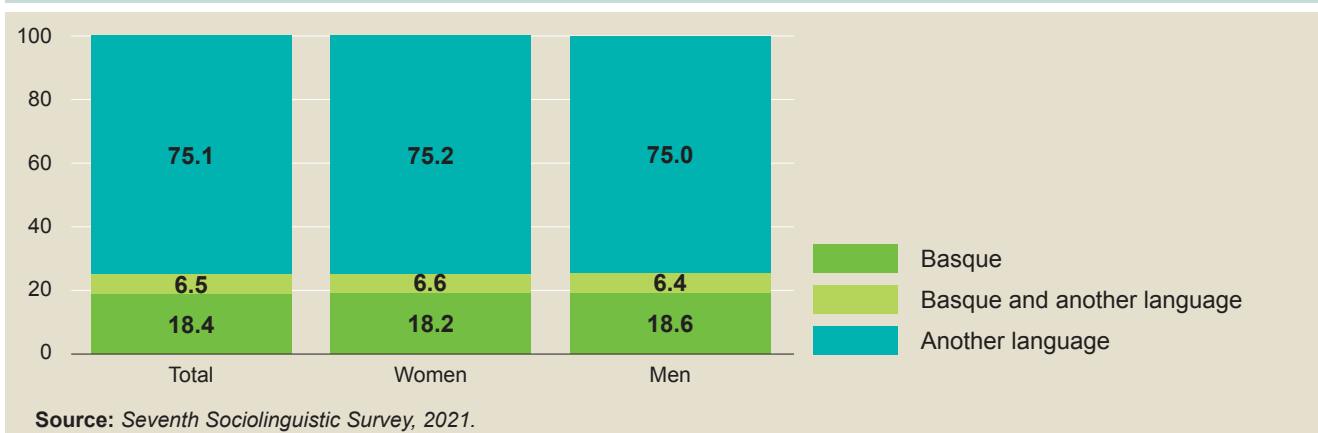
Figure 17. Mother tongue by capital city. BAC, 2021 (%)



3.2. Mother tongue by sex and age

No differences were observed between women and men in the percentages of those with Basque only as their mother tongue, Basque together with Spanish or only Spanish or some language other than Basque.

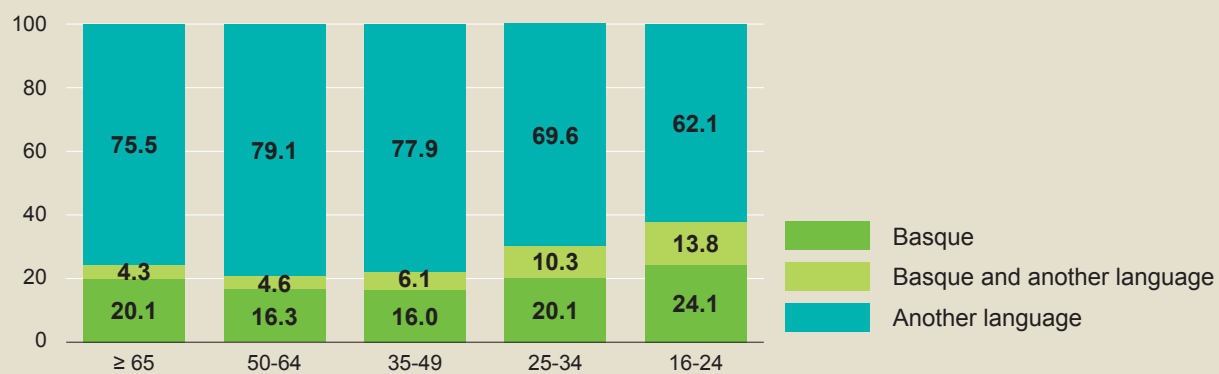
Figure 18. Mother tongue by sex. BAC, 2021 (%)



In terms of age, however, there is a significant difference. Thus, the highest percentage of people who have learnt only Basque is recorded among young people aged 16-24 (24.1%). The percentage is lower in all other age groups.

The percentage of the population who only acquired Basque as their mother tongue is the same in the 25-34 and over-65 age groups (20.1%), while it is 4 points lower in the case of people aged between 35 and 64 (around 16%).

Figure 19. Mother tongue by age. BAC, 2021 (%)

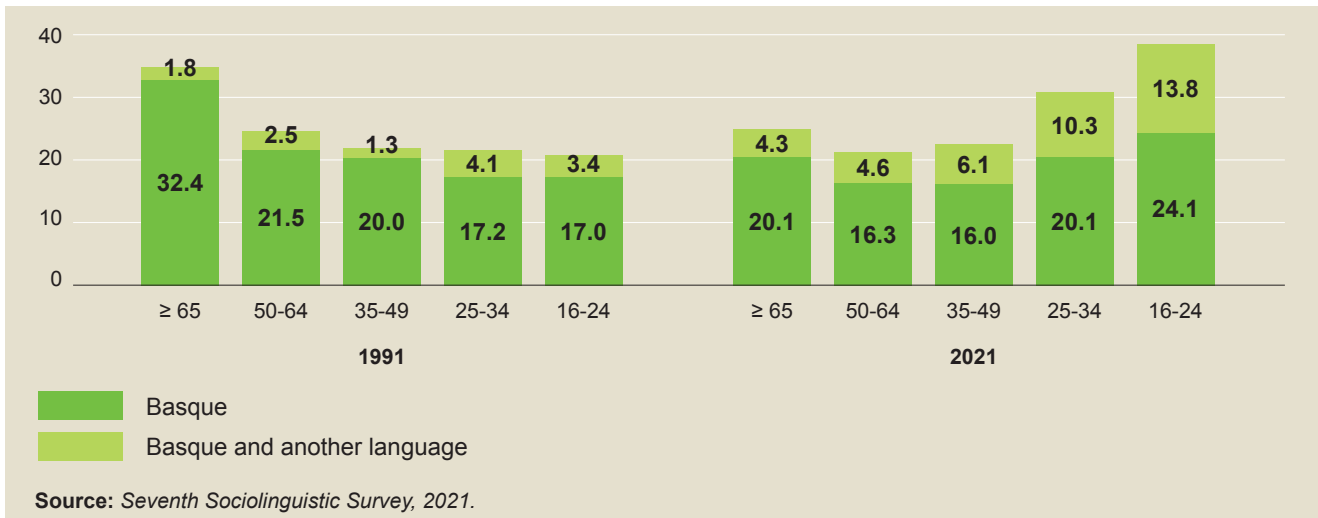


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

30 years ago the opposite was the case. Thus, in 1991 the highest percentage of people who learned only Basque as their mother tongue was among those over 65 years old (32.4%), and fell at earlier ages. In 1991 the lowest percentage was among young people under 25 years old (17%). Today, on the other hand, the percentage in the 16-24 the group is 7.1 points higher.

Moreover, the percentage of the population who had learned Basque together with Spanish was in general lower than now (2.6% versus 6.5%). A comparison by ages reveals the greatest difference in the youngest part of the population. In fact, 30 years ago, 3.4% of young people between 16 and 24 years old had learned Basque together with Spanish or some other as their mother tongue; today, on the other hand, 13.8% of young people this age learned both as their mother tongue, a difference of 10.4 points.

Figure 20. Evolution of mother tongue by age. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)

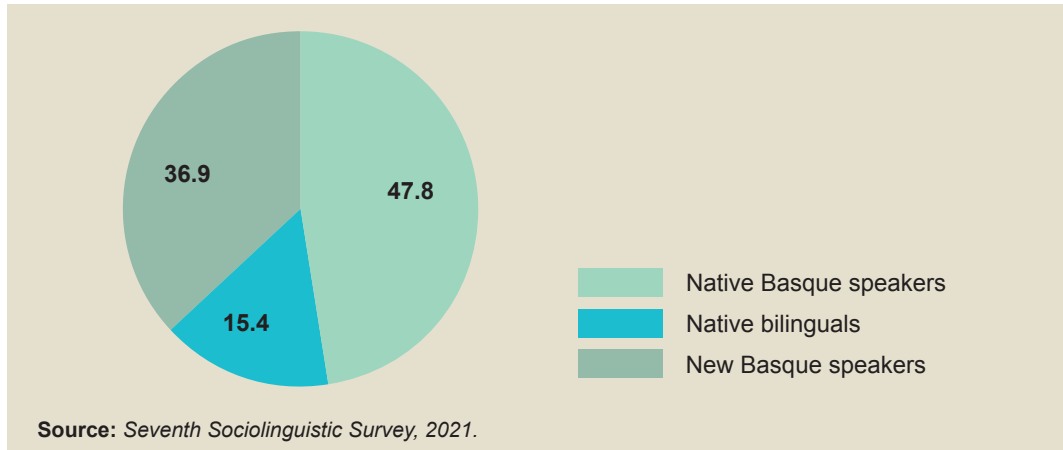


3.3. Basque speakers according to their mother tongue

Basque speakers are classified into three groups according to their mother tongue:

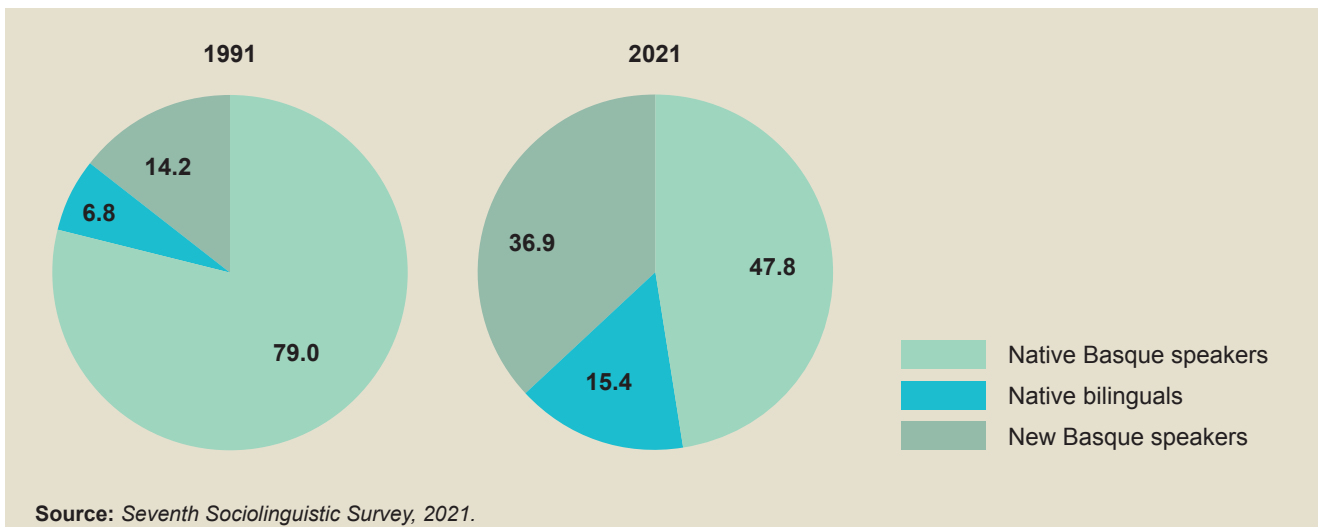
- **Native Basque speakers:** they learned Basque only in the first three years of their life, passed on by their parents or people with whom they lived at home.
- **Native bilinguals:** they learned Basque together with Spanish or some other language, passed on by their parents or people with whom they lived at home.
- **New Basque speakers or euskaldunberriak:** they did not learn Basque in the first three years of their life, as it was not passed on to them by their parents or people with whom they lived at home. They learned Basque outside the home, either at school or at an euskaltegi (Basque language centre).

In the Basque Autonomous Community, 47.8% of people who know Basque are native Basque speakers, 15.4% are bilingual by origin and 36.9% new Basque speakers.

Figure 21. Basque speakers by mother tongue. BAC, 2021 (%)


In terms of the mother tongue, the group of Basque speakers has grown significantly in the last 30 years. In 1991 most were native Basque speakers (79.0%), i.e. they had learned Basque at home. Since then their proportion has declined (-31.2 points), and in 2021 - while they remain the largest group - they now account for less than half of all Basque speakers.

People who are new Basque speakers and those who are bilingual by origin, on the other hand, account for more than twice the proportion they made up 30 years ago. The increase in new Basque speakers has been 22.7 points, and in the case of native bilinguals, 8.6 points.

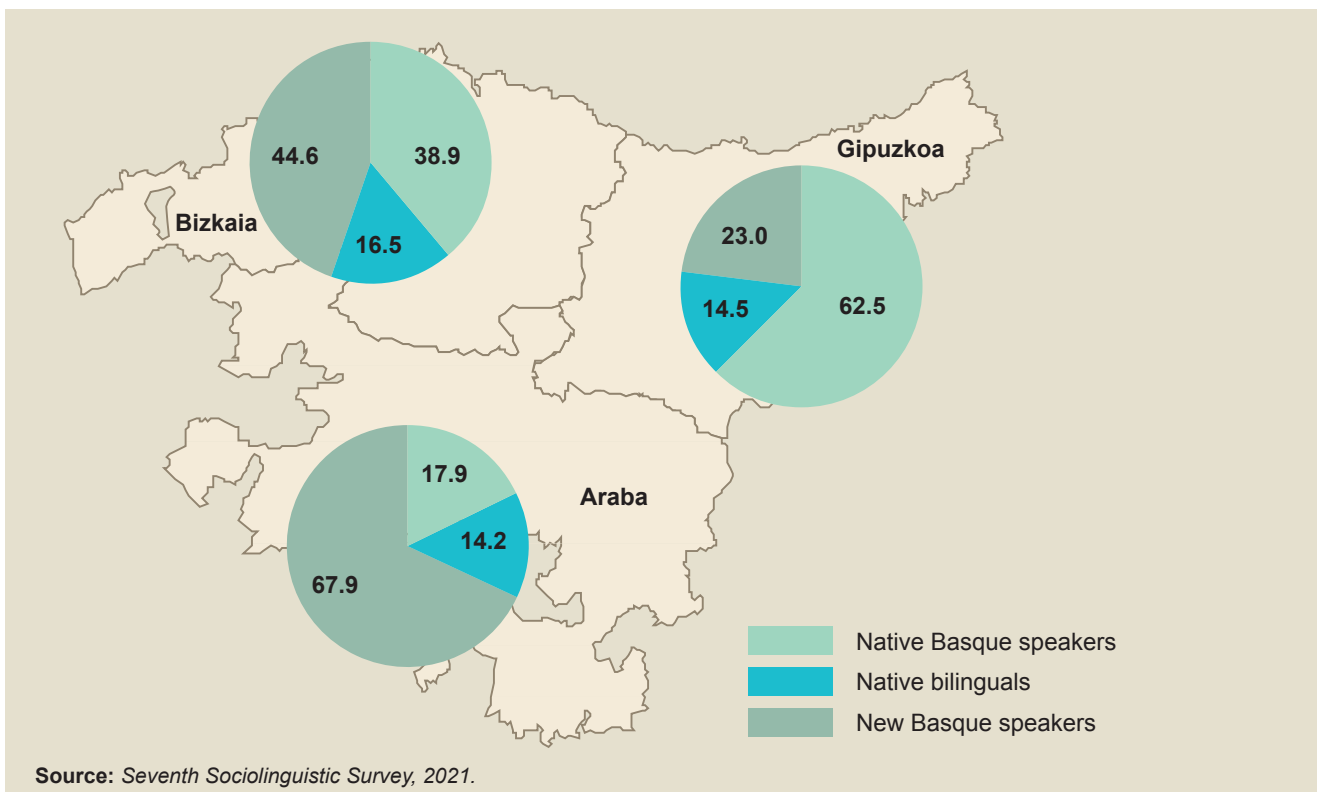
Figure 22. Evolution of Basque speakers by mother tongue. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)


Notable differences are recorded between the different provinces. In Araba province new Basque speakers are a clear majority (67.9%). Native Basque speakers in Araba make up 17.9% and native bilinguals 14.2%.

New Basque speakers also predominate in Bizkaia (44.6%), but there is also a high proportion of native Basque speakers (38.9%). Native bilinguals make up 16.5%.

Finally, In Gipuzkoa new Basque speakers make up slightly less than a quarter of all speakers of the language (23.0%). The majority of Basque speakers in Gipuzkoa province are native Basque speakers (62.5%). Native bilinguals make up 14.5%.

Figure 23. Basque speakers by mother tongue and province. BAC, 2021 (%)



As regards the provincial capitals, in Vitoria-Gasteiz and Bilbao new Basque speakers are the majority (68.2% and 64.6% respectively).

In Donostia-San Sebastián, people who are native Basque speakers and new Basque speakers make up quite similar percentages (39.9% and 40.6% respectively). In Donostia-San Sebastián, one in five Basque speakers is bilingual by origin (19.5%).

Table 8. Basque speakers by mother tongue and capital city. BAC, 2021

	Vitoria-Gasteiz	Bilbao	Donostia-San Sebastián
Basque speakers	44,530	66,758	61,244
Native Basque speakers	17.0	21.7	40.6
Native bilinguals	14.8	13.7	19.5
New Basque speakers	68.2	64.6	39.9

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

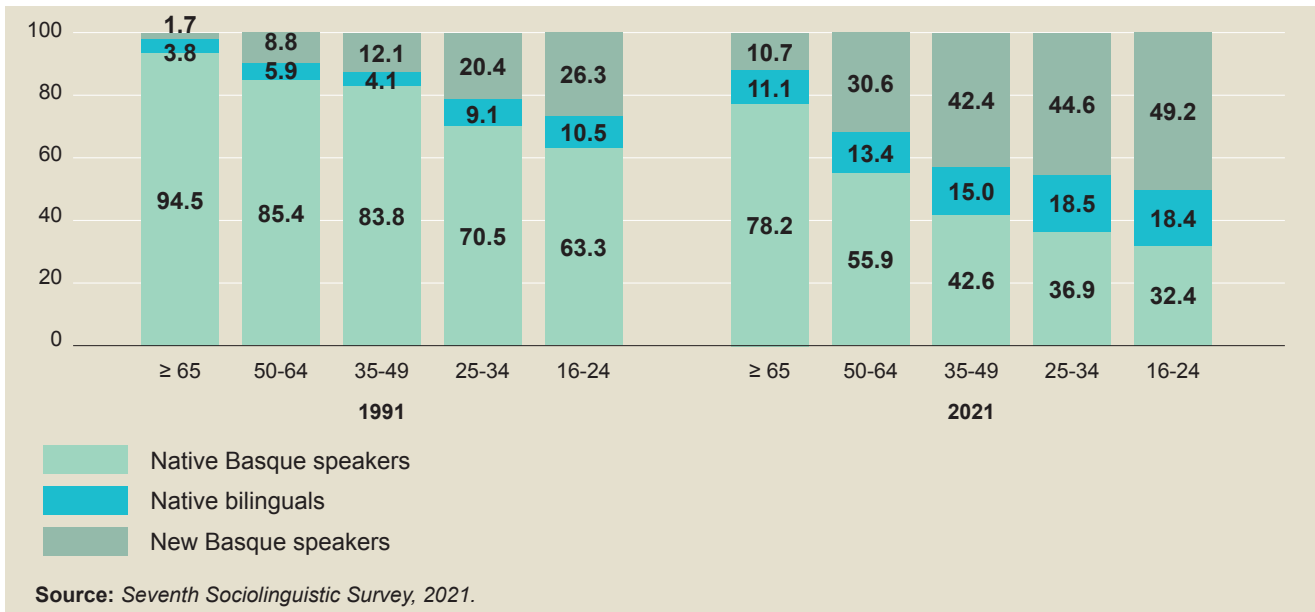
In terms of age, the percentage of Native Basque speakers falls at earlier ages, while the proportion of new Basque speakers and Native bilinguals rises.

There has been a considerable increase in new Basque speakers across all age groups. In 2021 nearly half of Basque speakers aged 16-24 (49.2%) were new speakers; on the other hand, in 1991 26.3% of this age group were new Basque speakers.

Among people aged 25-34 and 35-49 who know Basque, over 40% are new Basque speakers, while in 1991 they made up 12.1% and 20.4% respectively.

Unlike the case today, in 1991 native Basque speakers were the majority across all age groups, and there were very few native bilinguals, less than 10%, across all age groups, except in the 16-24 age group.

Figure 24. Evolution of Basque speakers by mother tongue and age. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)



3.4. Transmission of the language in families

In order to determine the features of transmission of the language in families, all the people surveyed were asked which language they had acquired at home, and the answers were classified according to their parents' language competence.

The age range of the people surveyed, from 16 to 100, needs to be taken into account. As a result, we can see how Basque has been passed on by parents from nearly a hundred years ago to the present day.

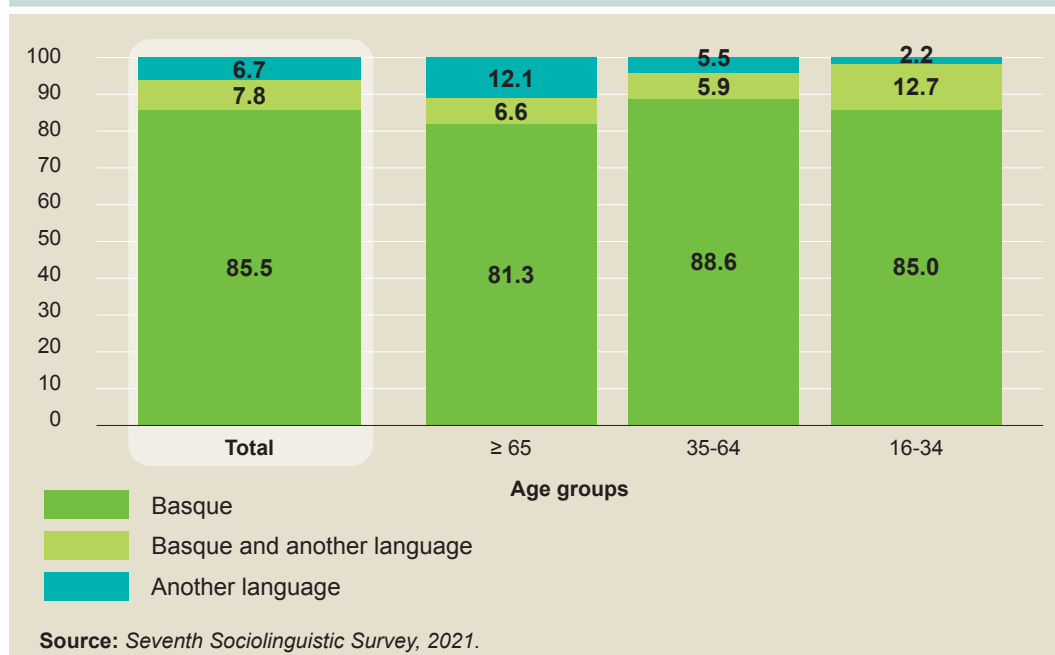
In the Basque Autonomous Community, when both parents are Basque speakers, 85.5% of their children learned only Basque at home; 7.8% Basque together with Spanish or some other language, and 6.7% did not learn Basque.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, the transmission of Basque rises at earlier ages. Thus, the highest rate of transmission of Basque is among respondents aged 16-34. 85% of young people of this age acquired only Basque at home, and 12.7% Basque together with Spanish or some other language. It is worth pointing

out the increase in young people who acquired Basque together with Spanish or some other language. This growth is made possible because young people have parents who are new Basque speakers.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, there are less and less of their children who do not acquire Basque, and more of them acquire Basque together with Spanish or some other language.

Figure 25. Language transmission when both parents are Basque speakers by age. BAC, 2021 (%)

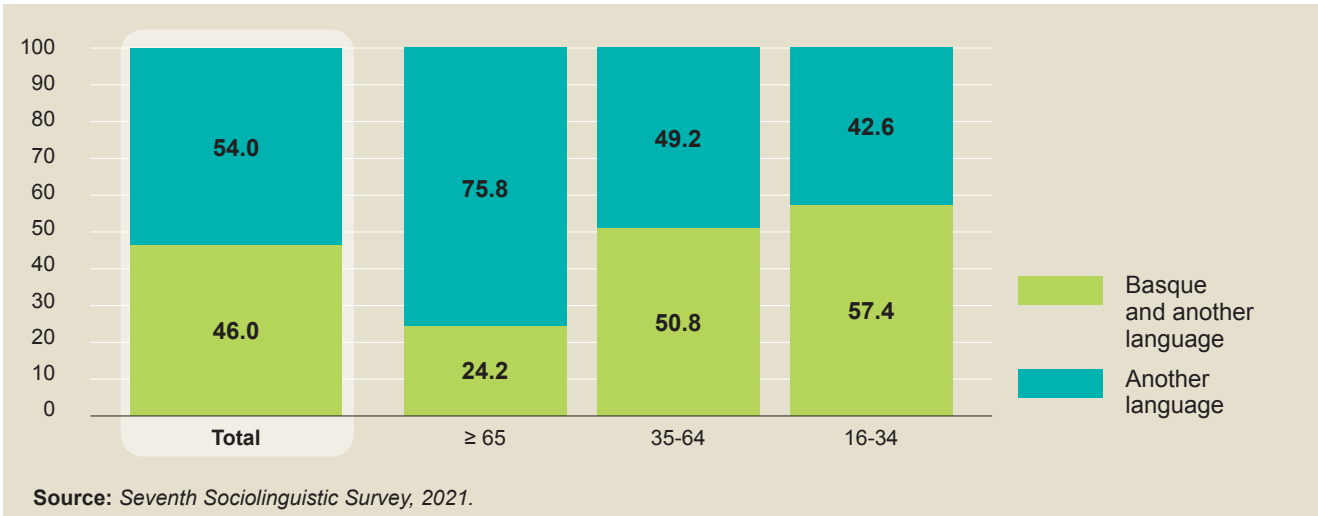


Where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker, 46% of their children acquired Basque together with Spanish or some other language, and 54% only Spanish or some language other than Basque.

Even in cases where one of the parents knows Basque, there are marked differences by age in the transmission of Basque. The earlier the age, the higher the transmission of Basque.

Thus, where one of the parents does not know Basque, 24.2% of people aged 65 or over learned Basque (together with another language) at home, 50.8% of people aged between 35 and 64 and 57.4% of people aged between 16 and 34.

Figure 26. Language transmission when only one parent speaks Basque by age. BAC, 2021 (%)

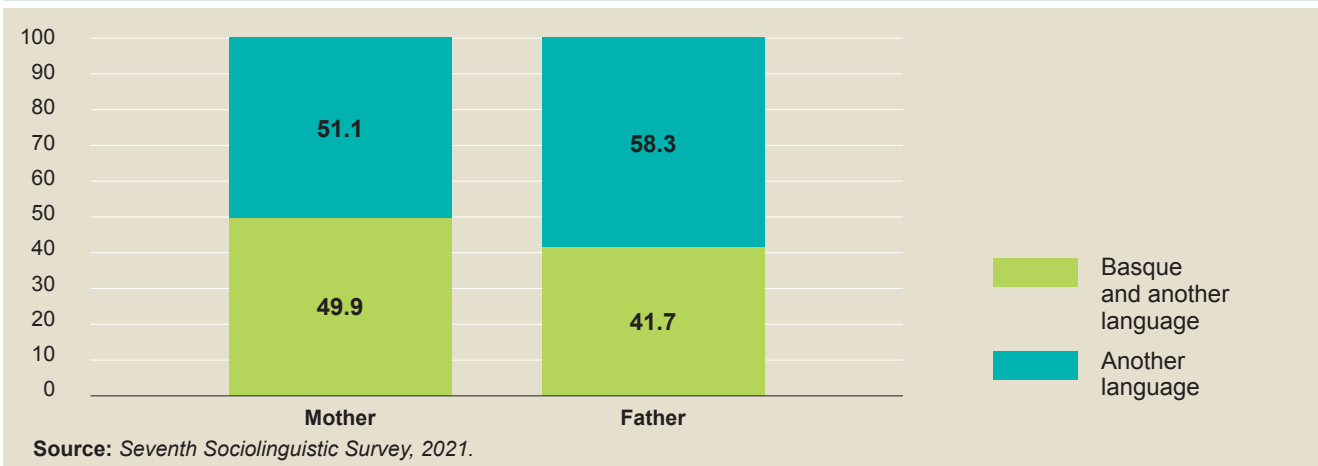


Where one of the parents knows Basque, the transmission of Basque varies considerably according to whether it is the mother or the father who knows it.

Where the Basque-speaking parent is the mother, half of their children (49.9%) acquired Basque (together with Spanish or some other language) at home, and the other half (51.1%) only Spanish or some other language.

Where the Basque-speaking parent is the father, 41.7% of their children acquired Basque (together with Spanish or some other language) at home, and 58.3% only Spanish or some other language.

Figure 27. Language transmission when only one parent speaks Basque. BAC, 2021 (%)



The earlier the age, the higher the transmission of Basque whether the Basque speaker is the mother or the father.

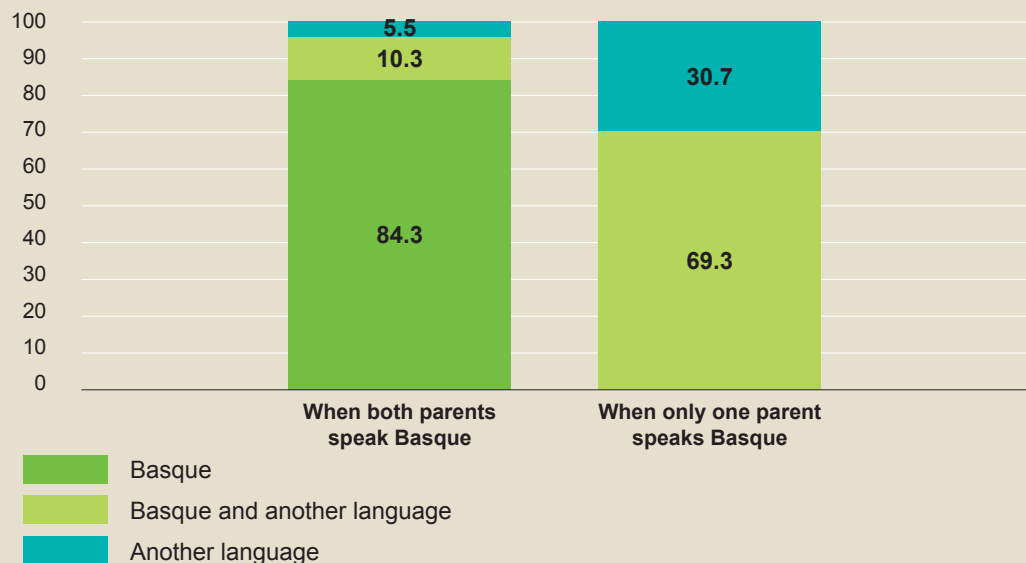
Transmission of the language in families with children between 3 and 15 years old

To determine which language was passed on at home to children aged 3-15, respondents were asked whether they had children of these ages.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, 84.3% of their children acquire only Basque at home, 10.3% Basque together with Spanish or some other language and 5.5% only Spanish or some other language.

Where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker, 69.3% of their children acquire Basque together with Spanish or some other language at home, and 30.7% only Spanish or some other language.

Figure 28. Language transmission in families with children aged 3-15 by parents' language competence. BAC, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

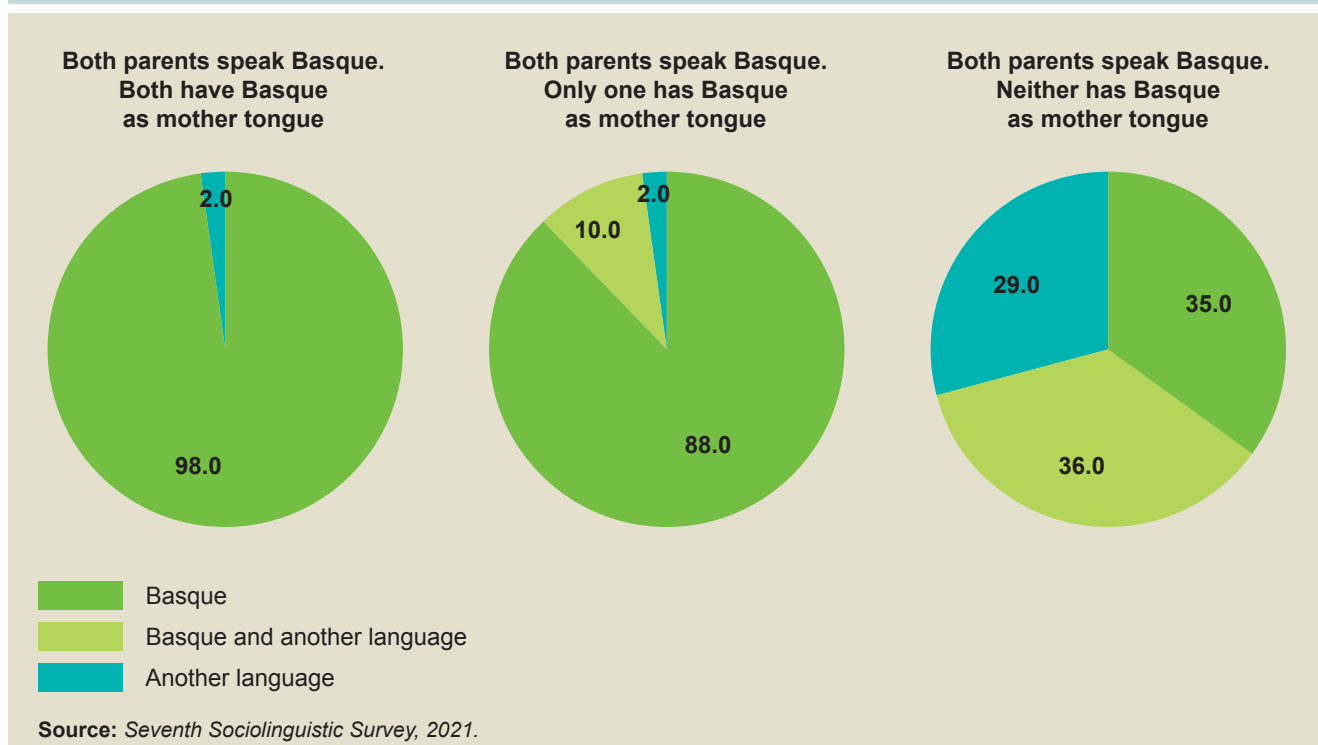
In passing on the language, as well as the parents' language competence, their mother tongue also has a strong influence. The variables of parents' knowledge of Basque and mother tongue were compared.

Where both parents are Basque speakers and the mother tongue of both is Basque, 98% of their children acquire only Basque at home, and 2% Basque together with Spanish or some other language.

Where both parents are Basque speakers and the mother tongue of one of them is Basque, 88% of their children acquire only Basque at home, 10% Basque together with Spanish or some other language and 2% only Spanish, French or some other language.

Where both parents are Basque speakers and the mother tongue of both is not Basque, 35% of their children acquire only Basque at home, 36% Basque together with Spanish or some other language and 29% only Spanish or some other language.

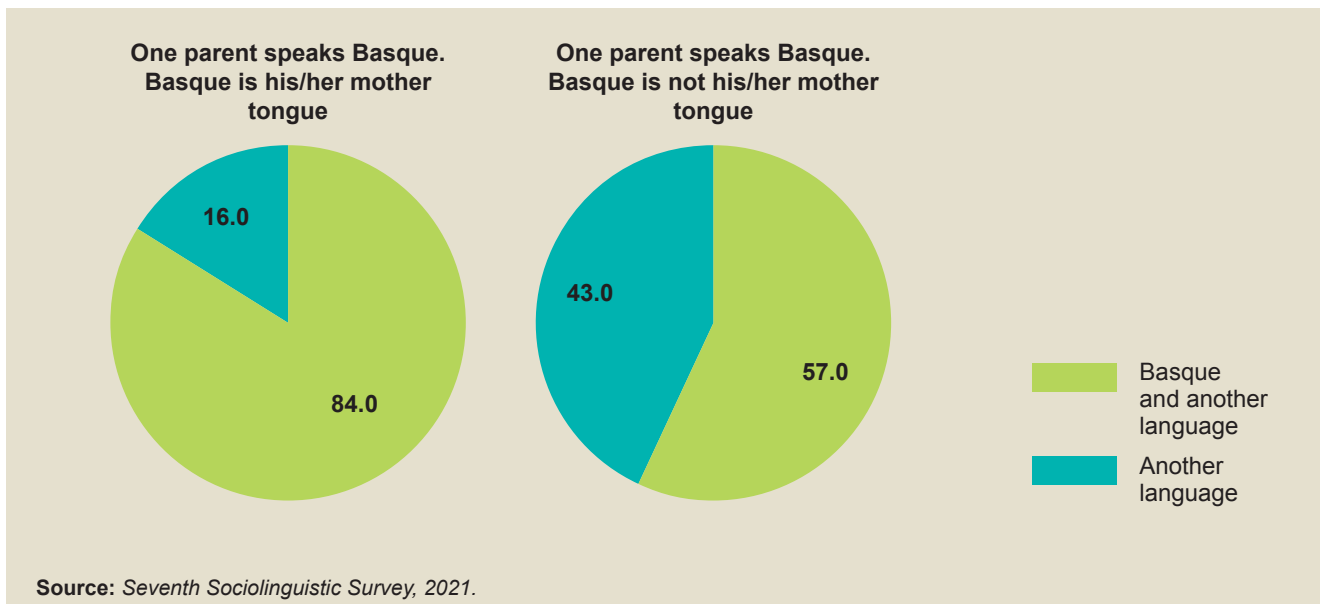
Figure 29. Language transmission in families with children aged 3-15 by parents' mother tongue. BAC, 2021 (%)



Where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker and their mother tongue is Basque, 84 % transmit Basque together with Spanish or some other language, and 16 % only Spanish or some other language.

Where the mother tongue of the Basque-speaking parent is not Basque, 57 % transmit Basque together with Spanish or some other language, and 43 % only Spanish or some other language.

Figure 30. Language transmission in families with children aged 3-15 by parents' mother tongue. BAC, 2021 (%)



3.5. Gains and losses of Basque

The vast majority of people who learned Basque or Basque together with Spanish as their mother tongue have kept their Basque and are Basque speakers today (91.8 %).

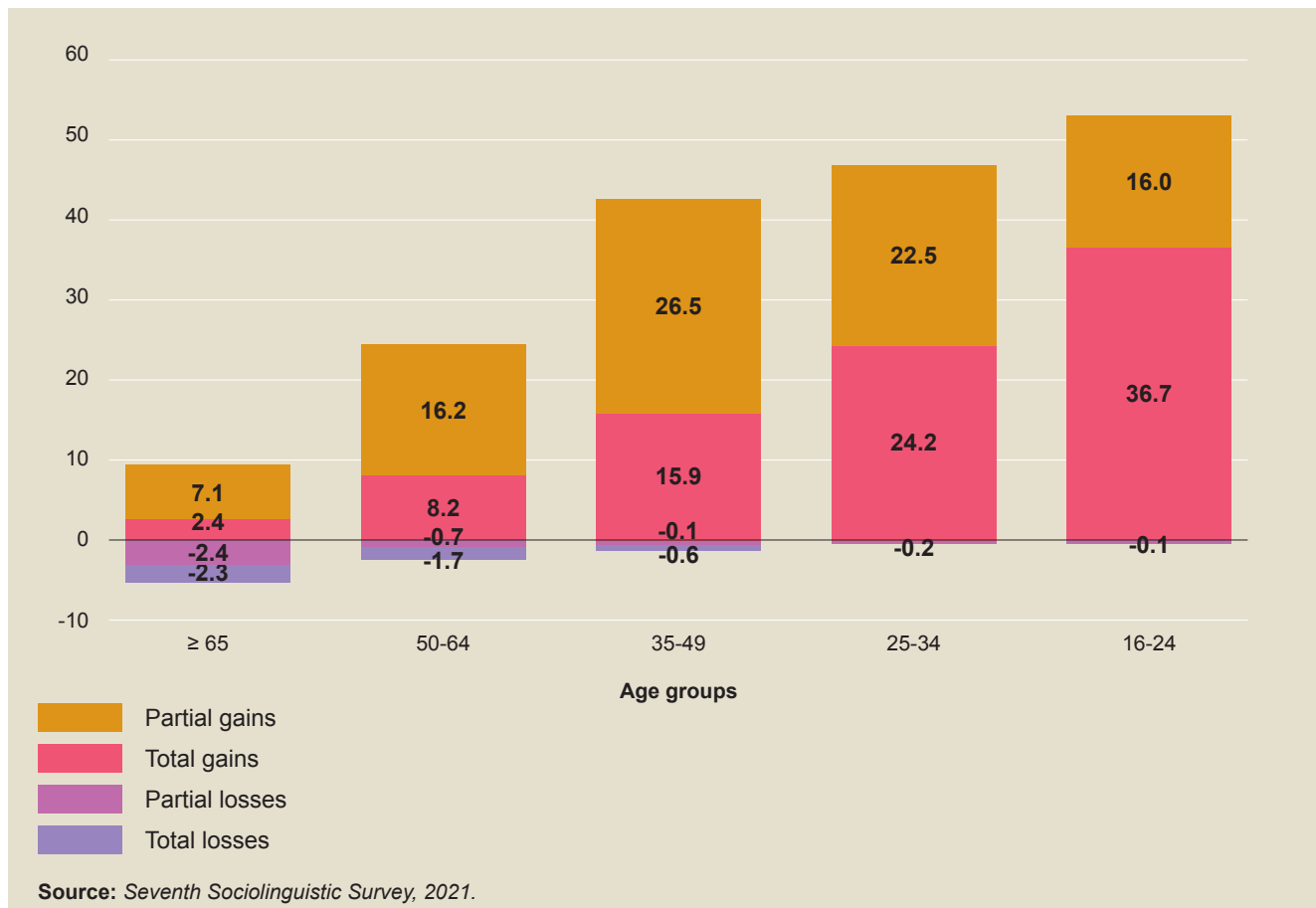
However, some of them have lost some or all of their Basque (2 % of people aged 16 or over). This loss is, in most cases, partial, i.e. even though they do not speak Basque fluently they can understand it well.

As regards age, today, most of the loss of Basque is recorded among the population over 50 years old. Most of the complete losses are recorded among people over 65 years old, while the losses suffered by people aged between 35 and 64 are mostly partial.

At the same time, however, among the population aged 16 and over, 251,000 people are recorded as having learnt Basque and now being Basque speakers despite having Spanish as their mother tongue, 201,000 more than in 1991. These people, new Basque speakers, account precisely for the gains in Basque.

In terms of gains, notable differences are recorded in relation to age. The percentage of people who have learned Basque is minimal among those over 65 years old. Under the age of 65, on the other hand, gains gradually increase, especially among the young population.

Figure 31. Basque gains and losses by age. BAC, 2021 (%)



4. USE OF BASQUE

4.1. Factors affecting the use of Basque: correlations

Before giving data on the use of Basque, the factors that most influence this are analysed. To this end, a correlation analysis was conducted to see what other variables influence the variable in question (use), and to what extent.

Correlations were made according to three spheres of use: at home, in the circle of friends and with colleagues at work. In all these spheres, there are two factors that have a big influence on use: the density of the network of relations of Basque speakers (how many people know Basque at home, in the circle of friends or among work colleagues), and their fluency (closely linked to mother tongue).

The factor that most influences use in the home is fluency in speaking Basque (0.759). The second factor is the density of Basque speakers in the household, i.e. how many members of the family speak Basque (0.673). The third factor is mother tongue, which is closely linked to fluency (0.635). The fourth factor is the sociolinguistic area (0.534).

Table 9. Correlations: use of Basque at home. BAC, 2021

	Fluency in Basque	Proportion of Basque speakers in the household	Mother tongue	Sociolinguistic area
Language spoken at home	0.759	0.673	0.635	0.534

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

With regard to use in the circle of friends, the most influential factor is once again fluency (0.689). The second factor is the sociolinguistic area (0.569). Next comes the mother tongue (0.534) and finally the proportion of Basque speakers among the circle of friends (0.491).

Table 10. Correlations: use of Basque in the circle of friends. BAC, 2021

	Fluency in Basque	Sociolinguistic area	Mother tongue	Proportion of Basque speakers among friends
Language spoken with friends	0.689	0.569	0.534	0.491

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In the use of Basque with work colleagues, the most influential factor is the density of Basque speakers (0.754), i.e. how many of these people know Basque. The second factor is fluency (0.344). Next come the sociolinguistic area (0.269) and mother tongue (0.255).

Table 11. Correlations: use of Basque with work colleagues. BAC, 2021

	Proportion of Basque speakers among work colleagues	Fluency in Basque	Sociolinguistic area	Mother tongue
Language spoken at work	0.754	0.344	0.269	0.255

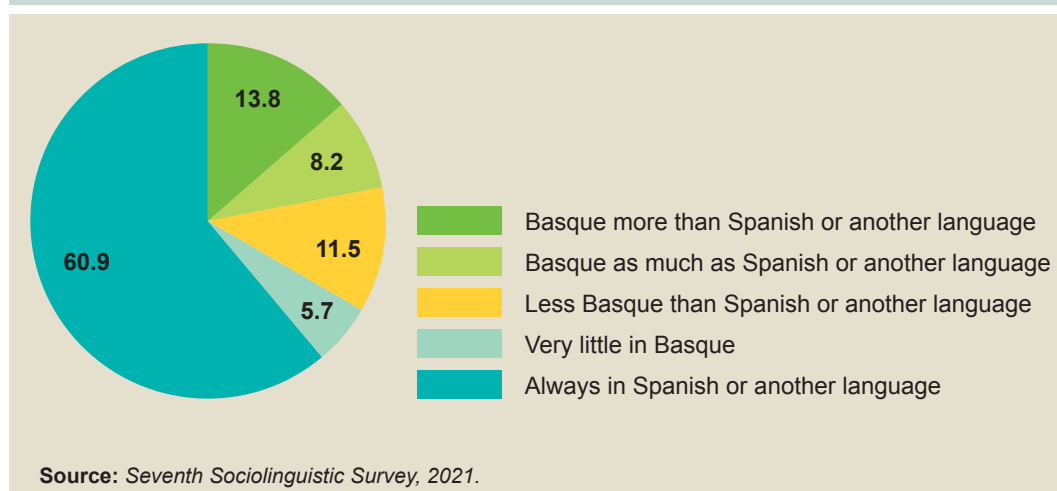
Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Therefore, according to analysis of the correlations taken from the data in the Sociolinguistic Survey, fluency in speaking Basque and the percentage of Basque speakers in the network of relations are the main factors determining the use of Basque. Other factors also affect the use of the language: attitude to and interest in Basque.

4.2. Use of Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community by provinces and capital cities

In the Basque Autonomous Community, 22% of people over 16 years old use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language; 11.5% use Basque but less than Spanish or some other language; 5.7% use Basque very little, and the remaining 60.9% only use Spanish or some other language.

Figure 32. Basque language use. BAC, 2021 (%)



A classification has been devised to measure use of Basque. In structuring this classification, the following spheres of use were taken into consideration:

- use at home
- use with friends
- formal use (in shops and the bank on the one hand, and in health and municipal services on the other)

Notable differences in use were recorded between the different provinces. In fact, the people using Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language make up 40.8% in Gipuzkoa, 14.5% in Bizkaia and 7.8% in Araba.

To understand these differences in use, let us consider the factors explaining the higher use of Basque in Gipuzkoa province:

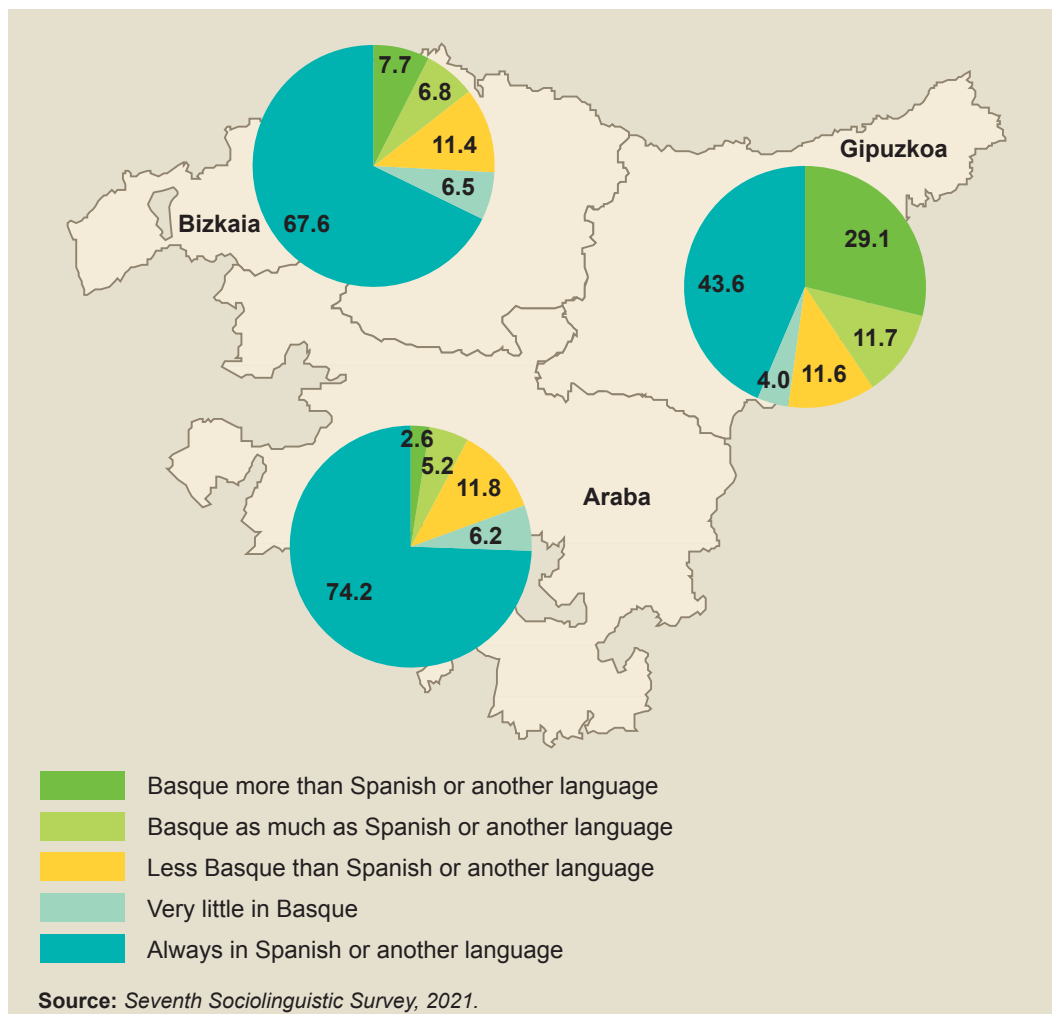
- With the exception of five (Errenteria, Irún, Lasarte-Oria, Pasajes and Donostia-San Sebastián), the municipalities of Gipuzkoa lie in the third and

fourth sociolinguistic area, i.e the areas with the highest percentage of Basque speakers. Moreover, these five municipalities, while coming into the second sociolinguistic area, are not far off the third.

