Mass Media in the Basque Language
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1. BACKGROUND CONTEXT

1.1. Pre-historic and Linguistic Context

The Basque language, or Euskara, is the oldest of the languages spoken in Europe today. It is generally accepted that this language was established in its present-day territory in the Neolithic era, at least 2,000 years B.C. Some recent studies, however, set this in the last ice age, when the inhabitants of Europe took refuge in the southeast of the continent. Its character as a language predating the Indoeuropean invasions means that we are dealing with a language to which no other language is related. This contributes to enhancing the halo of mystery surrounding the mythology of Euskara in recent centuries.

1.2. Territory and History

Historically, Euskara has given its name to the community that speaks it (Euskal Herria, which literally means «the People of Euskara») and, consequently, to the territory that this people has occupied over the centuries. Nowadays, this territory consists of seven provinces, four of them under Spanish administration (Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Araba and Nafarroa Garaia — the Southern Basque Country) and three under French administration (Lapurdi, Behe Nafarroa and Zuberoa — the Northern Basque Country). As a whole it occupies an area of 20,947 square kilometres on both sides of the Western Pyrenees and the north of the Central Iberian Tableland. Its total population has recently reached three million inhabitants, of whom 90% live in the southern provinces, that is to say, under Spanish administration.
The geographic and orographic characteristics of this territory have meant that while the languages of the different civilisations that have occupied this region (principally Roman, Germanic, and Moslem) penetrated the lowlands of the south of the country, Euskara continued to be spoken principally in the highlands and on the coast. On the other hand, different factors have meant that this language has, in general, been relatively separated from political and cultural power. The fragile economy of this society, with political elites that were highly dependent on the Castilian court, contributed to this situation. Likewise, the disappearance of the Kingdom of Nafarroa (Navarre) in the XVI century frustrated any possibility of the language undergoing a renaissance at the key moment for the conversion of the European popular languages into national languages. It was precisely at the time when Euskara gained access to the printing press (1545) and when the written language was codified through the translation of the Bible (1571) that the Basque people lost their last great political structure. This meant that Euskara, with a few exceptions, has in recent centuries been a language of popular use, with a scarce presence in the culture of the ruling classes.

To this situation must be added some of the effects of the industrialisation of the country in the late XIX century and during the XX century. Amongst these effects resulting from industrialisation, a country that had until then been a source of emigration (basically to America) became a receptor country. Thus, the population of immigrants, and descendants of immigrants, proceeding from regions of the Spanish state reached 40% of the total in the 1970s. Additionally, this massive influx of Spanish-speaking immigrants occurred in a diglossic society with Euskara in a minority situation, lacking its own political and cultural structures that would have made possible a policy of integrating these immigrants.

These and other factors provoked a significant retrocession of the language during the XIX and XX centuries: while Euskara was spoken by 52% of the inhabitants in 1866, one hundred years later it was spoken by 22%. The dictatorship of Franco (1937-1978), which for years prohibited its use, as well as the unifying policy of the French state, aggravated this situation, taking Euskara in the mid-XX century to the very edge of the point of no return.

It was at this critical time when initiatives emerged from different popular sectors that were to be decisive for the future of Euskara. Overcoming the lack of support and even open opposition of the dominant institutions, the new Basque press was born (Anaitasuna, 1953; Jakin, 1956); very discreetly, Euskara began to be used on the radio (1960); from 1960 onwards, the ikastolas were created. These were primary and secondary schools where teaching was carried out in Euskara, and by 1978 they were attended by 53,000 boys and girls. Agreement on the literary unification of Euskara was reached in 1968, as a measure for overcoming in the sphere of writing its fragmentation into dialects. An important movement for literacy and for teaching Euskara to adults was generated (with 40,000 pupils in 1976); there
was a significant increase in literary production; in short, a whole series of modernising initiatives were taken that were to lead Euskara —in spite of its being regarded as a rural language with no future— to be considered as a language capable of surviving and confronting today’s society.

The new political phase that began after the disappearance of the dictatorship and the emergence of the Basque regional institutions in the early 1980s gave, in general terms, a new impulse to the movement that had been generated previously. It also meant a certain institutional and legislative support in the southern provinces, although there were appreciable differences between the different provinces. This new stage, which has continued up until the present, has not however been free of tensions between the social movement in favour of the language, which is highly dynamic, and the regional institutions, which are excessively inclined to marginalize those initiatives that they cannot control. This has been an obstacle to creating synergies that would doubtless have facilitated a greater advance in linguistic recovery. Another element that has put a brake on the process of recovery has been the attitude of certain political sectors that see in the defence of Euskara a path for the development of Basque political nationalism. This attitude has, on the one hand, been translated into an attempt to break up the social consensus concerning the importance of recovering Euskara; and, on the other, into actions directly aimed at putting a brake on linguistic recovery: these actions proceed both from regional institutions (such as the case of the government of Nafarroa) and from the Spanish and French states.

1.3. Knowledge and Use of the Language

1.3.1. Knowledge of the language

At present, according to the figures from the latest population census made in the southern provinces (EUSTAT and INE) and a survey carried out in the country as whole (Euskararen Jarraipena), the percentage of speakers of the language in 2001 was 27% of the population of the Basque Country; that is to say 779,778 people. Another 20%, that is 552,871 people, were able to understand the language, but were unable to speak it. Finally, a little over half, some 53% or 1,497,091 people, was unable even to understand the language. Similarly, it should be pointed out that practically all of the speakers of Euskara are bilingual (Euskara-Spanish or Euskara-French), since the category of monolingual Euskara-speakers has virtually disappeared (for overall statistics, see EDB).

Nonetheless, these proportions vary by region, habitat and age group. From the geographical point of view, the highest percentages of Euskara-speakers are found, on the one hand, in the more central areas of the country (especially in the province of Gipuzkoa, 48%), which have historically
had less contact with other languages; and, on the other, in the far northeast (the provinces of Behe Nafarroa and Zuberoa, 61%), with a rural character, virtually non-existent immigration and a small population (1.5% of the total for the Basque Country). With respect to habitat, we can say that while the Basque language had been better conserved in the rural areas than the urban areas, nowadays the great majority of Euskara-speakers are concentrated in the cities. With respect to age, the introduction of Euskara in education has produced both an increase in the number of Euskara-speakers and of those capable of understanding the language, especially in the regions where it is official. Thus, in the Basque Autonomous Community (Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Araba) the number of Euskara-speakers reaches 66% of the population between the ages of 5 and 14 years old. If we add to this the children who understand but do not speak Euskara, we find that 89% of the infant population understand it.

The figures referring to the recent evolution of the knowledge of Euskara show, in general terms, a slight increase in the number of speakers over the last three decades. This increase has taken place in parallel to the introduction of the language in different social spheres. Thus, in recent years and the whole of the Basque Country, the gains are greater than the losses in terms of the number of speakers: 25% of the population in comparison with 22% ten years before. However, the evolution by region is unequal: the recovery is more appreciable in the Basque Autonomous Community and weaker in Nafarroa, while in the regions under French administration a drastic loss is taking place: from 33% in 1991 to 25% ten years later. In these regions, in spite of the increase in the number of boys and girls who study in Euskara, the language could well disappear in a couple of generations, if remedies are not taken.

We do not have reliable figures for the number of speakers in the diaspora as a whole. By country, the census of the United States of America puts the number of people who normally speak Euskara at home at almost 3,000. In general, while the Basque diaspora in America has been important historically (the figure for people of Basque descent in the whole world is put at 4.5 million), the tendency has been to lose the language towards the second or third generation. Nowadays, however, together with the resurgence of Basque identity in the diaspora, the number of persons learning the language is growing, with Argentina in first place.

1.3.2. Use of the language

The moderately positive figures on the evolution of the number of speakers must be nuanced by the statistics on the use of the language. According to the figures of a survey made in 2001 on the use of Euskara in the whole of the Basque Country (EDB), 13.5% of conversations in public are held in this language. This represents half of the percentage of the people who know
the language. However, to understand this figure one must bear in mind that, as has been mentioned, all the people who speak Euskara also speak Spanish or French. Hence, the mere presence of a single non-Euskara-speaking person in a group means that the whole group speaks in the language of that non-bilingual person. On the other hand, this survey shows a positive figure: Euskara-speaking persons, in general, tend to speak Euskara when all of their interlocutors are able to. If we recall that being bilingual they could also talk in Spanish or French, this shows the fidelity of Euskara-speakers towards the language.