- In Gipuzkoa nearly 70% of people are as fluent or more so in Basque as in Spanish, and of these 39% are more fluent in Basque. It should also be pointed out that 62.5% of Basque speakers in Gipuzkoa acquired Basque at home, i.e. Basque is their only mother tongue.

Conditions in Araba and Bizkaia are very different, and consequently the use of Basque is more restricted.

Figure 33. Basque language use by province. BAC, 2021 (%)



Notable differences are also noticeable in its use in the provincial capital cities, between Vitoria and Bilbao on one hand and Donostia-San Sebastián on the other. The percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish is 6.6% in Vitoria, 6.5% in Bilbao and 22.7% in Donostia-San Sebastián.

Table 12. Basque language use by capital city. BAC, 2021

	Vitoria-Gasteiz	Bilbao	Donostia-San Sebastián
Basque more than Spanish or another language	1.7	2.0	10.7
Basque as much as Spanish or another language	4.9	4.5	12.0
Less Basque than Spanish or another language	11.7	10.4	14.6
Very little in Basque	5.9	7.1	4.7
Always in Spanish or another language	75.8	76.0	58.0

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

The differences observed between provinces and their provincial capital cities are also considerable between the different sociolinguistic areas. Basque use stands at 5.6% in the first sociolinguistic area and 21.2% in the second. In the third sociolinguistic area, however, Basque is used as much as or more than Spanish or some other language by 53.2% of the population, and in the fourth by 78.5%.

Analysis of the trend over the last 30 years shows that the use of Basque has risen by 6.4 points in the Basque Autonomous Community. In the Basque Autonomous Community today, 141,700 more people use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language than did so according to the 1991 figures.

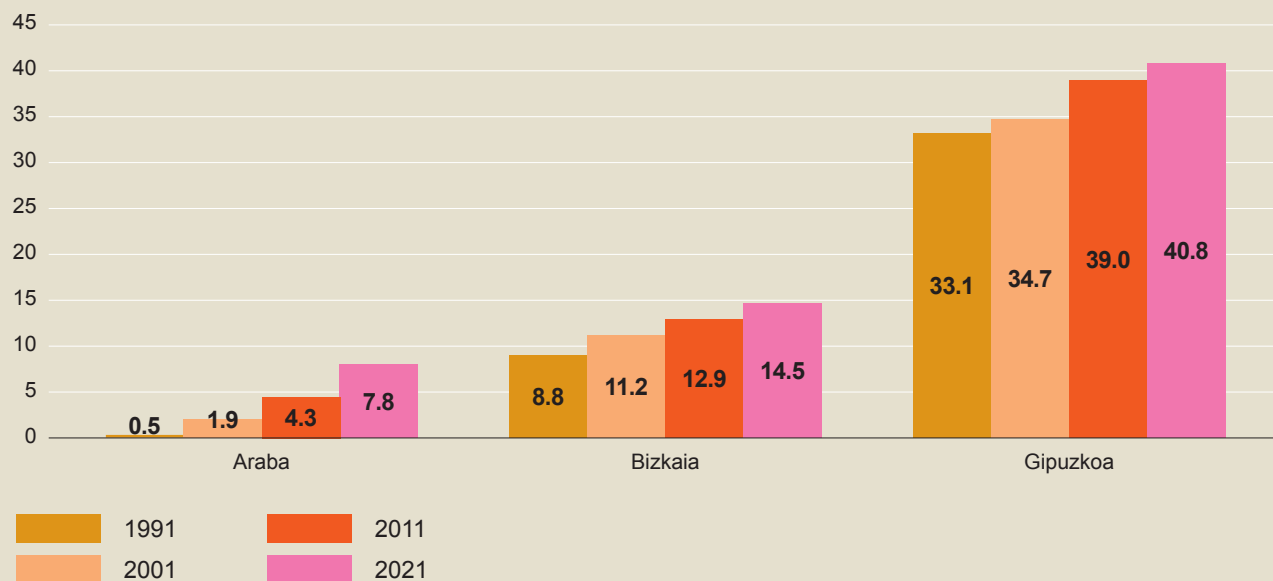
Figure 34. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)



Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

This increase has come about in all three provinces and in the three provincial capital cities. In Araba, the use of Basque has increased by 7.3 points, in Bizkaia by 5.7 points and in Gipuzkoa by 7.7 points.

Figure 35. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by province. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)

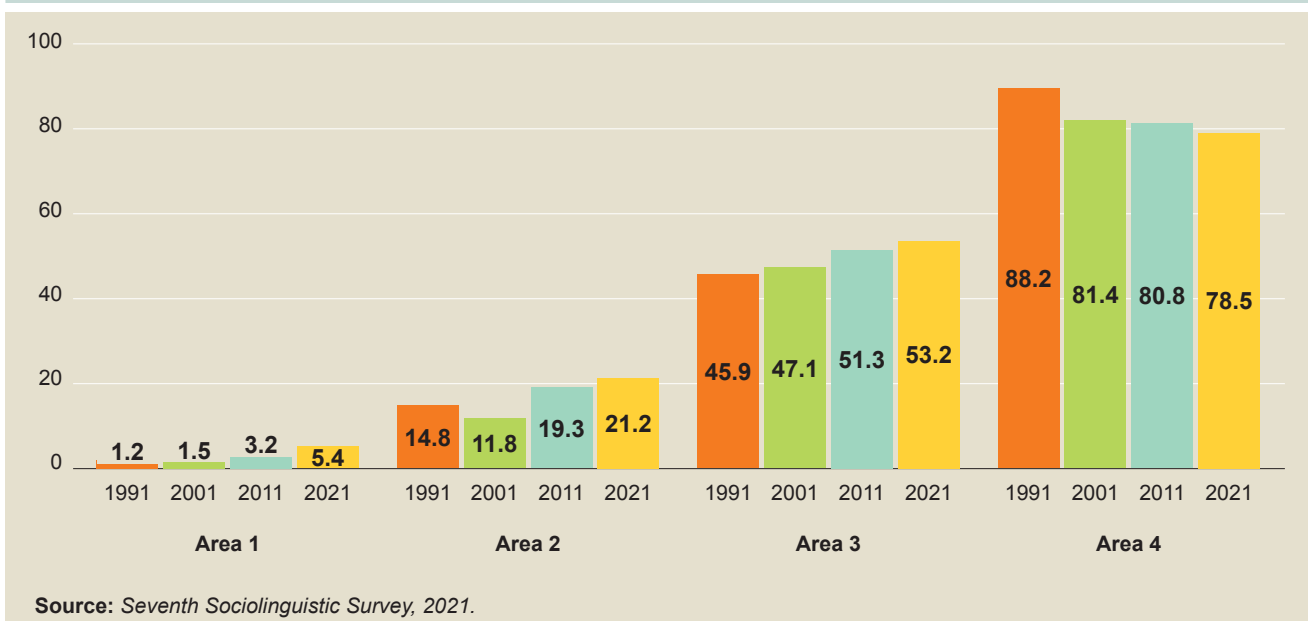


Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

Between 1991 and 2021 the use of Basque rose in the first three sociolinguistic areas of the Basque Autonomous Community: by 4.2 points in the first area, 6.4 points in the second and 7.3 points in the third.

In the fourth sociolinguistic area, on the other hand, the use of Basque has declined (-9.7 points). This decline is due to population movements over the last two decades. While in the least Basque-speaking area these movements have favoured Basque, in the most Basque-speaking area, in general, they have not.

Figure 36. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by sociolinguistic areas. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)



4.3. Use of Basque by sex and age

In relation to sex, in general no significant differences are recorded between women and men in the use of Basque. In fact, the percentage of people using Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language comes to 21.8% among women and 22.1% among men. Nor have there been any significant differences by sex in the use of Basque over the last 30 years.

Table 13. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by sex. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)

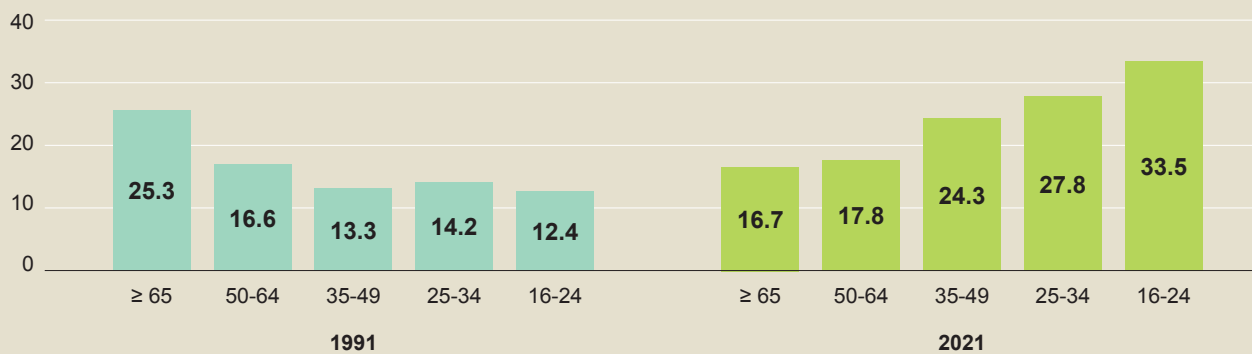
	1991	2001	2011	2021
Men	15.9	17.5	19.8	22.1
Women	15.2	17.5	20.2	21.8
Total	15.6	17.5	20.5	21.9

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

When use of Basque is analysed by age, the highest percentage of Basque use is recorded among young people. In fact a third of young people between 16 and 24 years old use Basque as much as or more than another language (33.5%).

The lowest percentage, on the other hand, is among people over 65 years old (16.7%), and the earlier the age the higher the percentage of people who use Basque. However, 30 years ago the opposite was the case.

Figure 37. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by age. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

This use by age groups is repeated, in general terms, in all three provinces of the Basque Autonomous Community. However, the percentages are considerably higher in Gipuzkoa than in Araba or Bizkaia, across all age groups. In Gipuzkoa, the people using Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language make up a third or more across all age groups, and over half of the population under 35 years old.

Table 14. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by province and age. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)

	Age groups					
	Guztira	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
BAC	20.5	17.5	17.5	20.1	26.6	29.5
Araba	5.6	1.1	4.2	5.6	9.8	14.9
Bizkaia	13.0	12.1	12.3	11.8	16.2	16.7
Gipuzkoa	39.5	33.5	32.1	40.2	52.1	54.7

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Those who always use Spanish remain the majority in all age groups, except those under 25 (the percentage of young people between 16 and 24 years old who always use Spanish is 31.4%).

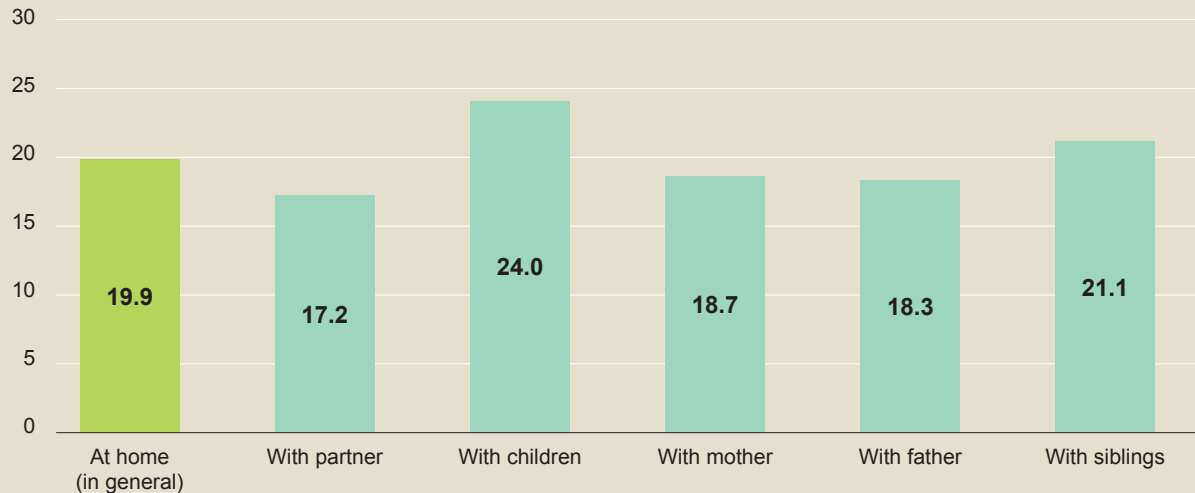
4.4. Use of Basque in different spheres: home, circle of friends, formal sphere

Use of Basque at home

In the Basque Autonomous Community, 19.9% of people aged 16 or over use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language at home, 10.5% use Basque, but less than Spanish or some other language and the remaining 65.6% only Spanish or some other language.

Basque use varies among members of the family. The highest use is with children (24%) and the lowest with the partner (17.2%). Between siblings, the use of Basque comes to 21.1%, with the father 18.3% and with the mother 18.7%.

Figure 38. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language at home. BAC, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Over the last 30 years, use at home has varied slightly. However, in the last five years an increase of 2.7 points has been recorded.

The trend in use is highly positive, with children (5.9 points) and between siblings (4.1 %). The percentage of use of Basque with the mother and with the father has increased (by 2.7 and 4.4 points respectively), and also with the partner, with a rise of 2.5 points.

Table 15. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language at home. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)

	1991	2001	2011	2021
At home (in general)	17.3	17.0	17.2	19.9
With partner	14.7	12.1	14.1	17.2
With children	18.1	20.5	22.8	24.0
With mother	16.0	14.8	16.4	18.7
With father	13.9	14.1	15.9	18.3
With siblings	17.0	18.1	20.1	21.1

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Use of Basque in the circle of friends

In the Basque Autonomous Community, 22.1% of people aged 16 or over use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language with their friends, 12% use Basque, but less than Spanish or some other language and the remaining 65.9% only Spanish or some other language.

In 30 years the percentage of people using Basque as much as Spanish or some other language in their circle of friends has risen by 6 points.

Table 16. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language with friends. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)

	1991	2001	2011	2021
Use with friends	16.1	18.2	21.3	22.1

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Use of Basque in the formal sphere

This section analyses three spheres of use: at work (with colleagues), in the private sphere (with the staff of shops and banks) and in the public sphere (with the staff of health and municipal services).

In the Basque Autonomous Community, 26.8% of the population uses Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language at work. 11.8% use Basque, though less than another language, and 61.4% use only Spanish or some other language.

Women use Basque more than men with work colleagues of both sexes (use by women is 2.5 points higher than use by men).

In the private sphere, 22.4% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish in shops, and 22.1% at the bank. In these two spheres, the percentages of people who use Basque, though less than Spanish, are 9.2% and 7.9% respectively.

In the public sphere, 23.1% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish in health services, and 27.4% in municipal services.

Figure 39. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language in formal situations. BAC, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Over the last 30 years, the percentage of people using Basque at work as much as or more than Spanish or some other language is up by 11.4 points; those who use it in shops by 7.6% and those who use it at the bank 7%. In the public sphere, there has been a rise of 14.6 points in health services and 12 points in municipal services.

Table 17. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language in formal situations. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)

	1991	2001	2011	2021
With co-workers	15.4	18	24.5	26.8
With shopkeepers	14.8	16.9	20.4	22.4
At the bank	15.1	19.9	21.3	22.1
With health professionals	8.5	14.1	19.8	23.1
With municipal services	15.4	20	24.8	27.4

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

4.5. Use of Basque on social networks

In the Basque Autonomous Community, the language used most on Internet social networks in the Basque Country is Spanish, including among young people. However, 19.5% of users use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language. The highest percentage of use is among young people aged 16-24 (28.5%).

Apart from Spanish and Basque, users also employ other languages, basically English, on Internet social networks (3.4%).

5. ATTITUDE TOWARDS PROMOTION OF THE USE OF BASQUE

5.1. Attitude towards the promotion of the use of Basque by provinces and capitals

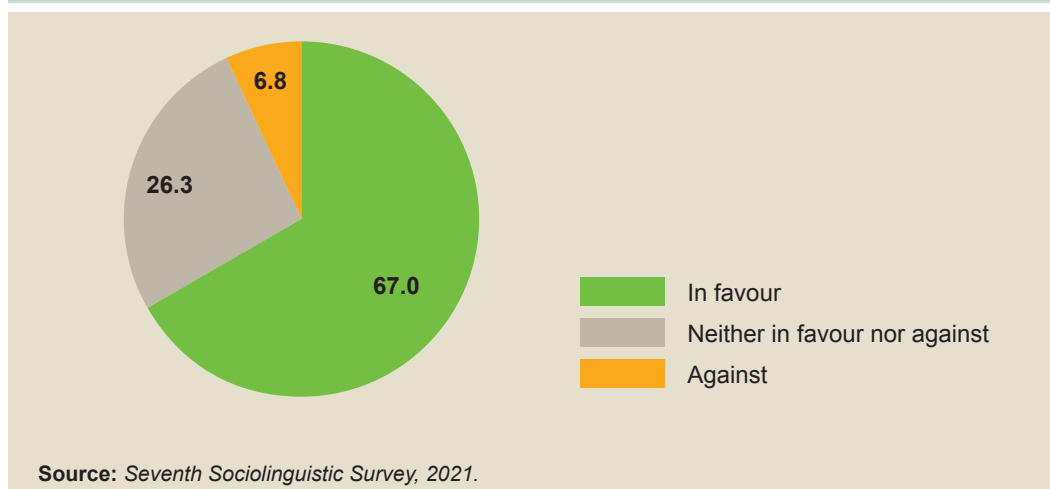
In order to determine attitudes towards the promotion of Basque use, based on the opinion expressed by respondents concerning the promotion of Basque use in different spheres.

In order to construct this classification, the following statements were used:

- One should know Basque to get into the Administration.
- It is preferable to learn English than Basque (those who express disagreement are considered favourable to the promotion of Basque).
- All children should learn Basque.
- More radio and television programmes should be broadcast in Basque.

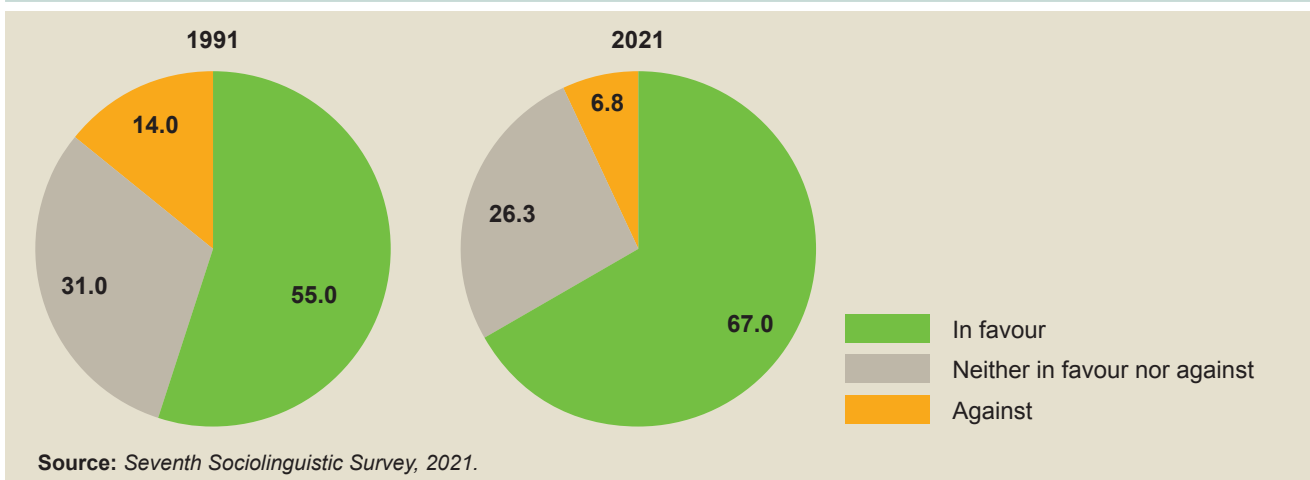
67% of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community aged 16 or over expressed approval of the promotion of Basque, 26.3% were neither for nor against and 6.8% were against it.

Figure 39. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion. BAC, 2021 (%)



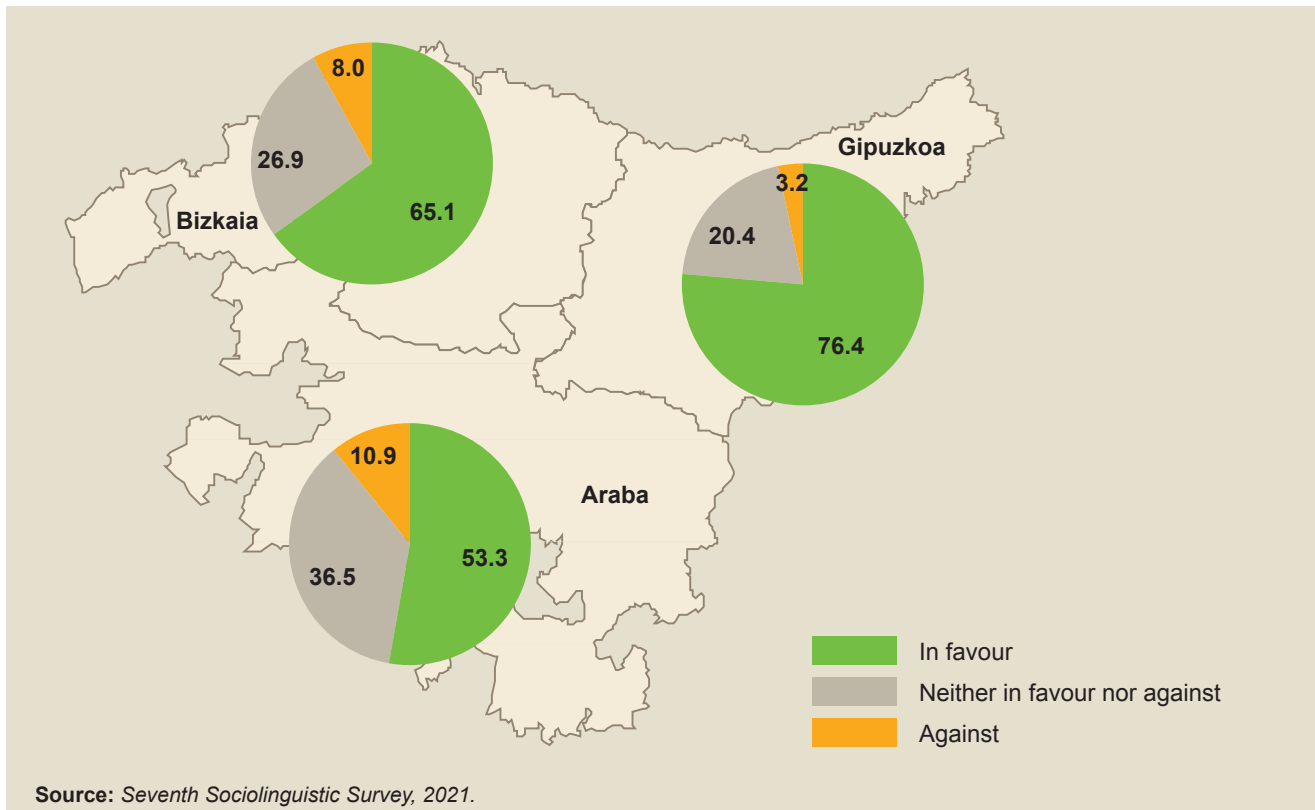
Between 1991 and 2021, the percentage of people in favour of promoting Basque rose by 12 points (from 55 % to 67 %). On the other hand, less people were neither for nor against (from 31 % to 26.3%), and the percentage of people against it fell (from 14 % to 6.8 %).

Figure 40. Evolution of attitudes towards Basque language promotion. BAC, 1991-2021 (%)



The most favourable attitude to the promotion of Basque is recorded in Gipuzkoa (76.4 %), followed by Bizkaia (65.1 %), and the lowest in Araba (53.3 %)

Figure 41. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by province. BAC, 2021 (%)



Looking at the trend over the last thirty years, it can be seen that the percentage in favour of promoting the use of Basque has risen in all provinces, especially in Gipuzkoa province.

In fact, in 1991 59.9% of the population of Gipuzkoa were in favour of promoting the use of Basque (up 16.5 points), in Bizkaia 54.3% (up 10.8 points) and 45.4% in Araba (up 7.9 points).

With regard to provincial capital cities, 67.8% of the population of Donostia-San Sebastián are favourable towards the promotion of Basque, 57.2% of that of Bilbao and 51.7% of that of Vitoria-Gasteiz. Regarding people opposed to the promotion of Basque, the highest percentage is recorded in Vitoria and Bilbao (11% and 9.6% respectively), and the lowest in Donostia-San Sebastián (6.9%).

Table 18. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by capital city. BAC, 2021 (%)

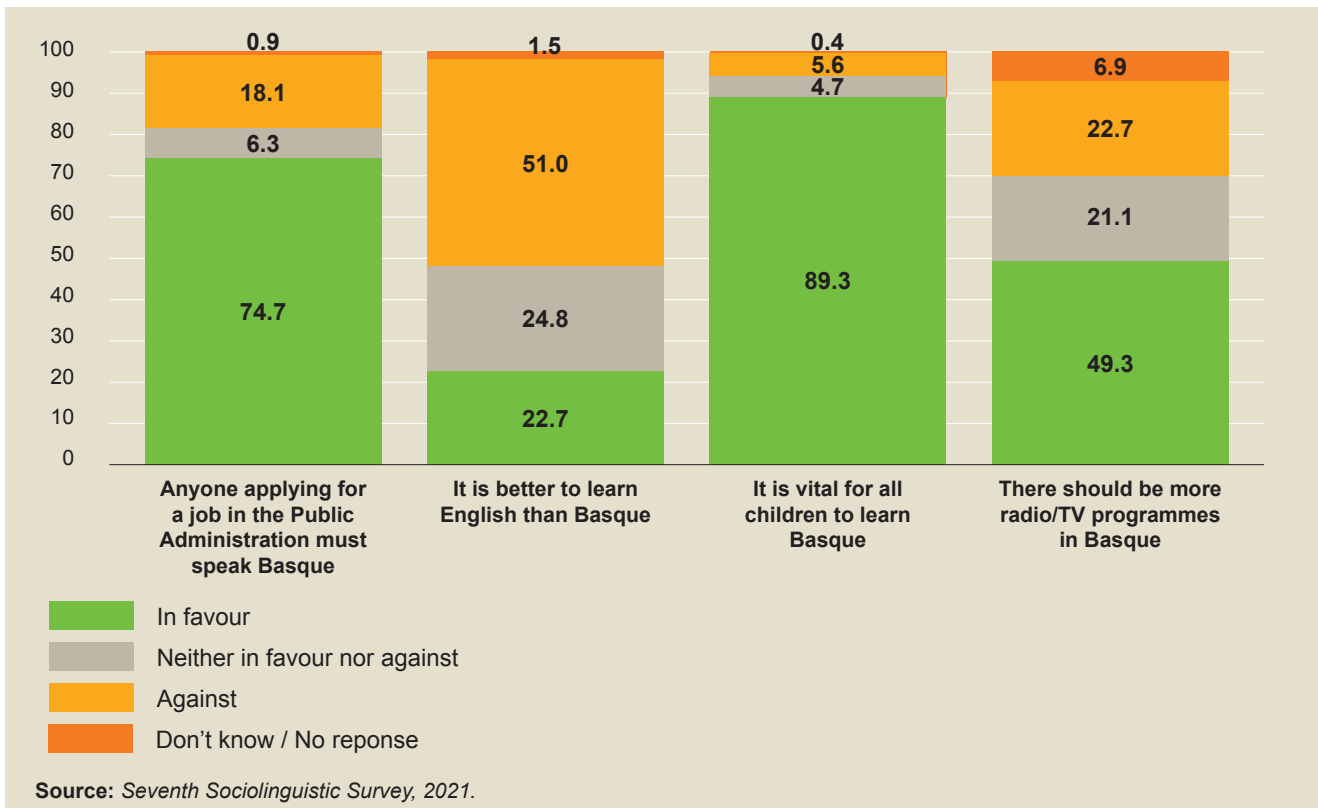
	Vitoria-Gasteiz	Bilbao	Donostia-San Sebastián
In favour	51.7	57.2	67.8
Neither in favour nor against	37.3	33.2	25.3
Against	11.0	9.6	6.9

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

The responses to the statements to establish the classification with regard to attitudes towards the promotion of Basque are as follows:

- 74.7 % of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community feel that knowing Basque should be necessary to work in the Administration, and 6.3 % are neither for nor against this. On the other hand, 18.1 % are against this criterion and 0.9 % do not answer.
- 22.7 % feel it is preferable to learn English than Basque (opinion unfavourable to promoting the use of Basque), while 24.8 % are neither for nor against this. Finally, 51 % of the population are against this criterion (opinion favourable to promoting Basque). The remaining 1.5 % do not answer.
- 89.3 % of the population feels that all children should learn Basque, 4.7 % are neither for nor against this, 5.6 % are against and 0.4 % do not respond.
- Finally, 49.3 % feel that radio and television channels should broadcast more programmes in Basque, 21.1 % are neither for nor against this, 22.7 % are against it and 6.9 % do not respond.

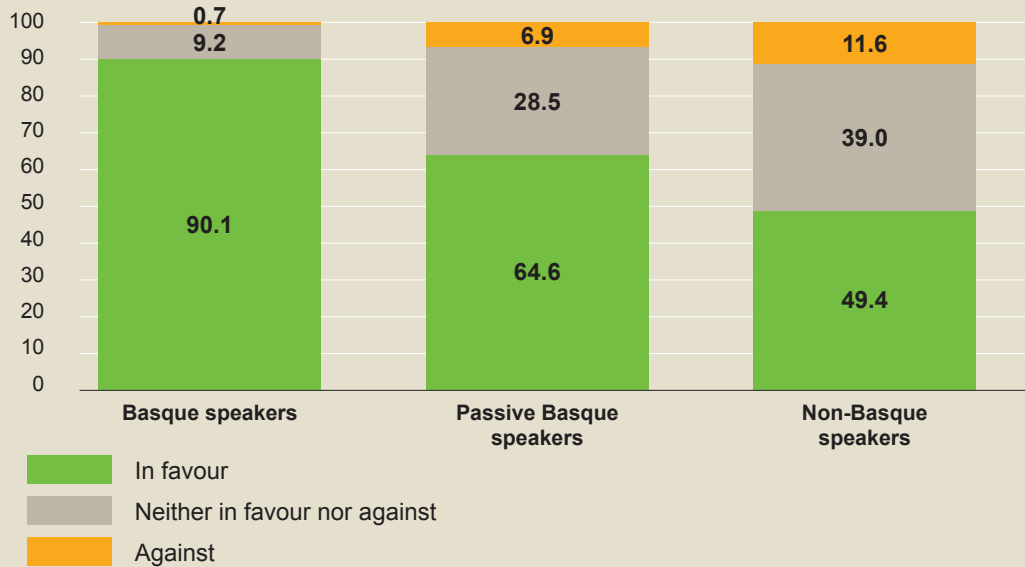
Figure 42. Opinions used to established attitude categories. BAC, 2021 (%)



5.2. Attitude towards the promotion of the use of Basque by language competence, sex and age

Attitudes towards Basque are closely linked to language competence. In fact, 90.1% of Basque speakers are in favour of promoting the use of Basque, as are 64.6% of passive Basque speakers and 49.4% of non-Basque speakers.

Figure 43. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by language competence. BAC, 2021 (%)



Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

With regard to sex, there is hardly any difference between women and men in attitudes favourable to the promotion of Basque.

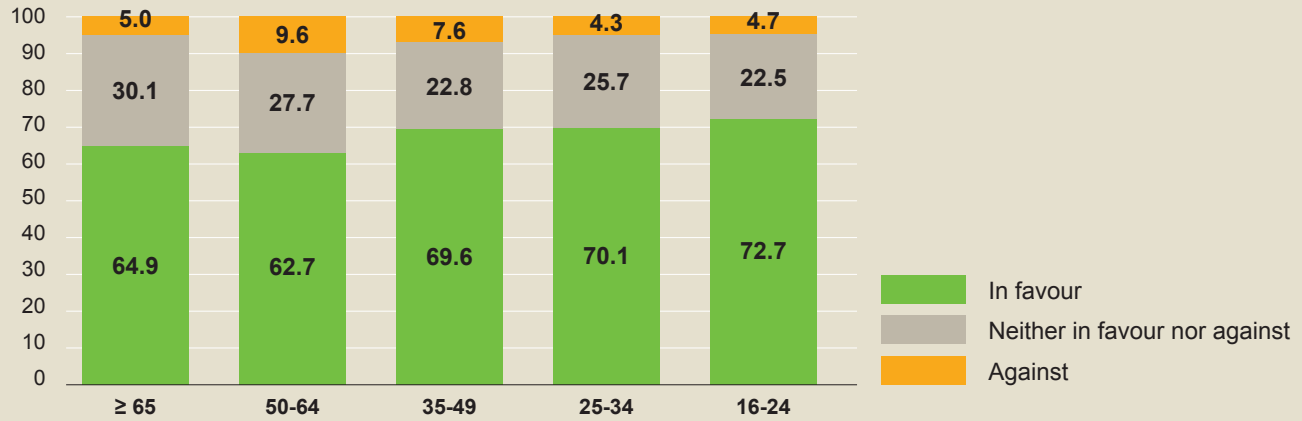
Table 19. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by sex. BAC, 2021 (%)

	In favour	Neither in favour nor against	Against
Total	67.0	26.3	6.8
Women	67.1	26.4	6.5
Men	66.8	26.1	7.1

Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

In terms of age, the people most favourable towards the promotion of Basque are the youngest. Thus, 72.7% of young people aged 16-24 are in favour of promoting the use of Basque. On the other hand, the lowest percentage of people favourable to promoting the use of Basque is seen among people aged 50-64 (62.7%).

Figure 44. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by age. BAC, 2021 (%)

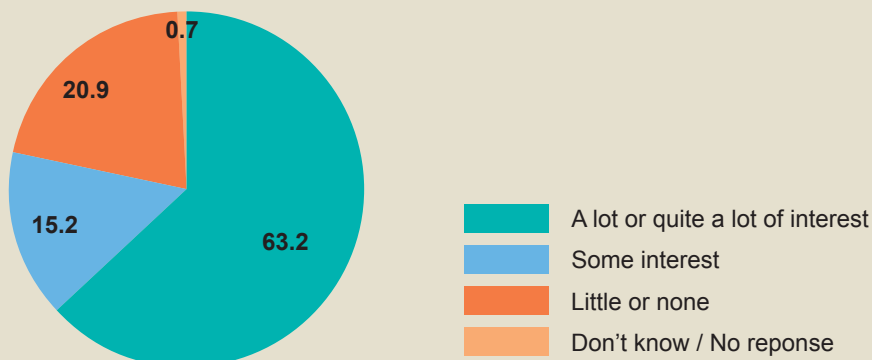


Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

5.3. Interest in Basque and other opinions

When asked about their interest in Basque, 63.2% of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community express a lot or quite a lot of interest in the language, 15.2% some interest, 20.9% little or no interest and finally 0.7% do not answer.

Figure 45. Interest in Basque. BAC, 2021 (%)

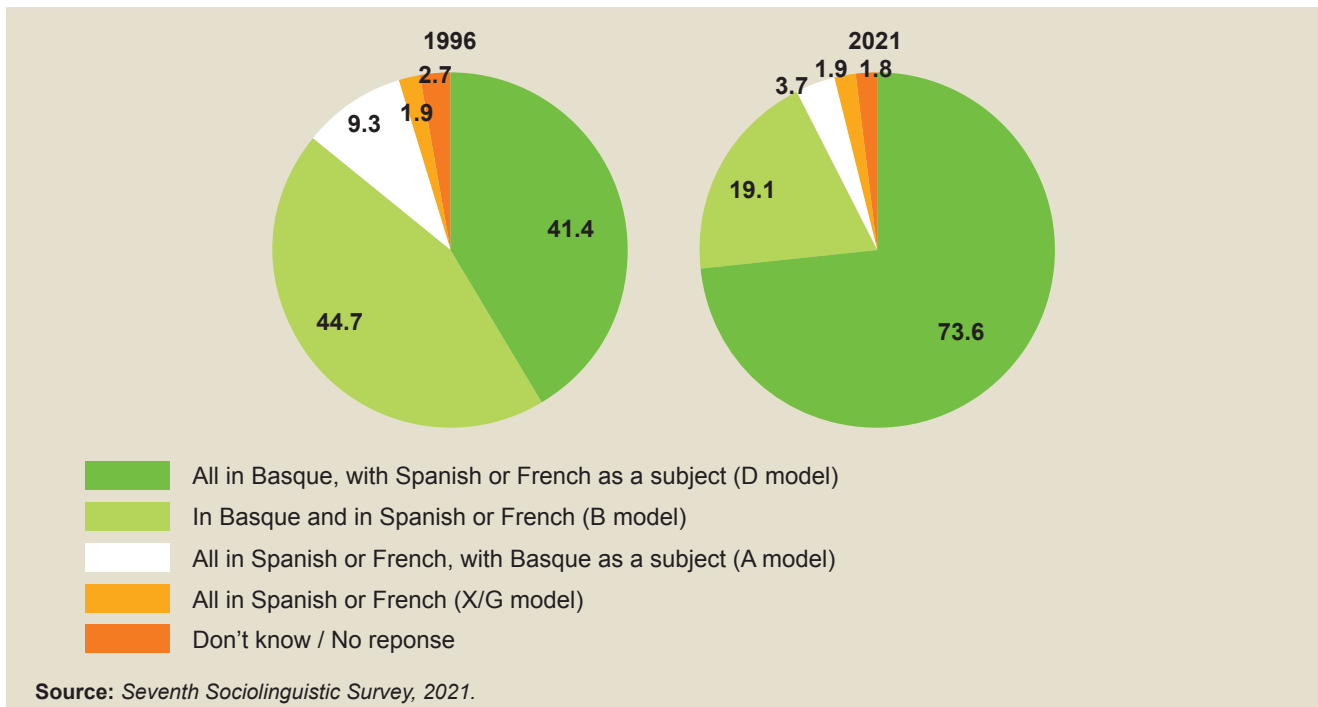


Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

On the other hand, 73.6% of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community prefers model D for their children, and 19.1% model B. 3.7% opt for model A.

Choice of model D was lower in 1996 (41.4%), while more opted for model B (44.7%). Also, in 1996 more people opted for model A (9.3%).

Figure 46. What language model would you choose for your children's education? BAC, 1996-2021 (%)



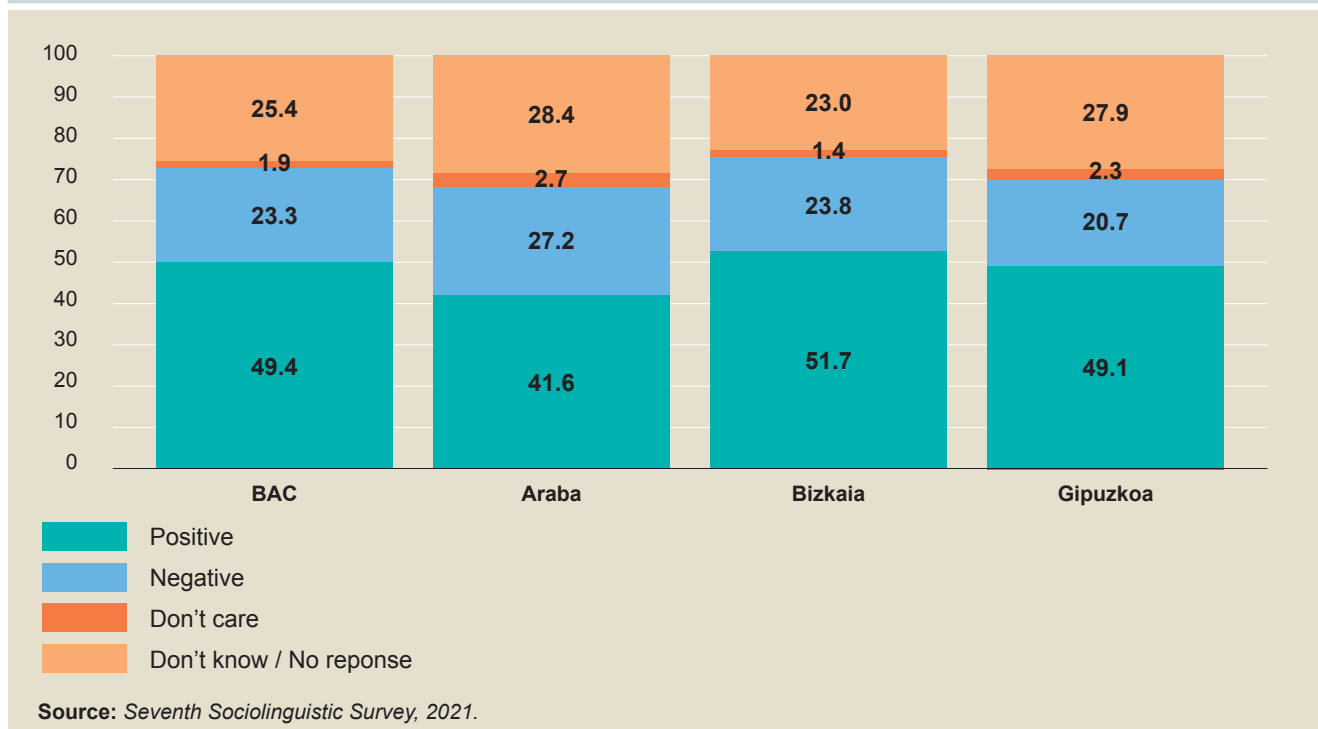
Likewise, 88.2% of the population aged 16 or over thinks that in the future Basque and Spanish should be spoken, 9.5% only Basque and 1% only Spanish or some other language.

Basque speakers were also asked whether they have ever felt discriminated against in not being able to use Basque, with 36.8% answering that they had. Non-Basque speakers, on the other hand, were asked whether they have ever felt discriminated against for not knowing Basque, to which 22.4% responded that they had.

When asked about the work done by the Basque government in the area of the Basque language, 49.4% of the population aged 16 or over in the Basque Autonomous Community considered it appropriate, 23.3% appropriate; 1.9% were indifferent and the remaining 25.4% did not know or did not answer.

By provinces, the largest proportion of the populations of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa considered the work of the Basque government in the area of the Basque language appropriate (51.7% and 49.1% respectively), while Araba had the lowest percentage (41.6%).

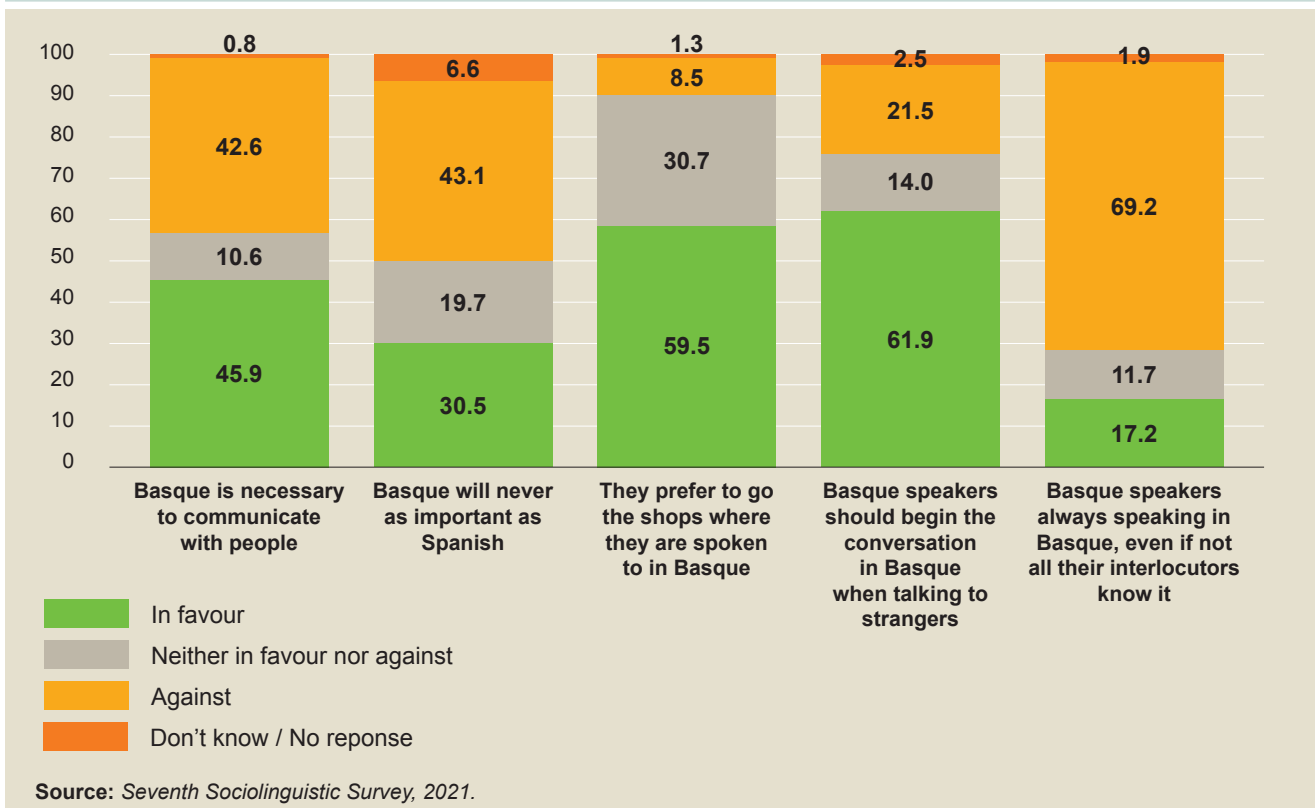
Figure 47. Assessment of the Basque Government's work in the field of the Basque language by province. BAC, 2021 (%)



Other opinions were also collected from the respondents. In summary, the results are the following:

- In response to the statement “Basque is necessary to communicate with people,” the percentage for and against were fairly balanced: 45.9% were in favour and 42.6% against.
- 43.1% of the population aged 16 or over feel that Basque will have the same importance as Spanish, while a third of the population (30.5%) believe the opposite, i.e. Basque will never have the same importance as Spanish.
- 50.5% of Basque speakers prefer to go to shops where they are spoken to in Basque, while 30.7% are indifferent.

- Regarding whether Basque speakers should begin the conversation in Basque when talking to strangers, 61.9% of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community were in favour of this and 21.5% were against.
- The majority of the population (69.2%) is against Basque speakers always speaking in Basque even if not all their interlocutors know it.

Figure 48. Other opinions about the Basque language. BAC, 2021 (%)


- Finally, just over a quarter of the population of the Basque Autonomous Community feels that Basque is in danger of disappearing (27.3%). On the other hand, taking only Basque speakers, the percentage is much higher, as nearly half of them feel that Basque is in danger of disappearing (47.5%).

6. SYNTHESIS

- 36.2% of the population aged 16 or over in the Basque Autonomous Community are Basque speakers, 18.6 passive Basque speakers and the remaining 45.3% non-Basque speakers.
- There are currently 261,000 more Basque speakers than in 1991; the percentage of Basque speakers has risen by 12 points in the last 30 years (from 24.1% to 36.2%).
- The highest percentage of Basque speakers is in the group of young people between 16 and 24 years old: 74.5%. In 1991 this was 25%.
- 36.5% of women are Basque speakers and 35.8% of men (a difference of 0.7 points). In Araba, on the other hand, the difference is 2.6 points (23.6% of women and 21% of men speak Basque).
- With the increase in the number of Basque speakers, their features have changed. The biggest change is to do with diversity: the Basque-speaking community is increasingly mixed. Among Basque speakers, as in Basque society in general, the realities are different depending on their territory, sociolinguistic area, origin, age and sex.
- The origins of some of these changes lie in the socio-demographic change in society as a whole in the Basque Autonomous Community.
 - Basque society is gradually ageing: life expectancy is getting longer and the birth rate is falling.
 - More and more people born abroad are living in the Basque Autonomous Community; over half of the population born abroad are less than 40 years old (55.7%).
 - The population is more mobile.
 - The effects of globalisation are increasingly evident.
- With regard to the Basque-speaking population of the Basque Autonomous Community, nearly half live in a very or fairly Spanish-speaking area (55.4%). Therefore, the network of relations of many Basque speakers with other people who know Basque is currently very limited.
- Today, 44.3% of Basque speakers express themselves more fluently in Spanish (in 1991 the figure was 37.8%), while in the case of young people, over half of them have greater mastery of Spanish than Basque (52.7%).