Another aspect that affects use is the fact that a significant number of the people able to speak Euskara learnt it at school, and not in their immediate family or social milieu. This means, on the one hand and on numerous occasions, less competence in Euskara than in the family language; and on the other hand, the dispersion of many Euskara-speaking persons amongst non-Euskara-speaking groups. The first problem is confirmed by the growing percentage of persons who understand but do not speak Euskara (from 8% to 11% in the last decade), and this indicates the need for integrating the new Euskara-speakers into practices and ambiances where Euskara is the habitual language. The second problem is evident if we observe that it is in the big cities where there is less use of Euskara in public, in spite of the absolute number of Euskara-speakers being higher.

1.4. Legal Situation

The separation of the Basque Country between two states and into different administrative units has meant that the present legal situation of Euskara is far from being homogeneous. Thus, the three northern provinces (Lapurdi, Behe Nafarroa and Zuberoa) today belong to the French state and form part, together with the Béarn, of the Department of the Atlantic Pyrenees (it should be recalled that the Departments are administrative units with little political autonomy). For their part, these three provinces depend on two different Sub-prefectures, the first two on Baiona (Bayonne), and the third on Oloron (which includes Bearn). In the southern part, the provinces belonging to the Spanish state make up two different political units: the Basque Autonomous Community (which includes Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa and Araba) and the Foral Community of Nafarroa, both of which have a high level of autonomy. This administrative and political division gives rise, as we shall see, to important inequalities in the juridical status of the language.

Following a Jacobin tradition that dates back to 1789 and that considers all of the languages other than the French language as a threat to the revolutionary principles, the French Constitution establishes that French is the language of the Republic (La Constitution de la Cinquième République Française, article 2). The other languages are therefore merely tolerated, without
any legislation regulating them, in contrast to the different laws that regulate the use of French (these are increasing in number to confront the importance of the English language). France, on the other hand, has not signed the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages.

On the other hand, political centralisation and the lack of a Basque Department prevent the regulation and specific promotion of Euskara in the Basque regions.

In the Spanish state, the Constitution establishes the official character of Spanish, as well as the right to use it and the obligation of all citizens to know it. Together with that, it establishes the official character of the other languages in the area of their autonomous communities and in accordance with the dispositions of their respective legal statutes (Spanish Constitution of 1978, articles 3.1 and 3.2). Here, mention must be made of the great difference this law establishes between the Spanish language and the other languages: not only does it guarantee the right to use Spanish but it also establishes that its knowledge is compulsory. Guarantee of the use of the other languages is not then determined by the Constitution, which makes no mention of their being compulsory. The Spanish state, on the other hand, is a signatory of the European Charter of Regional and Minority Languages, although its application has been questioned on different occasions.

The fact that the official character of the minority languages depends on the specific legislation of each autonomous community means that the legal situation is different in the southern regions: the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, on one side, and the Foral Community of Nafarroa, on the other. In the Basque Autonomous Community, article 6 of the 1979 Autonomy Statute declares that Euskara is the language that belongs to the Basque Country, and that it has an official character together with Spanish. Likewise, it recognises that the inhabitants of the Basque Country have the right to know and use both languages. It also proclaims the obligation of the public administrations to guarantee these rights, according to each specific socio-linguistic situation. On the other hand, the Law of Basic Normalisation of Euskara (1982) further defines these rights in different spheres like education and the mass media, amongst others. This basic legislation has opened the door to different regulations and institutions that aim to promote the development of Euskara. However, abundant criticisms have been made by organisations that defend the language, of both the insufficiency of the existing legislation and the lack of its effective fulfilment.

With respect to the Foral Community of Nafarroa, the statute of this autonomous community (1982) declares Spanish to be the official language of the region, a character that it shares with Euskara in the Euskara-speaking areas. The Ley Foral del Vascuence (the Foral Law of Basque) of 1986, subsequently developed this article and divided the region into three zones: Euskara-speaking, mixed and non-Euskara-speaking. In the first of these, the right of the citizens to be attended to by the administration in either of
the two languages is recognised, as well as the right to receive education in both. In the mixed zone, the right to address oneself to the administration in Euskara is recognised but not the right to be attended to in the same language. With respect to education, this is left at the mercy of demand. In the non-Euskara-speaking zone, Euskara is little more than tolerated. In 2003, the Foral Decree 29/03 concerning Public Administrations was to further restrict the public use of Euskara in the mixed and non-Euskara-speaking zones; for example, it decrees that it is compulsory to address oneself to the administration in Spanish, as well as the compulsory character of the use of Spanish by the administration.

The existence of three different linguistic statuses in a single region, Nafarroa, with 600,000 inhabitants, besides being polemical also gives rise to other types of situation. One of the most perverse is the fact that as the capital of this province is located in the zone defined as mixed, all of the central administration, which is based there, should by law be affected by the regulation that applies to that zone, but this is ignored in practice.

In summary, we can say that some 73% of the inhabitants of the Basque Country live in zones where Euskara has a co-official character alongside Spanish (nowhere is it co-official with French); about 16% in zones where it does not receive any official status; and some 10% in zones denominated as mixed. In the case of Euskara-speakers and people able to understand Euskara, the percentages of those who live in zones where Euskara is co-official are 89% and 87% respectively. Finally, 8% of Euskara-speakers do not enjoy any official recognition of their language.

1.5. The Language in the Educational System, in the Government and in the Sphere of Work

1.5.1. The educational system

In general terms, there are four different situations of Euskara in the educational system of the regions of the Basque Country. In Model D, Euskara is the language used in education, with Spanish or French as one more subject on the curriculum (the same as English or any other foreign language). Model B is a mixed model, in which the teaching of some subjects is done in Euskara and others in Spanish or French. In Model A the latter languages are used in education, with Euskara as another subject on the curriculum. Finally, in Model X there is no presence of Euskara.

If we consider the Basque Country as a whole, during the 2006/2007 course 43% of non-university students studied in Model D, that is to say, Euskara was their habitual language at school. Only 18% studied in the mixed model, or Model B, and some 20% in the model where Euskara is merely a subject, Model A. Finally, some 20% did not learn any Euskara at
school. Given the different legal situation of Euskara by region, we can say that the latter model is almost exclusively in the regions under French administration or in Nafarroa, where this is the majority model (EDB).

Since the appearance of the Basque language schools, or *ikastolas*, in the 1960s, the growth of this model has been unstoppable, reaching today’s percentages. Thus, an analysis of the distribution by age and linguistic models shows that 47% of Primary Education students, that is those up to the age of 11 years old, follow Model D (the percentage rises to 62% in the Basque Autonomous Community). However, only 24% of students aged from 15 to 18 years old study exclusively in Euskara. Euskara and mixed models are following an ascendant curve in all of the regions; this includes those under French administration, although in this case the curve is less pronounced but still significant.

With respect to university education, Euskara has gradually been introducing itself at this level. Nowadays, in overall terms, 27% of university students receive their classes in this language. There is no complete university institution working exclusively in Euskara, and there is a great variation within each university and between universities. In general, it is difficult to complete a degree course exclusively in Euskara. But it is true that in some cases the use of this language reaches high levels, while in others it is nonexistent. The fact must be mentioned here that the administration, when it has acted in favour of Euskara in education, has given priority to the lower levels and has paid less attention to the university. A proof of this is that nowadays (2008/2009 course) over half (55%) of the students in the Basque Autonomous Community took the university entrance exam in Euskara, while in the public university of this autonomous community only 35% study in this language.

On the other hand, the introduction of Euskara into the educational system has brought a significant increase in the production and publication of books directed at this sector, although the presence of Euskara in the scientific bibliography is still incipient.