- Fluency in speaking Basque is closely linked to mother tongue, which has undergone a considerable change in the last 30 years. In 2021 47.8% of Basque speakers had Basque as their mother tongue, while in 1991 this figure was 79.3%. There are now twice as many new Basque speakers and bilinguals as there were 30 years ago.
- Family transmission of Basque has increased both in Basque-speaking couple and those with mixed languages:
 - When both parents are Basque speakers, transmission of Basque is almost total (94.6%), reaching 100% in the case of families where both parents are not just Basque speakers but have it as their mother tongue.
 - In mixed couples, transmission of Basque (always together with Spanish or some other language) is 69.3%, and where the mother tongue of the Basque-speaking parent is Basque, this rises to 84%.
 - In the case of mixed couples, the transmission of Basque is higher when the Basque speaker is the mother (49.9%) than when the Basque speaker is the father (41.7%).
- In the Basque Autonomous Community, 22% of people over 16 years old use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language; 11.5% use Basque but less than Spanish or some other language; 5.7% use Basque very little, and the remaining 60.9% only use Spanish or some other language.
- In the last 30 years, the use of Basque has risen 6.4 points in the Basque Autonomous Community. Today Basque is used as much as or more than another language by 141,700 more people than in 1991. This increase has come about in all three provinces and in the three provincial capitals.
- Regarding the sociolinguistic areas, the use of Basque has risen in the first of these (4.4 points), in the second (6.4 points) and in the third (7.3%). In the fourth sociolinguistic area, on the other hand, the use of Basque has declined (-9.7 points). This decline is basically a consequence of population movements recorded in the last two decades.
- The highest percentage of people using Basque is recorded among young people (33.5%), and the lowest percentage is among people aged 65 and over (16.7%).

- Use of Basque has increased in all spheres of use, especially in the formal sphere. With regard to the use of Basque at home, while the trend has been uneven, the last five years have seen an increase of 2.7 points.
- Attitudes favourable to promoting the use of Basque increased by nearly 12 points in the period between 1991 and 2021. The opinions that the majority showed a favourable attitude towards were the following: 89.3% of society feels that all children should learn Basque, and 74.7% believe that it should be necessary to know Basque to join the Administration.



N A V A R R E

SEVENTH SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

1. POPULATION¹

Navarre had 661,537 inhabitants in 2021; in 1991, on the other hand, it had 519,277.

A comparison between the population of Navarre in 1991 and 2021 shows that in absolute terms this had increased by 142,260 people. The fastest population growth occurred at the beginning and in the first decades of the 21st century: from 2001 to 2011 Navarre gained 86,222 inhabitants.

Table 1. Population trend. Navarre, 1991-2021

	1991	2001	2011	2021
Navarre	519,277	555,829	642,051	661,537

Source: NASTAT & INE.

The determining factors in this trend were, on the one hand, natural increases (the difference between numbers of births and deaths) and, on the other, net migration (the difference between the number of immigrants and emigrants).

The main features of the population of Navarre are as follows:

- Society is steadily ageing: life expectancy is increasing (86.3 years for women and 81.2 years for men). However, in comparison with 2019, as a result of COVID-19 there has been a fall of 5 decimal points.

However, the birth rate remains very low (7.78 births per 1,000 inhabitants), lower than the EU-27 (8.9 births per 1,000 inhabitants).

- The number of people born abroad rose, making up 16.4 % of the population of Navarre in 2021.

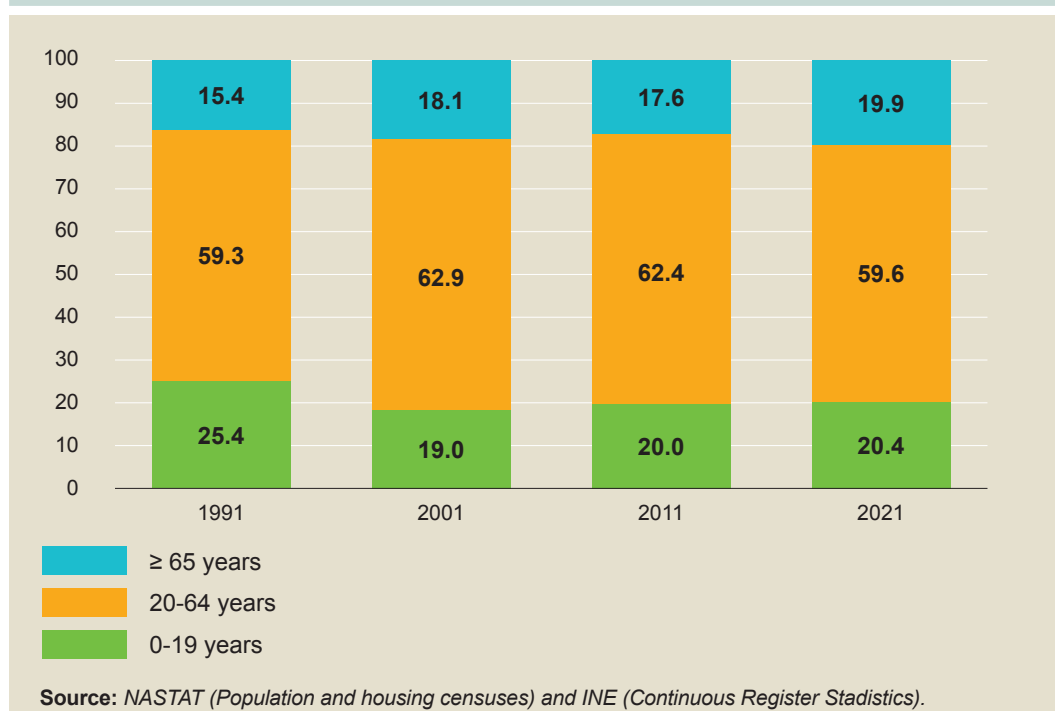
¹ The data were obtained from INE and Nastat.

Thus, from 1991 to the present, the percentage of inhabitants aged 65 or older has risen by more than 4.5 points: in 1991 79,768 people aged 65 and over lived in Navarre (15.4 % of the total population), and in 2021 the figure was 131,941 people (19.9 % of the total population).

Even more striking is the increase in older people, i.e. those aged 85 and over. In fact, their percentage has increased over the last 30 years, and they now account for 3.5 % of the whole population; in 2001 the figure was 1.3 %

In parallel, the young population has decreased in proportion. In 1991 131,674 people under 20 years old lived in Navarre (25.4 % of the total population), and in 2021 the figure was 135,251 (20.4 % of the population).

Figure 1. Population by age. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



With regard to people's origins, as of 1st January 2021, 32.2 % of the population resident in Navarre were born outside the territory, and over half of these (50.9 %) were born abroad. In 2001 people born outside Navarre made up 23.6 % of the population; of these, 22.8 % were born abroad.

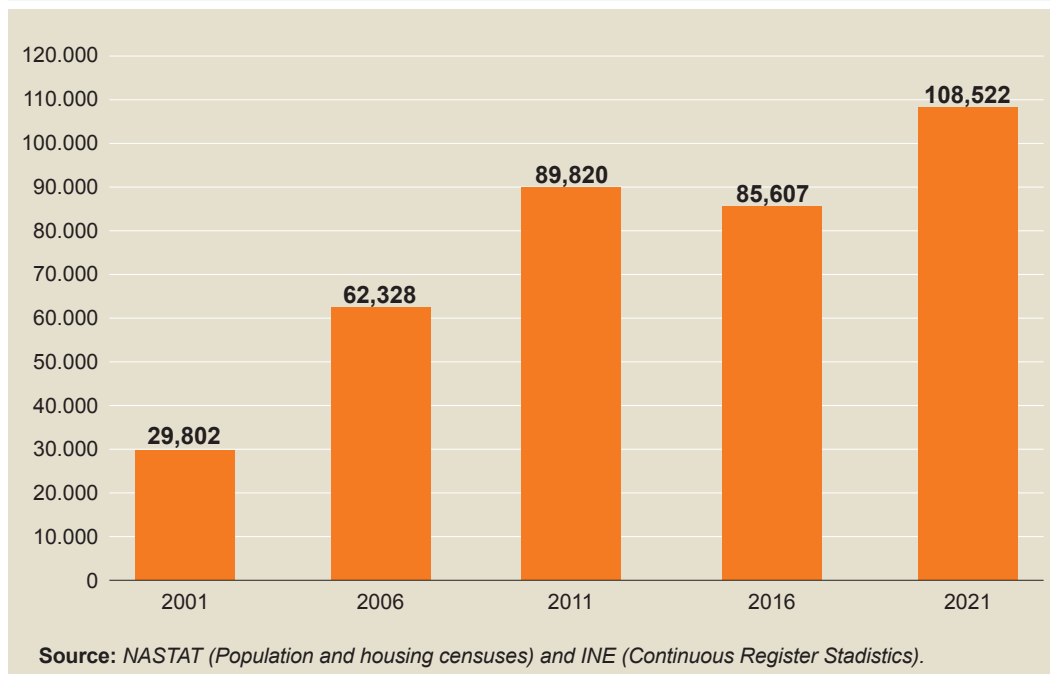
Residents in Navarre but born elsewhere in Spain made up 15.8 % of the population in 2021, and 18.2 % in 2001.

The people living in Navarre in 2021 and were born in the Basque Autonomous Community numbered 24,001 (3.6% of the Navarre population); in 2001 there were 21,220 of them (3.8%, most of them from Gipuzkoa province).

Therefore, apart from the increase in the number of people born outside Navarre since 2001, the place of origin of these people has also changed. In this period, the percentage of residents in Navarre born abroad rose by 9 points; on the other hand, the percentage of people born elsewhere in Spain fell (from 18.2% to 15.8%).

In 2021, 16.4% of the population resident in Navarre was born abroad.

Figure 2. Evolution of the population born abroad. Navarre, 2001-2021



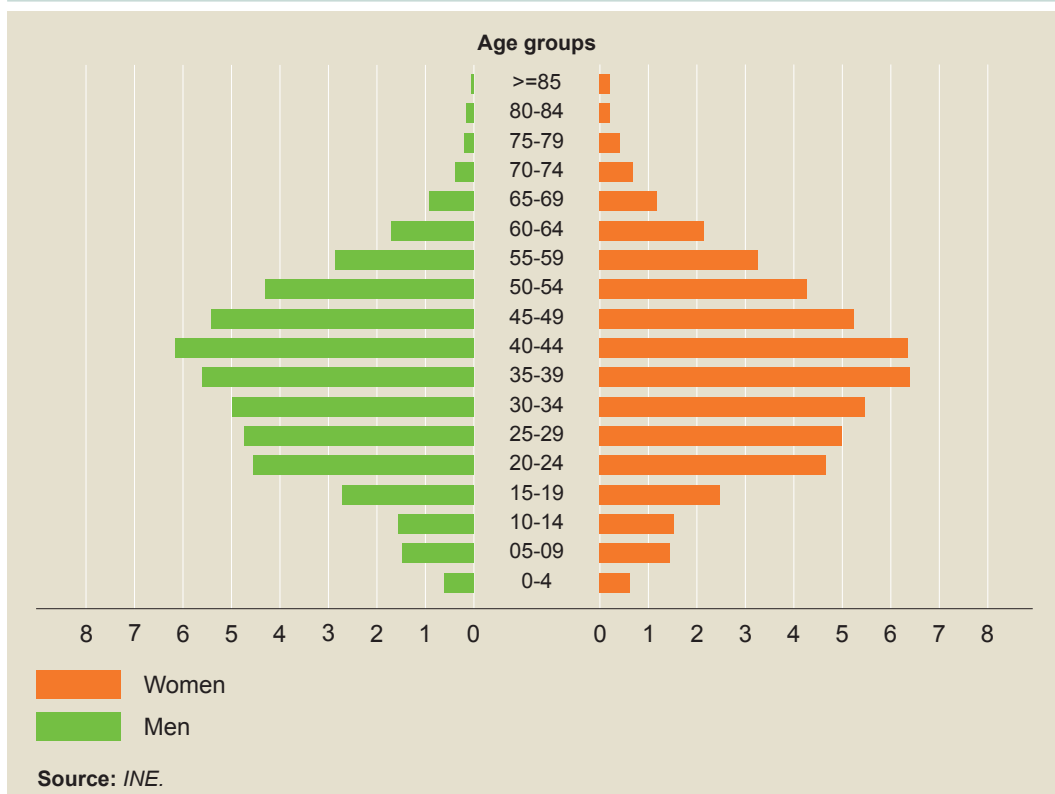
Of the foreign-born population, 51.3% are women (55,725) and 48.7% men (52,797).

By continents, people born in European countries other than Spain made up 23.4% of this; those born in Africa 22.5%; in the Americas 50.7% and in Asia 3.2%.

As regards continent and sex, a majority of the population originating in Africa are men (59.2%); on the other hand, a majority of the people originating in the Americas are women (57%).

In terms of their distribution according to age, one of the main features of the foreign-born population can be seen in the pyramid. This population born abroad is shown to be very young, as 85.6% of them are less than fifty years old.

Figure 3. Pyramid of the population born abroad. Navarre, 2021 (%)



Population growth in Navarre can be linked to trends in migration, as the natural balance can be expected to remain negative in the coming years. In fact, due to low birth rates, the number of births is going to decrease, and as there are more and more people of advanced age, the mortality rate will increase.

1.1. Population distribution by language zones

With regard to the population of the language zones established by the Vasceunce act, Navarrese Law 18/1986 of 15th December 1986, 8.9% of the population of Navarre (59,031 people) live in the Basque-speaking zone, 63.5% (420,175 people) in the mixed zone and 27.6% (182,331 people) in the non-Basque speaking zone.

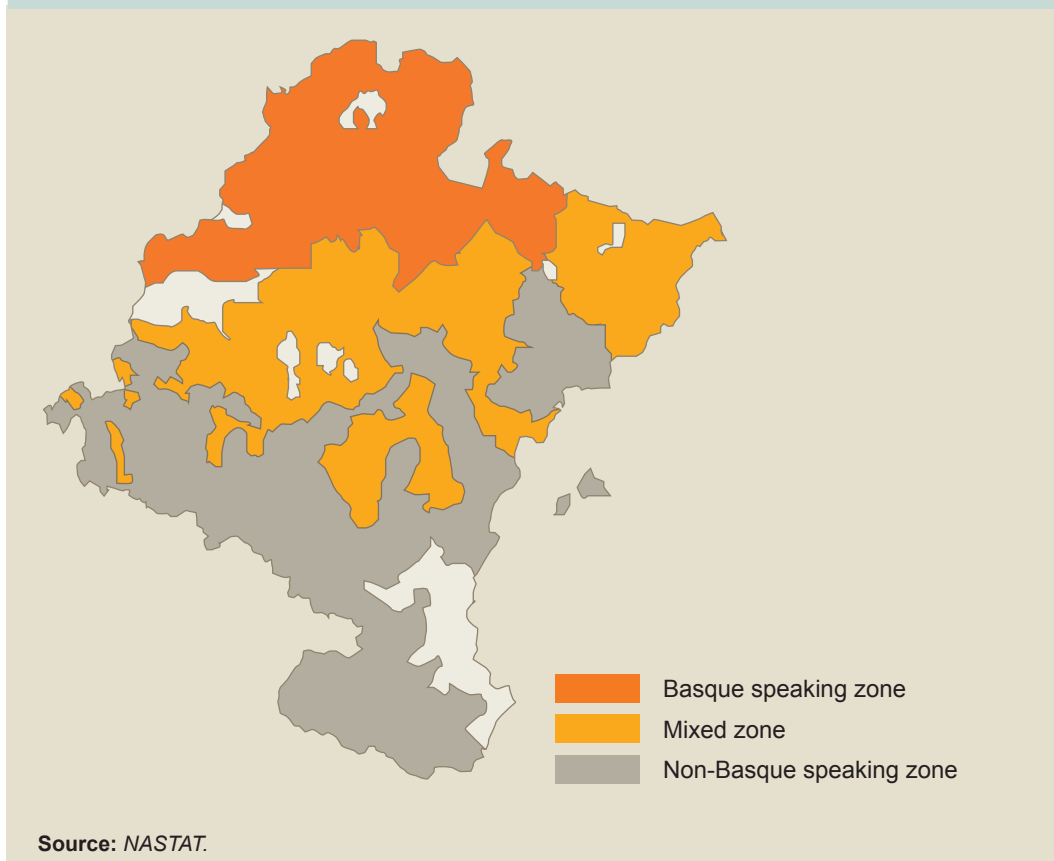
To analyse the population trend in these language zones, the changes that have taken place in the make-up of the zones, especially in 2017, must be taken into account. In fact, through Navarrese Law 9/2017 of 27th June 2017, a municipality in the mixed zone (Atetz) joined the Basque-speaking zone and 44 municipalities in the non-Basque speaking zone, which were the municipalities with the highest percentages of Basque speakers and some of the biggest in Navarre (Tafalla and Sangüesa, among others), moved to the mixed zone.

Table 2. Evolution of the population by language zone. Navarre, 1991-2021

	1991		2001		2011		2021	
		%		%		%		%
Navarre	519,277	100.0	555,829	100.0	642,051	100.0	661,537	100.0
Basque speaking zone	56,673	10.9	55,263	9.9	59,534	9.3	59,031	8.9
Mixed zone	271,459	52.3	299,094	53.8	350,782	54.6	420,175	63.5
Non-Basque speaking zone	191,145	36.8	201,472	36.2	231,735	36.1	182,331	27.6

Source: NASTAT. *Population and housing censuses.*

Therefore, from 1991 to 2021, as a result of the changes that have come about in the composition of the language zones, the mixed zone has gained 148,716 inhabitants and its demographic weight within the Navarre population as a whole has risen by 11.2 points. The non-Basque speaking zone, on the other hand, has shrunk considerably, both in absolute terms (8,814 people less) and in percentage terms (down 9.2 points). Despite gaining in population (2,358 more people) the Basque-speaking zone loses 2 points of relative weight.

Figure 4. Distribution of the population by language zone. Navarre, 2021 (%)

2. LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

2.1. Language competence in Navarre, in the capital and by language zones

Three types of speaker are distinguished according to their level of competence in speaking or understanding Basque:

- **Basque speaker (bilingual):** able to speak and understand Basque well or quite well.
- **Passive Basque speaker (passive bilingual):** unable to speak Basque well or quite well. However, they understand Basque to a certain degree. Specifically, this group includes those who meet at least one of the following conditions:
 - They can understand and speak “some” Basque.
 - They can understand Basque “well” or “quite well”.
- **Non-Basque speaker:** unable to speak or understand Basque.

In 2021 14.1% of the population of the Navarre region aged 16 or over were Basque-speaking, 10.6% were passive Basque speakers and 75.3% were non-Basque speakers.

Figure 5. Language competence. Navarre, 2021 (%)

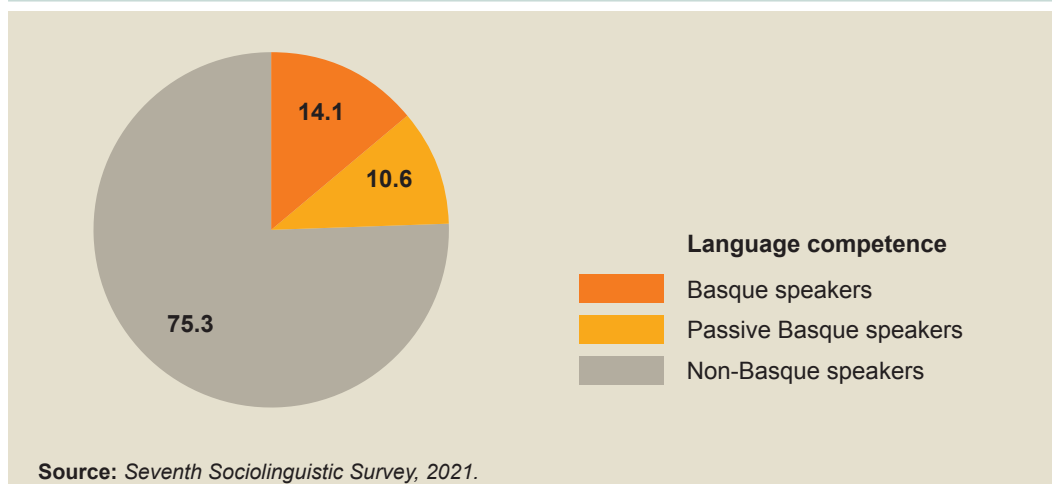
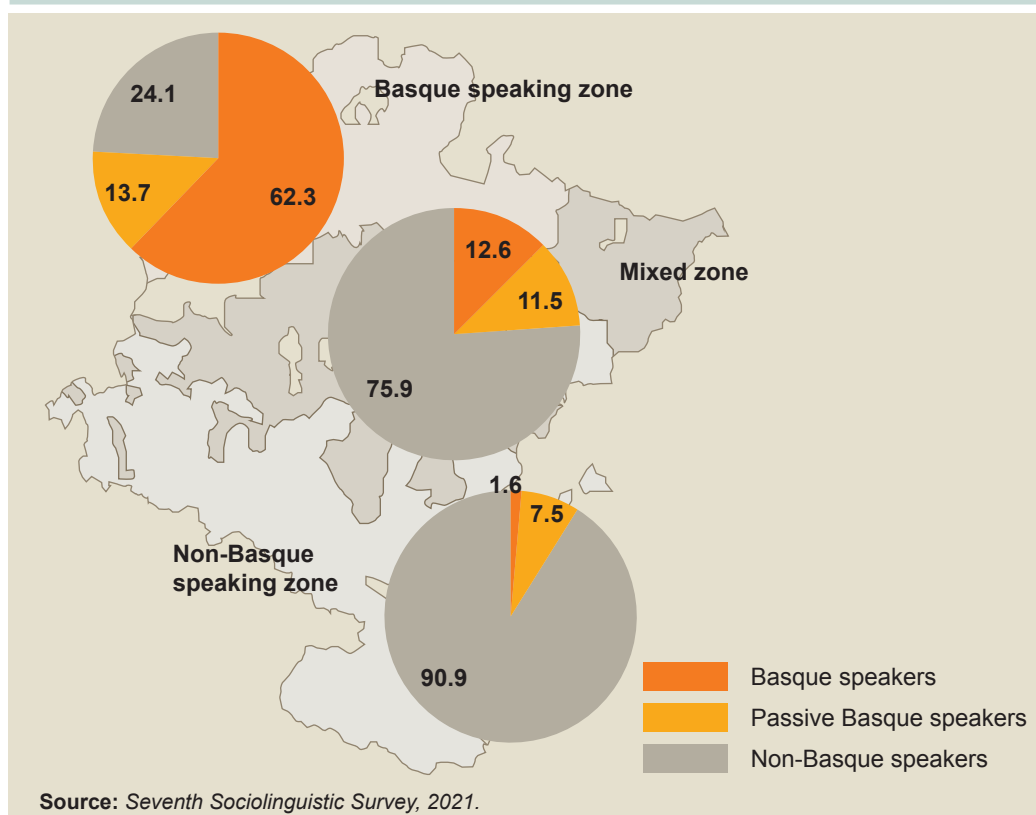


Table 3. Language competence by language zone. Navarre, 2021 (%)

	Navarre	Basque speaking zone	Mixed zone	Non-Basque speaking zone
Total	545,476	49,308	347,363	148,805
Basque speakers	76,784	30,700	43,646	2,438
Passive Basque speakers	57,834	6,738	39,977	11,119
Non-Basque speakers	410,300	11,870	263,740	134,690

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Comparing the three language zones reveals significant differences between them. A majority of the population of the Basque-speaking zone is Basque-speaking (62.3%). In the mixed zone, Basque speakers make up about a tenth of the population (12.6%), and in the non-Basque speaking zone nearly two percent of the population is Basque-speaking (1.6%).

Figure 6. Language competence by language zone. Navarre, 2021 (%)


Data for the capital show that the percentage of Basque speakers in Pamplona is slightly lower than in Navarre as a whole, and the percentage of passive Basque speakers in Pamplona is slightly higher than in Navarre as a whole. 13.5% of the population of Pamplona is Basque-speaking, with 11.1% of passive Basque speakers.

Table 4. Language competence. Pamplona, 2021

	Pamplona	(%)
Total	172,176	100.0
Basque speakers	23,306	13.5
Passive Basque speakers	19,082	11.1
Non-Basque speakers	129,788	75.4

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Regarding the place of birth, according to the Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, in 2021 55.9% of Basque speakers in Navarre were born in the mixed zone, 28.8% in the Basque-speaking zone and 1.6% in the non-Basque speaking zone. As for those born outside Navarre, 10.6% of Basque speakers were born in the BAC, 1.2% in another community in the rest of the State and 1.9% abroad.

Taking into account the level of education, according to the Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, in 2021 41.1% of Basque speakers in Navarre have higher education, 37.3% of passive Basque speakers and 27.9% of non-Basque speakers.

With regard to the trend over the last thirty years, today 36,600 more Basque speakers were recorded in Navarre than in 1991. The percentage of Basque speakers increased by 4.6 points (from 9.5% to 14.1%).

Figure 7. Evolution of Basque speakers. Navarre, 1991-2021


Moreover, passive Basque speakers have increased by 6 points over the last thirty years (from 4.6 % to 10.6 %).

Non-Basque speakers, on the other hand, are down by 10.6 points (from 85.9 % in 1991 to 75.3 % in 2021).

The fall in non-Basque speakers and the increase in Basque speakers are even more remarkable considering the social and demographic changes in our society in recent years.

On the one hand, the rise in population in Navarre from the beginning of the 21st century to 2021 (86,222) is largely due to immigration. Therefore, the increase in speakers of other languages has led to a decline in the relative weight of the Basque-speaking population within society as a whole.

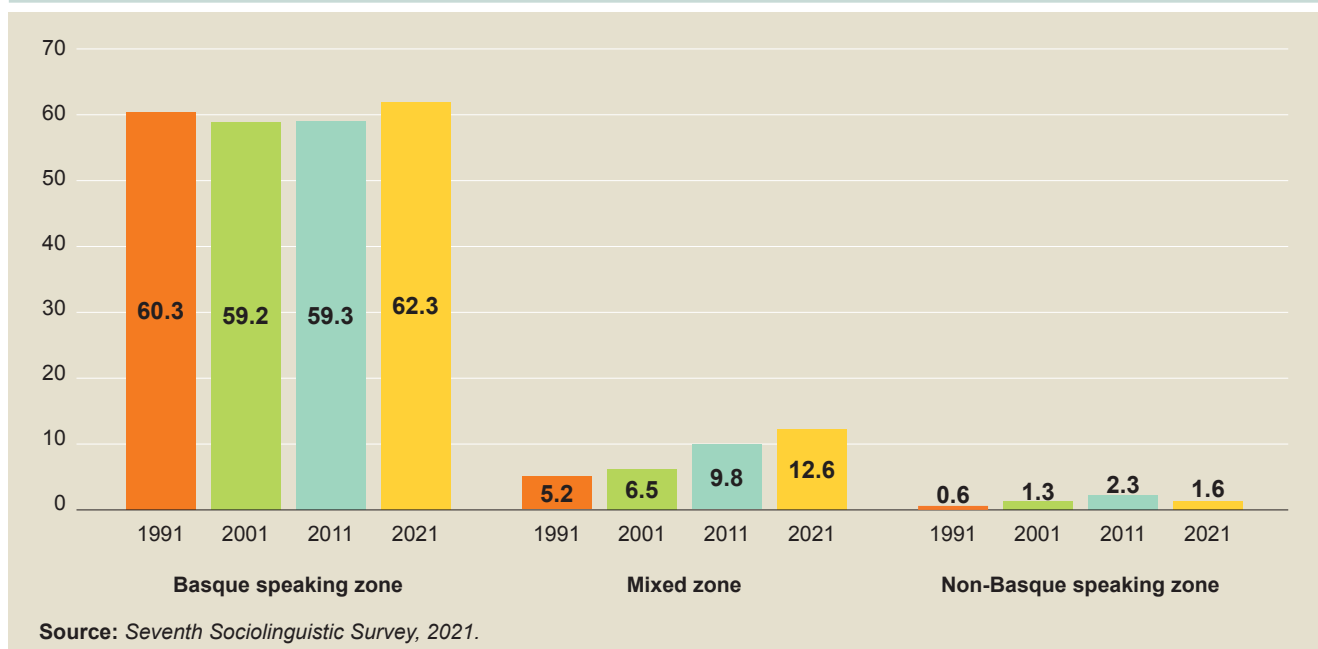
On the other hand, Navarre society is steadily ageing. The birth rate is very low; consequently, the younger age groups, precisely those with the largest numbers of Basque speakers, make up a smaller and smaller proportion of society as a whole.

With regard to the trend in language zones, it can therefore be stated that the percentage of Basque speakers has increased in all three. The Basque-speaking zone saw a 2-point rise in the percentage of Basque speakers from 1991 to 2021

(in 1991 they made up 60.3% of the population and in 2021 62.3%). In the mixed zone, the increase was by 7.4 points (in 1991 they made up 5.2% and in 2021 12.6%). In the non-Basque speaking zone the increase was 1 point (from 0.6% in 1991 to 1.6% in 2021).

In any case, in analysing trends in the different language zones, it must be remembered that the composition of these zones (above all in the mixed and non-Basque speaking zones) has changed significantly.²

Figure 8. Evolution of Basque speakers by language zone. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



² The language zones established by Navarrese Vasceunce act, Law 18/1986 of 15th December 1986 have been changed by two laws: Navarrese Law 2/2010 of 23rd February 2010, and Navarrese Law 9/2017 of 27th June 2017. With the change in 2010, the municipalities of Aranguren, Belascoáin and Galar became part of the mixed zone. The change in 2017 led to one municipality in the mixed zone (Atetz) moving to the Basque-speaking zone and 44 municipalities in the non-Basque speaking zone - which were the ones with the highest percentages of Basque speakers in this zone (among them Tafalla, Sangüesa, Beriáin and Olite) - becoming part of the mixed zone.

2.2. Language competence by sex and age

As regards sex, there is no difference between the percentages of female and male Basque speakers. In the case of passive Basque speakers, on the other hand, a difference can be seen: women make up 12.1% of the total number of passive Basque speakers and men 9.1%.

In general, it should be pointed out that a majority of the adults learning Basque in Navarre are women.

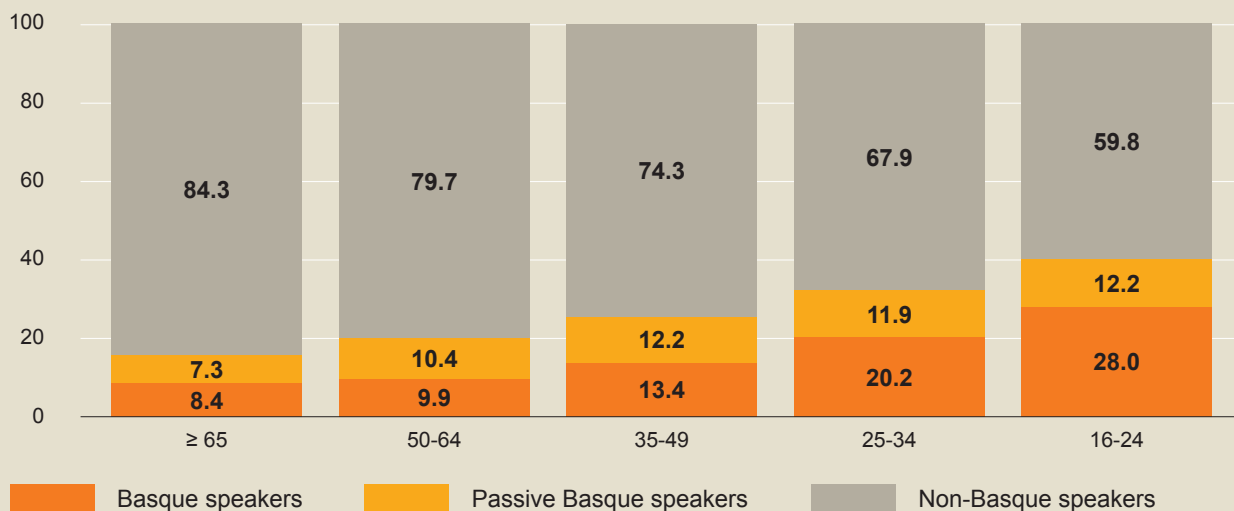
Table 5. Language competence by sex. Navarre, 2021 (%)

	Navarre	Men	Women
Basque speakers	14.1	14.1	14.1
Passive Basque speakers	10.6	9.1	12.1

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

If the age of Basque speakers is considered, the highest percentage of Basque speakers is to be found among people aged less than 35, in the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups.

Figure 9. Language competence by age. Navarre, 2021 (%)

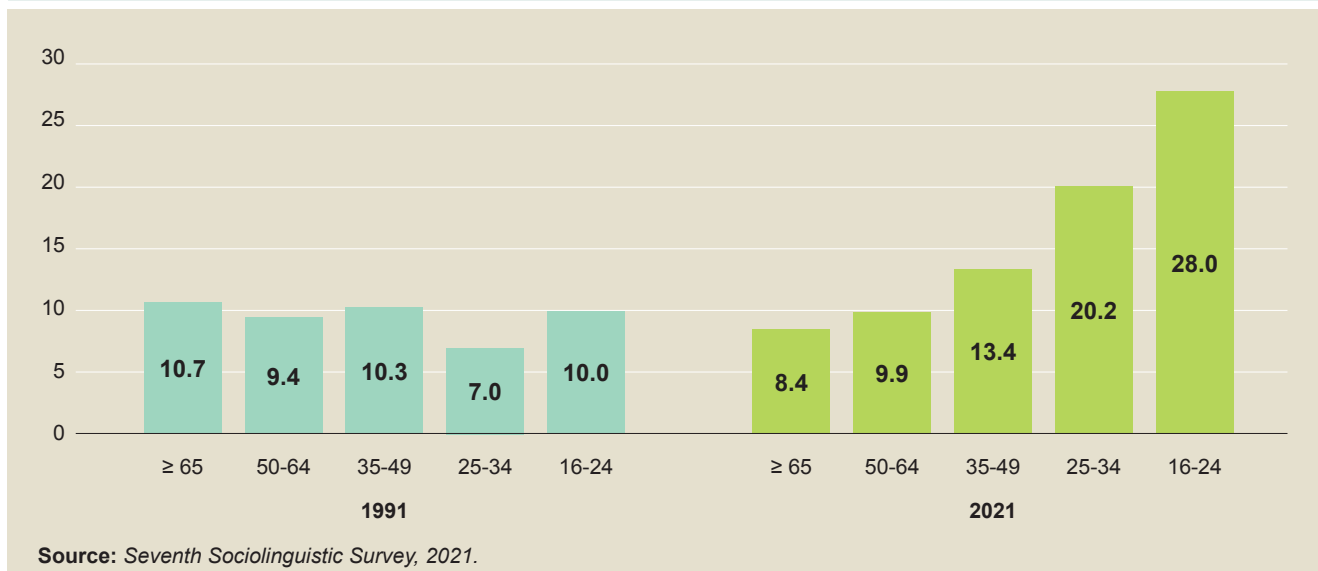


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

However, an increase in Basque speakers has been recorded across all age groups under 65, though more so among young people. Thus, today nearly a third of people aged between 16 and 24 are Basque speakers (28%); in 1991, on the other hand, it was only a tenth (10%).

Consequently, the increase in Basque speakers is among the younger age group. The group with the highest percentage of non-Basque speakers is that of adults, but as the years go by this group is gaining more Basque speakers. That is to say, to the extent that the younger population is increasingly Basque-speaking, the percentage of Basque speakers is also rising in the group of adults.

Figure 10. Evolution of Basque speakers by age. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



This trend in terms of age can be seen in all three language, though the percentages are very different in all of them.

When analysing trends in Basque speakers in the language zones according to age, the fact that the composition of these zones has changed substantially makes comparison harder.

In any case, if the trend by age is observed, 85.9% of young people in the Basque-speaking zone are Basque speakers; 29.2 points up on 1991 (56.7%). In the mixed zone, 28.9% of young people were Basque speakers in 2021, 21.8 points up on three decades before (in 1991 the figure was 7.1%). In the non-Basque speaking zone, in 2021 4.4% of young people were Basque speakers, 3.8 points up on 1991 (in 1991 the figure was 0.6%).

While the Basque-speaking population among young people in the Basque-speaking zone has increased significantly since 1991, from 2016 to 2021 it has fallen, from 89.6 % in 2016 to 85.9 % in 2021. In the mixed zone there has been a steady increase, also from 2016 to 2021: from 27.3 % to 28.9 %.

Table 6. Basque speakers by age and language zone. Navarre, 2021 (%)

	Age					
	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
Navarre	14.1	8.4	9.9	13.4	20.2	28.0
Basque speaking zone	62.3	57.5	50.6	58.9	82.8	85.9
Mixed zone	12.6	4.1	8.0	11.9	20.2	28.9
Non-Basque speaking zone	1.6	0.4	1.1	1.8	2.3	4.4

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

2.3. Relative language competence: oral fluency of Basque speakers

The relative competence of Basque speakers is considered below; i.e. their fluency in Basque and another language (in most cases Spanish).

Basque speakers can be classified according to their relative language competence:

- **Bilinguals more fluent in Basque:** they speak Basque better than Spanish.
- **Bilinguals equally fluent in both languages:** they speak both languages equally well. In effect, these Basque speakers speak with the same fluency in Basque as in Spanish.
- **Bilinguals more fluent in Spanish:** they speak Spanish better than Basque.

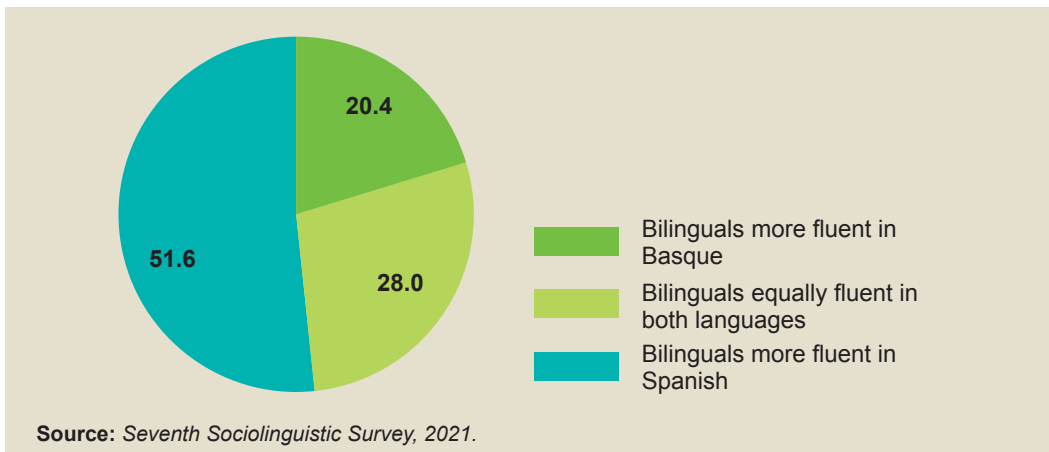
In Navarre, 20.4 % of Basque speakers aged 16 or over are more fluent in Basque than in Spanish or French.

Bilingual people who express themselves equally fluently in Basque and in Spanish make up 28 % of Basque speakers.

Finally, people who express themselves more fluently in Spanish than in Basque make up 51.6% of Basque speakers.

They make up the most numerous group of Basque speakers, growing steadily over the last three decades.

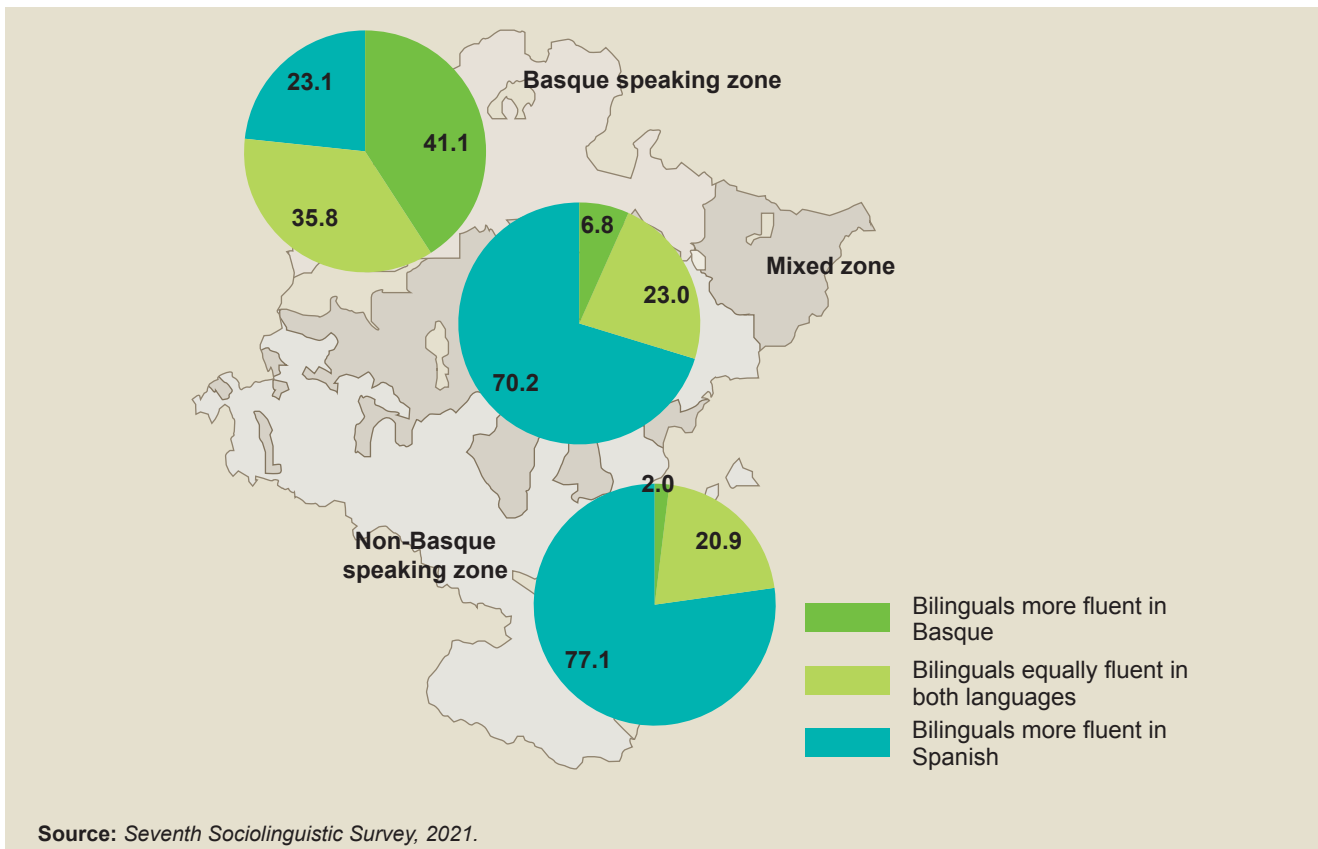
Figure 11. Basque speakers by fluency. Navarre, 2021 (%)



By language zones, the highest percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Basque is concentrated in the Basque-speaking zone (41.1%). This is followed by the mixed zone (6.8%) and then the non-Basque speaking zone (2%).

Moreover, the highest percentage of bilinguals equally fluent in Basque and Spanish is recorded in the Basque-speaking zone (35.8%). On the other hand, the percentages in the mixed and non-Basque speaking zones are fairly similar (23% and 20.9% respectively).

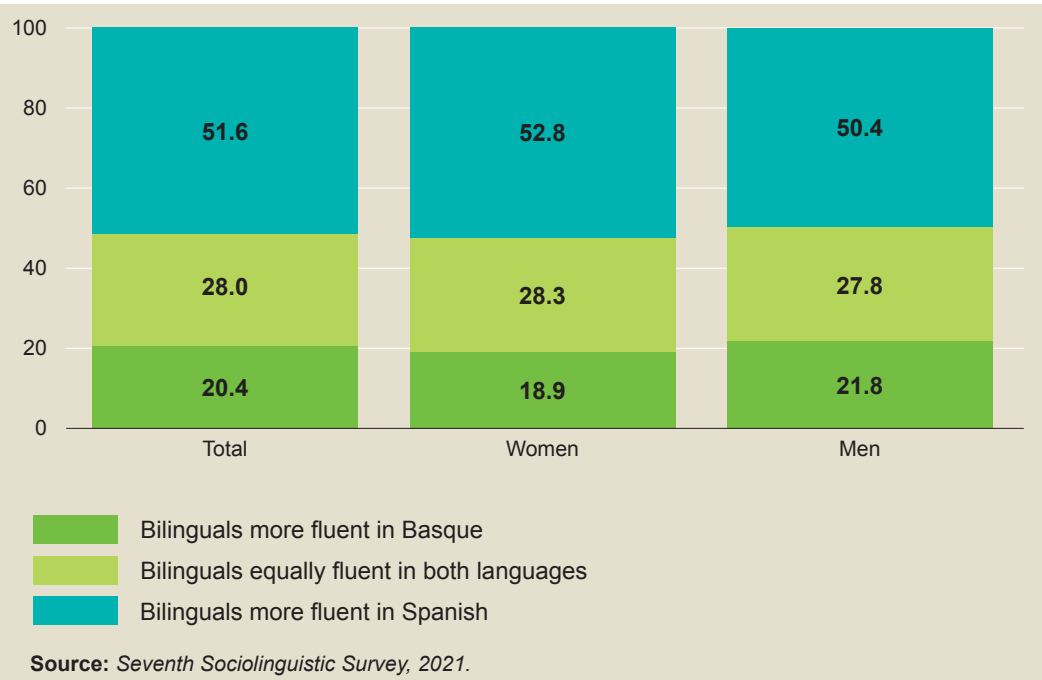
The highest percentage of bilinguals who express themselves more fluently in Spanish than in Basque can be found in the non-Basque speaking zone. In fact, 77.1% of Basque speakers in the non-Basque speaking zone are bilinguals who express themselves more fluently in Spanish than in Basque, in the mixed zone 70.2% and in the Basque-speaking zone 23.1%.

Figure 12. Basque speakers' fluency by language zone. Navarre, 2021 (%)


Basque speakers' fluency when expressing themselves in Basque is slightly higher among men (21.8%) than among women (18.9%).

The differences between the percentages of bilinguals equally fluent in Basque as in Spanish and those more fluent in Spanish are minimal: 0.5 and 2.4 points respectively. Bilingual people equally fluent in Basque and in Spanish make up 28.3% of women and 27.8% of men. Finally, 52.8% of bilingual women express themselves more fluently in Spanish than in Basque, while the figure is 50.4% among men.

Figure 13. Basque speakers' fluency by sex. Navarre, 2021 (%)

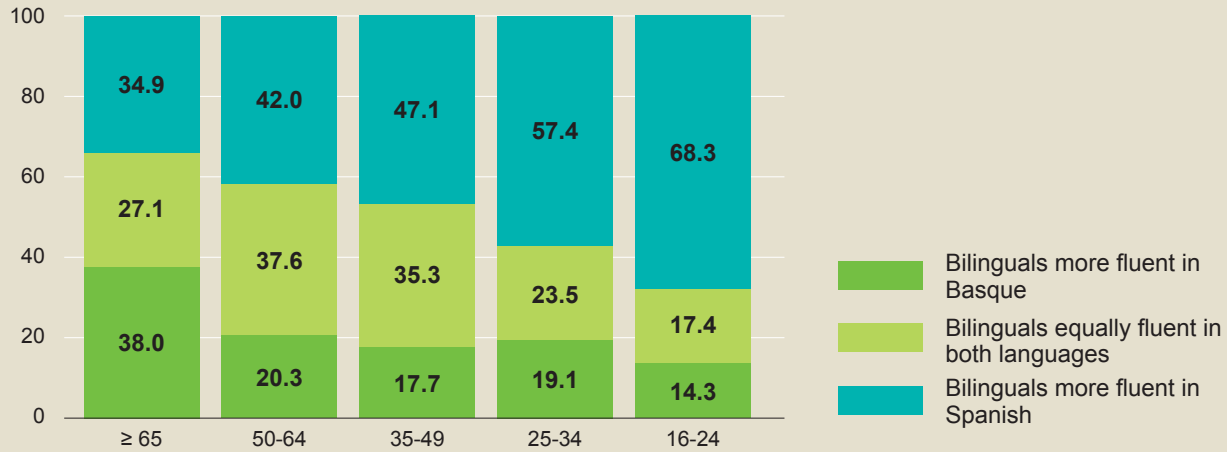


In terms of age, the highest percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Basque is found among people over 65 years old (38%), and the lowest among the 16-24 age group (14.3%).

The highest percentage of Basque speakers equally fluent in Basque and Spanish is in the age group between 35 and 49 years old (35.3%) and between 50 and 64 years old (37.6%).

Finally, the percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Spanish than in Basque grows as age falls. Thus, nearly seven out of ten Basque speakers aged between 16 and 24 are bilinguals who express themselves more fluently in Spanish than in Basque (68.3%).

Figure 14. Basque speakers' fluency by age. Navarre, 2021 (%)



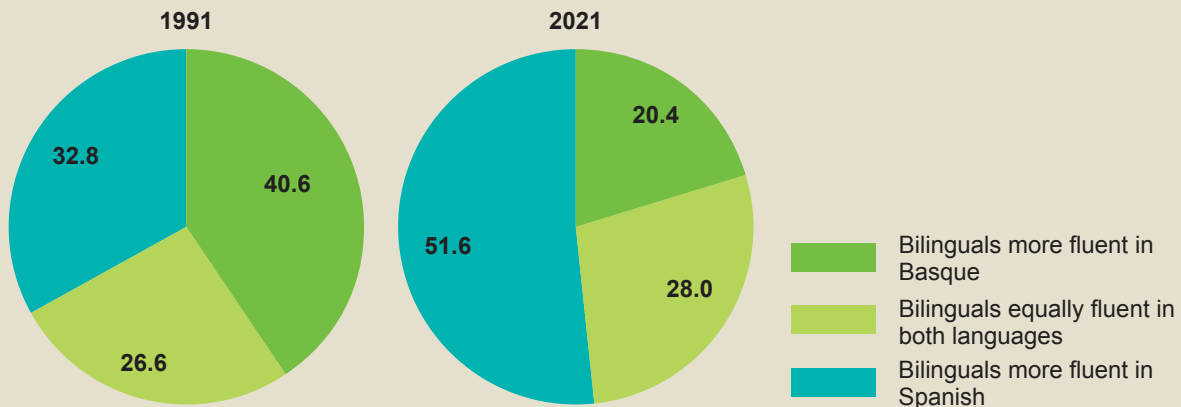
Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Basque speakers' fluency in expressing themselves in Basque has changed from 1991 to the present.

Thirty years ago, the percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Basque was twice what it is today (40.6% in 1991 versus 20.4% in 2021), and the percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Spanish was considerably lower (32.8% in 1991 versus 51.6% in 2021).

On the other hand, the percentage of Basque speakers equally fluent in Basque and Spanish has risen slightly (26.6% in 1991 versus 28% in 2021).

Figure 15. Evolution of Basque speakers' fluency. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Analysis of the trend in relation to age shows that in 1991 the percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Basque was lower at earlier ages, something particularly noticeable in the two youngest age groups. On the other hand, in 2021 the percentage of the 25-34 age group alters the trend in Basque speakers more fluent in Basque, as it exceeded that of the 35-49 age group (in 2021 it was 17.7 % in the 35-49 age group and 19.1 % in the 25-34 age group).

In 1991 the highest percentage of Basque speakers equally fluent in Basque and Spanish was recorded in the 16-24 age group (39.5 %). In 2021, on the other hand, it was found in the 35-49 and 50-64 age groups (35.3 % and 37.6 %).

Finally, in 1991 the highest percentage of Basque speakers more fluent in Spanish was found in the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups (40.1 % and 40.2 %), and this remains true; i.e. the highest percentages continued to be found among the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups (68.3 % and 57.4 %).

Table 7. Evolution of Basque speakers' fluency by age. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)

	Age groups					
	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
1991						
Basque speakers	40,167	9,031	7,706	11,248	5,367	6,815
More fluent in Basque	40.6	56.2	51.8	37.1	31.2	20.4
Equally fluent in both languages	26.6	19.3	22.9	26.3	28.7	39.5
More fluent in Spanish	32.8	24.5	25.2	36.6	40.2	40.1
2021						
Basque speakers	76,784	10,556	13,167	20,195	14,137	18,728
More fluent in Basque	20.4	38.0	20.3	17.7	19.1	14.3
Equally fluent in both languages	28.0	27.1	37.6	35.3	23.5	17.4
More fluent in Spanish	51.6	34.9	42.0	47.1	57.4	68.3

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

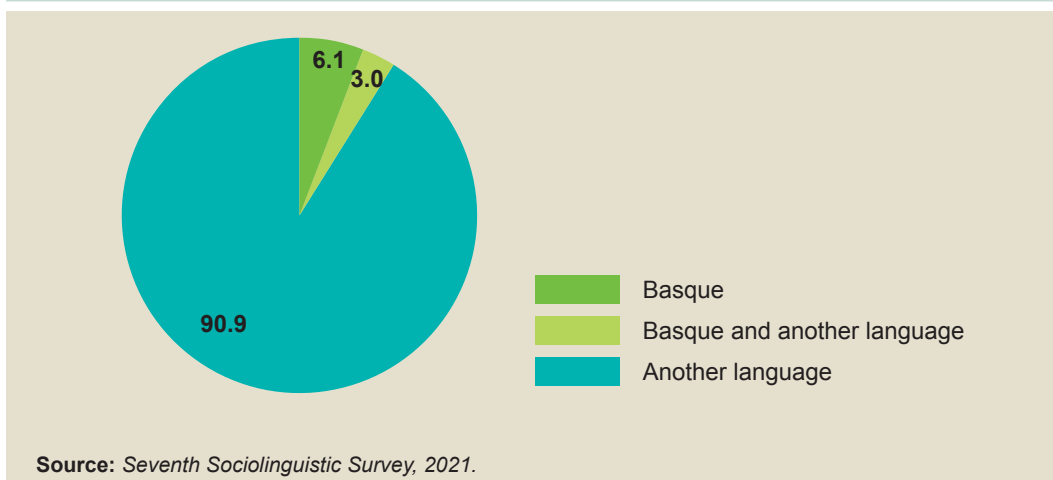
3. TRANSMISSION OF THE LANGUAGE

3.1. Mother tongue in Navarre, in the capital and by language zones

The mother tongue is taken to mean the language or languages children up to the age of three learn from their parents or the family members with whom they share the household.

6.1% of the population of Navarre aged 16 or over learned only Basque at home, while 3% learned Basque together with Spanish or some other language. In parallel, nine out of ten (90.9%) learned only Spanish or some other language at home. While the language referred to here is essentially Spanish, it should be borne in mind that increasing numbers of people have as their mother tongue one or more languages other than Spanish.

Figure 16. Mother tongue. Navarre, 2021 (%)



The percentage of the population aged 16 or over with Basque as their mother tongue is lower than 30 years ago: in 1991 this was 8.1% and in 2021 it was 6.1% (down 2 points), with some peaks and troughs (8.3% in 1996, 6.4% in 2006, 6.1% in 2011 and 6.2% in 2016).

The percentage of the population whose mother tongue is Basque together with Spanish or some other language has risen 0.9 points in the last 30 years: in 1991 it was 2.1% and in 2021 it was 3%.

The percentage of the population whose mother tongue is Spanish or some other language rose by 2 points between 1991 and 2021 (from 89.8 % to 90.9 %).

In analysing the trend in mother tongue, the immigrant population in Navarre since the year 2000 must be taken into account. In fact, in 2021 16.4 % of the Navarre population (108,522 people) were born abroad, compared to 29.802 people born abroad in 2001.

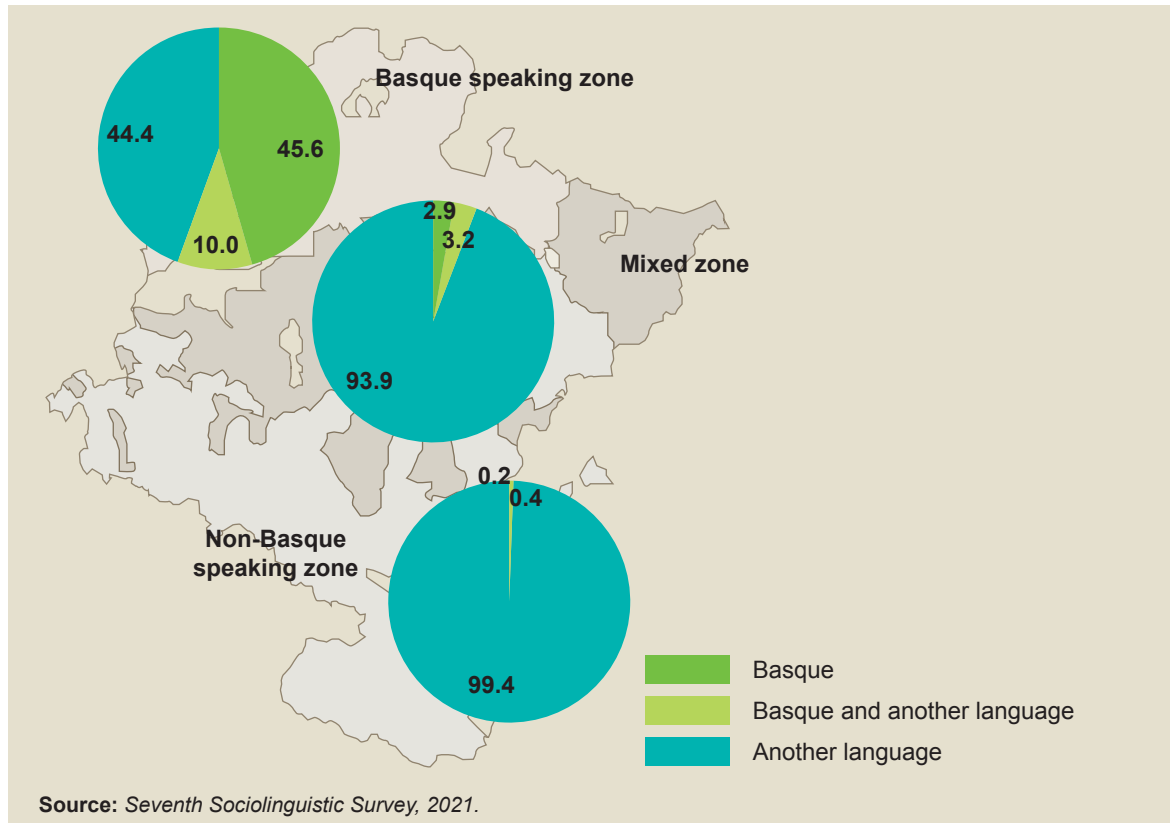
Table 8. Evolution of Mother tongue. Navarre, 1991-2021

	1991	2021	1991 (%)	2021 (%)
Total	420,712	545,476	100.0	100.0
Basque	34,051	33,156	8.1	6.1
Basque and another language	9,026	16,318	2.1	3.0
Another language	377,635	496,002	89.8	90.9

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

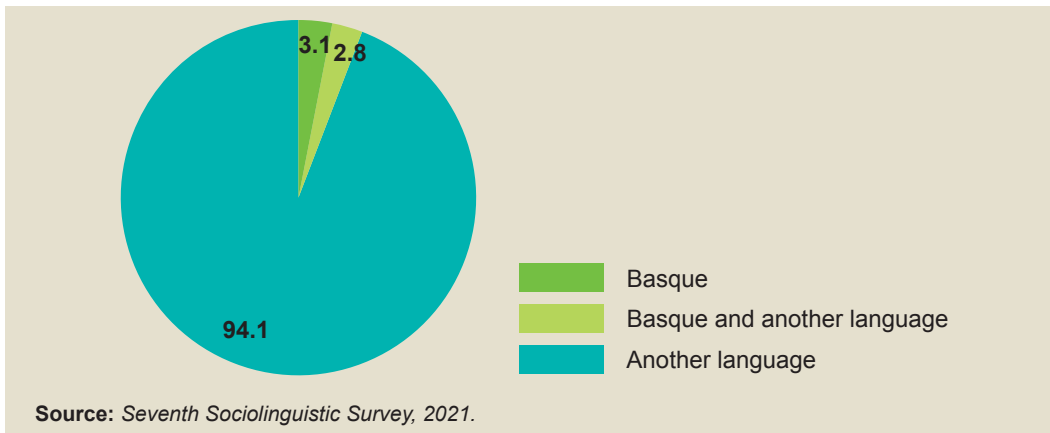
With regard to mother tongue, large differences can be seen in Navarre depending on language zone and age.

The population whose mother tongue is Basque predominates in the Basque-speaking zone (45.6 % have only Basque as their mother tongue, 10 % Basque and Spanish or some other language and 44.4 % Spanish or some other language). In the mixed and non-Basque speaking zones, on the other hand, people whose mother tongue is Spanish or some other language are the majority (93.9% and 99.4% respectively).

Figure 17. Mother tongue by language zone. Navarre, 2021 (%)


In the capital, Pamplona, the percentage of the population whose mother tongue is only Basque is a little higher (3.1%) than in the mixed zone. 2.8% have Basque together with Spanish or some other as their mother tongue. 94.1% of the people of Pamplona have Spanish or some other as their mother tongue.

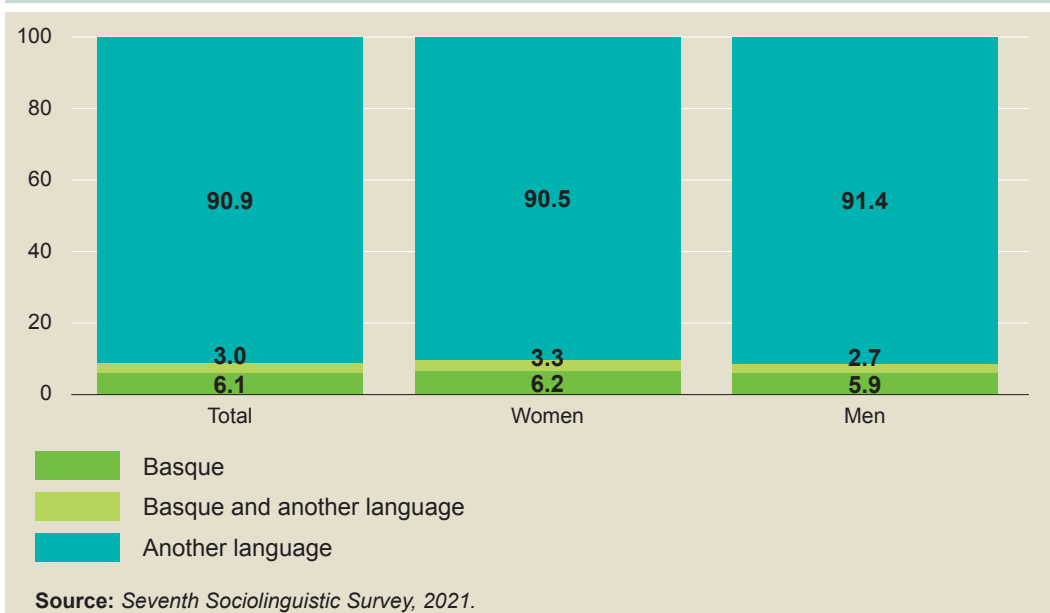
Figure 18. Mother tongue. Pamplona, 2021 (%)



3.2. Mother tongue by sex and age

No differences were observed between women and men in the percentages of those with Basque only as their mother tongue, Basque together with Spanish or only Spanish or some language other than Basque.

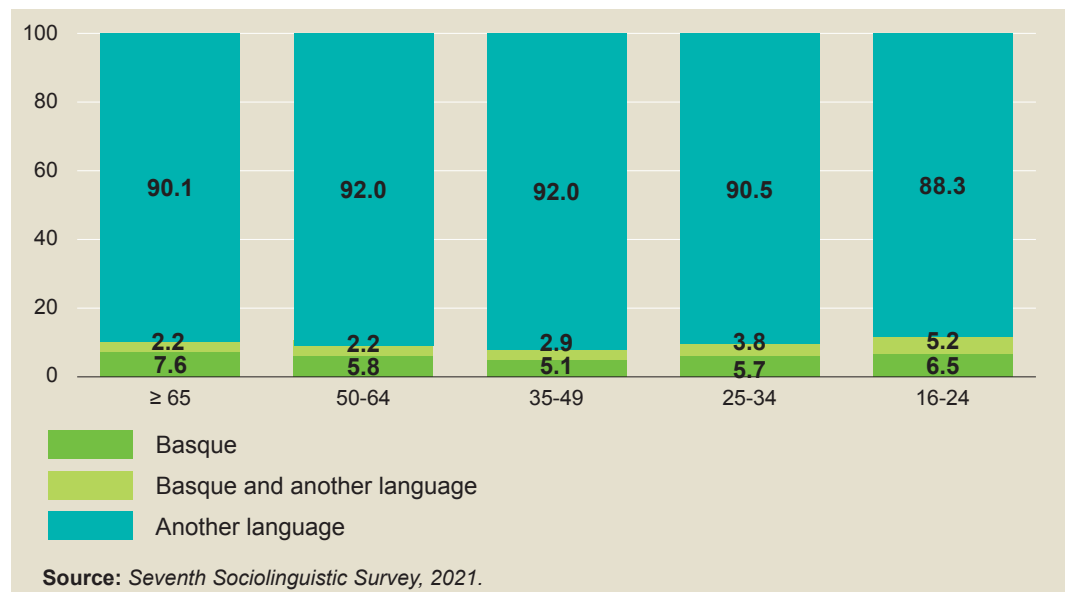
Figure 19. Mother tongue by sex. Navarre, 2021 (%)



In terms of age, however, differences can be seen. The highest percentage of people who learned only Basque as their mother tongue was among those over 65 years old or over (7.6%), followed by young people aged 16-24 with the second highest percentage of people learning only Basque as their mother tongue (6.5%). The percentage is lower in all other age groups.

The percentage of the population who only acquired Basque as their mother tongue is the same in the 25-34 and 50-64 age groups (5.7% and 5.8%). The highest percentage is in the 35-49 age group (5.1%).

Figure 20. Mother tongue by age. Navarre, 2021 (%)

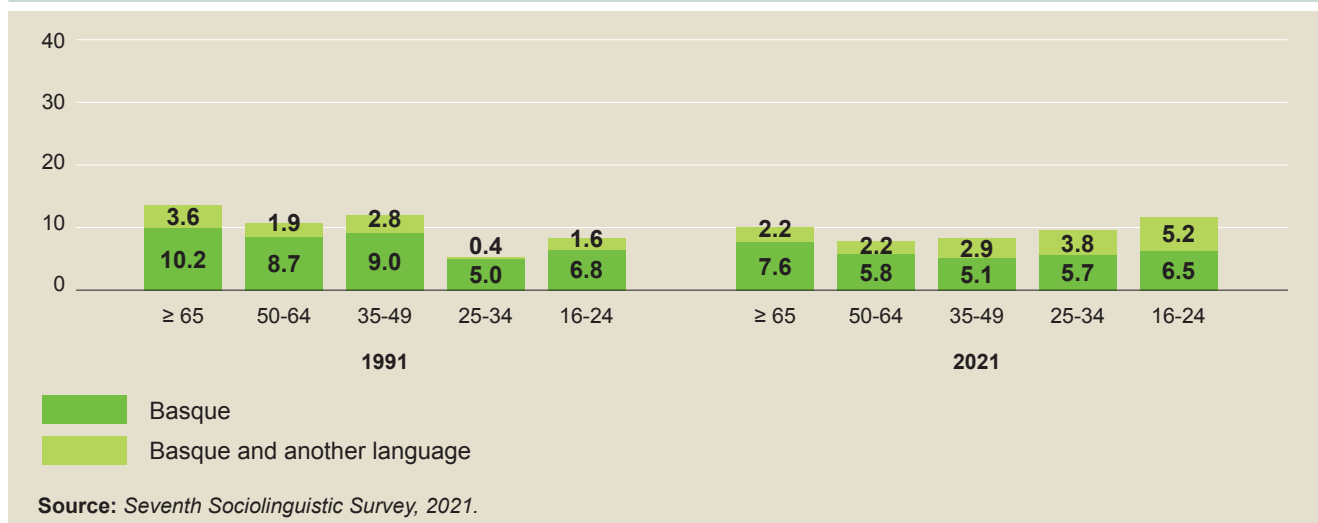


30 years ago, the highest percentage of people who learned only Basque as their mother tongue was among those over 65 years old (10.2%), and the lowest in the age groups 25-34 (5%) and 16-24 (6.8%) age groups. Today, while people over 65 years old continue to have the highest percentage (7.6%), they are closely followed by young people aged 16-24 (6.5%).

Moreover, the percentage of the population who had learned Basque together with Spanish was in general lower than now (2.1% versus 3%). Comparing the data, the biggest difference is recorded in the youngest part of the population. In fact, 30 years ago, 1.6% of people between 16 and 24 years old had learned Basque together with Spanish or some other as their mother tongue; today, on the other hand, 5.2% of young people in this age group have done so, opening up a

difference of 3.7 points. Also in the case of young people between 25 and 34 years old, the percentage of those learning Basque together with Spanish or some other has seen a similar rise: it was 0.4 % in 1991 and 3.8 % in 2021, a difference of 3.4 points.

Figure 21. Evolution of mother tongue by age. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



3.3. Basque speakers according to their mother tongue

The language learned at home by Basque speakers aged 16 or over in Navarre is analysed below.

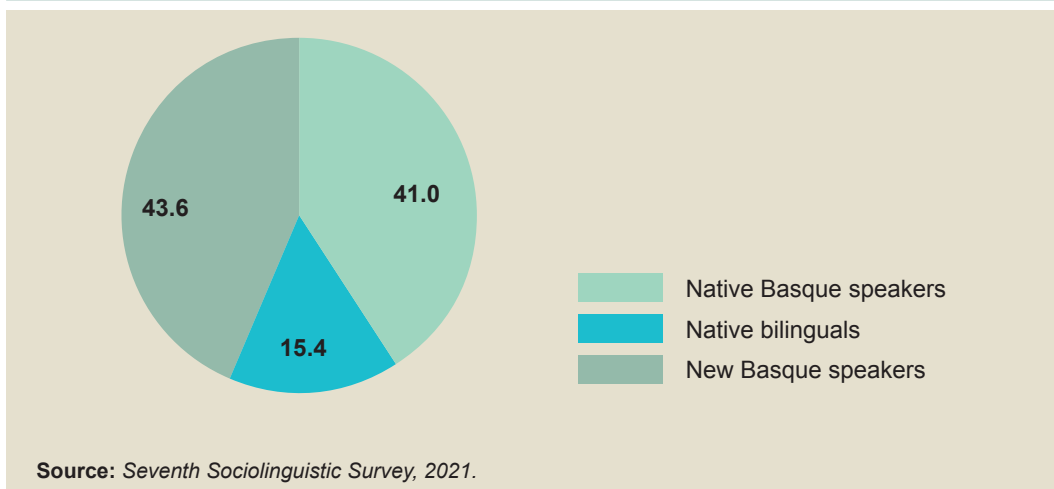
Basque speakers are classified into three groups according to their mother tongue:

- **Native Basque speakers:** they learned Basque only in the first three years of their life, passed on by their parents or people with whom they lived at home.
- **Native bilingual:** they learned Basque together with Spanish or some other language, passed on by their parents or people with whom they lived at home.
- **New Basque speakers or euskaldunberriak:** they did not learn Basque in the first three years of their life, as it was not passed on to them by their

parents or people with whom they lived at home. They learned Basque outside the home, either at school or at an euskaltegi (Basque language centre).

In Navarre, 41 % of people who know Basque are native Basque speakers, 15.4 % are bilingual by origin and 43.6 % new Basque speakers.

Figure 22. Basque speakers by mother tongue. Navarre, 2021 (%)

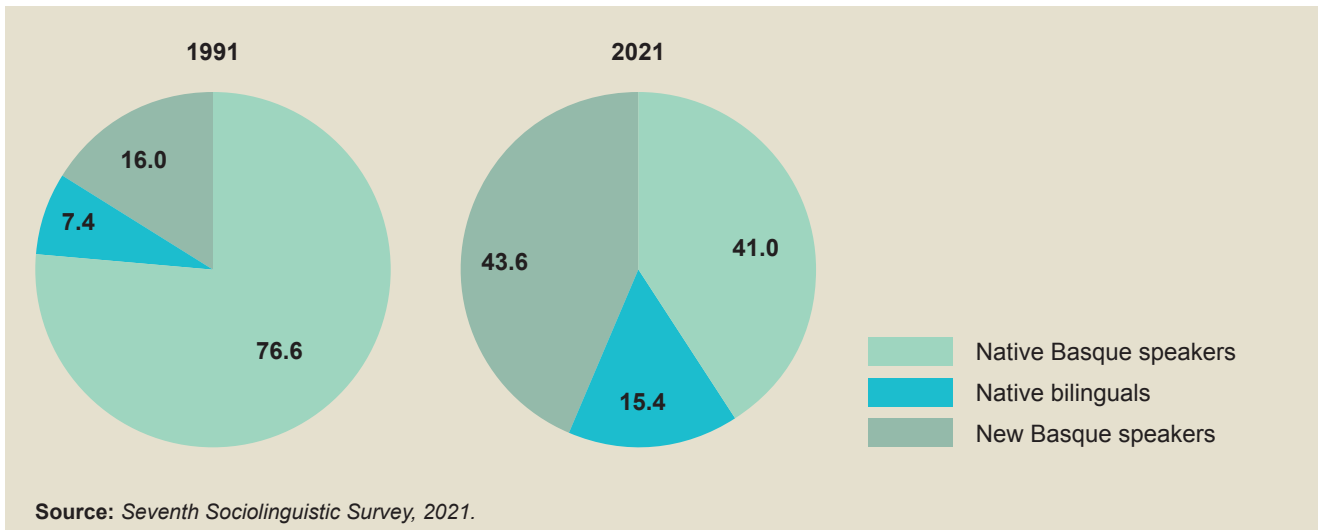


In terms of the mother tongue, the group of Basque speakers has grown significantly in the last 30 years.

In 1991 most were native Basque speakers (76.6%), i.e. they had learned Basque at home. Since then their proportion has declined (by 35.6 points), leaving them as rather less than half of Basque speakers in 2021 (41%).

New Basque speakers and native bilinguals, on the other hand, have increased in the last 30 years: the rise in new Basque speakers was 27.6 points (in 1991 they made up 16%, and in 2021 43.6%), and native bilinguals have doubled their proportion (from 7.4 % in 1991 to 15.4 % in 2021).

Figure 23. Evolution of Basque speakers by mother tongue. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



The differences between language zones are considerable. In the Basque-speaking zone, native Basque speakers predominate by far (70%). New Basque speakers make up 16% in the Basque-speaking zone, and native bilinguals 13.9%.

In the mixed zone, new Basque speakers predominate (61.9%), followed at some distance, not reaching a quarter of the population, by native Basque speakers (21.6%) and native bilinguals (16.5%).

Finally, in the non-Basque speaking zone, new Basque speakers also predominate (64.5%), followed by native Basque speakers (22.7%) and native bilinguals (12.8%). In the non-Basque speaking zone, the percentage of native Basque speakers is higher than in the mixed zone.

As regards the capital, in Pamplona new Basque speakers predominate, making up six out of every ten Basque speakers (66.4%). Native Basque speakers make up two out of every ten Basque speakers (20.1%) and native bilinguals less than two out of every ten (13.5%).

Table 9. Basque speakers by mother tongue, capital city and language zone. Navarre, 2021 (%)

	Basque speaking zone	Mixed zone	Non-Basque speaking zone	Pamplona
Basque speakers	30,700	43,646	2,438	23,306
Native Basque speakers	70.0	21.6	22.7	20.1
Native bilinguals	13.9	16.5	12.8	13.5
New Basque speakers	16.0	61.9	64.5	66.4

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

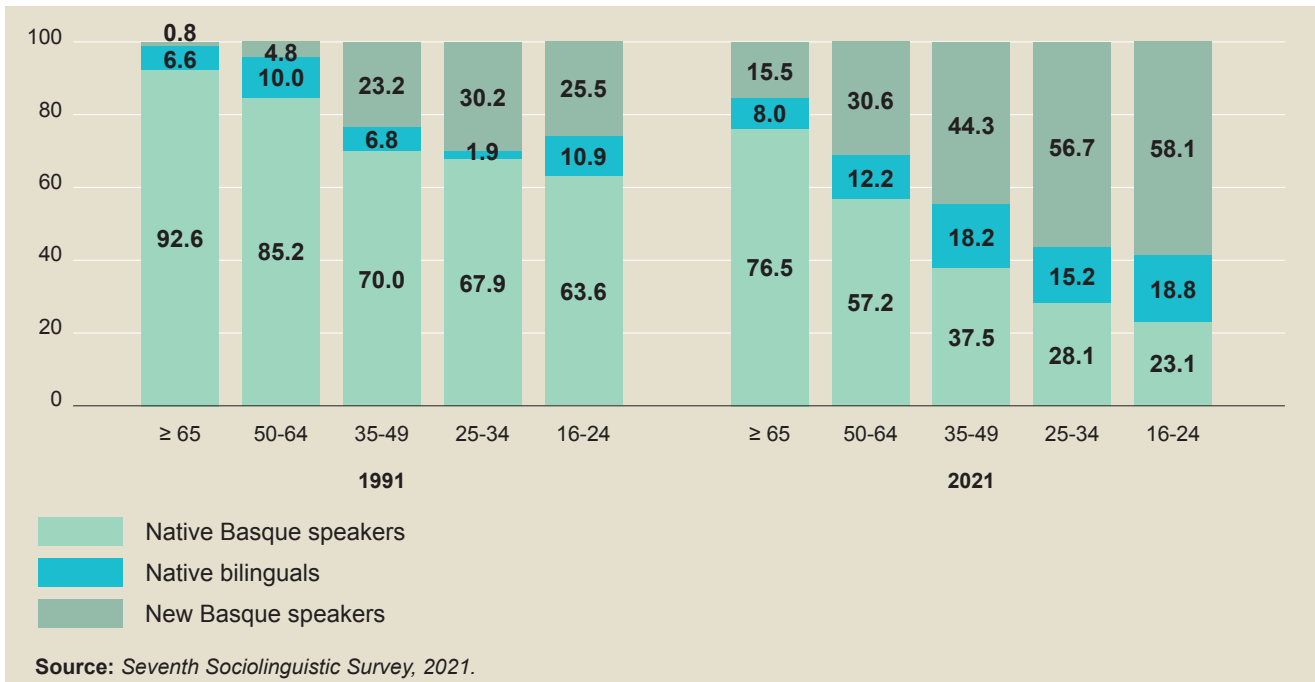
In terms of age, the percentage of native Basque speakers falls at earlier ages, while the proportion of new Basque speakers and of native bilinguals rises.

There has been a considerable increase in new Basque speakers across all age groups. In 2021 over half of Basque speakers aged 16-24 and 25-34 (58.1% and 56.7% respectively) were new speakers; on the other hand, in 1991 25.5% and 30.2% of these age groups were new Basque speakers.

On the other hand, in all age groups over 35 years old, new Basque speakers make up less than half, though in the last three decades the percentage of new Basque speakers has risen significantly in these three age groups, from 23.1% to 44.3% in the 35-49 age group, from 4.8% to 30.6% in the 50-64 age group and from 0.8% to 15.5% in the over-64s.

Native Basque speakers were the majority across all age groups in 1991, but in 2021 only among those over 49 years old. The population of bilingual speakers by origin did not reach 11% in any age group, while in 2021 it stood between 10% and 20% in all age groups, except that of people over 65 years old.

Figure 24. Evolution of Basque speakers by mother tongue and age. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



3.4. Transmission of the language in families

In order to determine the features of transmission of the language in families, all the people surveyed were asked which language they had acquired at home, according to their parents' language competence.

The age range of the people surveyed, from 16 to 100, needs to be taken into account. As a result, we can see how Basque has been passed on by parents from nearly a hundred years ago to the present day.

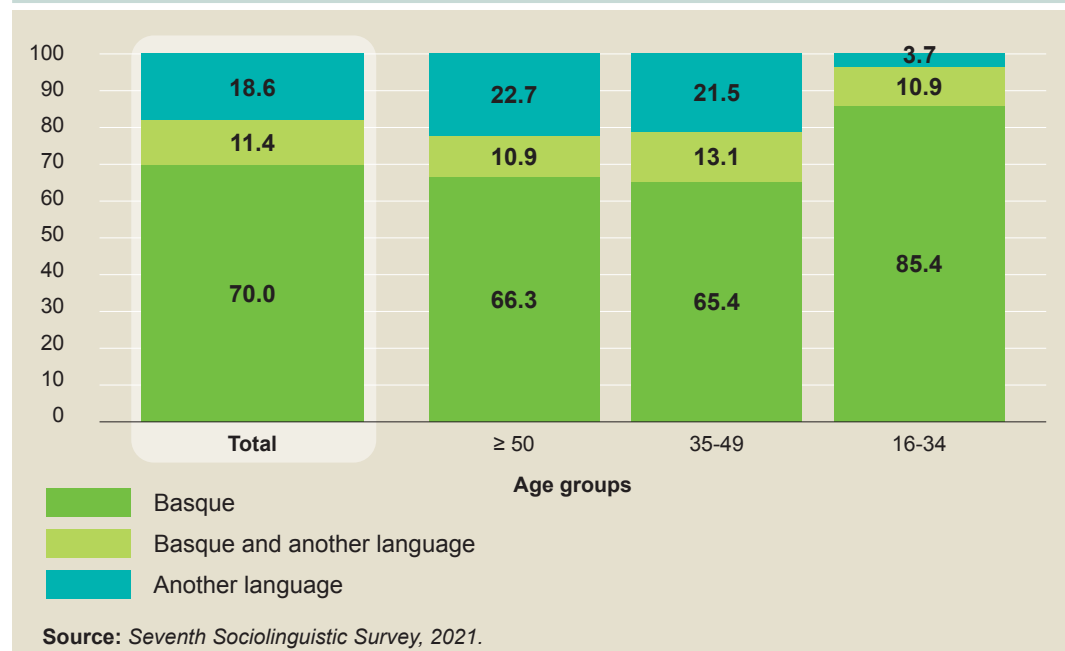
In Navarre, when both parents are Basque speakers, 70% of their children learned only Basque at home; 11.4% Basque together with Spanish or some other language, and 18.6% did not learn Basque.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, the transmission of Basque rises at earlier ages. Thus, the highest rate of transmission of Basque is among respondents

aged 16-34. 85.4 % of young people of this age acquired only Basque at home, and 10.9% Basque together with Spanish. It is worth pointing out the increase in young people who acquired Basque together with Spanish or some other language.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, there are less and less of their children who did not acquire Basque, and more of them acquired Basque together with Spanish, French or some other language. In fact, people aged 16 to 34 who did not learn Basque within their family made up 3.7% in 2021, and 9.2% in 2016.

Figure 25. Basque transmission when both parents are Basque speakers by age. Navarre, 2021 (%)

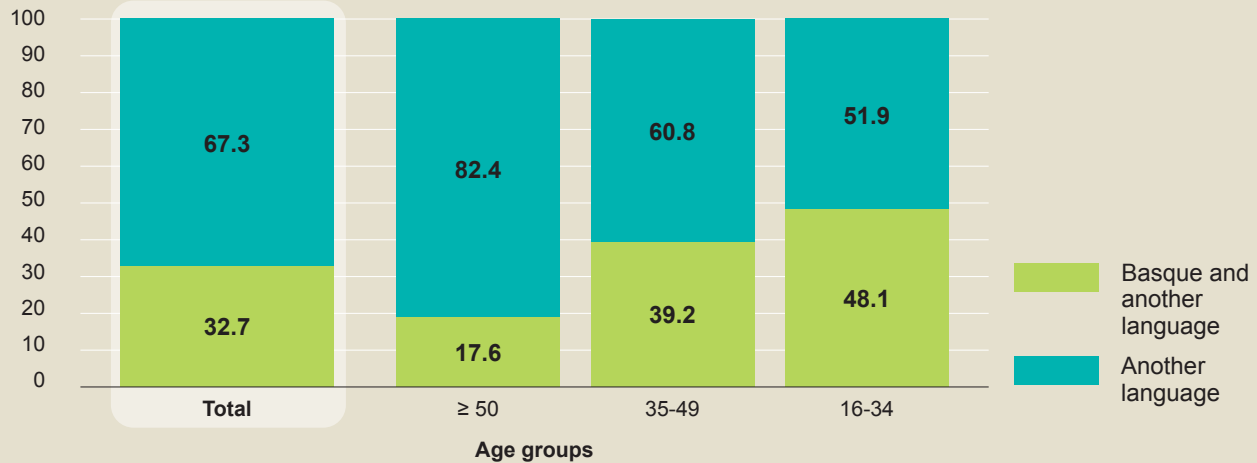


Where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker, 32.7% of their children acquired Basque together with Spanish or some other language, and 67.3% only Spanish or some other language.

Likewise, in cases where one of the parents does not know Basque, there are marked differences by age in the transmission of Basque. The earlier the age, the higher the transmission of Basque.

Thus, where one of the parents does not know Basque, 17.6% of people aged 50 or over learned Basque (together with Spanish) at home, 39.2% of people aged between 35 and 49 and 48.1% of people aged between 16 and 34.

Figure 26. Basque transmission when only one parent speaks Basque by age. Navarre, 2021 (%)

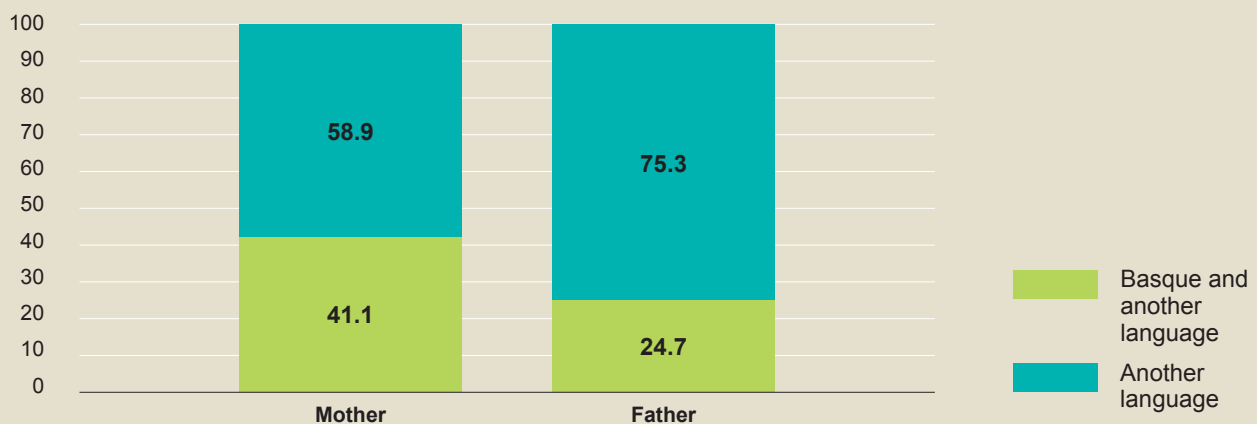


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Where one of the parents does not know Basque, the transmission of Basque varies considerably according to whether it is the mother or the father who knows it. Where the Basque-speaking parent is the mother, 41.1 % of their children acquired Basque at home, and 58.9 % only Spanish or some other language.

Where the Basque-speaking parent is the father, 24.7 % of their children acquired Basque at home, and 75.3 % only Spanish or some other language.

Figure 27. Basque transmission when only one parent speaks Basque by age. Navarre, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

The earlier the age, the higher the transmission of Basque whether the Basque speaker is the mother or the father.

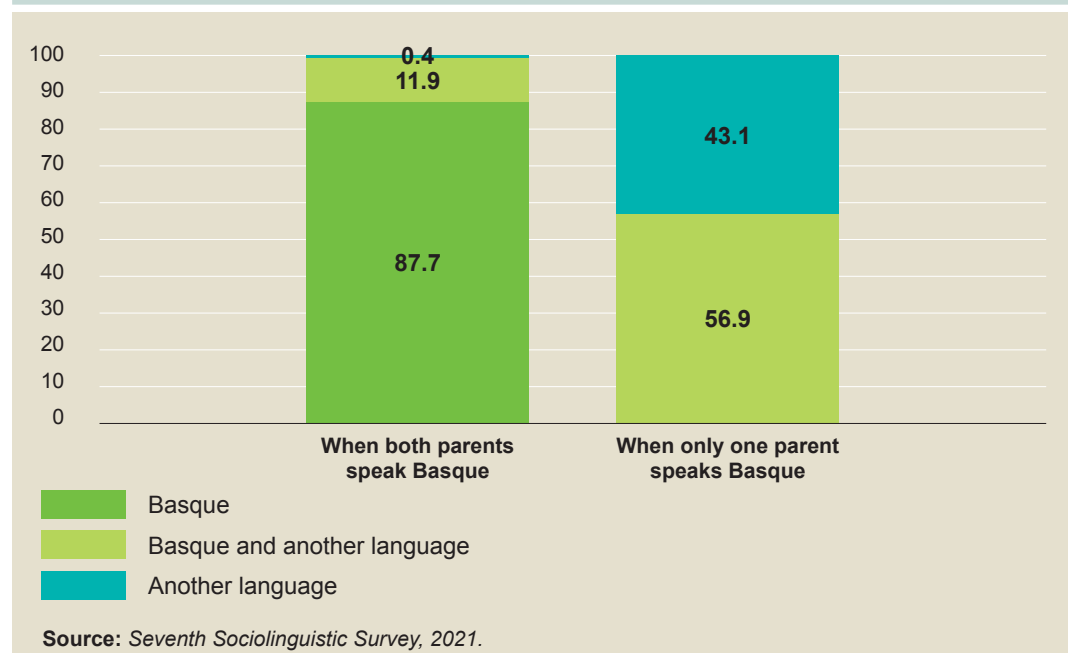
Transmission of the language in families with children between 3 and 15 years old

To determine which language was passed on at home to children and young people aged 3-15, respondents were asked whether they had children of these ages.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, 87.7% of their children acquire only Basque at home, and 11.9% Basque together with Spanish or some other language.

Where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker, 56.9% of their children acquire Basque together with Spanish or some other language at home, and 43% only Spanish or some other language.

Figure 28. Basque transmission in families with children aged 3-15 by parents' language competence. Navarre, 2021 (%)

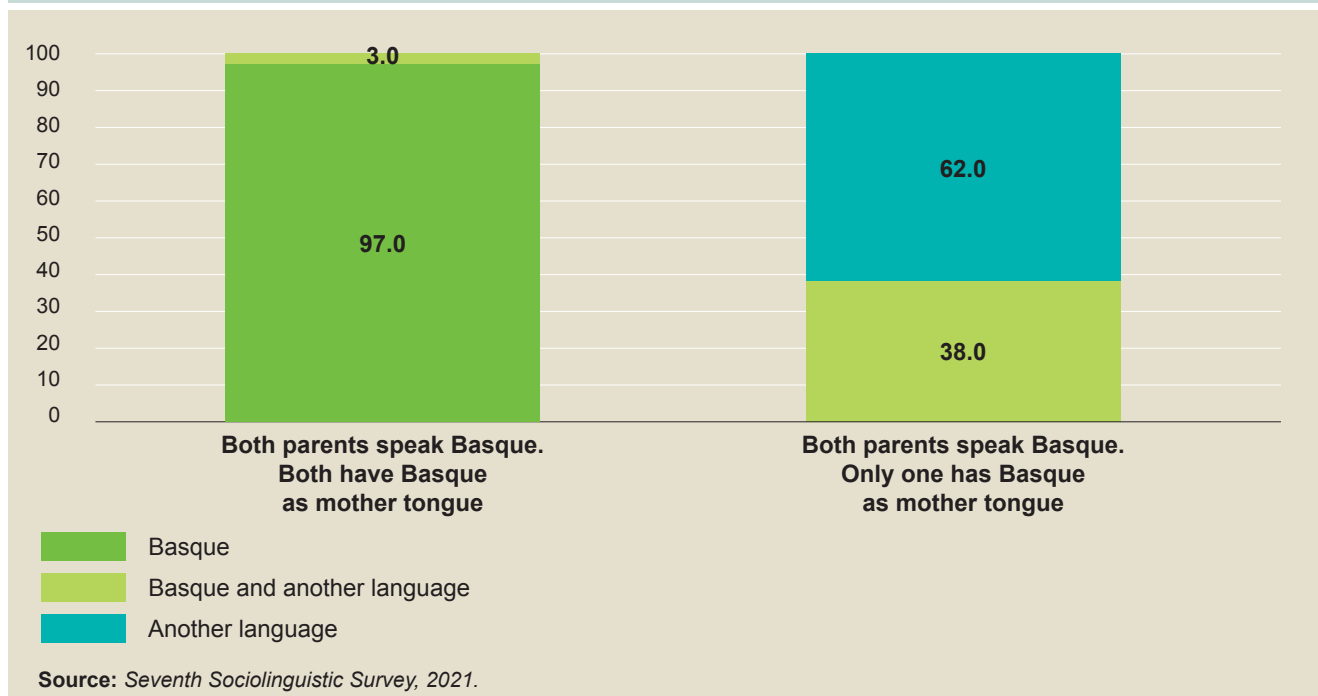


In passing on the language, as well as the parents' language competence, their mother tongue also has a strong influence. Crossing these two variables, there follows an analysis according to the parents' knowledge of Basque and what their mother tongue is.

Where both parents are Basque speakers and the mother tongue of both is Basque, 97 % of their children acquire only Basque at home, and 3 % Basque together with Spanish or some other language.

The result is completely different where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker and this mother tongue is not Basque. In these cases, 38 % of their children acquire Basque together with Spanish or some other language at home, and 62 % only Spanish or some other language.

Figure 29. Basque transmission in families with children aged 3-15 by parents' mother tongue. Navarre, 2021 (%)



3.5. Gains and losses of Basque

The majority of people who learned Basque or Basque together with Spanish or some other language as their mother tongue have kept their Basque and are Basque speakers today (87.5%).

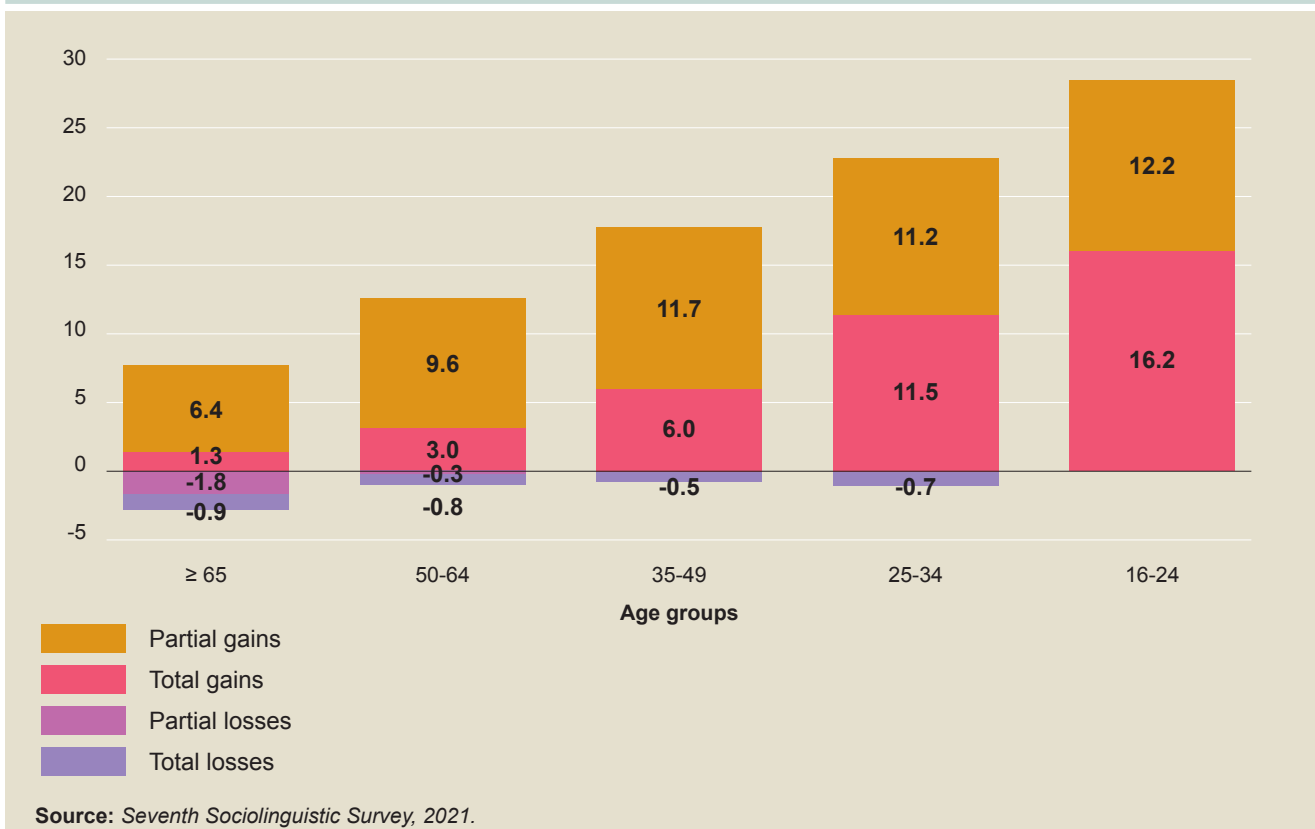
There are, however, 6,200 people who, despite having learnt Basque as their mother tongue, are not Basque speakers today, and have lost all or part of their

Basque. They make up 12.5% of those who acquired Basque only or together with Spanish or some other language. Most of them are over 50 years old and live in the mixed zone.

At the same time, 33,500 people whose mother tongue is Spanish have learned Basque, and are now Basque speakers. They make up 43.6% of Basque speakers. Most of them live in the mixed zone.

In terms of gains, notable differences are recorded in relation to age. The percentage of people who have learned Basque is minimal among those over 65 years old. Under the age of 50, on the other hand, gains gradually increase, especially among the young population.

Figure 30. Basque gains and losses by age. Navarre, 2021 (%)



4. USE OF BASQUE

4.1. Factors affecting the use of Basque: correlations

Before giving data on the use of Basque, the factors that most influence this are analysed. To this end, a correlation analysis was conducted to see what other variables influence the variable in question (use), and to what extent.

Correlations were made according to three spheres of use: at home, in the circle of friends and with colleagues at work. In all these spheres, there are two factors that have a big influence on use: the density of the network of relations of Basque speakers (how many people know Basque at home, in the circle of friends or among work colleagues, and the sociolinguistic area), and their fluency (closely linked to mother tongue).

The factor that most influences use in the home is their fluency in speaking Basque (0.730), and a similar value is observed in the factor of the density of Basque speakers in the household, i.e. how many members of the family speak Basque (0.722). Next comes the sociolinguistic area (0.568). The mother tongue is closely related to fluency, and determines to a great extent use at home (0.563).

Table 10. Correlations: use of Basque at home. Navarre, 2021

	Fluency in Basque	Proportion of Basque speakers in the household	Sociolinguistic zone	Mother tongue
Language spoken at home	0.730	0.722	0.568	0.563

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

With regard to use in the circle of friends, the most influential factor is once again fluency (0.648). The second factor is the sociolinguistic area (0.623). Of great importance is the network of relations, i.e. how many members of the circle of friends speak Basque (0.555). The correlation with the mother tongue is also high (0.465).

Table 11. Correlations: use of Basque with friends. Navarre, 2021

	Fluency in Basque	Sociolinguistic zone	Proportion of Basque speakers among friends	Mother tongue
Language spoken with friends	0.648	0.623	0.555	0.465

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In the use of Basque with work colleagues, the most influential factor is the density of Basque speakers (0.897), i.e. how many of these people know Basque. The second factor is fluency (0.410). Next come the sociolinguistic area (0.275) and mother tongue (0.231).