Finally, we should say that although where Euskara is an official language alongside Spanish, the law requires that students should achieve a sufficient level of knowledge of both languages on completion of their secondary studies, different studies show that, in the present situation of diglossia, linguistic competence in Euskara is in many cases limited. This has given rise to a growing debate on the need to revise linguistic policy in education, as well as over the forms of integration of a growing number of young people for whom Euskara is a second language.

1.5.2. *Euskara in the Government*

The situation of Euskara in the government bodies is obviously linked to the juridical status of the language in each administration. As a general
rule, we can say that in those regions where Euskara is official together with Spanish, there are norms that regulate its use in the local administration, especially the recognition of the right to have dealings with the administration in either of the two languages. On the one hand, this implies the bilingual publication of legal and administrative regulations, as well as the acceptance of any written document directed to the administration in either language. And, on the other, the training of public employees in both languages. With respect to this final point, different normalisation plans have been set underway, which establish a specific linguistic profile for each worker according to their relationship with the citizens and the socio-linguistic milieu where they work. Likewise, Euskara is now considered to be a merit in job evaluations in the public administration, in those cases where it is not an essential requisite.

In the case of the administration directly managed by the Spanish state, the norms are much more lax.

The degree of fulfilment of the plans and norms are the object of continuous polemic. In general terms, we can say that while Euskara has been introduced in a significant way into the administration, there is still a long way to go for Euskara-speakers not to find themselves discriminated against because of their language, and even further for Euskara to become a language that is habitually used in the administration. Especially outstanding are the sphere of public health (where, for example, many boys and girls who are monolingual in Euskara are attended to by doctors who are monolingual in Spanish), or the sphere of the administration of justice and the police, where Euskara has barely started to make an appearance.

Finally, we would draw attention to a small but significant movement of municipal councils that have decided to make Euskara the habitual language of the administration, always respecting the right of non-Euskara-speakers to have dealings with them in their language. This movement (UEMA) has encountered various obstacles with the Spanish administration.

1.5.3. Euskara in the Sphere of Work

The industrialisation of the Basque Country (first half of the XX century) brought with it a significant reverse for Euskara in the sphere of work. The reasons were, on the one hand, the significant immigration from Spanish-speaking regions; and, on the other, the internal displacement from rural to urban zones. Since then, the presence of Euskara in different productive sectors has been of a highly minority character, and this continues to be the case today. Even in places where the percentage of Euskara-speakers is high, the majority of work relationships continue to take place in Spanish or French.

The exceptions to the rule are found in the already mentioned public administration, the educational system and the small world of the culture and
communications industry in Euskara. Thus, amongst the offers of employment to be found in the mass media, a mere 12% require some knowledge of this language.

Nowadays there are different plans for linguistic normalisation in this sphere, which is without doubt the least developed of all. These plans proceed both from social initiatives and from private and government initiatives; some big companies are already putting them into effect.

1.6. The Language in the Cultural Sphere

As occurs with many other minority languages, Euskara-speakers have sought refuge in cultural expression when other areas have been denied to them. We could thus say that the cultural sphere is where this language is to be found at its healthiest. Basque literature underwent a significant growth and a movement of renovation in the time of the Francoist dictatorship. Amongst its other effects, this resulted in the unification of the literary language in 1968. In a country with a broad oral tradition and a scarce written presence, the emergence and rapid spread of a unified language, or euskara batua, has not been free of tensions that, nonetheless, have not been an obstacle to finding a balance between the cultured and written register and more local and oral registers.

With respect to the literature itself, recent decades have seen a great quantitative and qualitative development in the different genres and styles: two out of every three publications are narratives, while poetry and theatre account for 15% and 5% respectively. With respect to translation, as with other minority languages works translated into Euskara represent a significant percentage of the books published in this language: nearly one in three, far higher than translations into the dominant languages (2.4% of publications in the United Kingdom, for example). On the other hand, Euskara today has prestigious authors whose reputation extends beyond the frontiers of the country and whose works are being translated into other languages: Spanish is the principal target language (with nearly 600 titles translated), far above other languages (about 30 into French, about 10 into German and English, etc.) (Basque literature 2006).