Table 12. Correlations: use of Basque with co-workers. Navarre, 2021

	Proportion of Basque speakers at work	Fluency in Basque	Sociolinguistic zone	Mother tongue
Language spoken at work	0.897	0.410	0.275	0.231

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Therefore, according to analysis of the correlations taken from the data in the Sociolinguistic Survey, there are two main factors affecting the use of Basque, which are fluency and the network of relations. It should be pointed out that there is a high correlation between fluency and mother tongue, as there is between the network of relations and the sociolinguistic area.

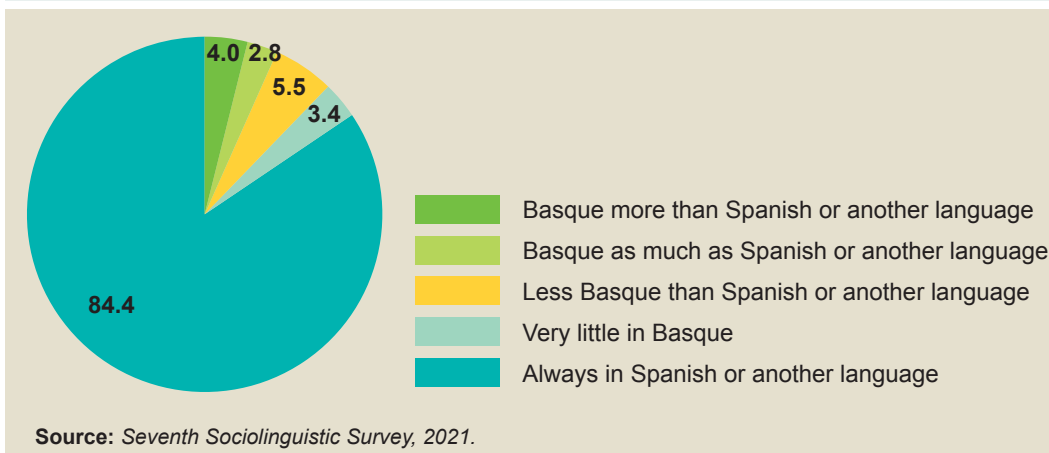
There are other factors that also affect the use of Basque, such as for example attitude and interest.

In the light of the above, with regard to the network of relations, two thirds of Basque speakers live in the first sociolinguistic area (66%). Therefore, for these Basque speakers, the network of relations with people who know Basque is very limited. As regards fluency, today 51.6% of Basque speakers are more fluent in Spanish than in Basque; among under-25s they make up 68.3%.

4.2. Use of Basque in Navarre, in the capital and by language zones

In Navarre, 6.8% of people over 16 years old use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language; 5.5% use Basque but less than Spanish or some other language; 3.4% use Basque very little, and the remaining 84.4% only use Spanish or some other language.

Figure 31. Basque language use. Navarre, 2021 (%)



A classification has been devised to measure use of Basque. In structuring this classification, the following spheres of use were taken into consideration:

- use at home
- use with friends
- formal use (in shops and the bank on the one hand, and in health and municipal services on the other)

There are notable differences in use between the different language zones. In fact, in the Basque-speaking zone 51.4% of people use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language, 3.1% in the mixed zone and 0.2% in the non-Basque speaking zone. To properly understand these differences between the different zones, one must take into account the big differences that exist between the two main factors determining the use of Basque, i.e. the density of Basque speakers in the network of relations and fluency in speaking Basque.

- In the Basque-speaking zone 62.3% of the population are Basque speakers, 12.6% in the mixed zone and 1.6% in the non-Basque speaking zone.

- In the Basque-speaking zone, 41.1% of Basque speakers express themselves more fluently in Basque than in Spanish. However, in the mixed zone only 6.8% of Basque speakers express themselves more fluently in Basque, and in the non-Basque speaking zone 2%.

In Pamplona, Basque is used more than or as much as Spanish by 3.2% of the population.

Table 13. Basque language use by capital city and language zone. Navarre 2021 (%)

	Basque speaking zone	Mixed zone	Non-Basque speaking zone	Pamplona
Basque more than Spanish or another language	40.0	0.5	—	0.6
Basque as much as Spanish or another language	11.4	2.6	0.2	2.6
Less Basque than Spanish or another language	11.1	6.8	0.5	7.4
Very little in Basque	3.5	4.2	1.5	4.3
Always in Spanish or another language	34.0	85.8	97.7	85.0

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

The differences observed between linguistic zones are also very striking between the different sociolinguistic areas.

Four sociolinguistic areas have been defined, according to the percentage of Basque speakers in their population.

- In the first sociolinguistic area 31% or less of the population speaks Basque.
- In the second sociolinguistic area over 31% and less than 50% of the population speaks Basque.
- In the third sociolinguistic area over 50% and less than 80% of the population speaks Basque.
- In the fourth sociolinguistic area 80% or more of the population are Basque-speaking.

Basque use stands at 2.6% in the first sociolinguistic area and 55.2% in the second area and 81.9% in the fourth.

Table 14. Basque language use by sociolinguistic area. Navarre 2021 (%)

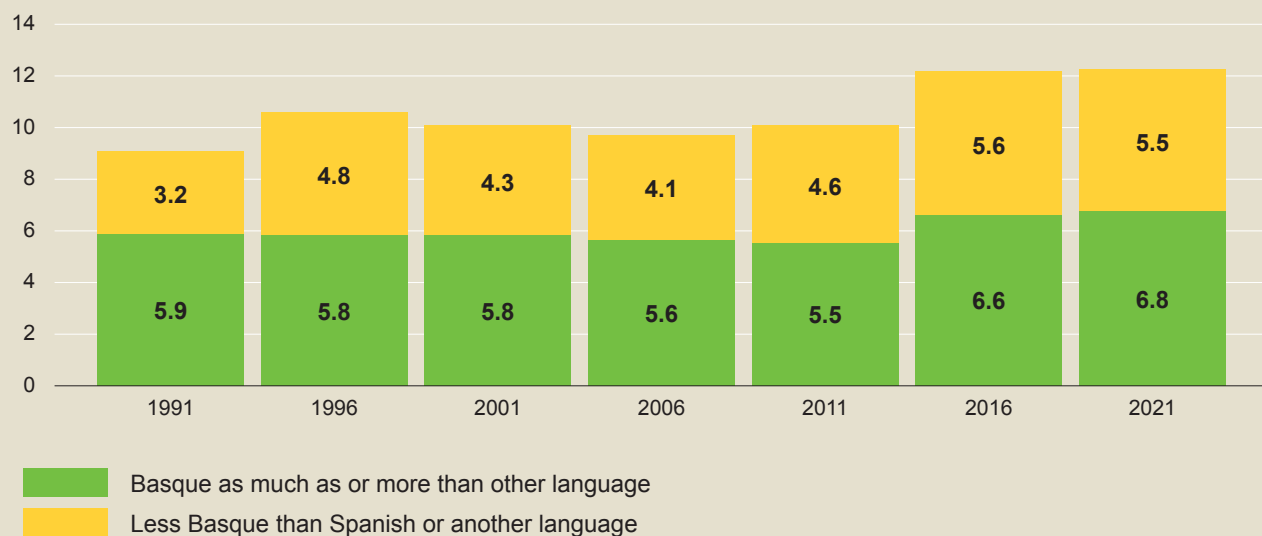
	Zone 1	Zone 3	Zone 4
Basque more than Spanish or another language	0.5	39.2	71.1
Basque as much as Spanish or another language	2.1	16.0	10.8
Less Basque than Spanish or another language	5.3	12.4	5.8
Very little in Basque	3.4	5.7	1.2
Always in Spanish or another language	88.7	26.7	11.0

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Analysis of the trend over the last 30 years shows that the intensive use of Basque (i.e. use of Basque as much as or more than Spanish) has risen slightly, by 0.9 points, in the percentages in Navarre (from 5.9% to 6.8%). In Navarre today, 11,400 more people use Basque as much as or more than Spanish than did so according to the 1991 figures.

The percentage of people who use Basque less than Spanish also rose between 1991 and 2021 (2.3 points): 30 years ago they made up 3.2%, and now they make up 5.5% (35,300 more people).

Figure 32. Evolution of Basque language use. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



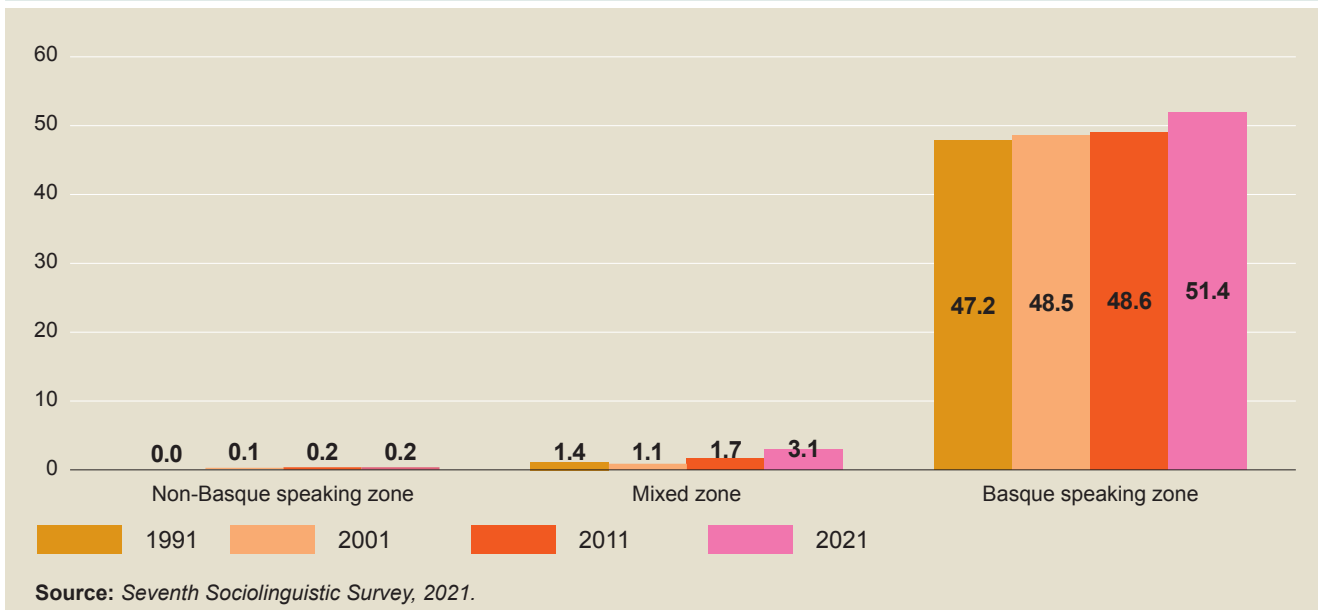
Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

From 1991 to 2021, the use of Basque rose by 4.2 points in the Basque-speaking zone, and 1.7 points in the mixed zone.

In Pamplona, the use of Basque has risen by 1.6 points.

In any case, in analysing trends in use in the different language zones, it must be remembered that the composition of these zones (above all in the mixed and non-Basque speaking zone) has changed significantly.

Figure 33. Evolution of Basque use by language zone. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



4.3. Use of Basque by sex and age

In relation to sex, in general no significant differences are recorded between women and men in the use of Basque. In fact, the percentage of people using Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language comes to 6.4 % among women and 7 % among men. In the last 30 years, the difference between the percentages of men and women who use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language is negligible, but this percentage is slightly higher among men than among women.

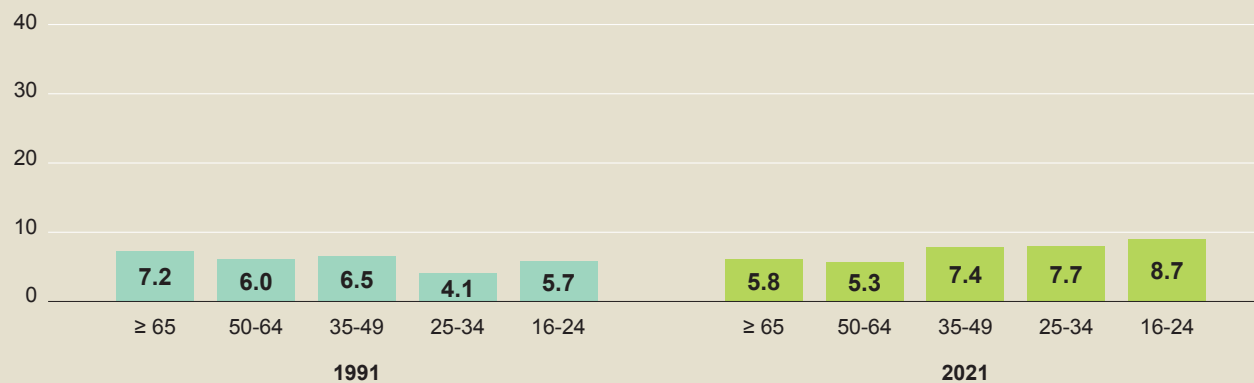
Table 15. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by sex. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)

	1991	2001	2011	2021
Men	7.0	6.6	5.8	7.0
Women	5.0	5.2	5.3	6.4
Total	6.0	5.9	5.5	6.7

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

If the trend in the use of Basque is analysed by age, the highest percentage of people who use Basque is recorded among young people. In fact, among young people between 16 and 24 years old, 8.7% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language. The lowest percentage, on the other hand, is among people between 50 and 64 years old (5.3%) and among those over 65 years old (5.8%). Under the age of 50, the earlier the age, the higher the percentage of people who use Basque. 30 years ago the opposite was the case.

Figure 34. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by age. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Those who always use Spanish or some other language remain a majority across all age groups (over 3 out of 4 people).

Big differences can be seen in use according to age between the different language zones. In the non-Basque speaking zone, Basque use is less than 1% across all age groups. In the mixed zone, the highest percentage is to be found among

people under 50 years old (around 4%). In the Basque-speaking zone, half the people over 65 years old use Basque as much as or more than Spanish, and the highest use is among those under 35 years old two out of three people use Basque as much as or more than Spanish.

Table 16. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by age. Navarre, 2021 (%)

	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
Navarre	6.7	5.8	5.3	7.4	7.7	8.7
Basque speaking zone	51.4	50.2	40.5	49.3	67.7	66.5
Mixed zone	3.1	1.3	2.2	4.5	3.8	4.4
Non-Basque speaking zone	0.2	—	0.6	0.4	—	—

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

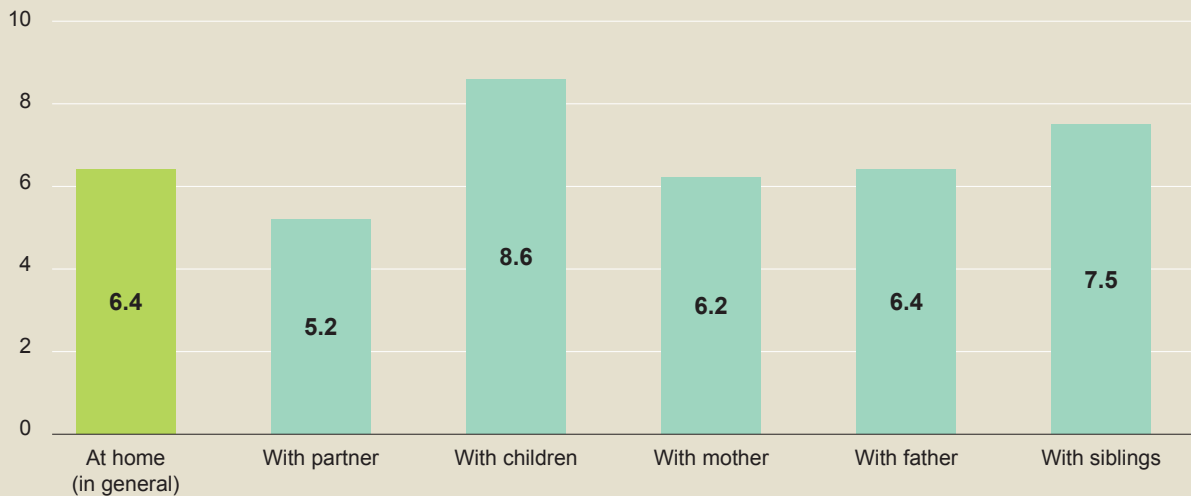
4.4. Use of Basque in different spheres: home, friends, formal sphere

Use of Basque at home

In Navarre, 6.4% of people aged 16 or over use Basque as much as or more than Spanish at home, 3.9% use Basque but less than Spanish, and the remaining 89.7% only Spanish.

Notable differences are observed between different members of the family. The highest use is with children (8.6%) and the lowest with the partner (5.2%). Between siblings, use comes to 7.5%, with the father 6.4% and with the mother 6.2%

Figure 35. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language at home. Navarre, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Over the last 30 years, use at home has varied slightly. Between 1991 and 2011 the use of Basque at home declined (-1.3 points), but in the last ten years the trend has changed, and domestic use has risen by one point.

The growth observed in the period from 2011 to 2021 has occurred with all members of the family: with children 0.6 points, with brothers and sisters 0.5 points, with the mother 1.2 points, with the father 1.7 points and with the partner 1 point.

Table 17. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language at home. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)

	1991	2001	2011	2021
At home (in general)	6.7	6.3	5.4	6.4
With partner	5.0	4.6	4.2	5.2
With children	6.5	6.8	8.0	8.6
With mother	6.5	6.2	5.0	6.2
With father	6.2	6.1	4.7	6.4
With siblings	6.2	7.2	7.0	7.5

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Use of Basque with friends

In Navarre, 8.2% of people aged 16 or over use Basque as much as or more than Spanish with their friends, 5.6% use Basque but less than Spanish, and the remaining 86.2% only Spanish.

Over the last 30 years the percentage of people using Basque as much as Spanish with their friends has risen by one point. This increase was recorded between the years 2011 and 2021.

Table 18. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language with friends. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)

	1991	2001	2011	2021
Use with friends	7.2	7.5	7.2	8.2

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Use of Basque in the formal sphere

This section will analyse three spheres of use: use with work colleagues, use in the private sphere (with the staff of shops and banks) and use in the public sphere (with the staff of health and municipal services).

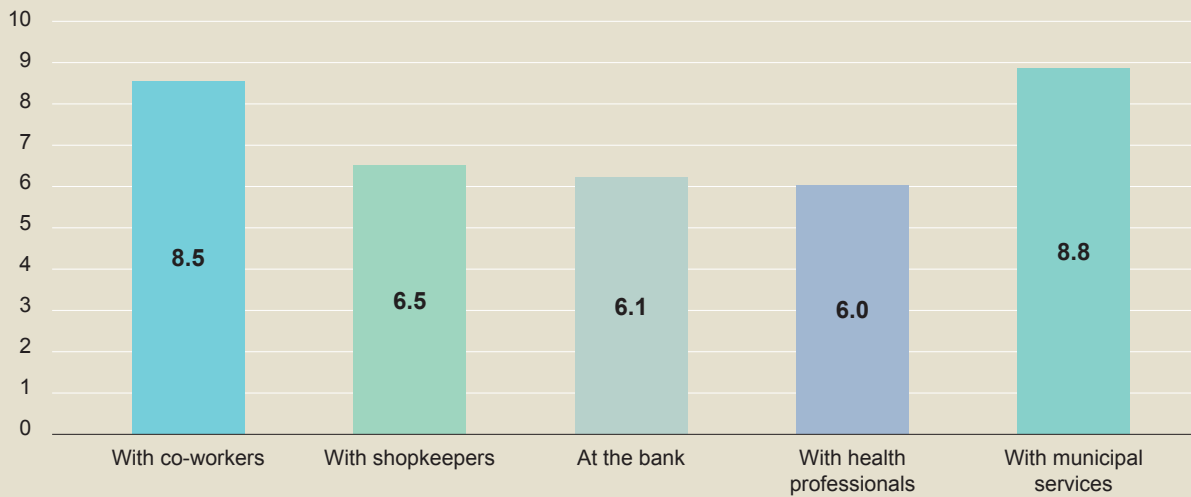
In 2021, 8.5% of the population of Navarre used Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language at work. 4.1% used Basque, though less than Spanish, and 87.3% used only Spanish or some other language.

Women use Basque more than men with work colleagues of both sexes (use by women is 0.9 points higher than use by men).

In the private sphere, 6.5% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language in shops, and 6% at the bank. In these two spheres, the percentages of people who use Basque, though less than Spanish or another language, are 4.7% and 2.1% respectively.

In the public sphere, 6% use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language in health services, and 8.8% in municipal services.

Figure 36. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language in formal situations. Navarre, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Over the last 30 years, the percentage of people using Basque at work as much as or more than Spanish or some other language is up by 3.2 points; those who use it in shops by 1.8% and those who use it at the bank 2.1%. In the public sphere, there has been a rise of 3.3 points in health services and 4.6 points in municipal services.

Table 19. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language in formal situations. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)

	1991	2001	2011	2021
With co-workers	5.3	5.4	7.1	8.5
With shopkeepers	4.7	5.0	5.1	6.5
At the bank	4.0	5.6	5.3	6.1
With health professionals	2.7	4.7	4.8	6.0
With municipal services	4.2	6.7	6.3	8.8

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

4.5. Use of Basque on social networks

The language used most on Internet social networks is Spanish, including among young people. However, 6.2% of users use Basque as much as or more than Spanish. The highest percentage of use is among young people aged 16-24 (9%).

Apart from Spanish and Basque, users also employ other languages, basically English, on Internet social networks (4.4%).

5. ATTITUDE TOWARDS PROMOTION OF THE USE OF BASQUE

5.1. Attitude towards the promotion of the use of Basque in Navarre, in the capital and by language zones

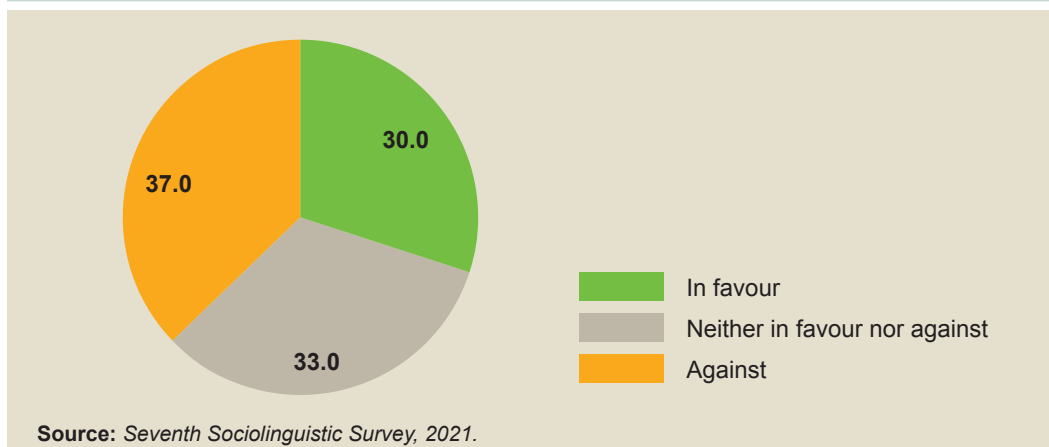
In order to determine attitudes towards promoting the use of Basque, a classification based on four opinions was devised.

In order to construct this classification, the following statements were used:

- One should know Basque to get into the Administration.
- It is preferable to learn English than Basque (those who express disagreement are considered favourable to the promotion of Basque).
- All children should learn Basque.
- More radio and television programmes should be broadcast in Basque.

30% of the population of Navarre aged 16 or over expressed approval of the promotion of Basque, 33% were neither for nor against and 37% were against it.

Figure 37. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion. Navarre, 2021 (%)

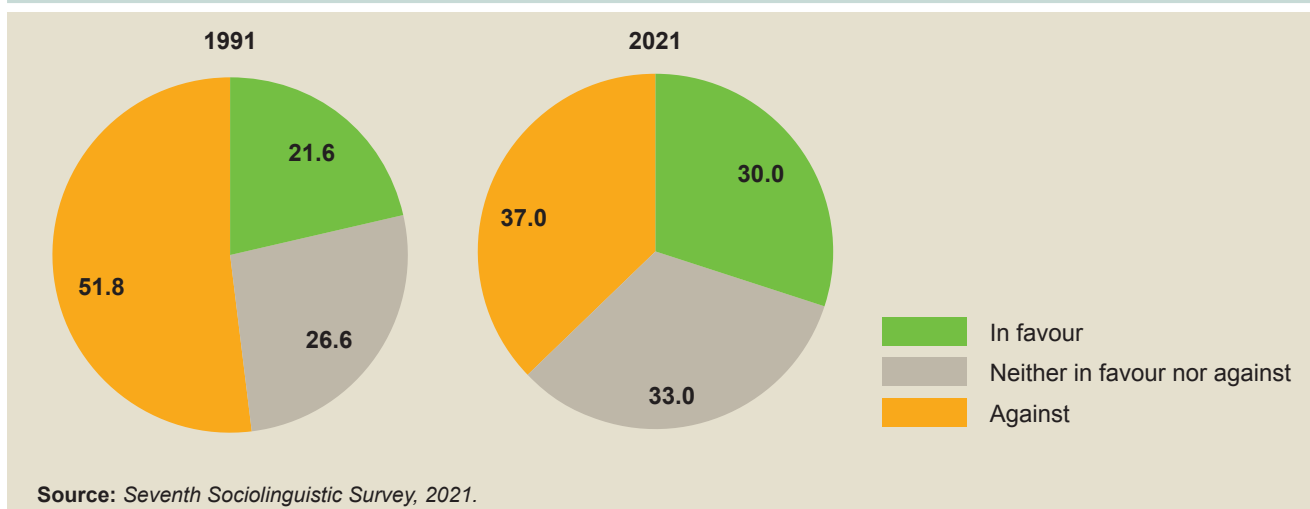


In Navarre, attitudes favourable to the promotion of Basque have risen by 8.4 points in comparison to thirty years ago (in 1991 the figure was 21.6%), but have declined slightly in comparison with the figure five years ago. In fact, in 2016 33.3% of the population were in favour of promoting the use of Basque, i.e. 3.3 points more than in 2021.

The percentage of people neither in favour nor against has increased in relation to both the survey carried out thirty years ago (26.6% in 1991 and 33% in 2021) and that of 2016 (27.6% in 2016).

Finally, the percentage of people opposed to promoting the use of Basque is nearly 15 points lower than that in the 1991 survey. It has also fallen in comparison to the survey conducted in 2016, as the negative position was 2.1 points higher (39.1%).

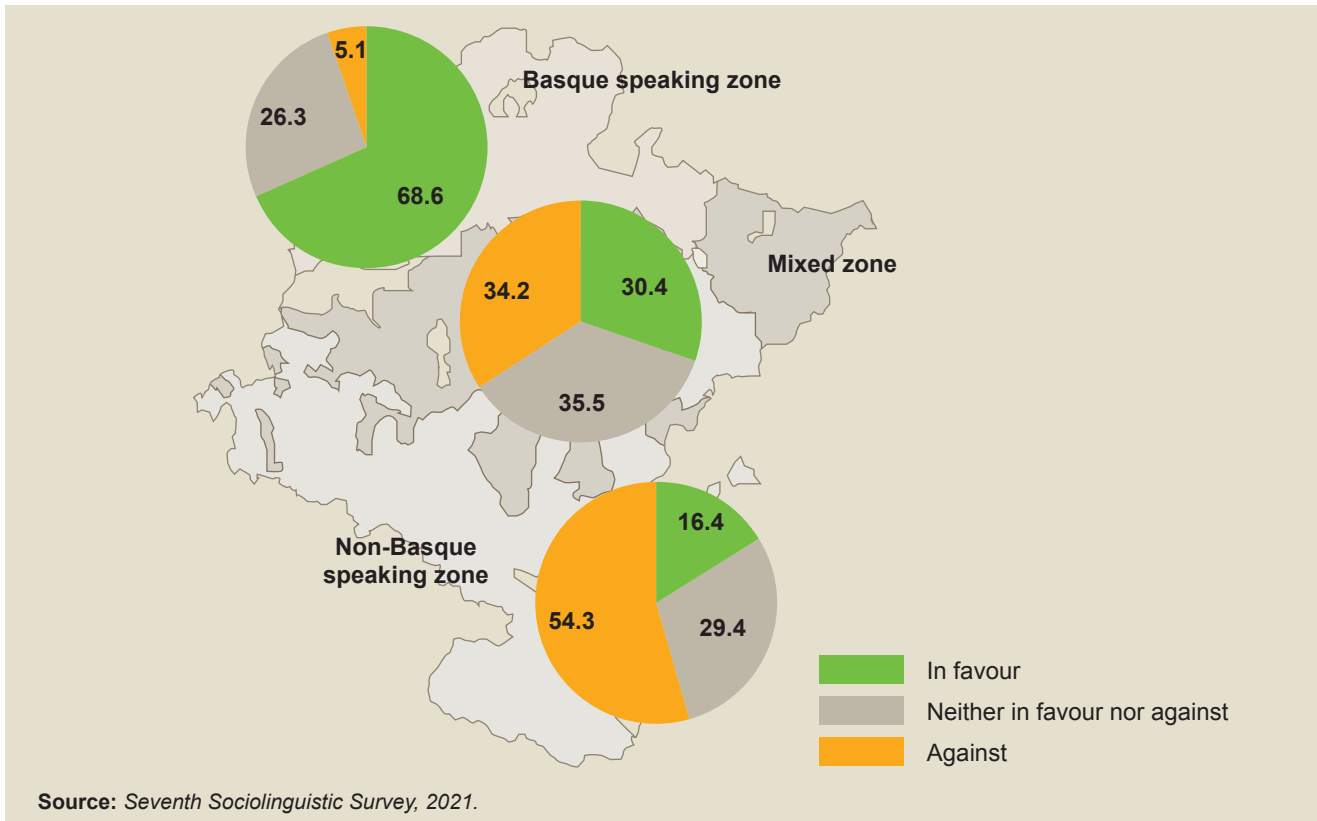
Figure 38. Evolution of attitudes towards Basque language promotion. Navarre, 1991-2021 (%)



Taking into account language zones, an attitude favourable towards promoting the use of Basque is much more widespread in the Basque-speaking zone (68.6%) than in the mixed zone (30.4%) and in the non-Basque speaking zone (16.4%).

In attitudes contrary to promoting the use of Basque, the differences are even bigger depending on the language zone: 5.1% in the Basque-speaking zone, 34.2% in the mixed zone and 54.3% in the non-Basque speaking zone.

Figure 39. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by language zone. Navarre, 2021 (%)



In Pamplona 31.1% of people expressed an attitude favourable to the promotion of the use of Basque, and 33.5% against.

Table 20. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion. Pamplona, 2021 (%)

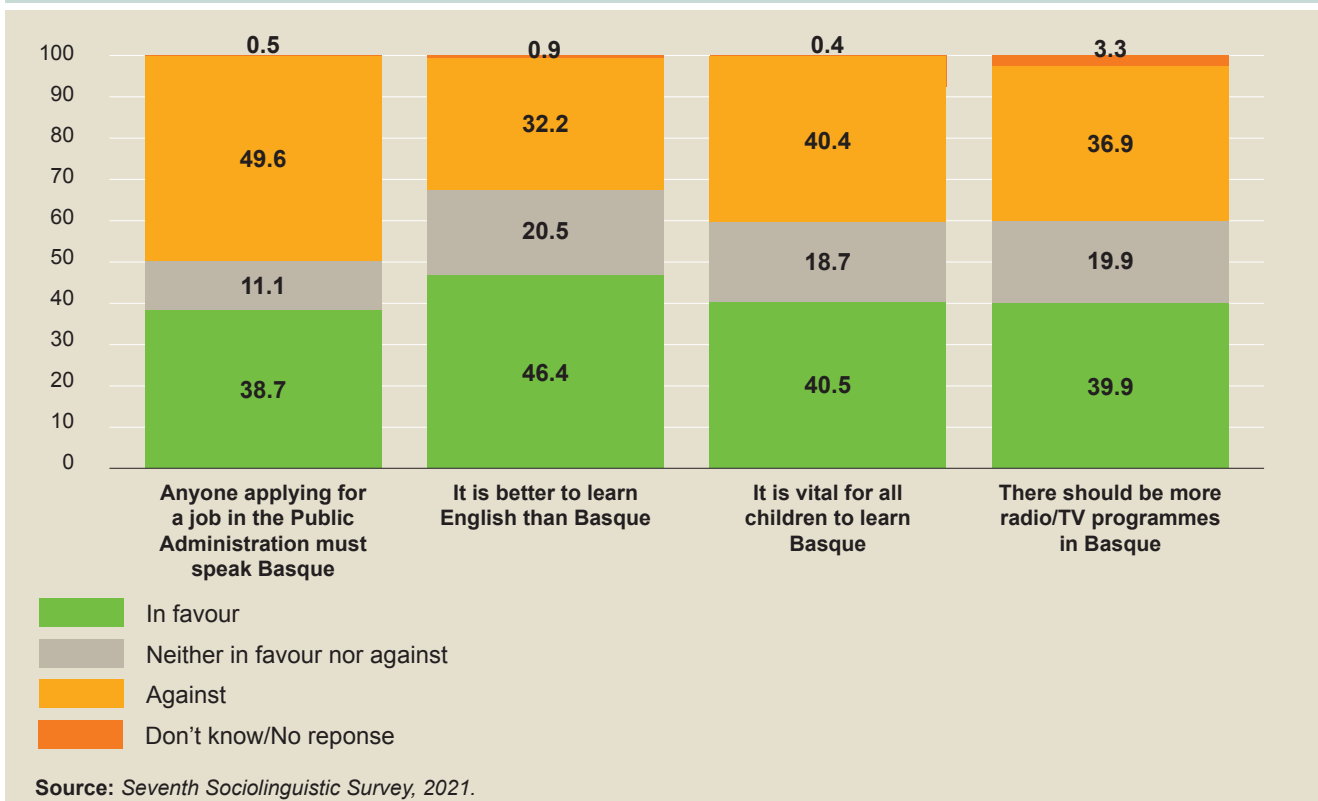
	Pamplona
In favour	31.1
Neither in favour nor against	33.4
Against	35.5

Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

Below are shown the percentages for each of the four opinions used to establish the classification with regard to attitudes towards the promotion of Basque:

- 38.7% of the population of Navarre feel that knowing Basque should be necessary to work in the Administration, and 11.1% are neither for nor against this. On the other hand, 49.6% are against this criterion and 0.5% do not answer.
- 46.4% feel it is preferable to learn English than Basque (opinion unfavourable to promoting the use of Basque), while 20.5% are neither for nor against this. Finally, 32.2% of the population are against this criterion (opinion favourable to promoting Basque). The remaining 0.9% do not answer.
- 40.5% of the population feels that all children should learn Basque, 18.7% are neither for nor against this, 40.4% are against and 0.4% do not respond.
- Finally, 39.9% feel that radio and television channels should broadcast more programmes in Basque, 19.9% are neither for nor against this, 36.9% are against it and 3.3% do not respond.

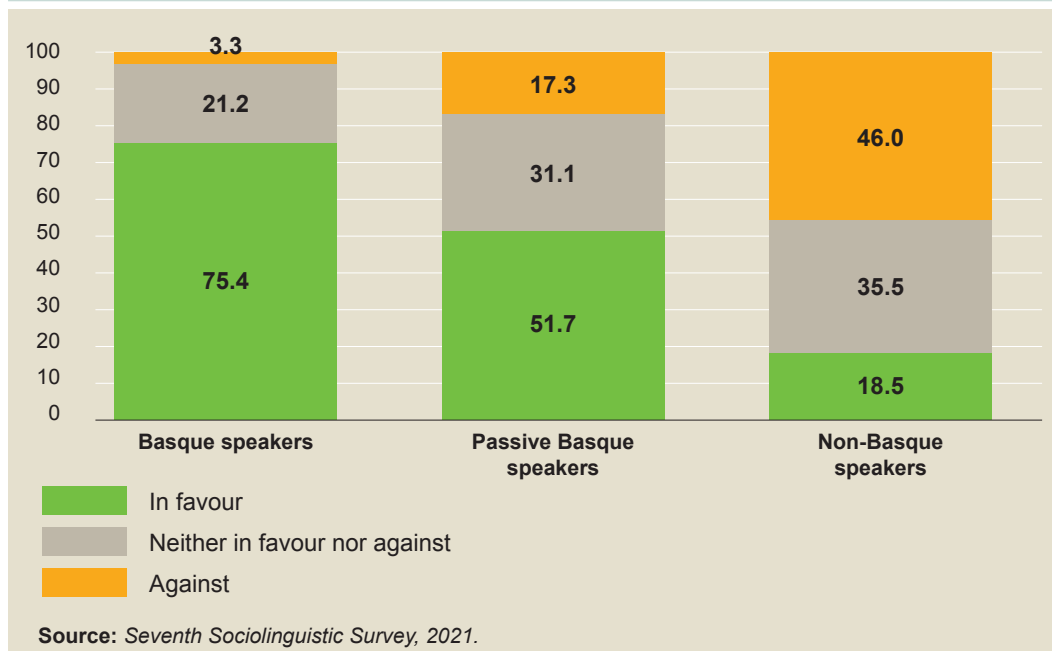
Figure 40. Opinions used to established attitude categories. Navarre, 2021 (%)



5.2. Attitude towards the promotion of the use of Basque by language competence, sex and age

Attitudes towards Basque are closely linked to language competence. In fact, 75.4% of Basque speakers are in favour of promoting the use of Basque, as are 51.7% of passive Basque speakers and 18.5% of non-Basque speakers.

Figure 41. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by language competence. Navarre, 2021 (%)



With regard to sex, there is hardly any difference between women and men in attitudes favourable to the promotion of Basque. 31.3% of women and 28.6% of men are in favour of fostering the use of Basque, a difference of 2.7 points. The same is the case between women and men who are neither in favour nor against. In this case the difference is 2.5 points (31.7% of women versus 34.3% of men).

Finally, there are hardly any differences in the unfavourable attitude (36.9% versus 37.1%).

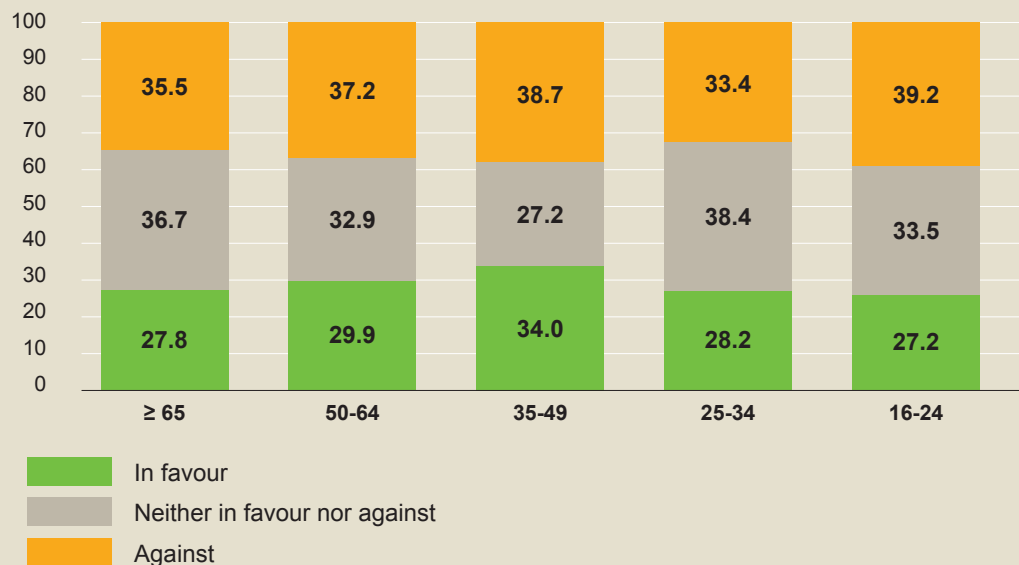
Table 21. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by sex. Navarre, 2021 (%)

	In favour	Neither in favour nor against	Against
Total	30.0	33.0	37.0
Women	31.3	31.7	36.9
Men	28.6	34.3	37.1

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In terms of age, the people most favourable towards the promotion of Basque are those aged 35-49 (34%). On the other hand, the lowest percentage in the attitude favourable to fostering the use of Basque can be seen among the youngest and oldest age groups. 27.2% of young people aged 16-24 and 27.8% of people aged 65 and over are in favour of promoting the use of Basque.

The highest percentage against fostering the use of Basque is among young people aged 16 to 24 (39.2%).

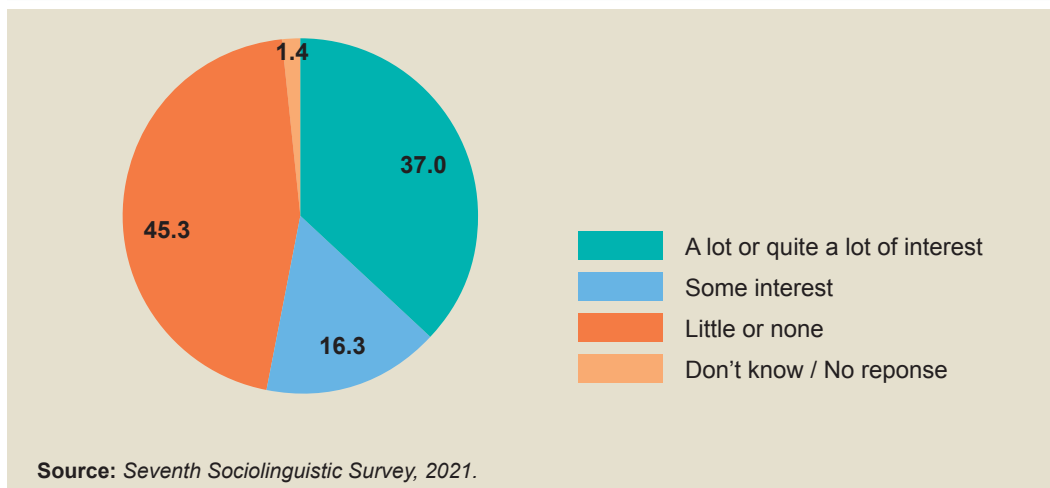
Figure 42. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by age. Navarre, 2021 (%)


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

5.3. Interest in Basque and other opinions

When asked about their interest in Basque, 37% of the population of Navarre express a lot or quite a lot of interest in the language, 16.3% some interest, 45.3% little or no interest and finally 1.4% do not answer.

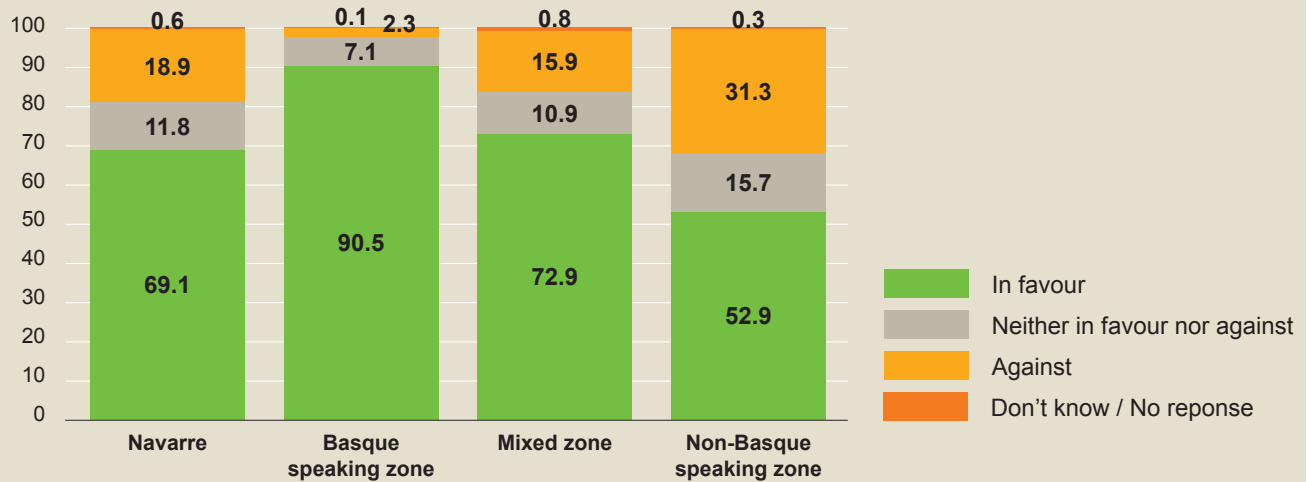
Figure 43. Interest in Basque. Navarre, 2021 (%)



Regarding other opinions about Basque, respondents were deliberately asked whether room should be made for Basque in public services in Navarre. A majority of the population of Navarre were favourable to this (69.1%), 18.9% were against, 11.8% were neither in favour nor against and 0.6% did not know or did not respond.

In the Basque-speaking zone the vast majority of people (90.5%) have a favourable attitude, and in the mixed zone there is also a high percentage of favourable opinions (72.9%). Finally, in the non-Basque speaking zone more people are in favour of than against this proposition (52.9% in favour and 31.3% against).

Figure 44. Should be made room for Basque in public services in Navarre? Opinion by language zone. Navarre, 2021 (%)

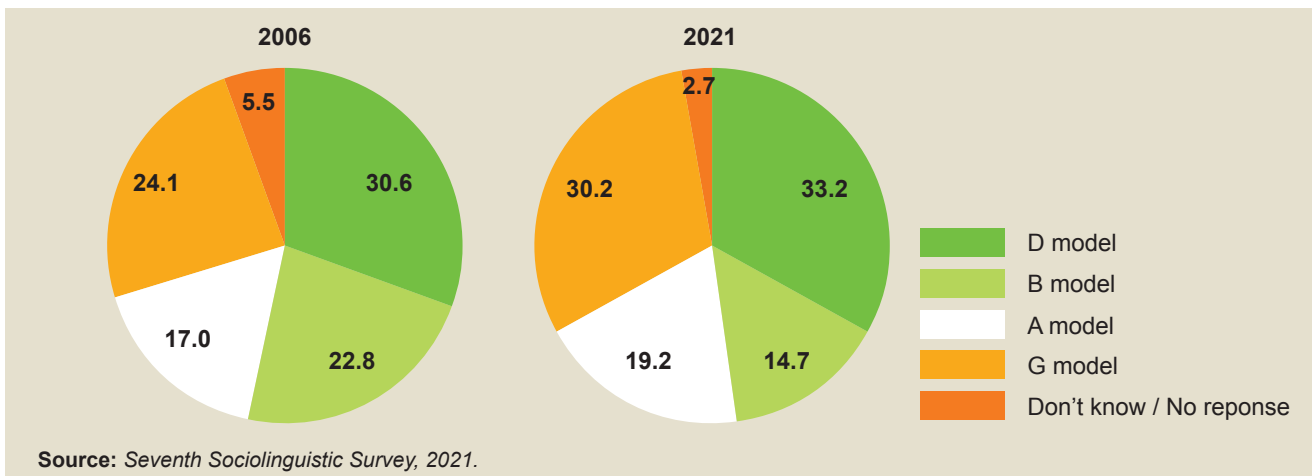


Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

Moving on to another opinion, in the event that they have children, 33.2% of the population of Navarre aged 16 or over prefer model D for their children, 14.7% model B, 19.2% model A and 30.2% model G, i.e. only in Spanish or some other language. The remaining 2.7% do not know or do not answer.

Fifteen years previously, in 2006, less opted for model D (30.6%) but more for model B (22.8%). Moreover, in 2006 slightly less people chose model A (17%). In contrast, less people opted for model G.

Figure 45. What language model would you choose for your children's education? Navarre, 2006-2021 (%)



Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

On the other hand, 84.9% of the population of Navarre aged 16 or over feels that Basque and Spanish should be spoken in the future, 11.2% only Spanish and 1.8% only Basque.

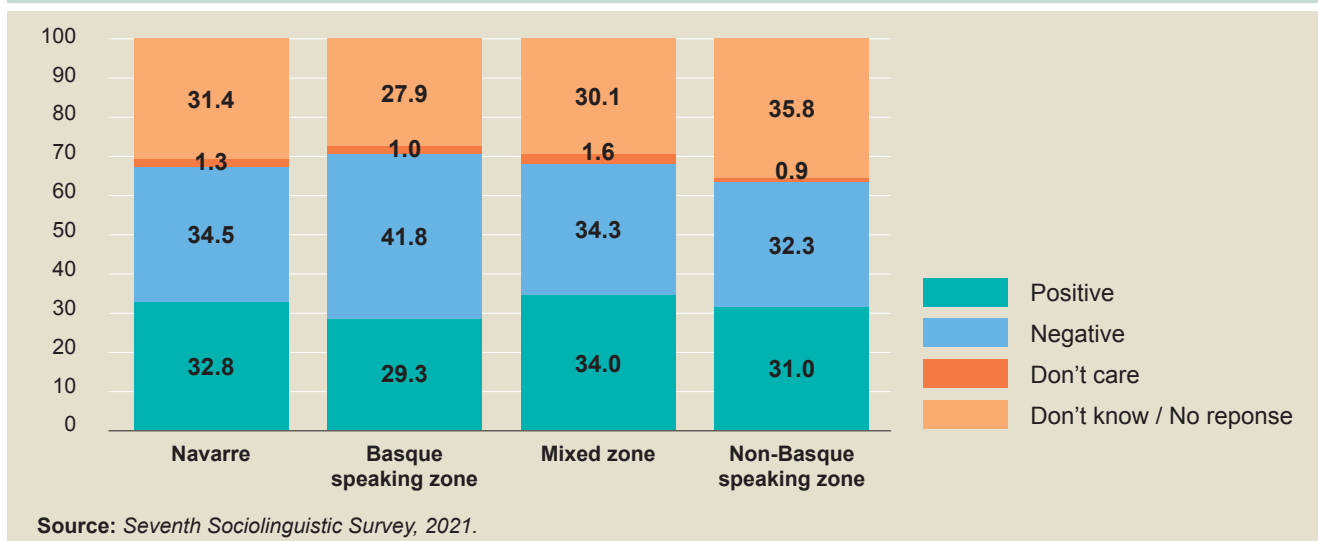
Basque speakers were also asked whether they have ever felt discriminated against in not being able to use Basque, with 44 % answering that they had.

With regard to their opinion of the work done by the Navarre government to promote Basque, 32.8% considered it appropriate, and 34.5% inappropriate. Also, 1.3% were indifferent and 31.4% did not know or did not answer.

When asked the reason for their assessment, 28.9% argued that the assessment was positive because a lot had been done or because there was no need to do any more. Among those who argue that the government’s work was inappropriate, 12.8% stated that too much had been done, while 19.7% stated that too little had been done. 38.7% do not know or do not answer.

In the Basque-speaking zone, 29.3% feel the work done by the Navarre government is appropriate and 41.8% inappropriate. In the mixed zone, 34% feel the work done by the Navarre government is appropriate and 34.3% inappropriate. Finally, in the non-Basque speaking zone, 31% feel the work done by the Navarre government is appropriate and 32.3% inappropriate.

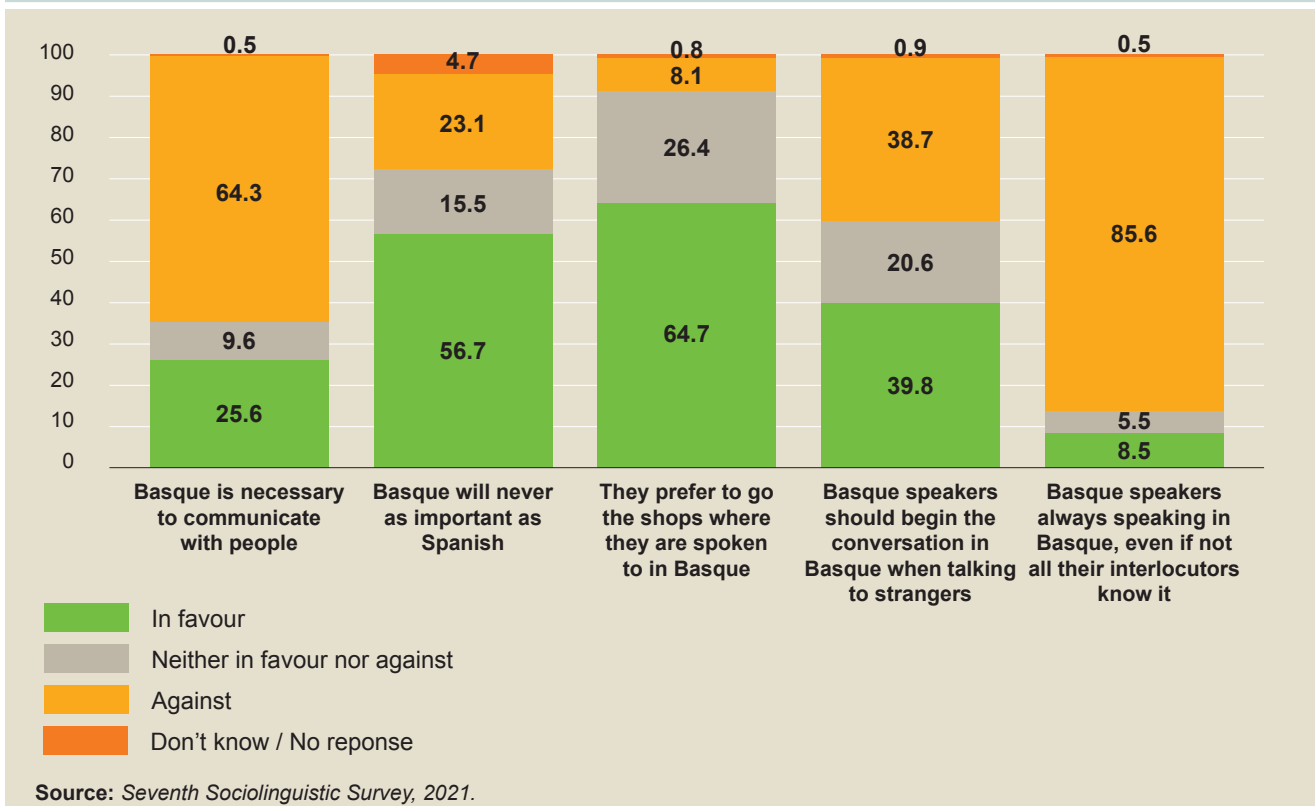
Figure 46. Assessment of the Government of Navarre’s work in the field of the Basque language by language zone. Navarre, 2021 (%)



Other opinions about Basque were also collected from the respondents. In summary, the results are the following:

- In response to the statement “Basque is necessary to communicate with people,” 25.6% were in favour and 64.3% against.
- 23.1% of the population aged 16 or over feel that Basque will have the same importance as Spanish, while 56.7% of the population believe the opposite, i.e. Basque will never have the same importance as Spanish.
- 64.7% of Basque speakers prefer to go to shops where they are spoken to in Basque, while 26.4% are indifferent.
- Regarding whether Basque speakers should begin the conversation in Basque when talking to strangers, 39.8% of the population of Navarre were in favour of this and 38.7% were against.
- The majority of the population (85.6%) is against Basque speakers always speaking in Basque even if not all their interlocutors know it.

Figure 47. Other opinions about the Basque language. Navarre, 2021 (%)



- Finally, in the opinion of nearly a quarter of the population of Navarre (23.3%), Basque is in danger of disappearing. On the other hand, taking only Basque speakers, the percentage is much higher, as over half of them feel that Basque is in danger of disappearing (53.3%).

6. SYNTHESIS

- 14.1% of the population aged 16 or over in Navarre are Basque speakers, 10.6% passive Basque speakers and 75.3% non-Basque speakers.
- There are currently 36,600 more Basque speakers than in 1991; the percentage of Basque speakers has risen by 4.6 points in the last 30 years (from 9.5% to 14.1%).
- The highest percentage of Basque speakers is in the group of young people between 16 and 24 years old: 28%. In 1991 this was 10%.
- There is no difference between the percentages of female and male Basque speakers (14.1%). In the case of passive Basque speakers, there is a difference of 3 points (12.% of women and 9.1% of men).
- With the increase in the number of Basque speakers, their features have changed. The biggest change is to do with diversity: the Basque-speaking community is increasingly mixed. Among Basque speakers, as in Basque society in general, the realities are different depending on their territory, sociolinguistic area, origin, age and sex.
- Some of these changes have to do with the socio-demographic change in society as a whole in Navarre:
 - Basque society is gradually ageing: life expectancy is getting longer and the birth rate is falling.
 - More and more people born abroad are living in Navarre; and this in turn is a young population. Over half the population born abroad (53.8%) is less than 40 years old.
 - The population is more mobile.
 - The effects of globalisation are increasingly evident.
- With regard to the Basque-speaking population, two thirds of Basque speakers in Navarre live in the first sociolinguistic area (66%). Therefore, the network of relations of many Basque speakers with other people who know Basque is currently very limited.
- Currently, over half of Basque-speaking people (51.6%) express themselves more fluently in Spanish than in Basque (in 1991 they made up 32.8%) while, in the case of young people, over two out of three have greater mastery of Spanish than Basque (68.3%).

- Fluency in speaking Basque is closely linked to mother tongue, which has undergone a considerable change in the last 30 years. In 2021 41% of Basque speakers had Basque as their mother tongue, while in 1991 this figure was 76.6%. There are today twice as many native bilinguals as there were 30 years ago, and nearly three times as many new Basque speakers.
- Family transmission of Basque has increased both in Basque-speaking couples and those with mixed languages:
 - When both parents are Basque speakers, transmission of Basque is 81%, reaching 100% in the case of families where both parents are not just Basque speakers but have it as their mother tongue.
 - In mixed couples, transmission of Basque (always together with Spanish or some other language) is 33%, and where the mother tongue of the Basque-speaking parent is Basque, transmission rises to 56%.
 - In the case of mixed couples, the transmission of Basque is higher when the Basque speaker is the mother (41%) than when the Basque speaker is the father (25%).
- In Navarre, 6.8% of people over 16 years old use Basque as much as or more than Spanish or some other language; 5.5% use Basque but less than Spanish or some other language; 3.4% use Basque very little, and the remaining 80.4% only use Spanish or some other language.
- In the last 30 years, the percentage of people using Basque as much as Spanish or some other language in Navarre has risen by 0.9 points (from 5.9% to 6.8%). Today Basque is used as much as or more than another language by 11,400 more people than in 1991. This increase has occurred in Basque-speaking and mixed zones, and in Pamplona.
- The highest percentage of Basque users is recorded among young people (8.7%).
- The use of Basque has increased in all spheres except in the home. However, since 2011 the use of Basque in the home has increased by 1 point.
- Attitudes favourable to promoting the use of Basque increased by 8.4 points in the period between 1991 and 2021 (from 21.6% to 30%).

- The opinions that the majority showed a favourable attitude towards were the following: 40.5% of society feels that all children should learn Basque, and 39.9% that radio and television channels should broadcast more programmes in Basque.



NORTHERN BASQUE COUNTRY
SEVENTH SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

1. POPULATION

The Northern Basque Country had 312,754 inhabitants in 2021. A comparison between the population of the Northern Basque Country in 2001 and 2021 shows that in absolute terms this had increased by 46,496 people.

Over these twenty years, the population trend has not been the same in all territories.

Analysing the trend by territories, in Lapurdi and Lower Navarre the population increased in all periods, especially in Lapurdi. In Zuberoa, on the other hand, the population fell in all periods. Despite the fall in population in Zuberoa, thanks to the increase recorded in the other territories, the population of the Northern Basque Country increased in all periods, especially in the last ten years.

Table 1. Population evolution by province. Northern Basque Country, 2001-2021

	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
Northern Basque Country	266,258	274,875	285,272	299,129	312,754
Lapurdi	222,097	230,065	239,635	252,492	266,237
Lower Navarre	28,659	29,403	30,357	31,639	31,867
Zuberoa	15,502	15,407	15,280	14,998	14,650

Source: EAS. Basque Language Indicator System.

The determining factors in this trend were, on the one hand, natural increases (the difference between numbers of births and deaths) and, on the other, net migration (the difference between the number of immigrants and emigrants).

The population of the Northern Basque Country is characterised by the following main traits:

- Society is gradually ageing: life expectancy is getting longer and the birth rate is falling (8.7 births per 1,000 inhabitants in 2021). In Zuberoa, the birth rate is even lower (7.8 births per 1,000 inhabitants).

The death rate, on the other hand, is very high in the Northern Basque Country (11.7 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants), but especially so in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa (14.1 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants).

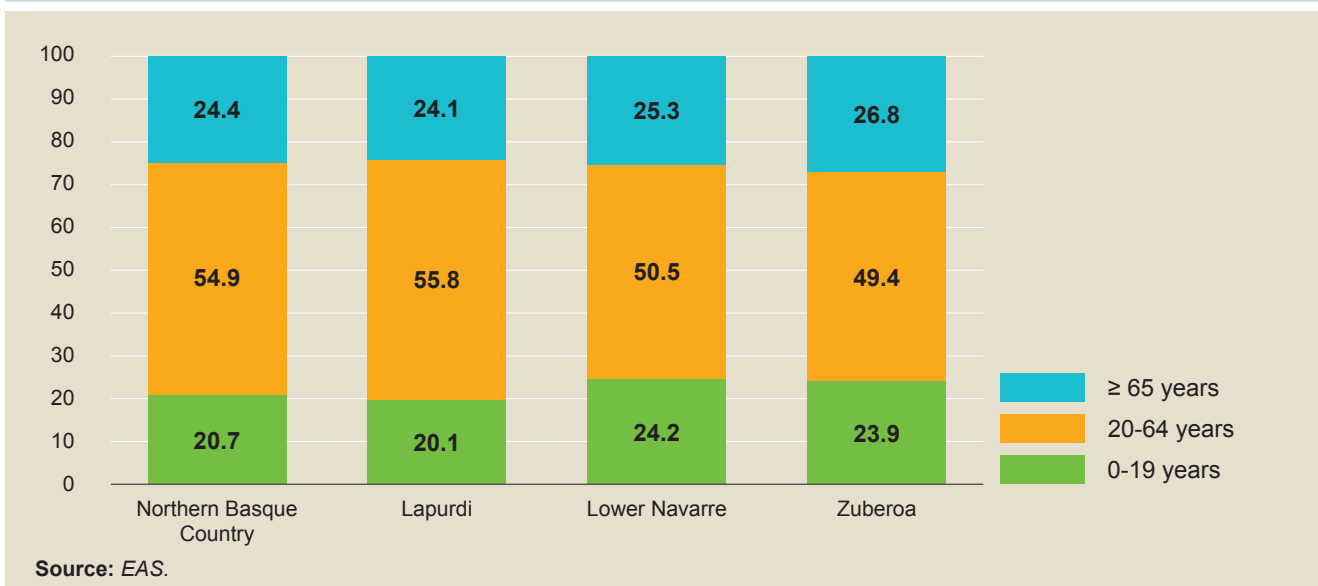
- The population has risen, especially on the coast of Lapurdi, due to people coming from other parts of France, the Northern Basque Country or other countries.

Thus, in terms of 2020 figures, from 2001 to 2020 the percentage of the population aged 65 or over rose by nearly 4 points. In 2001 they made up 20.6% of the population, while in 2020 they accounted for 24.4 %.

In parallel, the young population has decreased in proportion. In fact, in 2020 those under 20 years old made up just 20.7 % of the population. Consequently, the population aged 65 or over outnumbered people less than 20 years old (24.4 % versus 20.7 %).

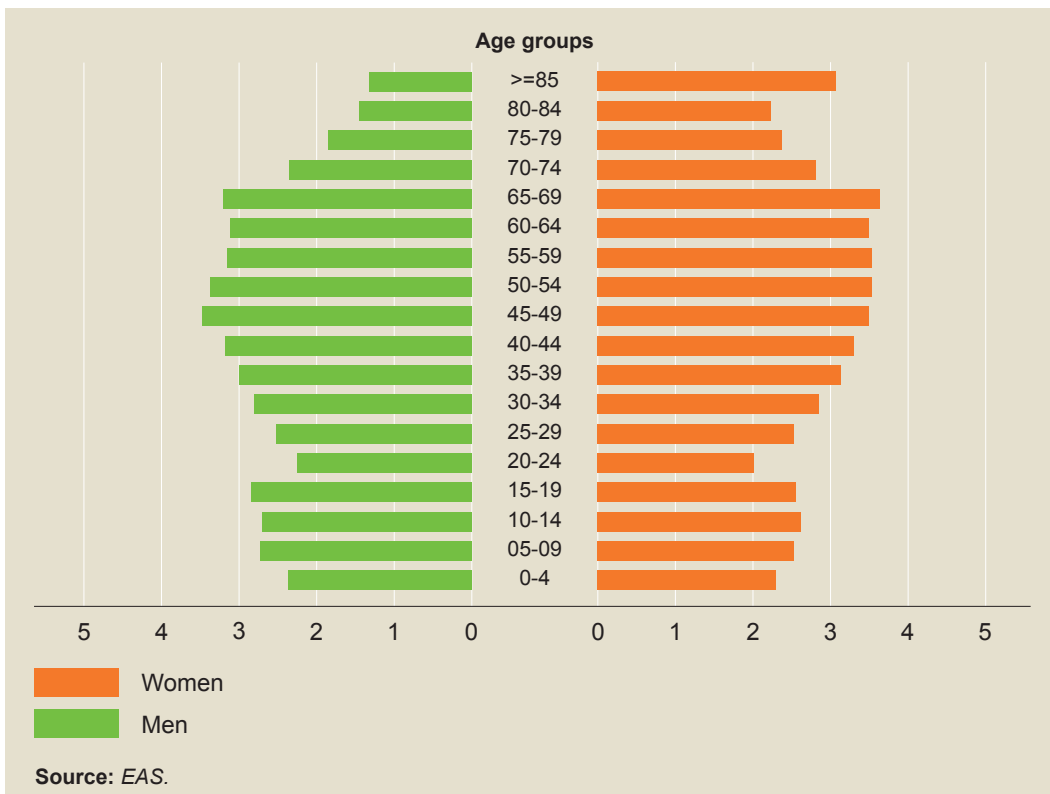
By territories, the biggest difference between the youngest and oldest people can be seen in Lapurdi (4 points), while the smallest are in Lower Navarre (1.1 points) followed by Zuberoa (2.9 points).

Figure 1. Population by age and province. Northern Basque Country, 2020 (%)



The population pyramid clearly shows the weight of the oldest age groups, especially in the case of women.

Figure 2. Pyramid of the population by age and sex. Northern Basque Country, 2020 (%)



2. LANGUAGE COMPETENCE

2.1. Language competence in the Northern Basque Country by territories

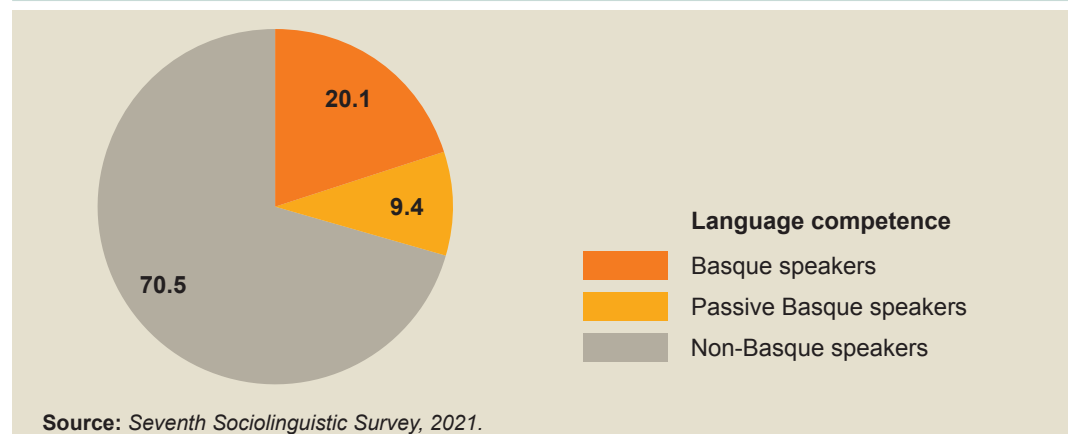
Three types of speaker are distinguished according to their level of competence in speaking or understanding Basque:

- **Basque speaker (bilingual):** able to speak and understand Basque well or quite well.
- **Passive Basque speaker (passive bilingual):** unable to speak Basque well or quite well. However, they understand Basque to a certain degree. Specifically, this group includes those who meet at least one of the following conditions:
 - They can understand and speak “some” Basque.
 - They can understand Basque “well” or “quite well”.
- **Non-Basque speaker:** unable to speak or understand Basque.

In 2021, 20.1% of the population aged 16 or over in the Northern Basque Country were Basque speakers, 9.4% were passive Basque speakers and 70.5% non-Basque speakers.

Thus, among people aged 16 or over living in the Northern Basque Country, 51,484 are Basque speakers, 24,005 passive Basque speakers and 180,448 non-Basque speakers.

Figure 3. Language competence. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



The territories with the highest percentage of Basque speakers are Lower Navarre and Zuberoa (47.5%). In Lapurdi (excluding BAB), Basque speakers make up 22.9% of the population. Finally, the lowest percentage of Basque speakers (8.4%) is recorded in BAB (Bayona-Anglet-Biarritz).

Figure 4. Language competence by territory. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)

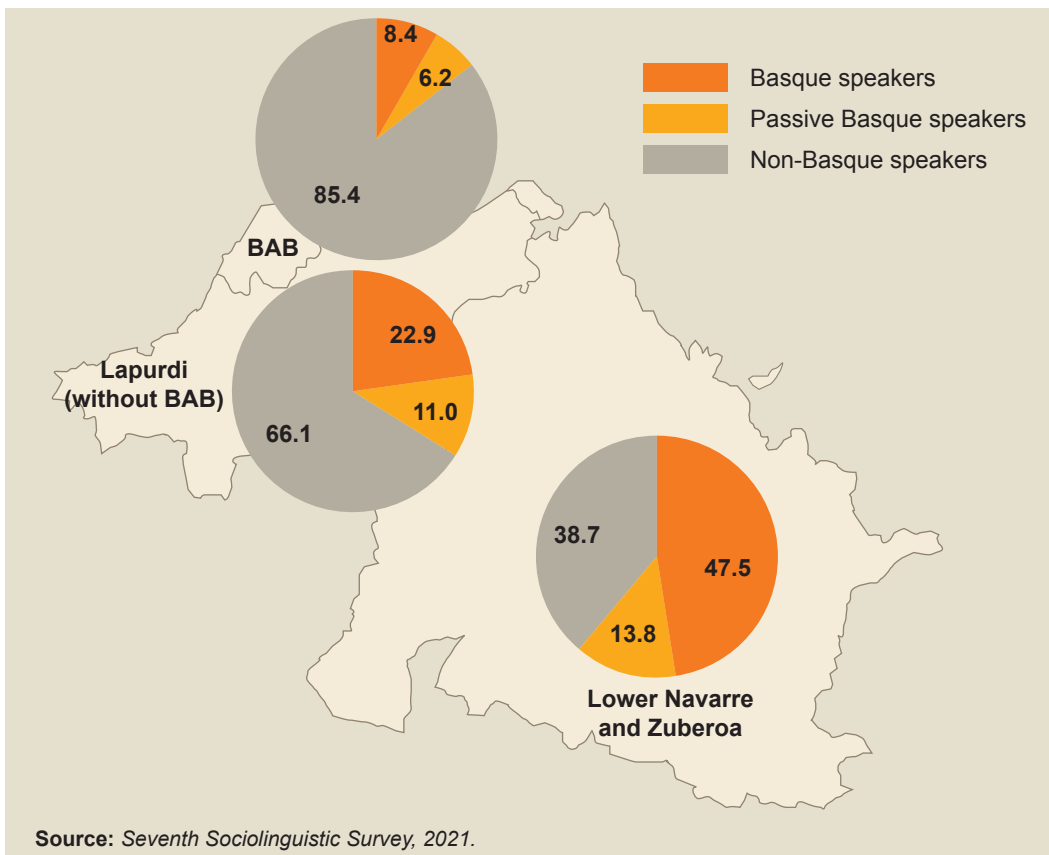


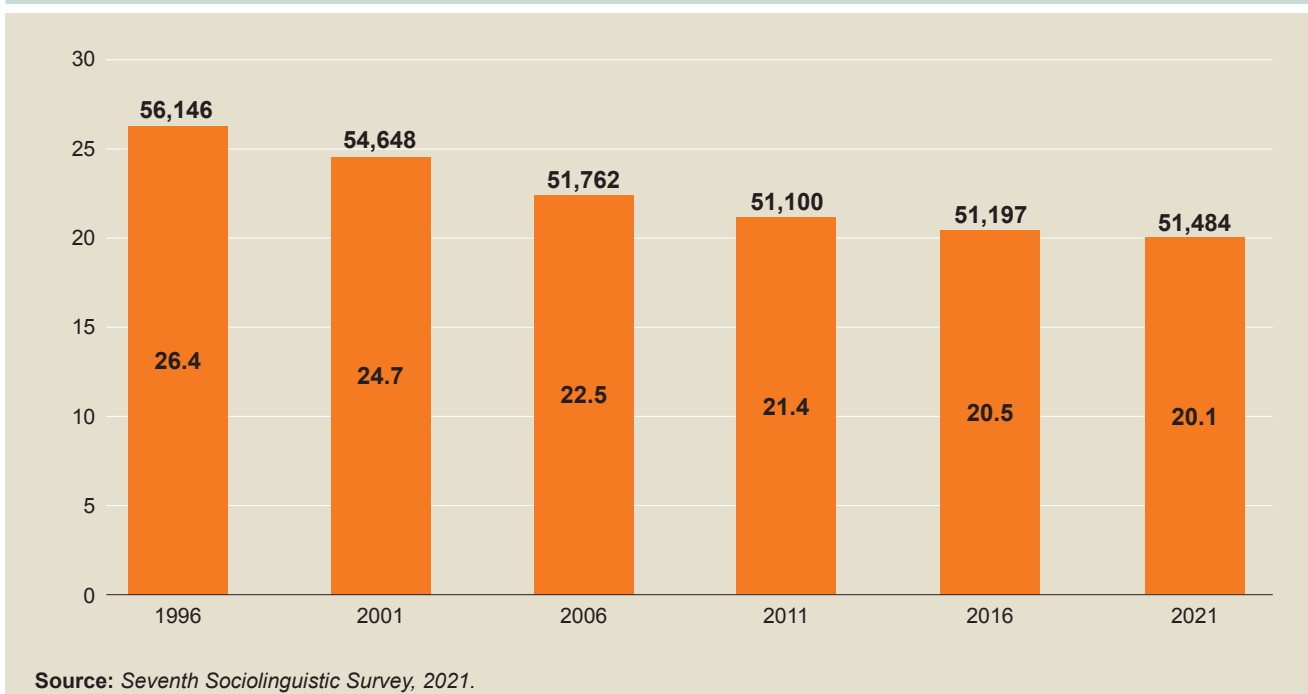
Table 2. Language competence by territories. Northern Basque Country, 2021

	Northern Basque Country	BAB	Lapurdi (without BAB)	Lower Navarre / Zuberoa
Total	255,937	104,384	118,956	32,597
Basque speakers	51,484	8,788	27,206	15,489
Passive Basque speakers	24,005	6,439	13,082	4,484
Non-Basque speakers	180,448	89,157	78,668	12,623

Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

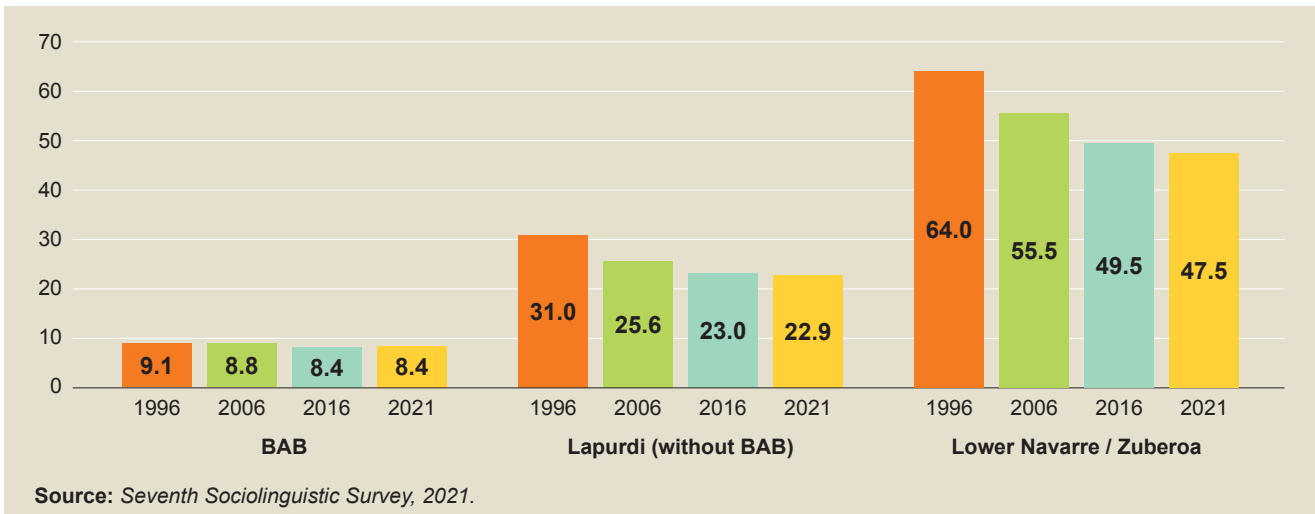
Looking back, in the last twenty-five years the percentage of Basque speakers has fallen by 6.3 points. In 1996, Basque speakers made up 26.4% of the Northern Basque Country, and now 20.1%. The percentage of passive Basque speakers, on the other hand, has hardly changed: 9.3% in 1996 and 9.4% in 2021.

Figure 5. Evolution of Basque speakers. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021



The biggest decline in Basque speakers is recorded in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa. In twenty-five years the percentage of Basque speakers has fallen by 16.5 points. In fact, in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa, 64% of the population were Basque speakers, while this figure is now 47.5%.

Figure 6. Evolution of Basque speakers by territory. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)



2.2. Language competence by sex and age

As regards sex, hardly any differences are recorded. Thus, 20.3% of women in the Northern Basque Country are Basque speakers and 20% of men. There is a difference of 0.3 points between women and men in the percentage of Basque speakers.

With regard to passive Basque speakers, they make up 9.7% of women and 9.1% of men (a difference of 0.6 points).

Among people who do not know Basque, the opposite is the case, i.e. the percentage of men is higher than that of women (a difference of 0.9 points).

Table 3. Language competence by sex. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	Basque speakers	Passive Basque speakers	Non-Basque speakers
Total	20.1	9.4	70.5
Women	20.3	9.7	70.0
Men	20.0	9.1	70.9

Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

In terms of age, the highest percentage of Basque speakers is found among people aged 65 or over, with the percentage falling with age until the 25-34 age group, where the negative trend is reversed and there is an increase of 2 points on the previous age group (to 17.2%).

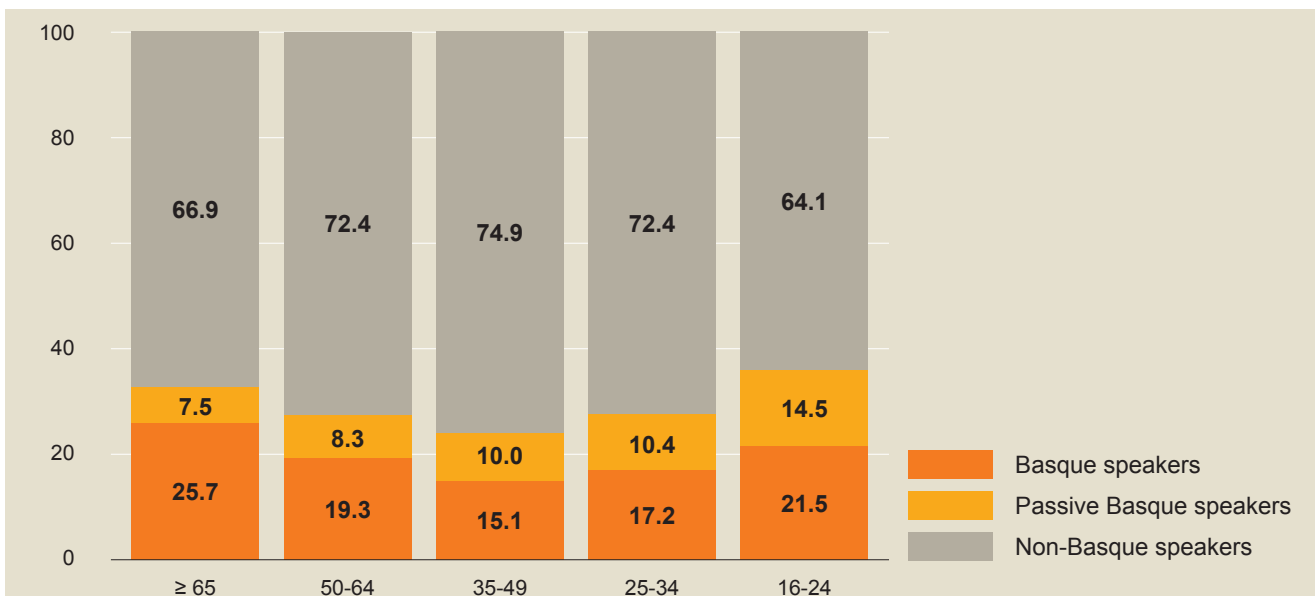
However, the biggest increase in the percentage of Basque speakers compared to the previous age group is in the population aged 16-24 (21.5%), representing an increase of 4 points.

As pointed out above, the decline in Basque speakers varies depending on age. In fact, the percentage of Basque speakers goes up among young people rather than declining, compared to older age groups.

The lowest percentage of Basque speakers is in the population aged 35-49 (15.1%) and the highest in the group aged 65 or over (25.7%). In any case, attention should be drawn to the percentages of Basque speakers among young people aged 16-24 and 25-34, which are 21.5% and 17.2% respectively.

This means that the trend observed ten years ago among young people has become a reality, i.e. the declining trend has been reversed and is now rising.

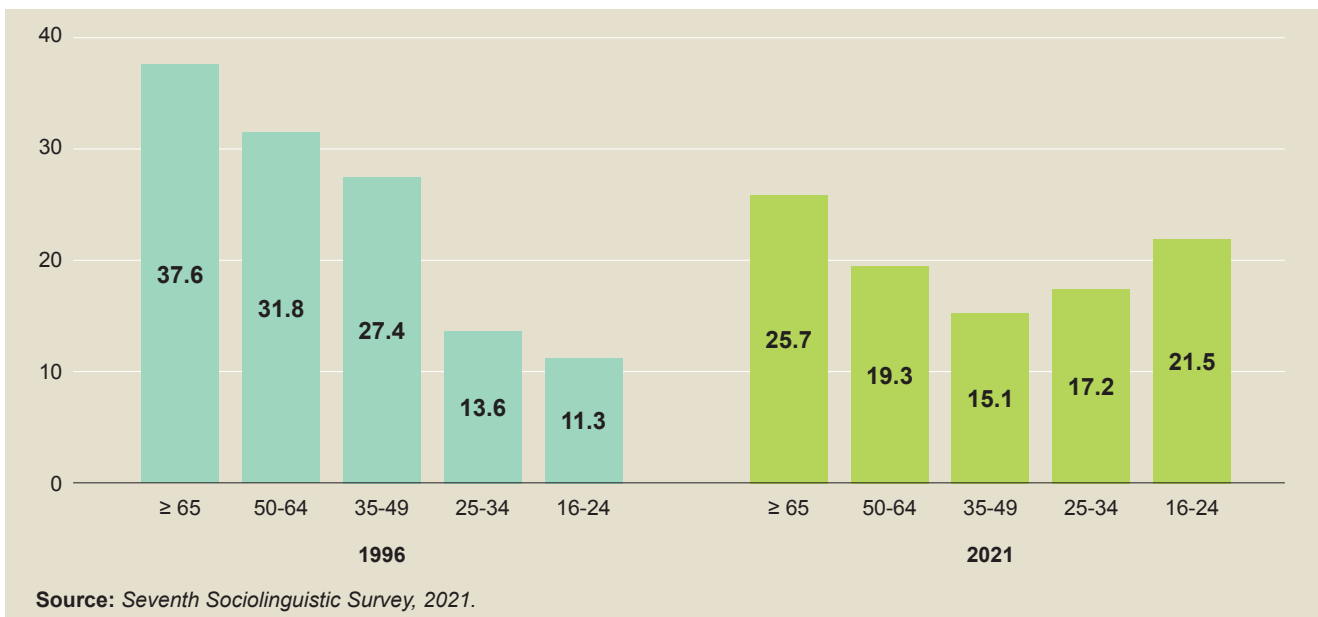
Figure 7. Language competence by age. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

According to the trend over the last 25 years, the increase in Basque speakers is spreading in the youngest age group. Thus, 25 years ago 11.3% of the population aged 16-24 were Basque speakers, while this percentage is now nearly 10 points higher. The percentage of Basque speakers has also risen among people aged 25-24 (from 13.6% in 1996 to 17.2% in 2021). In all other age groups, the percentage of Basque speakers has declined. The largest decrease, of 12 points, is in the 35-49 age group.

Figure 8. Evolution of Basque speakers by age. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)



The increase in Basque speakers has come about among the young population of all three territories, specifically in the group of people aged 16-24.

However, the highest percentage of Basque speakers is recorded among people aged 65 or over in all territories, except BAB. Also, the earlier the age the lower the percentage of Basque speakers until the youngest age group is reached.

In BAB, the highest percentage of Basque speakers is recorded among people aged 16-24 (10.8%), and the lowest among those aged 35-49 (5.5%).

In Lapurdi (excluding BAB), the highest percentage of Basque speakers is also recorded among people aged 65 or over (29%) and the lowest among those aged 35-49 (17.4%).

Furthermore, in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa the highest percentage of Basque speakers is recorded among people aged 65 or over (60.9%) and the lowest among those aged 25-34 (32.8%).

Table 4. Basque speakers by age and territory. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	AGE					
	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
Northern Basque Country	20.1	25.7	19.3	15.1	17.2	21.5
BAB	8.4	10.6	7.5	5.5	7.8	10.8
Lapurdi (without BAB)	22.9	29.0	20.0	17.4	22.7	28.1
Lower Navarre / Zuberoa	47.5	60.9	48.2	37.3	32.8	38.3

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

2.3. Relative competence: oral fluency of Basque speakers

The relative competence of Basque speakers is considered below; i.e. their fluency in Basque and another language (in most cases French).

Basque speakers can be classified according to their relative language competence:

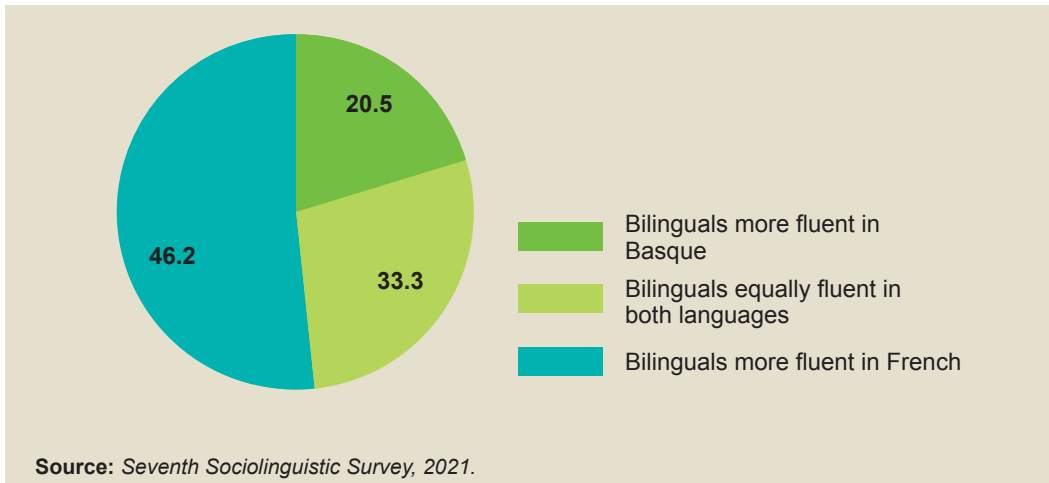
- **Bilinguals more fluent in Basque:** they speak Basque better than French.
- **Bilinguals equally fluent in both languages:** they speak both languages equally well. In effect, these Basque speakers speak with the same fluency in Basque as in French.
- **Bilinguals more fluent in French:** they speak French better than Basque.

In the Northern Basque Country, 20.5% of Basque speakers express themselves more fluently in Basque than in French.

33.3% of Basque speakers speak with the same fluency in Basque as in French.

People who express themselves more fluently in French than in Basque make up the largest group among Basque speakers (46.2%).

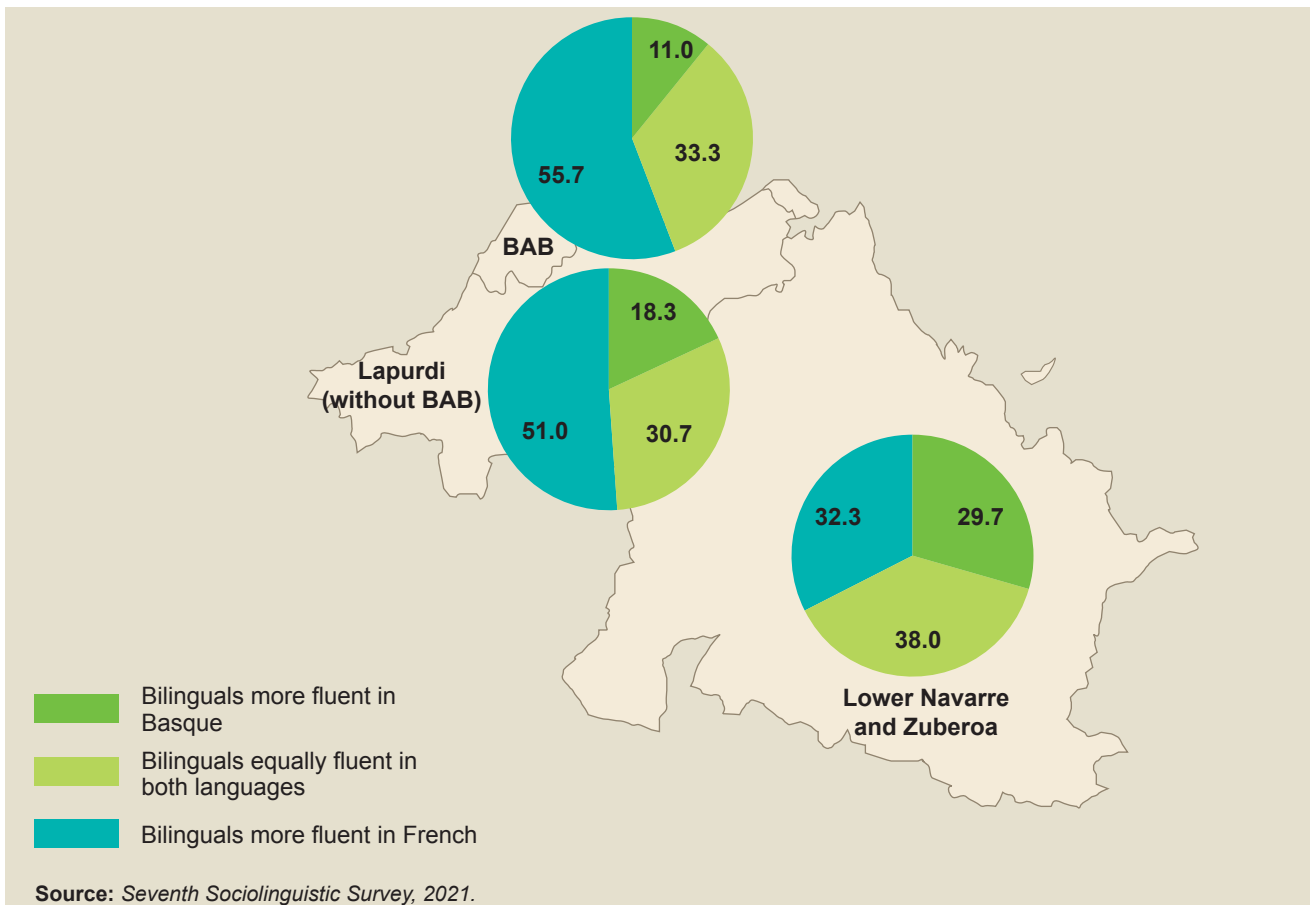
Figure 9. Basque speakers' fluency by territory. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Notable differences are recorded between the different territories in terms of fluency in Basque. In BAB, 55.7% of Basque speakers express themselves more fluently in French than in Basque. 33.3% are equally fluent in Basque and in French, and 11% express themselves more fluently in Basque.

Also in Lapurdi (excluding BAB), Basque speakers who express themselves better in French are the majority (51%). Bilingual people equally fluent in Basque and French make up 30.7%, and bilingual people more fluent in Basque 18.3%.

In Lower Navarre and Zuberoa, 38% are bilingual and equally fluent in Basque and French, 29.7% are bilingual with greater fluency in Basque and 32.3% bilingual with greater fluency in French.

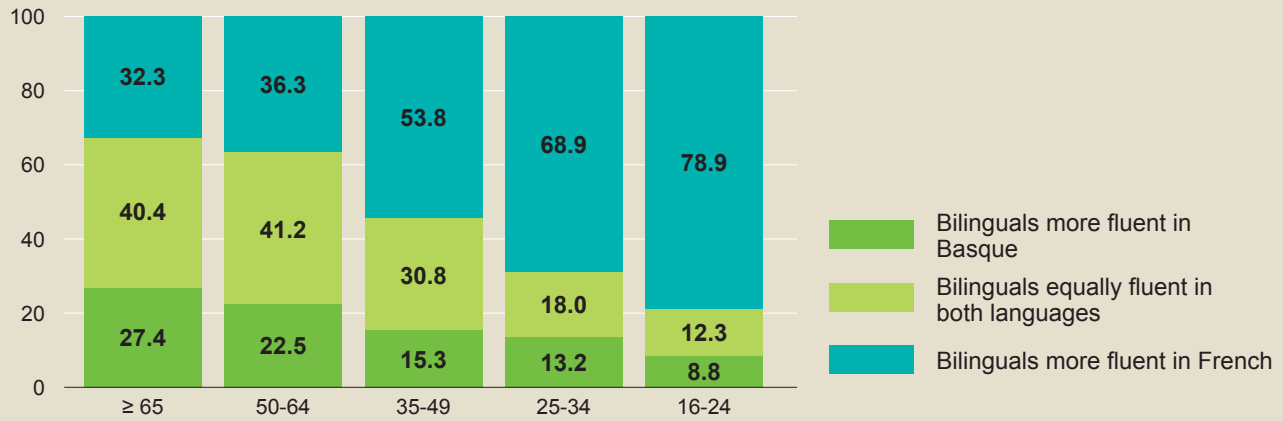
Figure 10. Basque speakers' fluency by territory. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)


In terms of age, the highest percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Basque is found among people over 65 years old (27.4%), and the lowest among the age groups 16-24 years old (8.8%).

The highest percentage of bilinguals equally fluent in Basque and French is in the age group between 50 and 64 years old (41.2%) and the lowest in the 16-24 age group (12.3%).

Finally, the percentage of bilinguals more fluent in French than in Basque grows as age falls. Thus, 78.9% of Basque speakers aged 16-24 belong to this group, as to over two thirds of Basque speakers aged 25-34 (68.9%) and also over half of Basque speakers aged 35-49 (53.8%).

Figure 11. Basque speakers' fluency by age. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

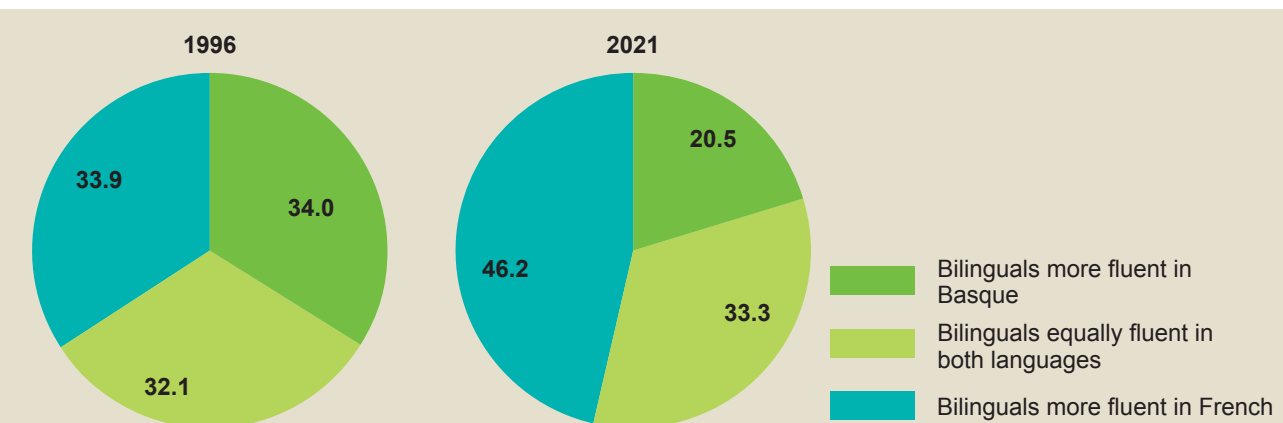
In terms of trends, Basque speakers' fluency in expressing themselves in Basque has changed profoundly over the last twenty-five years.

Thus, in 1996 34 % of Basque speakers in the Northern Basque Country expressed themselves better in Basque than in French; now, however, the figure is 20.5 %.

The percentage of people equally fluent in Basque and French is fairly similar (32.1 % in 1996 and 33.3 % today).

Finally, the proportion of those who express themselves better in French has grown. In fact, in 1996 they represented 33.9 % while now the figure is 46.2 %.

Figure 12. Evolution of Basque speakers' fluency. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)



Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

Analysis of language fluency in relation to age reveals that in both 2021 and 1996 the percentage of bilinguals more fluent in Basque fell the earlier the age, but this fall was more pronounced in 1996. In fact, the difference between the percentages in the 16-24 and 65 and over age groups was 51 points (3.5 compared to 54.4 %). In 2021 the difference was smaller, namely 18.6 points (8.6 % compared to 27.4%).

In 1996 the highest percentage of bilinguals equally fluent in Basque and French was recorded in the 50-64 and 25-34 age groups (40.4 % and 36.3 %). In 2021, on the other hand, it was among the population aged 50-64 and 65 and over (41.2 % and 40.4 %).

Finally, in 1996 the highest percentage of bilinguals more fluent in French was in the 16-24 and 25-34 age groups (67.3 % and 54.8 %). This trend had not changed in 2021, as the highest percentages were still found among the younger populations aged 16-24 and 25-34 (78.9 % and 68.9 % respectively).