Another of the cultural spaces that is more favourable to Euskara is music. Thus, we can say that this language held a predominant place in the pop music of the 1960s and 1970s, within a broader cultural and political movement. During the 1980s a split occurred from which Basque rock emerged. While initially rock in the Basque Country was predominantly in the Spanish language, in a few years Euskara achieved a dominant position, with nearly all the principal groups singing in this language. This tendency has continued until today, when Basque groups are well received not only in the country itself, but also abroad.
Another cultural phenomenon that is worth emphasising, because it links the purest oral tradition with today’s mass culture, is that of the bertsolariak or sung oral improvisation. The bertsolariak, or improvisers, represent an old tradition in Basque culture, obviously linked to oral culture. Following a resurgence in the last three decades, this tradition has been introduced into the educational system, as well as into the audiovisual mass media and the entertainments industry. As an example, we can mention that the most recent final of the Championship of Bertsolaritza was watched live by over 13,000 spectators, and was followed on television by over 120,000 people.

1.7. Social Mobilisation in Support of Euskara

As we have explained above, the social movement in support of the language is very dynamic. We find organisations such as the Council of Social Organizations in Favour of Basque (Kontseilua), which through organising and promoting different initiatives develops an integral plan for the language. We can also mention the Coordinator for Adult Literacy in Euskara (AEK), which together with its work of teaching undertakes significant social mobilisations like the Korrika, the biggest popular festival in favour of Euskara. Social initiatives also have an outstanding place in the educational system as well, such as the different annual festivals that are organised to support education in Euskara.

2. BROADCASTING - BRIEF OVERVIEW

The consideration of radio and television as public services that are a state monopoly, and their birth and development in the inter-war period, to a large extent conditioned the evolution of the two media. Although the political, economic, technological and social contexts were different, radio and television underwent a fairly similar development in the French and Spanish states, and consequently in the Basque Country as well. Even today, the process of digitization of radio and television is taking place following fairly similar patterns, in a general context of technological change, new forms of ownership and management of the media, social consideration, and diversified consumer patterns.

In spite of all this, with respect to radio-television in the Basque Country, and especially that employing Euskara, there are very different development frameworks depending on the politico-administrative region in which they are located. Thus, for example, both media have very different levels of implantation and specific weight on both sides of the French-Spanish frontier and, in the case of the Spanish state, this is largely conditioned by location in the Basque Autonomous Community or the Foral Community of Nafarroa.
2.1. Historical Overview and Present Situation of Broadcasting in the French and Spanish States

2.1.1. Radio

Private initiative and wars were to mark the initial birth and development of the radio in the Spanish and French states. In the second decade of last century, the first commercial radio stations went on air (Radio Ibérica in 1912 and, in a stable form, Radio Barcelona in 1924; and for the French case, Radiola in 1922, which would later become Radio París) and only a few years later the public radios emerged, fully formed as instruments with a military, political and communicative value during and after the world war and the Spanish war.

The Francoist regime in Spain exercised an iron control over the incipient medium and although it permitted the operation of commercial radio stations, it created a network of public stations, covering the whole state, over which it also exercised absolute control.

At the same time, the need became evident in post-war France for a state public broadcasting system that would provide coherence to a country scarred by the military conflict and where radios broadcasting from abroad had acquired considerable weight. In the 1940s the first steps were taken in the creation of what would become the French public broadcasting system.

In both cases, from within the state territory itself or, in the French case, from peripheral countries, two systems of radio coexisted, the public and the private.

In these years, the radio experienced its most socially influential period, when there was a generalised tendency for the concentration of radio stations in networks.

In the 1980s, important changes occurred in the panorama of radio, basically for two reasons: the liberalisation of the medium and the technological advances that made possible an increase in the number of stations (of general or local range; general or specialised; public or commercial) and an improved signal quality. The modulated frequency had arrived.

Today, under the cover of the Conseil Supérieur de l’Audiovisuel, the extensive French broadcasting system has three different models: public radio broadcasting, associative and private. Public broadcasting has three big groups Radio France, RFO and Radio France Internationale, each of which has a significant number of networks and radio stations throughout the territory (for example France Inter, France Blue and France Info). French public radio broadcasting is principally funded by the television tax and by the income from the limited advertising that it is allowed.