Table 5. Evolution of Basque speakers' fluency by age. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)

	Age groups					
	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
1996						
Basque speakers	56,146	19,943	13,075	15,281	4,658	3,189
More fluent in Basque	34.0	54.4	39.8	16.3	8.9	3.5
Equally fluent in both languages	32.1	27.1	40.4	30.8	36.3	29.2
More fluent in French	33.9	18.5	19.7	52.9	54.8	67.3
2021						
Basque speakers	51,484	19,019	12,064	9,084	5,675	5,641
More fluent in Basque	20.5	27.4	22.5	15.3	13.2	8.8
Equally fluent in both languages	33.3	40.4	41.2	30.8	18.0	12.3
More fluent in French	46.2	32.3	36.3	53.8	68.9	78.9

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

3. TRANSMISSION OF THE LANGUAGE

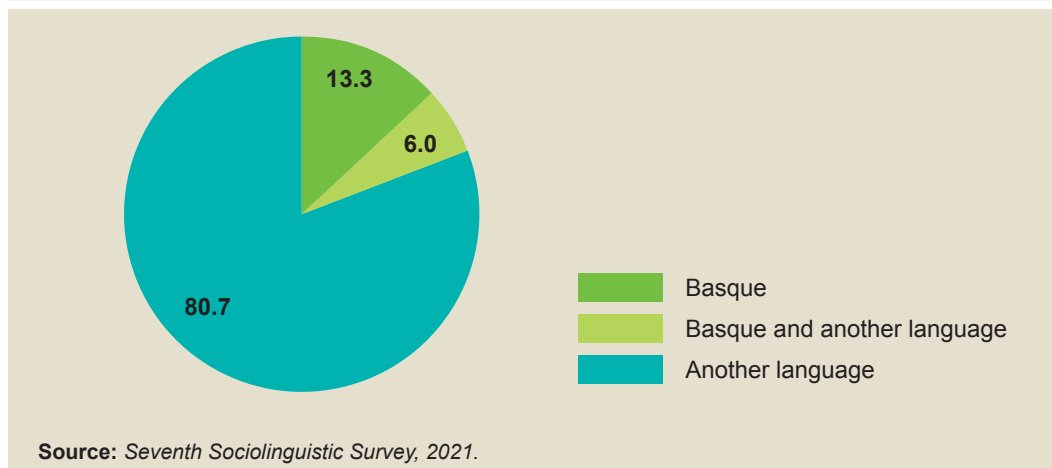
3.1. Mother tongue in the Northern Basque Country by territories

The Mother tongue is taken to mean the language or languages children up to the age of three learn from their parents or the family members with whom they share the household.

13.3% of the population of the Northern Basque Country aged 16 or over learned only Basque at home, while 6% learned Basque together with French or some other language at home.

Furthermore, 80.7% of the population learned only French or some other language other than Basque at home. While the language referred to here is essentially French, it should be borne in mind that increasing numbers of people have as their mother tongue one or more languages other than French.

Figure 13. Mother tongue. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



The percentage of the population aged 16 or over with Basque as their mother tongue is lower than 25 years ago. In 1996 it was 26.4%, and in 2021 it was 13.3% (down by 13 points).

The percentage of the population whose Mother tongue is Basque together with French or some other language has fallen 0.8 points in the last 25 years: in 1996 it was 5.2% and in 2021 it was 6%.

The percentage of people with French or a language other than Basque as their mother tongue, on the other hand, was higher in 2021 than in 1996 (68.5% compared to 80.7%).

Table 6. Evolution of mother tongue. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021

	1996	2021	1996 (%)	2021 (%)
Total	212,392	255,937	100.0	100.0
Basque	56,051	33,988	26.4	13.3
Basque and another language	10,958	15,327	5.2	6.0
Another language	145,383	206,622	68.5	80.7

Source: Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.

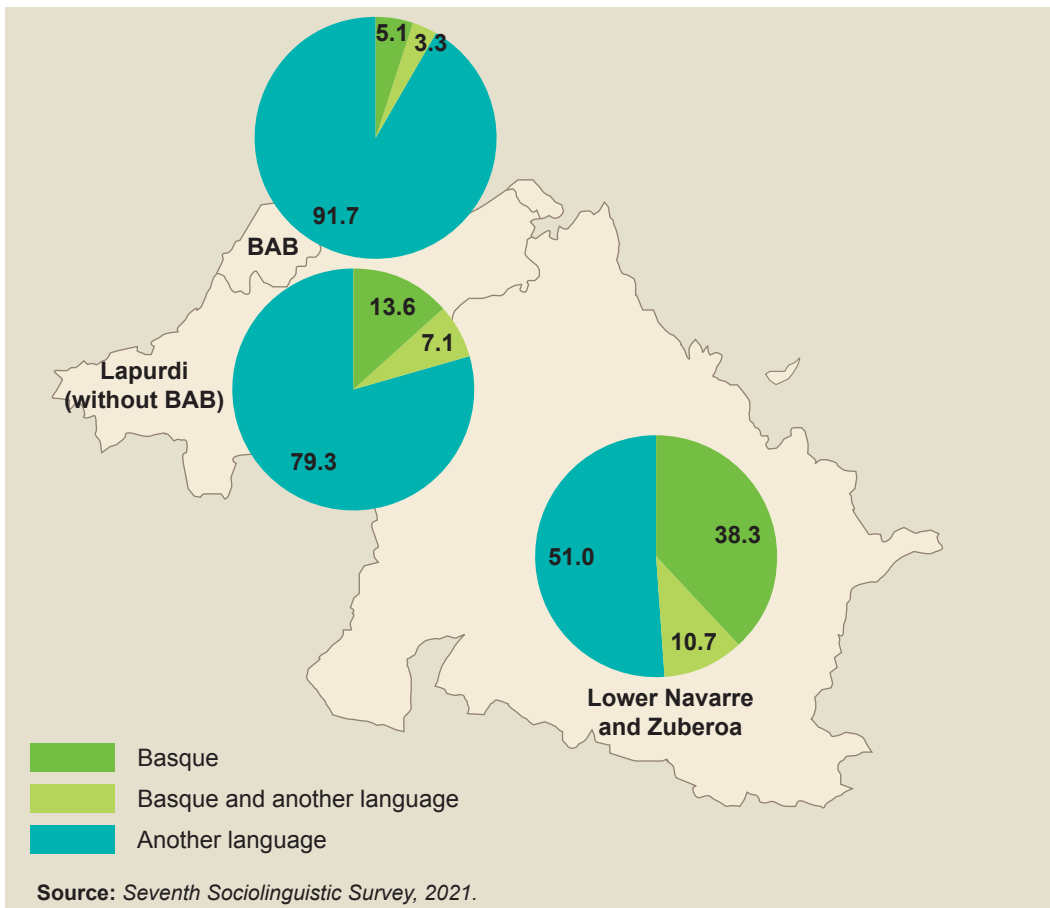
In terms of territories, differences can be seen in the percentages of people who learned Basque as their mother tongue.

Thus, 38.3% of the population of Lower Navarre and Zuberoa learned only Basque at home, while 10.7% learned Basque together with French or some other language. 51% learned only French or some other language.

In Lapurdi, 13.6% of the population learned only Basque at home, while 7.1% learned Basque together with French or some other language. Those who learned only French or some other language are the majority (79.3%).

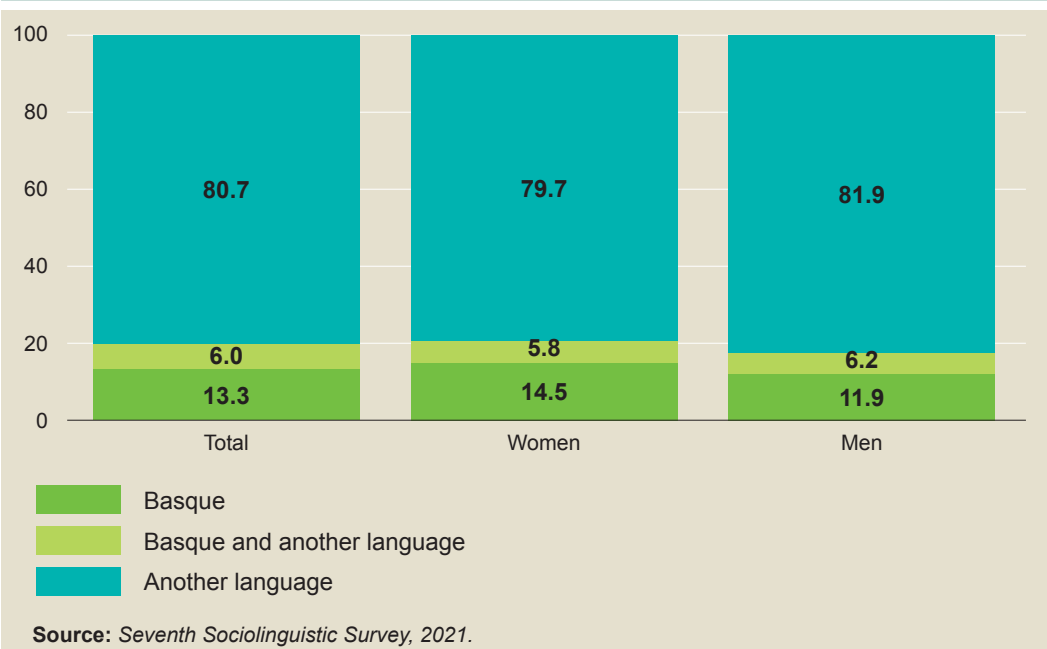
Finally, in BAB 5.1% of the population learned only Basque at home, while 3.3% learned Basque together with French or some other language. In BAB those who learned only French or some other language other than Basque predominate (91.7%).

Figure 14. Mother tongue by territory. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



3.2. Mother tongue by sex and age

Differences were observed between women and men in the percentages of those who learned Basque only as their mother tongue. More women learned Basque than men (a difference of 2.6 points).

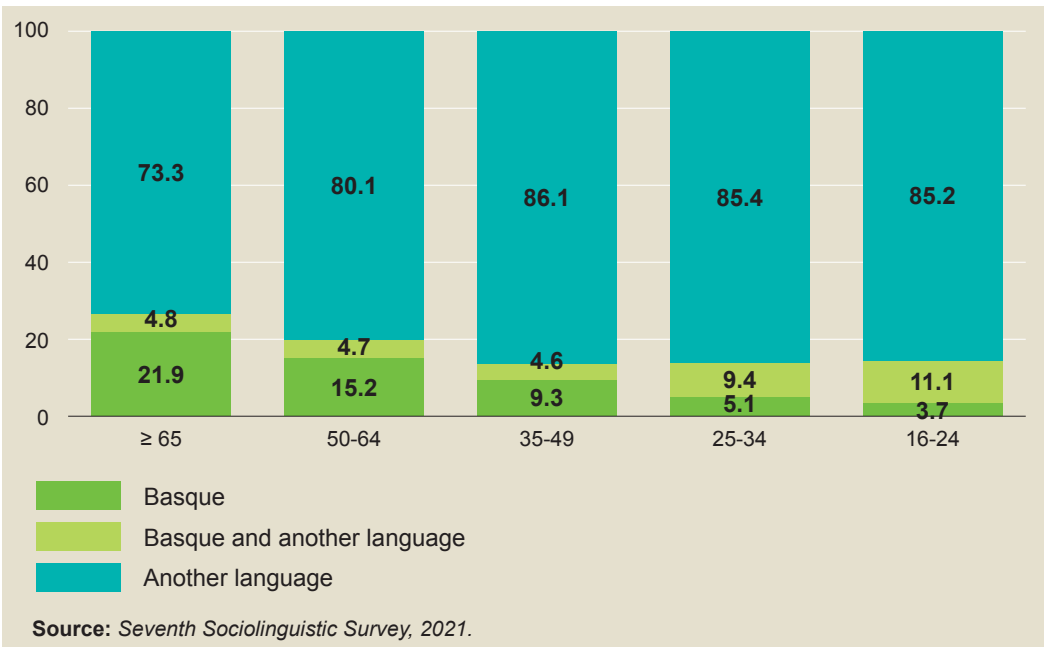
Figure 15. Mother tongue by sex. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)


With regard to age, the highest percentage of people who learned only Basque as their mother tongue is recorded among the population aged 65 or over (21.9%). This percentage falls as age descends. Among young people, i.e. in the 16-24 age group, the percentage of those learning only Basque is 3.7%.

The percentage of people who have learned Basque together with French or some other language is similar among the population aged over 35 (slightly less than 5%). Meanwhile, in the case of those under 35 years old, the percentage rises: the highest percentage is found among young people aged between 16 and 24 (11.1%).

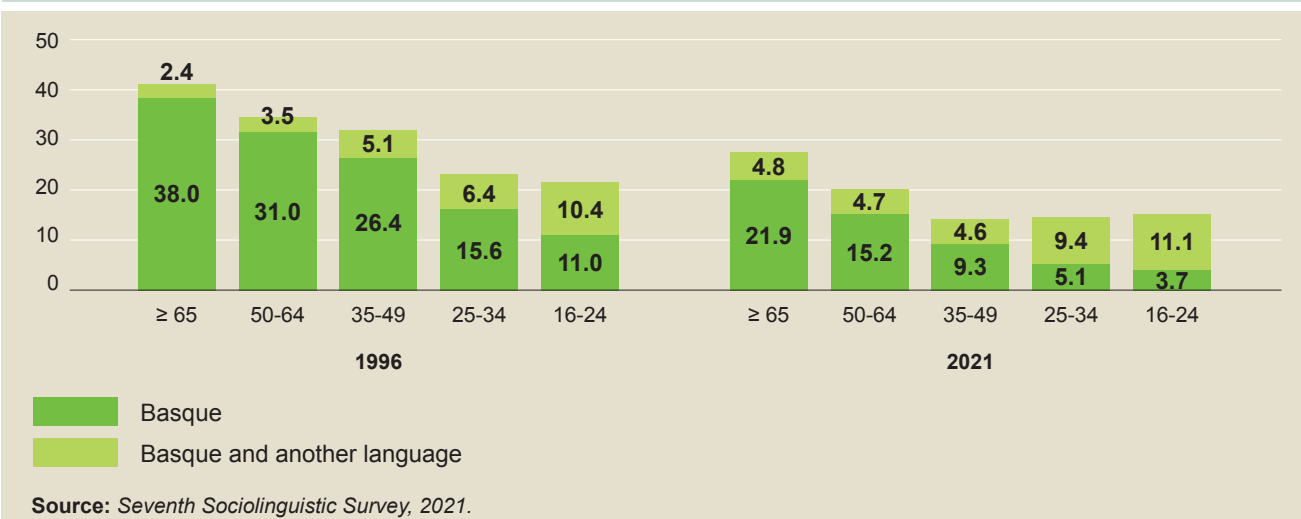
As age descends, the population with Basque as their mother tongue falls in all three territories of the Northern Basque Country.

Figure 16. Mother tongue by age. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



25 years ago, the highest percentage of people who learned only Basque as their mother tongue was among those over 65 years old (38%), and fell at earlier ages. The highest percentage of people who had learned Basque as their mother tongue was found in the 16-24 age group (3.7%).

Figure 17. Evolution of mother tongue by age. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)



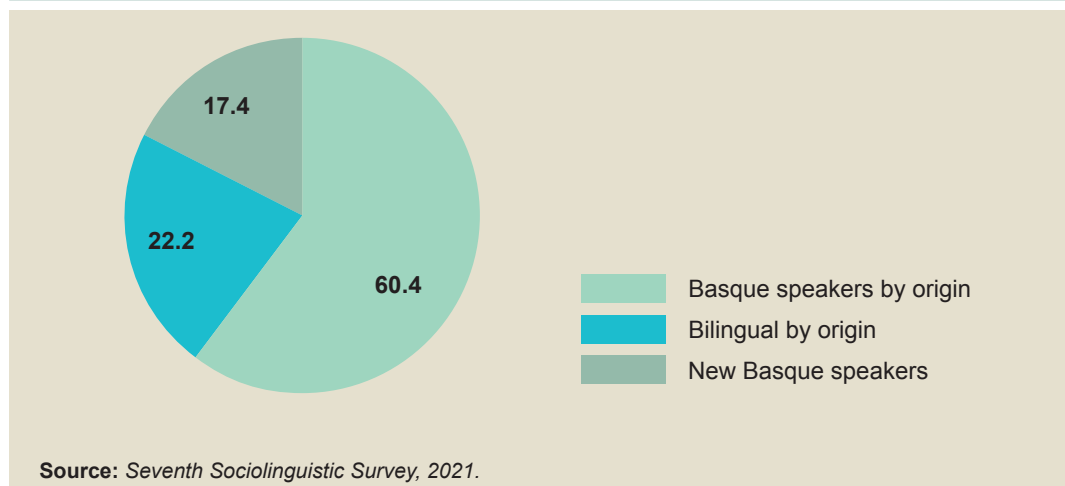
3.3. Basque speakers according to their mother tongue

Basque speakers are classified into three groups according to their mother tongue:

- **Basque speakers by origin:** they learned Basque only in the first three years of their life, passed on by their parents or people with whom they lived at home.
- **Bilingual by origin:** they learned Basque in their first three years of life together with French or some other language, passed on by their parents or people with whom they lived at home.
- **New Basque speakers or *euskaldunberriak*:** they did not learn Basque in the first three years of their life, as it was not passed on to them by their parents or people with whom they lived at home. They learned Basque outside the home, either at school or at an *euskaltegi* (Basque language centre).

60.4% of Basque speakers in the Northern Basque Country learned only Basque at home, i.e. they are Basque speakers by origin. 22.2% of Basque speakers learned Basque together with French or some other language, and are bilingual by origin. Finally 17.4% learned Basque outside the home, either at school or at an *euskaltegi* (Basque language centre), and are therefore *eskaldunberriak* or new Basque Speakers.

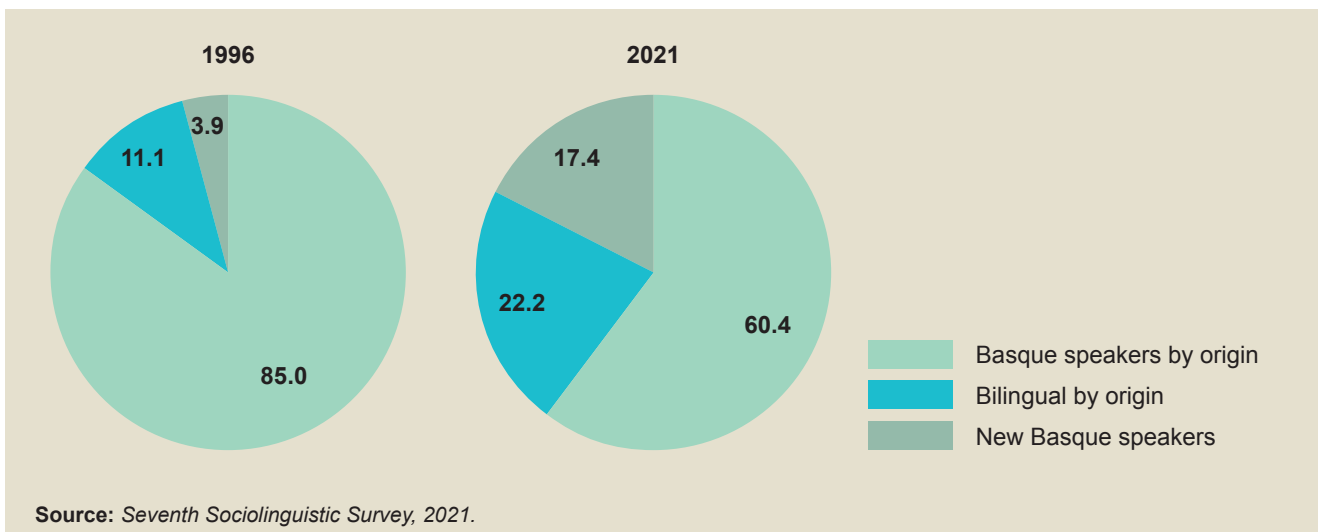
Figure 18. Basque speakers by mother tongue. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



25 years ago, the majority of Basque speakers were also by origin (85%), but since then the percentage of Basque speakers by origin has fallen by 24.6 points. Unlike today, the percentage of bilinguals by origin was lower (11.1% compared to 22.2%), and that of new Basque speakers even lower (3.9% compared to 17.4%).

Therefore, as in the other regions where Basque is spoken, the body of Basque speakers is changing in the Northern Basque Country: Basque speakers by origin are a decreasing proportion of the total population of Basque speakers, and bilinguals by origin and - above all - new Basque speakers are on the increase.

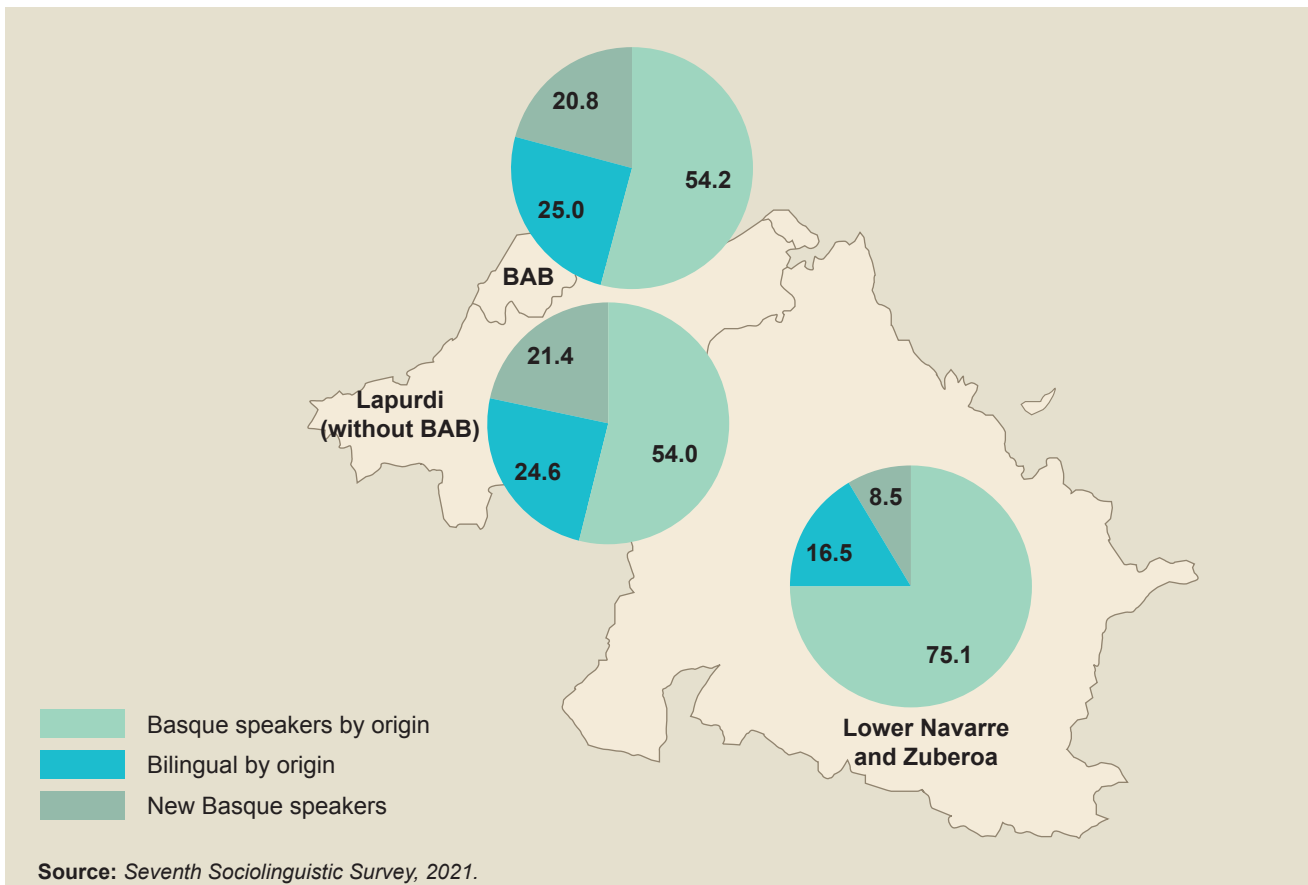
Figure 19. Evolution of Basque speakers by mother tongue. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)



Analysis of the data by territories shows considerable differences between them. Thus, in BAB over half the people who know Basque (54.2%) are Basque speakers by origin, 25% are bilingual by origin and 20.8% new Basque speakers.

Also in Lapurdi (without BAB), over half of Basque speakers are by origin (54%), a quarter are bilingual by origin (24.6%) and a fifth are new Basque speakers (21.4%).

Finally, in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa, three out of every four Basque speakers are so by origin (75.1%), 16.5% are bilingual by origin and 8.5% are new Basque speakers.

Figure 20. Basque speakers by mother tongue and territory. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)


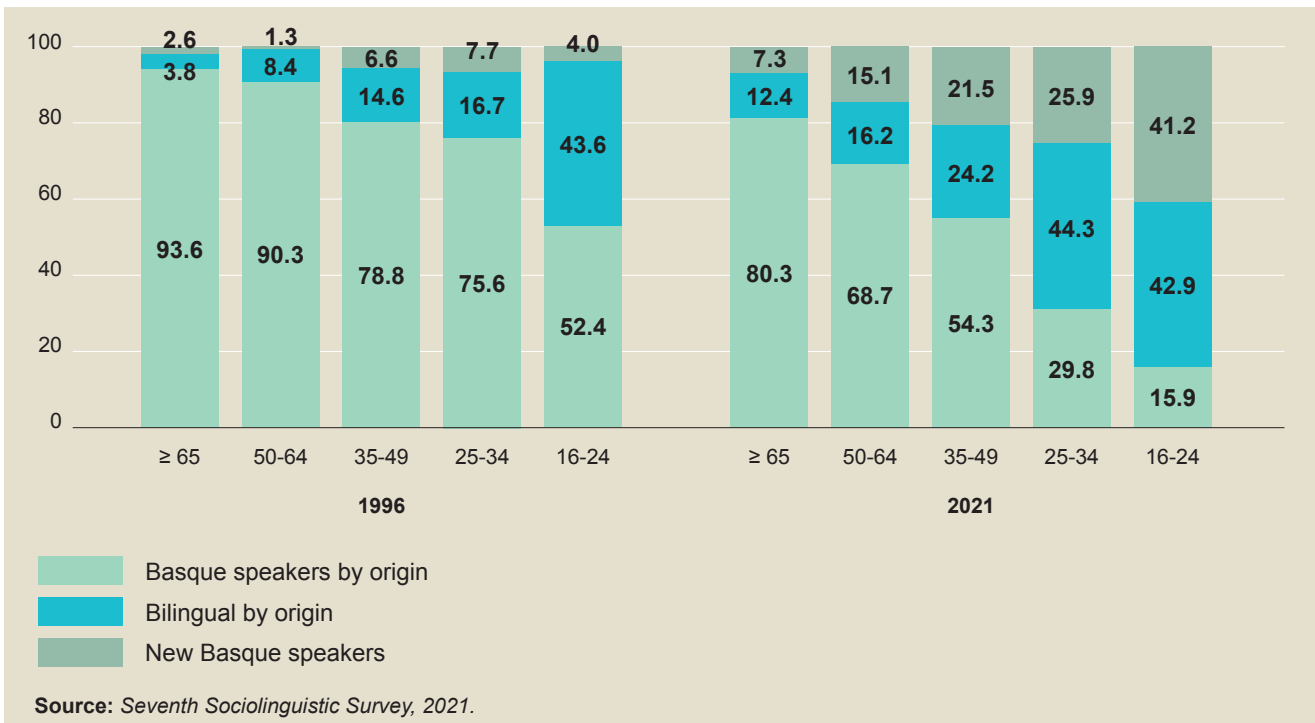
In terms of age, the percentage of Basque speakers by origin falls at earlier ages, while the proportion of new Basque speakers and of bilinguals by origin rises.

There has been a considerable increase in new Basque speakers across all age groups, but above all among young people. In 2021, 41.2% of Basque speakers aged 16-24 were new Basque speakers, while in 1996 only 4% were.

The percentage of bilinguals by origin is increasing across all age groups, except in the youngest group of people: in the 16-24 age group they made up 43.6% in 1996 and 42.9% in 2021

In 1996, Basque speakers by origin were the majority across all age groups. In 2021, while the percentage was lower in all age groups, they remained the majority among the population over 35 years old. However, in the case of people under 35 years old they are no longer the majority, and their weight is decreasing: they make up 15.9% among those aged between 16 and 24.

Figure 21. Evolution of Basque speakers by mother tongue and age. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)



3.4. Transmission of the language in families

In order to determine the features of transmission of the language in families, all the people surveyed were asked which language they had acquired at home, according to their parents' language competence.

Taking into account the age range of the people surveyed, we can see how Basque has been passed on by parents from nearly a hundred years ago to the present day.

In the Northern Basque Country, when both parents are Basque speakers, 63 % of their children learned only Basque at home; 16 % Basque together with French or some other language, and 21 % did not learn Basque.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, the transmission of Basque falls as age descends. Thus, the highest transmission rate of Basque occurs among people

over 50 years old (67 % learned only Basque at home, while 14 % learned Basque together with French or some other language).

Where both parents are Basque speakers, the earlier the age the higher the transmission rate of both languages. Among the population under 35 years old, 27 % learned both Basque and French at home.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, the percentage of those who did not learn Basque within their family has risen a little: they make up 20 % of the population over 50 years old, and 24 % of the population below this age.

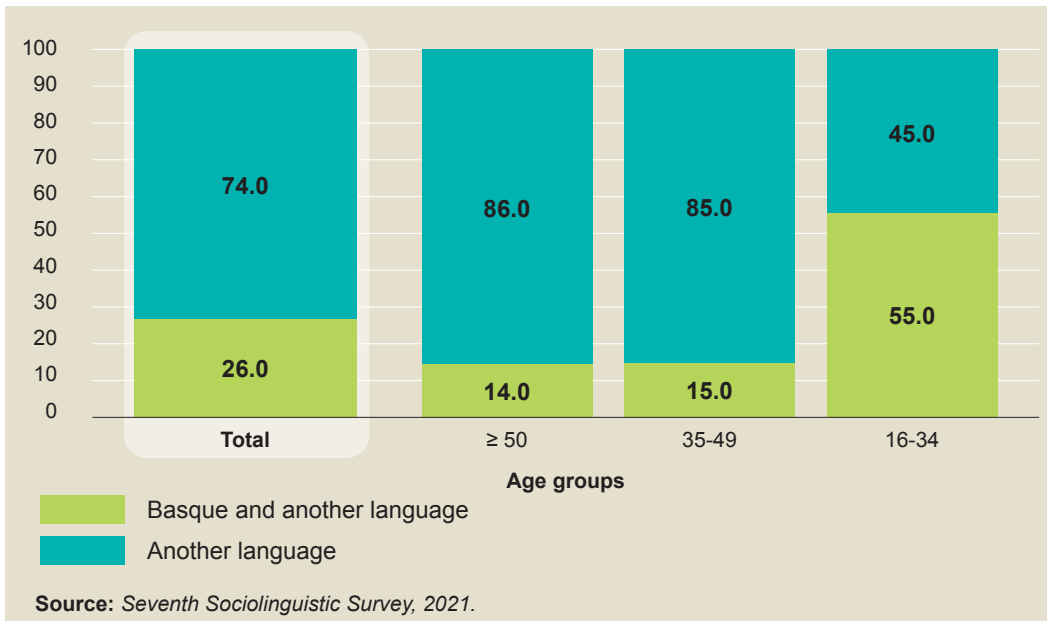
Figure 22. Basque transmission when both parents are Basque speakers by age. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker, 26 % of their children acquired both Basque and French or some other language at home, while 74 % did not learn Basque within their family.

Where one of the parents is not a Basque speaker, the transmission of Basque (together with French or some other language) rises the earlier the age. Among the population over 35 years old with only one Basque-speaking parent, 15 % learned Basque at home. Among those under 35 years old, the transmission rate of Basque (together with French or some other language) is higher.

Figure 23. Basque transmission when only one parent speaks Basque by age. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Where one of the parents does not know Basque, there are no major differences in the transmission rate of Basque depending on whether the Basque speaker is the mother or the father.

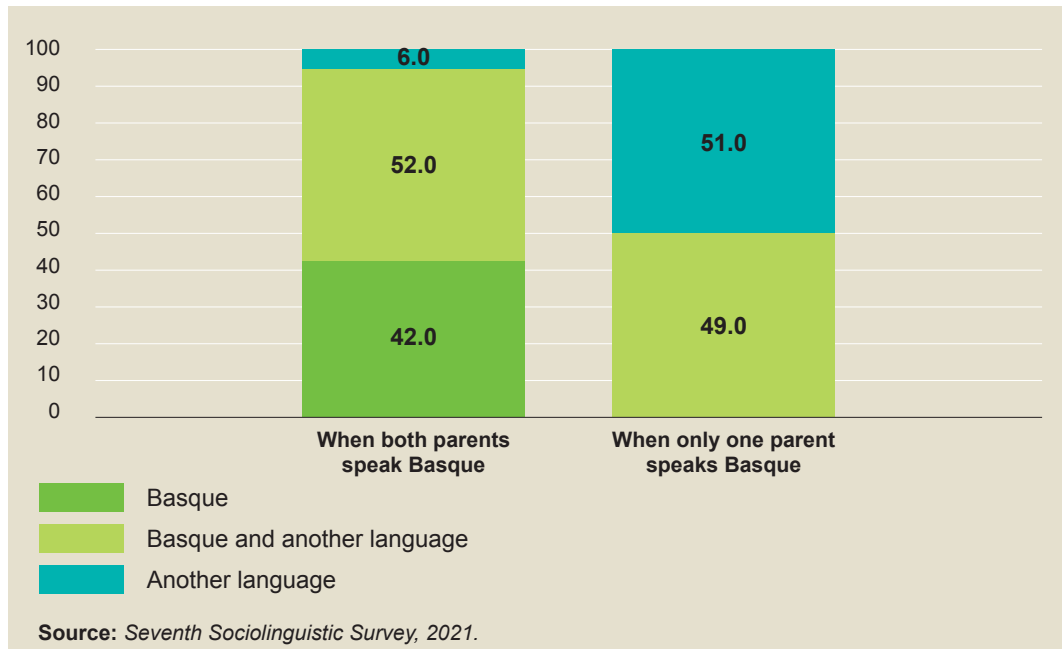
Transmission of the language in families with children between 3 and 15 years old

To determine which language was passed on at home to children aged 3-15, respondents were asked whether they had children of these ages.

Where both parents are Basque speakers, 42% of their children aged 3-15 learned only Basque at home, and 52% learned Basque together with French or some other language. Where both parents are Basque speakers, 6% of their children aged 3-15 did not learn Basque at home.

Where only one of the parents is a Basque speaker, nearly half (49%) of their children aged 3-15 acquired both Basque and French or some other language at home, while the other half (51%) did not learn Basque within their family.

Figure 24. Basque transmission in families with children aged 3-15 by parents' language competence. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



3.5. Gains and losses of Basque

86.2% of people who learned Basque or Basque together with French or some other language have kept their Basque and are Basque speakers today.

However, 13.8% of people who learned Basque or Basque together with French as their Mother tongue are no longer Basque speakers. This means that out of 49,900 people with Basque as their Mother tongue, 42,500 people have kept it, while 6,800 people have lost it entirely or in part.

This loss is, in most cases, partial (4,900 people). These are people who, though they do not speak Basque fluently, are able to understand it. The other 1,800 people have lost their Basque completely. These are therefore complete losses.

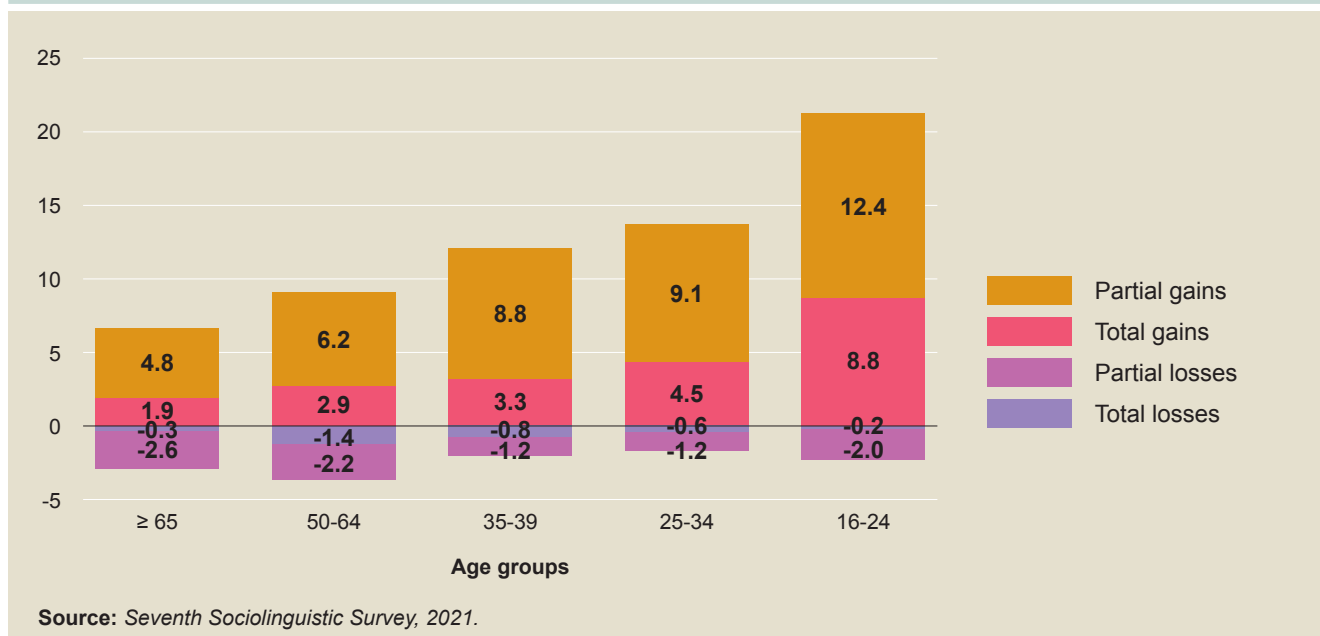
Also, there are 8,900 people whose Mother tongue is not Basque but have learnt it, and are now Basque speakers. They make up 17.4% of all Basque speakers. They represent the total gains of Basque.

A further 19,000 people are recorded who, while French or some other is their Mother tongue, are able to understand Basque today, i.e. they are new Basque speakers, and they represent the partial gains.

Gains are now shown to exceed losses. In fact, more and more people whose Mother tongue is French or some other are now Basque speakers, and less and less those Mother tongue is Basque are no longer Basque speakers.

With regard to age, gains (total or partial) for Basque increase as age descends. The opposite is happening with losses. That is to say, losses (total or partial) become less as age descends. The biggest gains and smallest losses of Basque occur in the young population, between 16 and 24 years old.

Figure 25. Basque gains and losses by age. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Gains exceed losses in all three territories. In BAB, and especially in Lapurdi, very clearly: total gains exceed the sum of partial and total losses. In Lower Navarre and in Zuberoa, on the other hand, total gains or - to put it another way - new Basque speakers (4%) are slightly less than the sum or partial and total losses (5.5%).

4. USE OF BASQUE

4.1. Factors affecting the use of Basque: correlations

Before giving data on the use of Basque, the factors that most influence this are analysed. To this end, a correlation analysis was conducted to see what other variables influence the variable in question (use), and to what extent.

Correlations were made according to three spheres of use: at home, in the circle of friends and with colleagues at work. In all these spheres, there are two factors that have a big influence on use: the density of the network of relations of Basque speakers (how many people know Basque at home, in the circle of friends or among work colleagues), and their fluency in speaking Basque. Attitude, Mother tongue and sociolinguistic area also have a strong influence.

The factor that most clearly influences use in the home is the density of Basque speakers in the family, i.e. how many members of the family speak Basque (0.723). The second factor is fluency in speaking Basque (0.486). The third most influential factor in domestic use is attitude (0.362). The fourth factor is the Mother tongue (0.223).

Table 7. Correlations: use of Basque at home. Northern Basque Country, 2021

	Proportion of Basque speakers in the household	Fluency in Basque	Attitude	Mother tongue
Language spoken at home	0.723	0.486	0.362	0.223

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In the Northern Basque Country, with regard to use in the circle of friends, the most influential variable is also the density of Basque speakers, i.e. how many people in one's circle know Basque (0.634). The second factor is fluency in speaking Basque (0.502). The third factor is attitude (0.322). The fourth factor is the sociolinguistic area (0.300).

Table 8. Correlations: use of Basque with friends. Northern Basque Country, 2021

	Proportion of Basque speakers among friends	Fluency in Basque	Attitude	Sociolinguistic area
Language spoken with friends	0.634	0.502	0.322	0.300

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In use with work colleagues, the most influential factor is how many of them know Basque (0.819). The second factor is fluency (0.418), and the third attitude (0.231). The fourth factor is the Mother tongue (0.184).

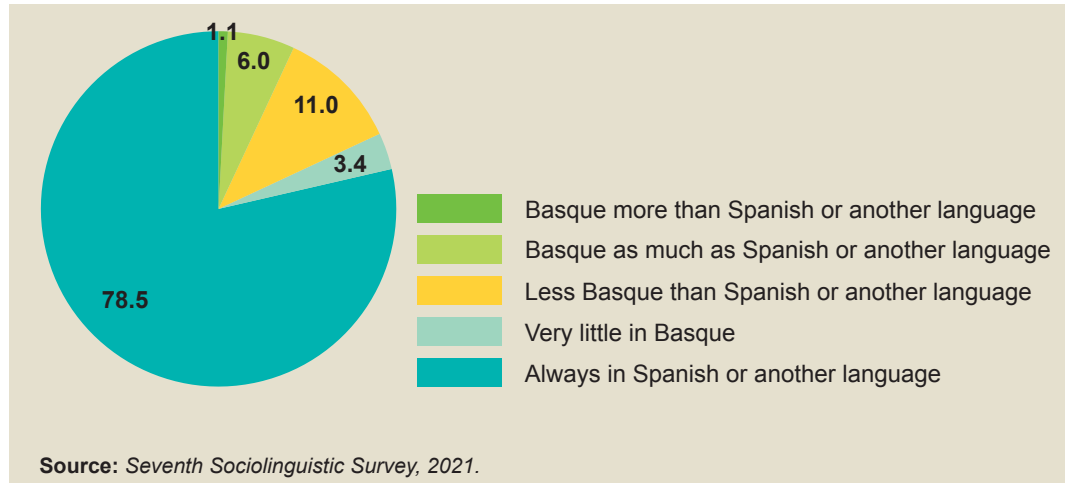
Table 9. Correlations: use of Basque at work. Northern Basque Country, 2021

	Proportion of Basque speakers among work colleagues	Fluency in Basque	Attitude	Mother tongue
Language spoken at work	0.819	0.418	0.231	0.184

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

4.2. Use of Basque in the Northern Basque Country by territories

In the Northern Basque Country, 7.1 % of people over 16 years old use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language; 11 % use Basque but less than French or some other language; 3.4 % use Basque very little, and the rest of the population (78.5 %) only use French or some other language.

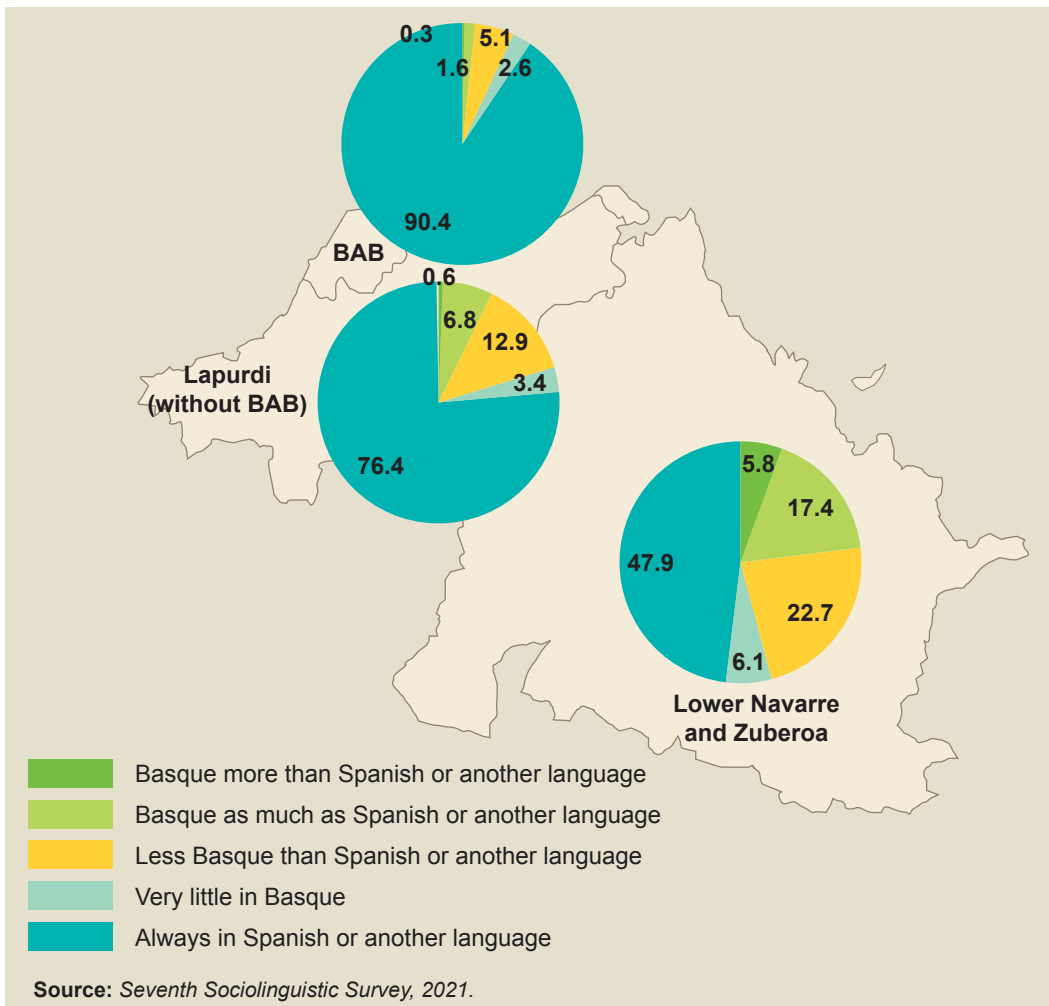
Figure 26. Basque language use. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)


In order to measure the use of Basque, the language policy department has devised a classification. In structuring this classification, the following spheres of use were taken into consideration:

- use at home
- use with friends
- formal use (in shops and the bank on the one hand, and in health and municipal services on the other)

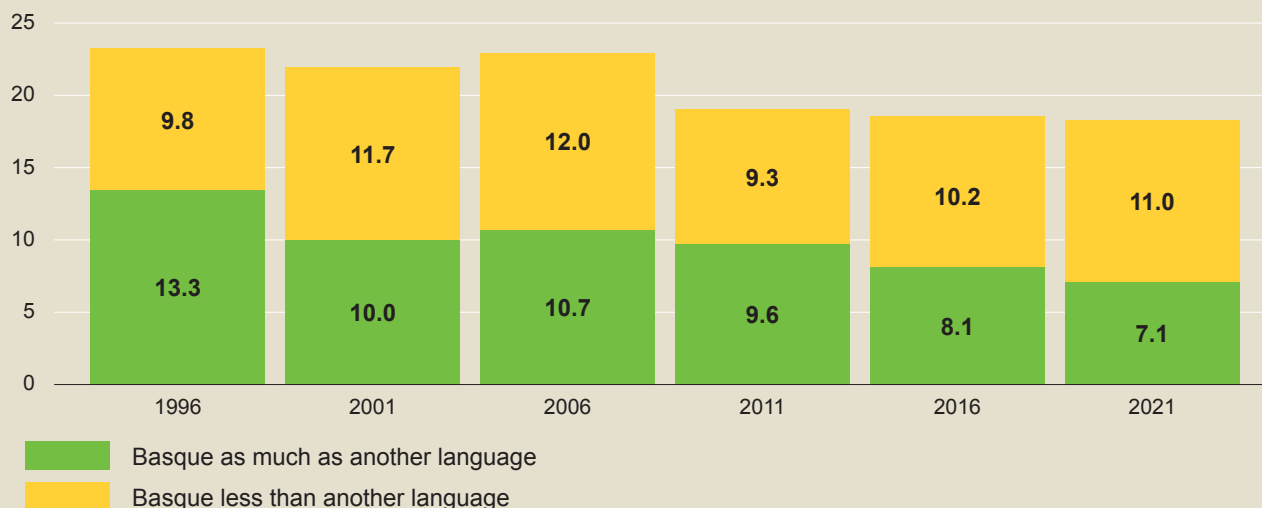
Notable differences in use were recorded between the different territories. In fact, the people using Basque as much as or more than French or some other language, i.e. those who use Basque intensively, make up 1.9% in BAB, 7.4% in Lapurdi (without BAB) and 23.2% in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa. Also, the percentages of people who use Basque though less than French or some other language are 5.1% in BAB, 12.9% in Lapurdi (without BAB) and 22.7% in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa.

Figure 27. Basque language use by territory. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



In the last 25 years the use of Basque has declined: the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language has fallen by 6.2 points (in 1996 it was 13.3% and in 2021 it was 7.1%).

The percentage of the population who use Basque less than French or some other language has varied slightly, without any major changes: it has risen by 1.2 points since 1996 (in 1996 it was 9.8% and in 2021 11%).

Figure 28. Evolution of Basque use. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

The decline in people who use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language was recorded in all three territories. In BAB the use of Basque has fallen by 0.3 points, in Lapurdi (without BAB) by 6.6 points and in Lower Navarre/Zuberoa by 20.6 points.

Table 10. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by territory. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021

	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
Northern Basque Country	13.3	9.9	10.6	9.6	8.1	7.1
BAB	2.2	1.5	1.6	2.1	0.8	1.9
Lapurdi (without BAB)	13.9	10.5	11.3	10.2	9.0	7.3
Lower Navarre and Zuberoa	43.8	33.5	36.5	30.6	27.9	23.2
Northern Basque Country	28,258	22,045	24,484	22,877	20,256	18,275
BAB	2,018	1,456	1,620	2,009	835	2,005
Lapurdi (without BAB)	12,367	9,887	10,879	10,911	10,319	8,708
Lower Navarre and Zuberoa	13,873	10,702	11,984	9,958	9,102	7,562

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

4.3. Use of Basque by sex and age

In terms of sex, the use of Basque is higher among men than among women. In fact, the percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language is 8.3% among men and 6.1% among women. Over the last 25 years this difference in use has remained steady in general.

Table 11. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by sex. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)

	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
Men	14.2	11.7	11.9	10.8	9.1	8.3
Women	12.5	8.4	9.5	8.5	7.4	6.1
Total	13.3	9.9	10.6	9.6	8.1	7.1

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

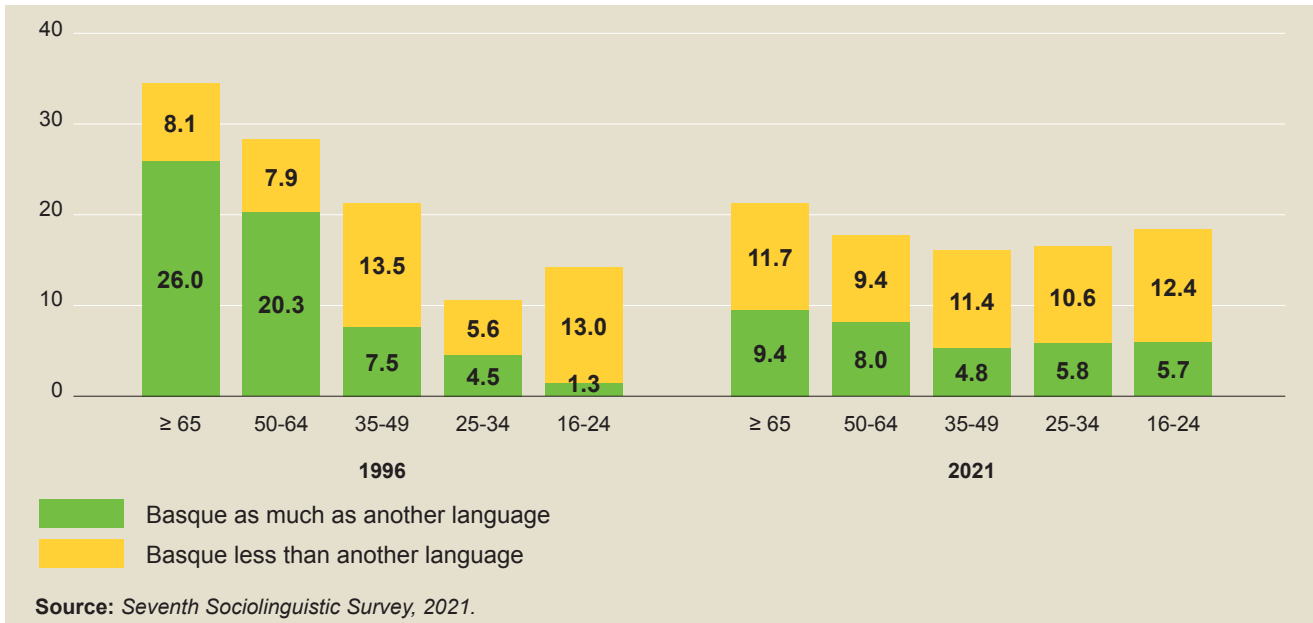
With regard to the use of Basque by age, it can be seen that this highest percentage of people who use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language is recorded among people over 65 years old (9.4%), and this percentage falls as age descends, as far as the age of 35. The lowest use, on the other hand, is recorded in the population aged between 35 and 49 (4.8%).

In the case of the population under 35 years old, a change of trend in the use of Basque was observed, as the decline has bottomed out. 5.8% of the population aged between 25 and 34 use Basque as much as or more than French, and in the case of the 16-24 age group this figure is 5.7%.

Analysis of the trend reveals that between 1996 and 2021 the percentage of people over 35 years old who use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language fell: -16.6% among the population over 65 years old, -12.3% among people aged between 50 and 64 and -2.7% among the 35-49 age group. The reduction is smaller at earlier ages.

In the under-35 age group, the use of Basque increased between 1996 and 2021. The percentage of people using Basque as much as or more than French or some other language rose by 1.3 points among the population aged 25-34, and 4.4 points among young people aged between 16 and 24.

Figure 29. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by age. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)



These patterns of use by age groups occur in Lapurdi, Lower Navarre and Zuberoa. In fact, it is people over 65 years old who use Basque the most, and this percentage falls as people get younger, until the age of 35. In the case of the population under 35 years old, the use of Basque has increased.

In BAB, the highest percentage of people using Basque was observed in people under 35 years old, followed by those over 65 years old.

Table 12. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language by territory and age. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	Age groups					
	Total	≥ 65	50-64	35-49	25-34	16-24
Northern Basque Country	7.1	9.4	8.0	4.8	5.8	5.7
BAB	1.9	2.0	1.5	0.9	3.9	2.1
Lapurdi (without BAB)	7.3	9.2	8.9	5.1	5.5	6.0
Lower Navarre and Zuberoa	23.2	32.3	21.7	16.9	15.0	19.2

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

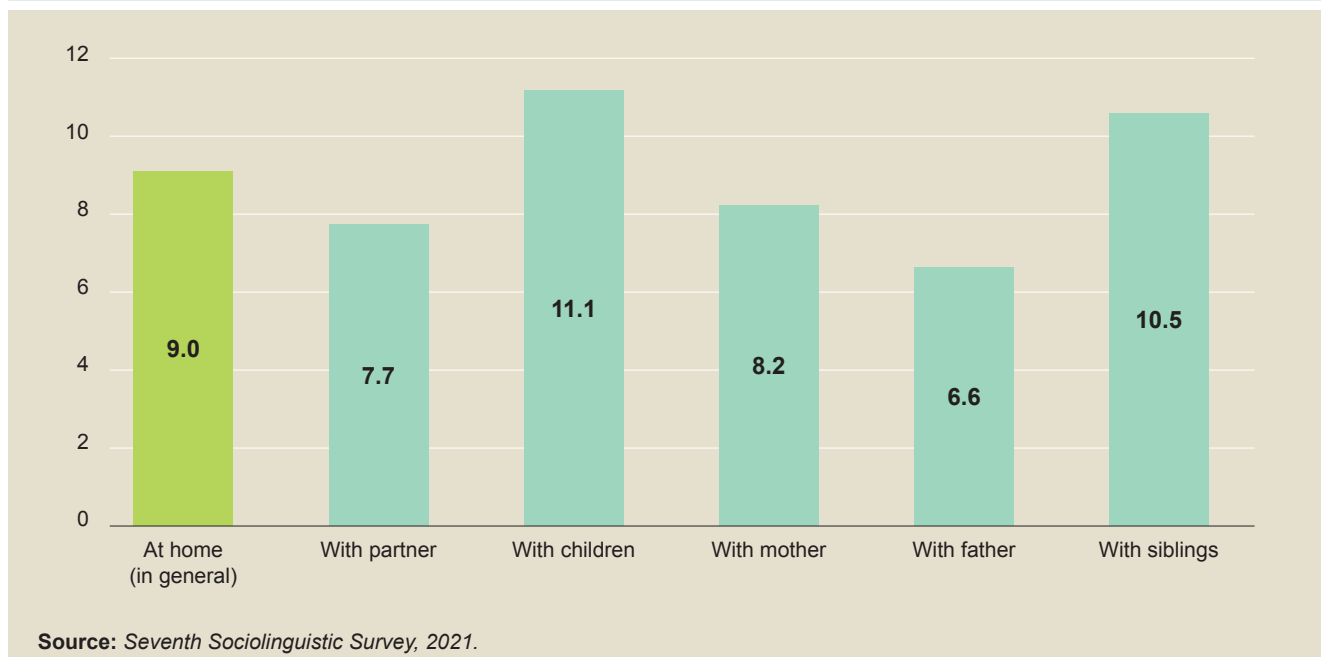
4.4. Use of Basque in different spheres: home, circle of friends, formal sphere

Use of Basque at home

In the Northern Basque Country, 9.0% of people over 16 years old use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language at home; 6.7% use Basque but less than French or some other language, and the remaining 84.3% only use French or some other language.

The highest use of Basque at home occurs with children (11.1%). The lowest use, on the other hand, occurs with the father (6.6%) and with the partner (7.7%). 8.2% use Basque as much as or more than French with their mother, and 10.5% with their siblings.

Figure 30. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language at home. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Analysis of the trend over the last 30 years shows that the use of Basque at home has declined (7 points). This decline has been by 11 points with the parents, around 9 points with the partner and with siblings and 5.4 points with children.

Table 13. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language at home. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021(%)

	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
At home (in general)	16.0	11.9	12.4	10.7	9.5	9.0
With partner	16.5	12.2	10.6	10.8	9.0	7.7
With children	16.5	10.7	12.3	11.1	9.4	11.1
With mother	19.2	13.8	15.6	9.9	10.0	8.2
With father	17.8	13.6	15.5	8.2	8.5	6.6
With siblings	19.6	15.0	16.8	13.7	13.6	10.5

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Use of Basque in the circle of friends

In the Northern Basque Country, 12.1% of people over 16 years old use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language with friends; 7.2% use Basque but less than French or some other language, and the remaining 80.7% only use French or some other language.

In the last 25 years, the percentage of people using Basque as much as or more than French or some other language with friends has fallen by 5.1 points (16.2%). However, from 2016 to 2021 the decline slowed, falling by just half a point.

Table 14. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language with friends. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)

	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
Use with friends	17.2	14.1	17.0	14.5	12.6	12.1

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

Use of Basque in the formal sphere

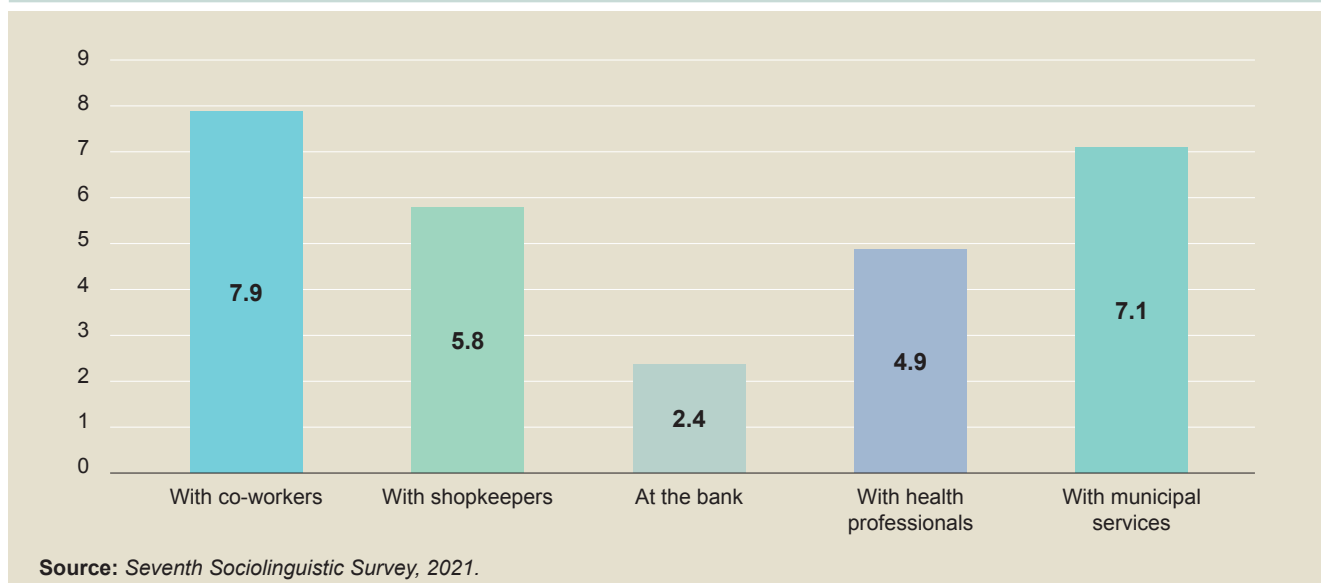
This section will analyse three spheres of use: use with work colleagues, use in the private sphere (with the staff of shops and banks) and use in the public sphere (with the staff of health and municipal services).

In 2021, 7.9% of the population of the Northern Basque Country used Basque as much as or more than French or some other language at work. 4.2% use Basque, though less than French or another language, and 88% use only French or some other language.

In the private sphere, 5.8% use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language in shops, and 2.4% at the bank. In these two spheres, the percentages of people who use Basque, though less than French or another language, are 7.4% and 2.6% respectively.

In the public sphere, 4.9% use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language in health services, and 7.1% in municipal services. In these two spheres, the percentages of people who use Basque, though less than French or another language, are 4.4% and 3.9% respectively.

Figure 31. Those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language in formal situations. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Over the last 25 years, the percentage of people using Basque at work as much as or more than French or some other language is down by 4 points; those who use it in shops by 4.9% and those who use it at the bank 6.7%.

In the public sphere, there has been a fall of 0.8 points in health services and 7.3 points in municipal services. However, it should be pointed out that from 2016 to 2021, excluding use at work, the use of Basque among the population the formal sphere, both private and public, has changed very little (less than a point).

Table 15. Evolution of those who use Basque as much as or more than their other language in formal situations. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)

	1996	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021
With co-workers	11.9	8.5	10.9	10.9	10.3	7.9
With shopkeepers	10.7	7.6	7.4	6.6	5.8	5.8
At the bank	9.1	6.9	5.7	3.0	2.3	2.4
With health professionals	5.7	6.2	4.0	3.5	4.2	4.9
With municipal services	14.4	9.1	10.2	8.3	7.9	7.1

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

4.5. Use of Basque on social networks

The language used most on Internet social networks is French. However, 5.6% of users use Basque as much as or more than French. Among young people (aged 16-24), 5.6% use Basque as much as or more than French or some other language (in fact, the use of Basque is very similar in all age groups).

Apart from French and Basque, users also employ other languages, basically English and Spanish, on Internet social networks (10.4%).

5. ATTITUDE TOWARDS PROMOTION OF THE USE OF BASQUE

5.1. Attitude towards the promotion of the use of Basque by territories

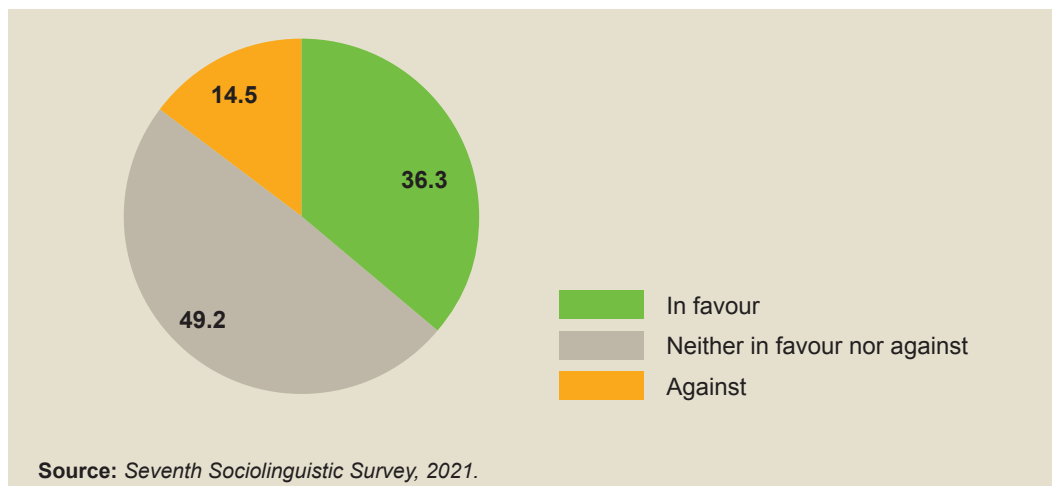
In order to determine attitudes towards the promotion of Basque use, based on the opinion expressed by respondents concerning the promotion of Basque use in different spheres.

In order to construct this classification, the following statements were used:

- It should be necessary to know Basque to work for the Administration.
- It is preferable to learn English rather than Basque (those who express disagreement are considered favourable to the promotion of Basque).
- All children should learn Basque.
- More radio and television programmes should be broadcast in Basque.

36.3% of the population of the Northern Basque Country aged 16 or over expressed approval of the promotion of Basque, 49.2% were neither for nor against and 14.5% were against it.

Figure 32. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)

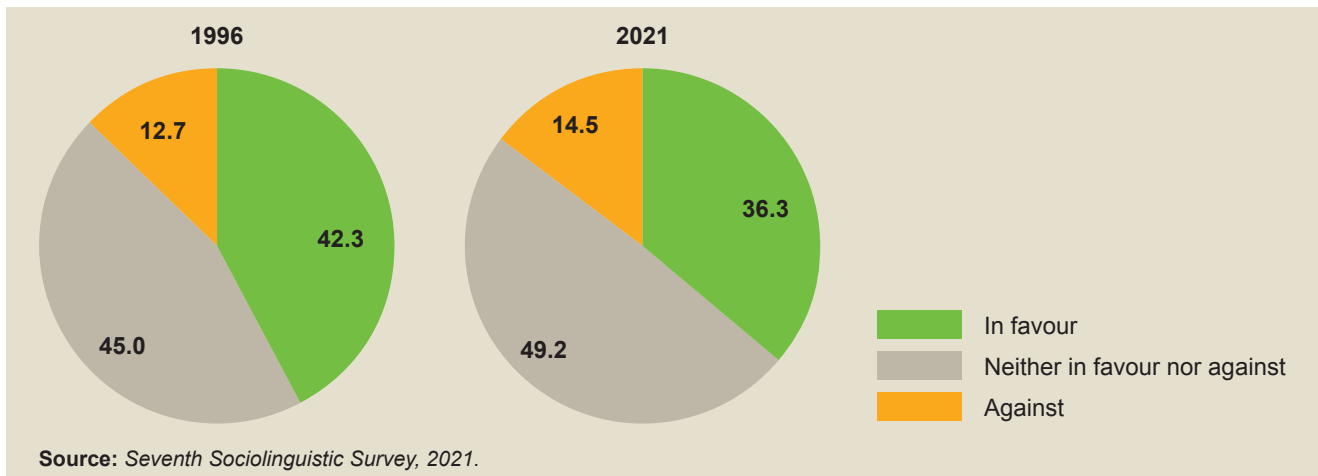


Between 1996 and 2021, the percentage of people in favour of promoting Basque fell by 6 points in the Northern Basque Country: in 1996 42.3% were in favour, and in 2021 36.3%. In any case, compared to the 2016 survey, the favourable attitude to promoting the use of Basque is up by 1 point.

The population neither in favour nor against, on the other hand, is 4.2% up on the figures for the 1996 survey (45% compared to 49.2%).

Finally, the percentage of people against it has increased slightly; specifically, by 1.8 points (12.7% compared to 14.5%).

Figure 33. Evolution of attitudes towards Basque language promotion. Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)

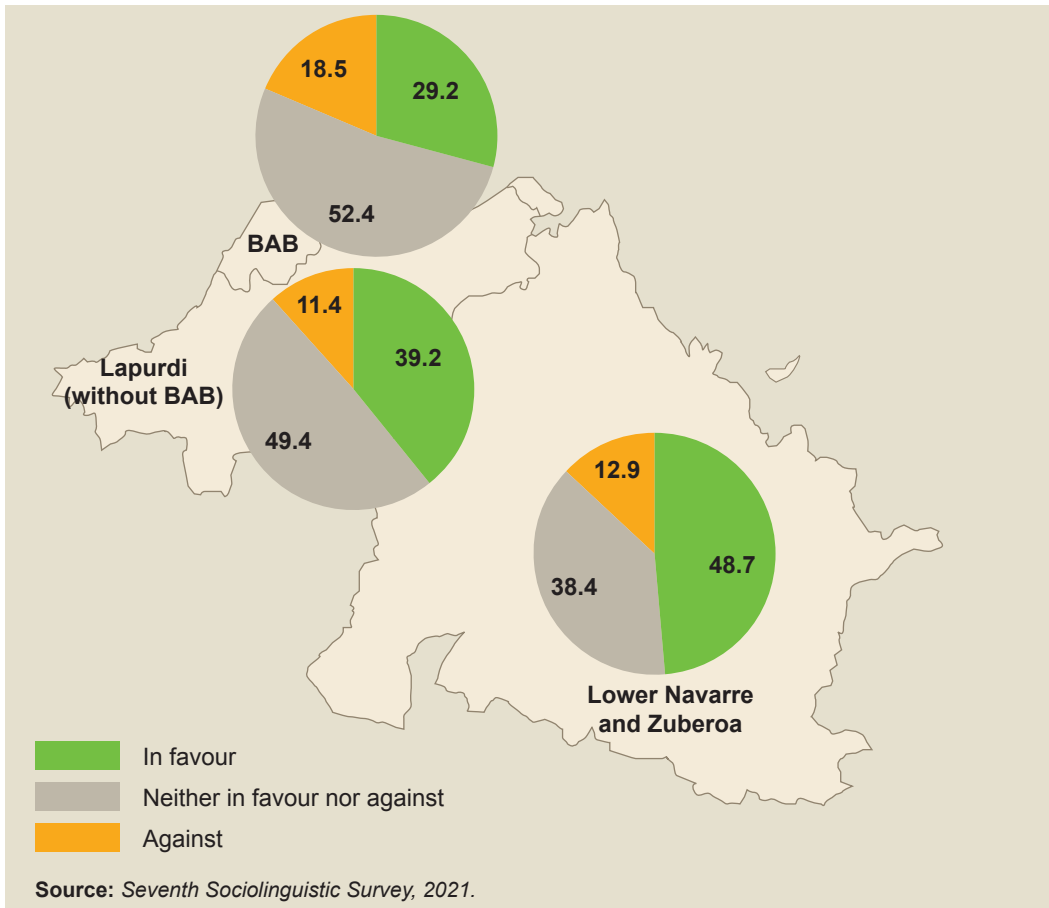


A favourable attitude towards the promotion of Basque is more widespread in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa (48.7%) than in Lapurdi (39.2%) and in BAB (29.2%).

In BAB, over half the population are neither in favour nor against (52.4%). In Lapurdi nearly half the population are neither in favour nor against (49.4%). Finally, in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa less people are neither in favour nor against (38.4%).

The highest proportion with a negative attitude towards the promotion of Basque is recorded in BAB (18.5%) and the lowest in Lapurdi (11.4%) and in Lower Navarre and Zuberoa (12.9%).

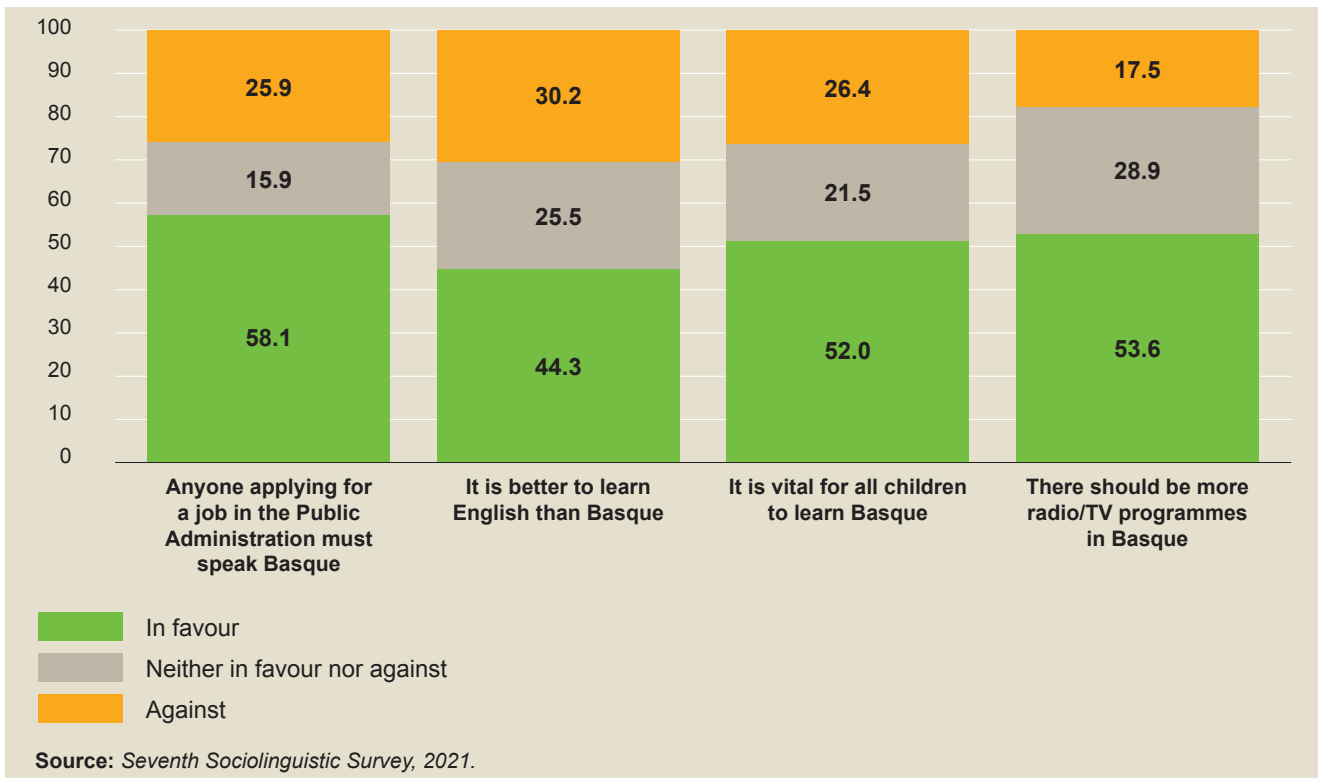
Figure 34. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by territory. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



The responses to the statements to establish the classification with regard to attitudes towards the promotion of Basque are as follows:

- 58.1% of the population of the Northern Basque Country feel that knowing Basque should be necessary to work in the Administration, and 15.9% are neither for nor against this. On the other hand, 25.9% of the population are against this criterion.
- 44.3% feel it is preferable to learn English rather than Basque (opinion unfavourable to promoting the use of Basque), while 25.5% are neither for nor against this. 30.2% of people are against this criterion (opinion favourable to promoting Basque).
- 52% of the population feels that all children should learn Basque, 21.5% are neither for nor against this, 26.4% are against.

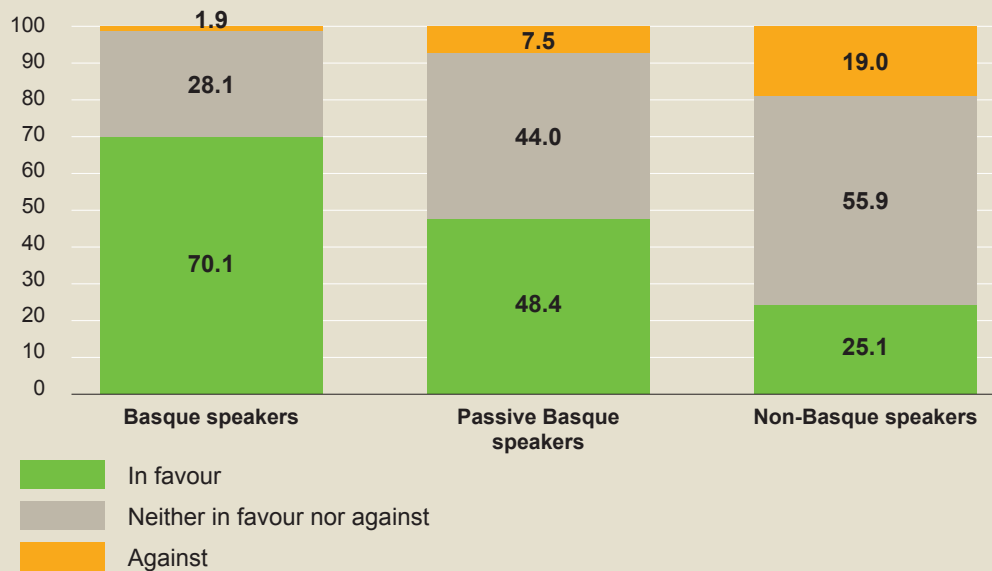
- Finally, 53.6% feel that radio and television channels should broadcast more programmes in Basque, 28.9% are neither for nor against this and 17.5% are against.

Figure 35. Opinions used to established attitude categories. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)


5.2. Attitude towards the promotion of the use of Basque by language competence, sex and age

Attitudes towards Basque are closely linked to language competence. In fact, 70.1% of Basque speakers are in favour of promoting the use of Basque, as are 48.4% of passive Basque speakers and 25.1% of non-Basque speakers.

Figure 36. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by language competence. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

With regard to sex, women show a slightly more favourable attitude than men towards the promotion of Basque: 37.3% compared to 35.1% (a difference of 2.2 points). Just the opposite is the case with those who are neither for nor against: 47.6% are women and 51% men (a difference of 3.4 points). Regarding unfavourable attitudes, on the other hand, the difference is small (1.2 points).

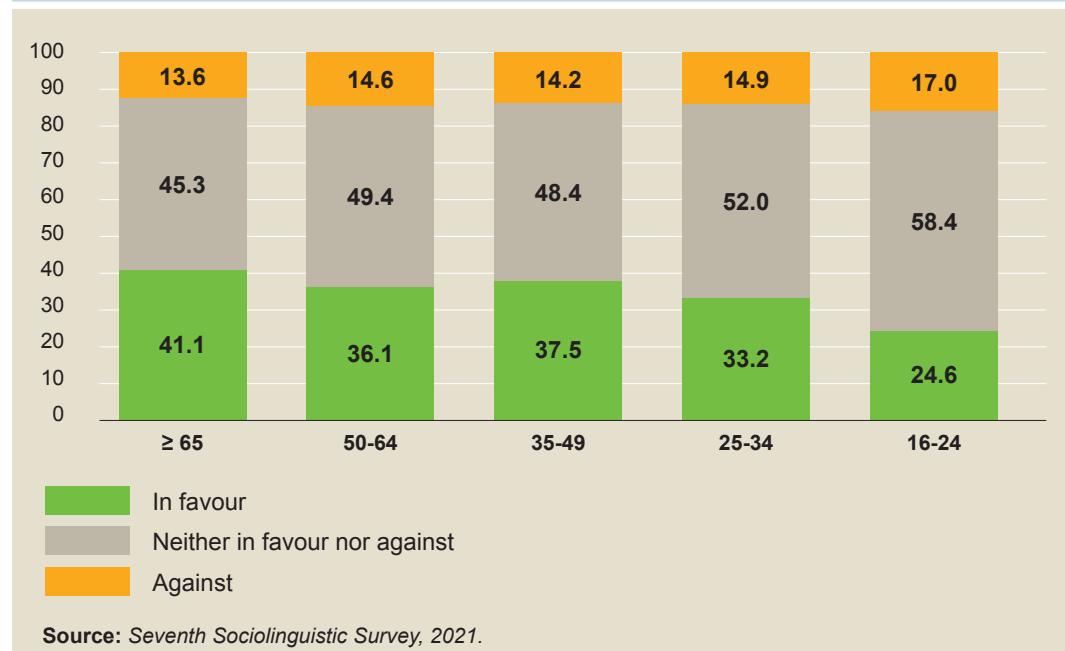
Table 16. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by sex. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)

	In favour	Neither in favour nor against	Against
Total	36.3	49.2	14.5
Women	37.3	47.6	15.0
Men	35.1	51.0	13.8

Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

In terms of age, the people most favourable towards the promotion of Basque are the oldest, i.e. those aged 65 or over (41.1%). They are followed by people aged 35-64 (over 36%), who have the second most favourable attitude. Young people aged 16-24, on the other hand, show the least favourable attitude towards promoting the use of Basque (24.6%).

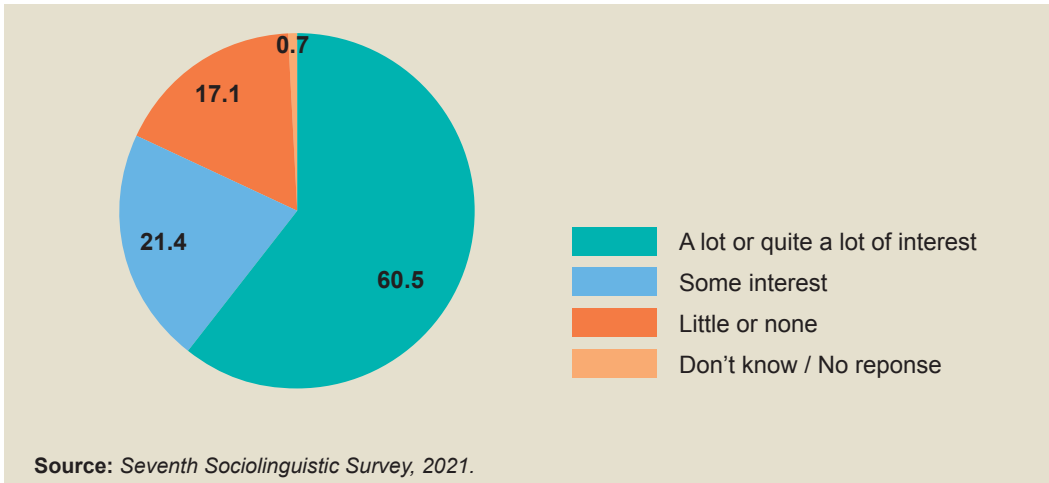
Figure 37. Attitudes towards Basque language promotion by age. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



5.3. Interest in Basque and other opinions

When asked about their interest in Basque, 60.5% of the population of the Northern Basque Country express a lot or quite a lot of interest in the language, 21.4% some interest, 17.1% little or no interest and 0.7% do not know or do not answer.

Figure 38. Interest in Basque. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)

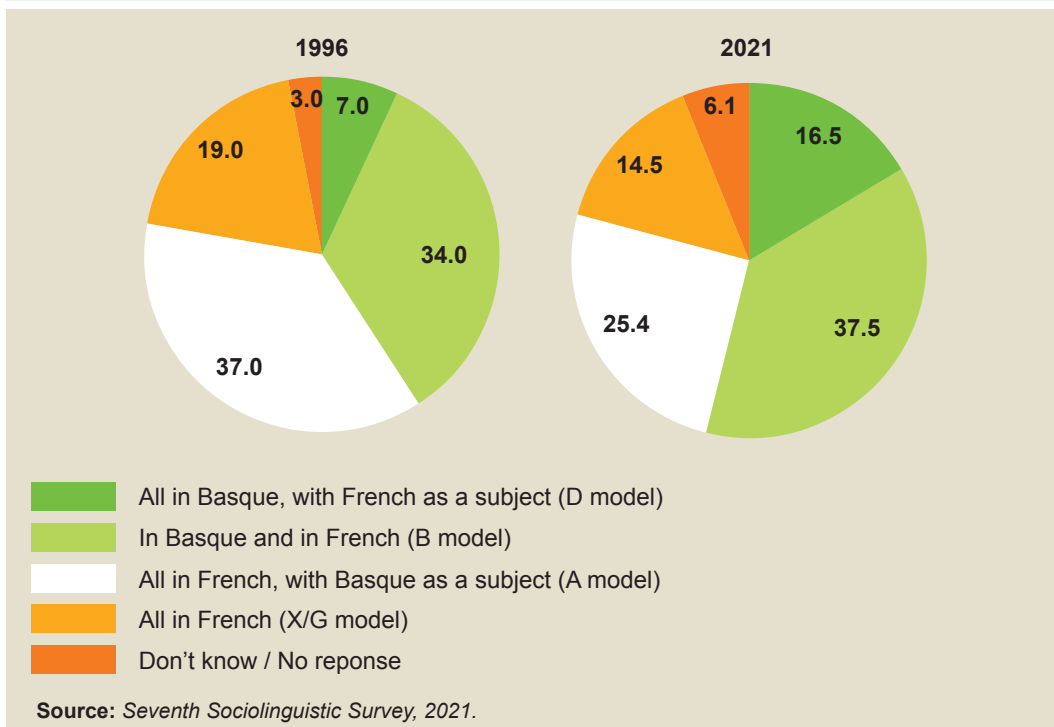


With regard to other opinions about Basque, 54 % of the population of the Northern Basque Country aged 16 or over would prefer the immersion model for their children (16.5%) or the bilingual one (37.5%) (in Basque with French as a subject, or in Basque and in French, respectively), while less people would prefer an educational model that uses mainly French (39.9%).

25 years before, i.e. in 1996, there was less support for the immersion model and the bilingual model (41 %) and more people favoured education in French only or with Basque only as a subject (56 %).

The increase in responses in favour of education in Basque, i.e. the immersion model, over the last 25 years should also be highlighted, an increase of 9.5 points (from 7 % to 16.5%).

Figure 39. What language model would you choose for your children's education? Northern Basque Country, 1996-2021 (%)



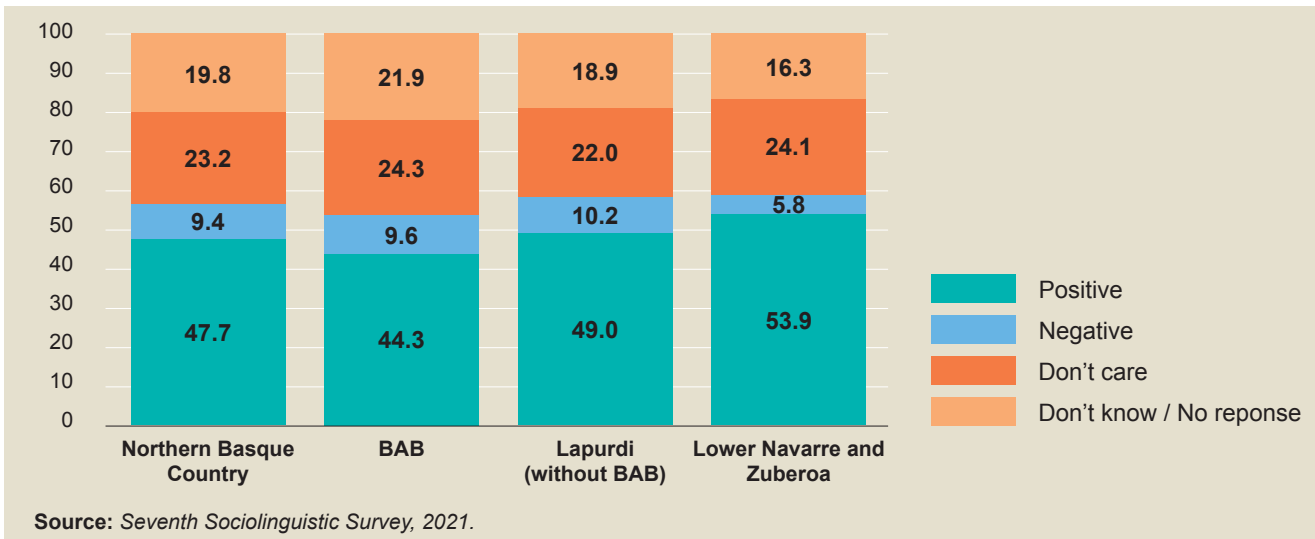
Moreover, 93.7% of the population of the Northern Basque Country aged 16 or over believes that in the future both Basque and French should be spoken; 1.9% think only Basque and 3.2% only French.

Basque speakers were also asked whether they have ever felt discriminated against in not being able to use Basque, with 22.3% answering that they had. Non-Basque speakers, on the other hand, were asked whether they have ever felt discriminated against for not knowing Basque, to which 45.8% responded that they had.

When asked about the work done by Euskararen Erakunde Publikoa, the public Basque language body, in this area, 47.7% of the population of the Northern Basque Country aged 16 or over considered it appropriate, 23.2% inappropriate, 9.4% were indifferent and the remaining 19.8% did not know or did not answer.

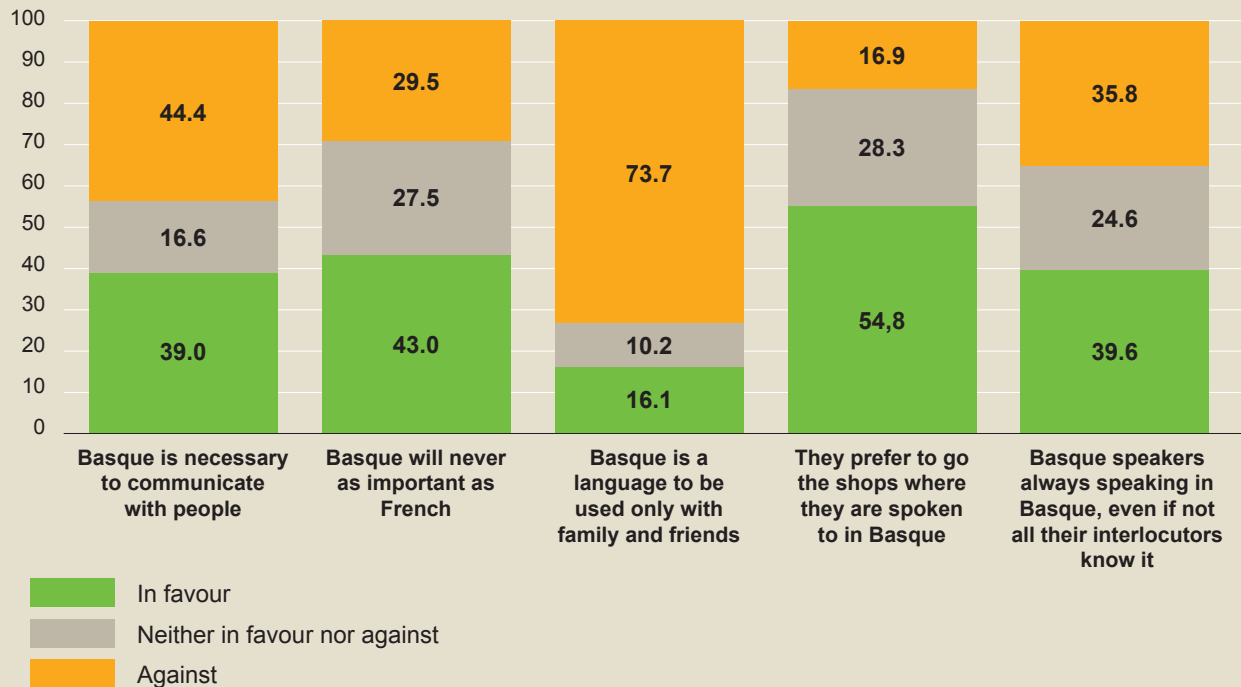
By territories, the population of Lower Navarre, Zuberoa and Lapurdi had the highest proportion who considered the work of the public Basque language body in this area appropriate (53.9% and 49% respectively, while BAB had the lowest percentage (44.3%).

Figure 40. Assessment of the Euskararen Erakunde Publikoa's work in the field of the Basque language by territory. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)



Other opinions about Basque were also collected from the respondents. In summary, the results are the following:

- Among the population of the Northern Basque Country aged 16 or over, only a minority think that Basque is necessary to communicate with people: 39% agree and 44.4% disagree.
- In the Northern Basque Country, 43% believe that Basque will never be as important as French. 29.5% of the population thinks the opposite. 27.5% are neither for nor against.
- 73.7% of the population disagree with the statement that Basque is only for use with friends and family, while 16.1% agree with it. The rest are neither favourable nor unfavourable (10.2%).
- 79.3% do not think that having two language creates problems in society; on the other hand, 11.9% think it does.
- Regarding preference for shops that serve in Basque, 54.8% of Basque speakers agree with this, 28.3% are neither for nor against and 16.9% are against it.
- Regarding whether Basque speakers should begin the conversation in Basque when talking to strangers, 39.6 of the population of the Northern Basque Country were in favour, 35.8% were against and 24.6% were neither in favour nor against.

Figure 41. Other opinions about the Basque language. Northern Basque Country, 2021 (%)


Source: *Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey, 2021.*

On the other hand, in the Northern Basque Country more people (46.7%) believe that Basque is in danger of disappearing than the opposite (40.5%). The rest neither agree nor disagree, or else do not know or do not answer.

Taking only Basque speakers, the percentage who think that Basque is in danger of disappearing is even higher (53%), and the percentage of people who think the opposite is lower (37.4%).

6. SYNTHESIS

- The population of the Northern Basque Country has two significant traits: it is a society that is gradually ageing (there are more people over 65 years old than under 20: 24.4% compared to 20.7%), with a high proportion of population from elsewhere, especially on the coast. Consequently, due to the positive migratory balance, the population of the Northern Basque Country is rising, though the natural balance is negative (11.7 deaths per 1,000 inhabitants versus 8.7 births per 1,000 inhabitants).
- 20.1% of the population aged 16 or over in the Northern Basque Country are Basque speakers, 9.4% are passive Basque speakers and 70.5% non-Basque speakers. There are less Basque speakers than 25 years ago (4,700 less), and their percentage continues to fall (due especially to the population from elsewhere), but for the first time the number of Basque speakers has stabilised in absolute terms: there are 51,500 Basque speakers, which is more than in 2016.
- Lower Navarre and Zuberoa are, proportionally, the territories with the highest percentage of Basque speakers (47.5% of the population), i.e. 15,500 Basque speakers. The largest number of Basque speakers, however, is in Lapurdi (except BAB), with 27,000 Basque speakers, 22.9% of the population. Finally, in BAB 8.4% of the population are Basque speakers, a total of 8,800 people.
- The highest percentage of Basque speakers are to be found among the oldest people (over 65 years old): 25.7% speak Basque. However, the trend emerging ten years ago has been confirmed: the number and percentage of young Basque speakers continues to rise. Thus, among young people aged 16-24, the percentage of Basque speakers continues to rise in comparison with previous surveys, as it does in the 25-34 age group: in 2021 21.5% of young people aged 16-24 were Basque speakers compared to 11.3% in 1995, as were 17.2% of the 25-34 age group.
- With regard to Basque speakers' fluency in expressing themselves in Basque, this has fallen in the last 25 years. In 1996, 34% of Basque speakers expressed themselves more fluently in Basque than in French, while today the figure is 20.5%, and 8.8% among young people.

- 13.3 % of the population learned only Basque at home, and 6 % Basque together with French or some other language. The lower the age, the lower the percentage of people who learned only Basque as their mother tongue, and the higher that of people whose mother tongue is both Basque and French or some other language.
- Eight out of ten Basque speakers are Basque speakers or bilinguals by origin (82.6%), i.e. they learned Basque at home (only Basque or Basque together with another language). The percentage of new Basque speakers rises the earlier the age. In fact, 41.2% of new Basque speakers aged 16-24 learned Basque outside the home, either at school or at an *euskaltegi*.
- Most Basque-speaking parents with children under 16 years old pass on the language. Where both parents are Basque speakers, 94 % of their children learn Basque at home (42 % only Basque and 52 % together with French or some other language). In mixed couples, half their children (49 %) learn Basque in the home, together with French.
- 7.1 % of the population of the Northern Basque Country uses Basque as much as or more than French or some other language. Another 11 % use Basque, but less than French.
- In the last 25 years, the percentage of people using Basque as much as or more than French or some other language has fallen by 6.2 points, while the number of people who use Basque but less than French has risen by 1.2 points. The use of Basque has declined in all three territories.
- Since 1996 the use of Basque has declined in all spheres, i.e. at home, in the personal sphere and in the formal sphere. However, taking figures for the last 5 years, the use of Basque with friends and in the formal sphere, both public and private, has not declined.
- If use is analysed by age, men and women over 65 years old are the people who use Basque the most (9.4 %), and this percentage falls as age descends, down to age 35. Among the population under 35 years old, there has been a change of trend in the use of Basque, as the decline has bottomed out.

- In 2021 36.3% of the population were in favour of fostering the use of Basque, 49.2% were neither for nor against and those against it were a minority, at 14.5%. Attitudes in favour of fostering the use of Basque have declined by 6 points since the 1996 survey (36.3% compared to 42.3%).
- The majority of the population express a lot or quite a lot of interest in Basque (60.5%). With regard to education, 54% opt for an immersion or bilingual model. Moreover, the vast majority of the population aged 16 or over (93.7%) believe that in future Basque and French should be spoken (1.9% Basque only and 3.2% French only).

DATA SHEET

- The universe studied has been the population of the Basque Country aged 16 and over.
- The design, preparation, exploitation and processing of the sample has been carried out by the Deputy Ministry of Language Policy of the Basque Government. The sample from Navarre has been prepared by NASTAT.
- The field work has been carried out by SIADECO Koop EM in the BAC and Navarre, and by COHDA in the Northern Basque Country.
- The information was collected by telephone between June and December 2021, using a structured and closed questionnaire.
- The sampling system used has been multistage and stratified, selecting the homes in which to carry out the survey, by area sociolinguistics and by municipalities.
- In each territory the results have been weighted according to the distribution of the population according to sex, age and language competence.
- 8,550 surveys have been conducted, 4,550 in the CAB, 2,000 in Navarre and 2,000 in the Northern Basque Country.
- The margin of error of the total sample of the Basque Country is +1.38 % for a confidence level of 95.5 % and $p=q=50\%$. The sampling error for the same level of confidence is +1.82% for the Basque speakers and +1.82% for the non-Basque speakers.
- The margin of error of the total sample of the BAC is +1.76 % for a confidence level of 95.5 % and $p=q=50\%$. The sampling error for the same level of confidence is +2.09 % for the Basque speakers and +2.49 % for the non-Basque speakers.

- The sampling error for the same level of confidence is as follows by province: in Araba +3.74 %, in Bizkaia +2.66 % and in Gipuzkoa +2.78 %.
- The margin of error of the total sample of Navarre is +2.90 % for a confidence level of 95.5 % and $p=q=50$ %. The sampling error for the same level of confidence is +3.19 % for the Basque speakers and +3.33 % for the non-Basque speakers.
- The sampling error for the same level of confidence is as follows by language zone: +4.41 % in the Basque speaking zone, +3.74 % in the mixed zone and +5.87 % in the non-Basque speaking zone.
- The margin of error of the total sample of the Northern Basque Country is +2.31 % for a confidence level of 95.5 % and $p=q=50$ %. The sampling error for the same level of confidence is +5.7 % for the Basque speakers and +2.36 % for the non-Basque speakers.
- The sampling error for the same level of confidence is as follows by territory: in BAB + 3.54 %, in Lapurdi (without BAB) +3.68 % and in Lower Navarre-Zuberoa +4.48 %.