In the second place, mention must be made of the presence of nearly 600 associative radio stations in France, which also have this double funding, although they mainly survive through public support.
Finally, as we have mentioned above, French radio broadcasting from the outset had a markedly private character through commercial radio stations. These stations underwent a rapid and strong tendency towards centralisation in a few networks, amongst which multimedia groups like Europe 1, RTL and NRJ are outstanding.

For the Spanish case, without the presence of an authority to regulate the medium, the tendency towards concentration of commercial radio stations into the hands of a few multimedia groups has been even greater. The fight for audiences and the de facto imposition of a few radio formats has brought an impoverishment of the broadcasting panorama and the virtual disappearance of stations with a local or associative character. Public state radio broadcasting was restructured around RTVE (Radio-Televisión Española) and its stations RNE 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, with different formats and contents. Simultaneously in the 1980s, the autonomous radios emerged which, under the protection of the local authorities, had different contents and in some cases languages other than Spanish (Catalan, Galician and Euskara).

Meanwhile, the commercial radio, concentrated in the hands of the big multimedia groups (PRISA, Onda Cero and COPE, principally) that have an unquestionable weight both economically and in terms of audience, is exclusively funded through advertising.

The broadcasts of these big networks of public and private stations are usually homogenous throughout the state, where relevant, with very brief regional opt-outs which consist of news and, principally, advertising.

2.1.2. Television

Although the first television broadcasts in France were made in 1935, the war delayed the creation of RTF (Radiodifusión-Télévision Française) until 1949. 1958 was however the year when the medium took off as a centralised public service that was a state monopoly. Since the 1960s, after the appearance of the second channel, a limited presence of advertising was permitted in the broadcasts, that is, the model of mixed funding was chosen. In 1973, a third channel was created, France Régions 3, which, in spite of its name, is not a decentralised station but competes with the other two.

The Spanish case was strongly conditioned by the Francoist dictatorship. Even its late emergence (1956) was a consequence of the political and technological isolation of the dictatorial regime. Spanish television (TVE) was at its foundation state-run, centralised and a monopoly, and under strict political control. The second television channel appeared in 1965, although its broadcasting scope was limited for a long time and it had a highly deficient signal quality.

During the 1970s, regional delegations of TVE were created in different zones of the Spanish state that broadcast brief news programs and that worked as correspondents for the centralised broadcasts.
The big change in television in France took place in the 1980s, with the creation of the body that would later become the CSA, and the doors were opened to commercial television (in fact, the first French public channel, TF1, passed into private hands). In the same way, in the Spanish case, politico-administrative decentralisation brought the emergence of autonomous channels. The Basque channel ETB1 was the first to make its appearance of the dozen that exist today.

The boom in commercial television brought an increase in the number of stations and the practical redefinition of the medium, nowadays inclined towards the spectacular, the search for audiences and short term profits. The patterns of television consumption increased substantially in those years, and today exceed 200 minutes a day.

In that period, many local televisions also emerged that continue broadcasting today and that are in a phase of legal regularisation.

On the other hand, technological evolution has greatly conditioned the development of the medium. Besides the traditional systems of broadcasting on Hertzian waves, the 1990s witnessed the birth and implantation of satellite and cable television. This resulted in a significant increase in the offer and a modification of the television status quo, on the threshold of digitization—the great change in television production, transmission and consumption—.

The proliferation of broadcasts, with a character that is both internal and external to the two states, the use of systems of transmission and reception other than the traditional ones, the diversification of the offer and changes in audience habits have resulted in very significant modifications. However, even today the broadcasts by the channels with a general, state-level character, in Spanish (Tele-5, TVE1, Antena 3), etc.) or in French (TF1, France 2, France 3, M6, etc.), have the largest audiences.

2.2. Historical Overview of Broadcasting in the Basque Country

2.2.1. Historical overview of radio in the Basque Country

In line with the development of radio broadcasting in the rest of the Spanish and French states, the 1920s and 1930s witnessed the birth of the first radio stations in the Basque Country (Radio San Sebastián, 1924; Radio Club de Vizcaya and Radio Vizcaya, 1925; Radio Navarra, 1934; and Radio Vitoria, 1934). However, their development by private initiative, the influence of the wars, the tendency towards concentration in big networks and the undisguised political control over the stations largely determined the character of broadcasting on both sides of the frontier between Spain and France.

The Francoist regime closed down all the radio stations that did not support the military coup of 1936 and the subsequent war, and only one of them,
Radio Euzkadi, managed to continue working underground; from 1946 onwards, it broadcast from the Northern Basque Country, and later (1965) from Venezuela, until its disappearance in 1977.

In another political context, but with an equally centralist state viewpoint, Radio France opened a station in Bayonne, the main city of the Northern Basque Country, in 1963. Broadcasting intermittently at first, it had a stable programme from 1967 onwards.

This depressing radio panorama was to hold only a certain «alternative», provided by the stations created in the shadow of the Catholic parishes, such as the cases of Radio Segura (1956), Radio Arrate (1959), Radio Loiola (1961) or Radio San Sebastián (1962). In any case, the presence of Euskara on all of these stations was very limited, if not non-existent.

The political transition from the Spanish dictatorship, certain signs of decentralisation in the French and Spanish states, the birth of FM and the social movements that created unregulated stations, created a new and favourable environment that modified the previous situation. The great strength of the free radio movement during the whole of the 1980s and the early 1990s, and the birth in 1982 of Basque public broadcasting (at present it has five stations, two of which are broadcast entirely in Euskara) created a new panorama, in which, however, there is a strong and unquestionable presence of the radios that broadcast for the whole of the Spanish and French states, in those languages, with a homogeneous programming.

2.2.2. Historical overview of radio in the Basque language

As we have indicated above, the military defeat of the Spanish Republic and the resulting years of dictatorship, on the one hand, and the French Jacobin vision, on the other, largely conditioned the map of Basque broadcasting. This was kept under strict control, and was nearly always the mere receiver of signals proceeding from Spanish and French stations and therefore without any presence of Euskara in their contents.

The broadcasts of Radio Euzkadi, working from exile and mainly in the Spanish language, and those of the station in Euskara Basque Program (1956), which was broadcast from Buffalo (Wyoming, USA) for forty years for the Basque shepherds who had emigrated to the American Far West, were the only exceptions in a panorama totally removed from Euskara.

However, the parish stations we have referred to, which were created in the 1950s and 1960s, timidly began to employ Euskara, mainly in religious programs or else in those directed at the rural population.

The 1970s brought certain changes that are worth mentioning. On the one hand, the political and social climate was one of demand for the creation of Basque mass media and, especially, in Euskara. In this climate many broadcasts in Euskara were made by Radio Popular de Bilbao (which would later become Bizkaia Irratia), or the campaign «24 hours in Euskara» that
was set underway by *Radio Popular de San Sebastián* and *Radio Popular de Loiola* and that served to legitimate the use of the Basque language on the radio and to consolidate the need for a mass media system in Euskara.

In the northern provinces, the early 1980s were witness to the birth of experiences in local radio such as *Gure Irratia* (1981), *Irúlegiko Irratia* (1982) and *Xiberoko Botza* (1982), which broadcast entirely in Euskara. 1985 also saw the creation of *France Blue Pays Basque*, although its broadcasts are almost exclusively in French.

An unquestionably qualitative step was taken in this period with the creation by the Basque Government of *Euskadi Irratia*, with broadcasts entirely in Euskara with an offer of general programmes. Shortly afterwards, another music station was created in 1990 aimed at young people, *Gaztea* (previously used the name *Euskadi Gaztea*).

Under the same law that created Basque television (1982), public broadcasting in Euskara was set underway, which, although it cannot compensate for the unbalanced offer in Spanish, at least serves to provide an alternative to the homogeneous and primordially monolingual radio panorama. The birth of the musical radio station *Gaztea* is a clear example of the success that can be achieved by offers in Euskara amongst very specific segments of the population.

In that same decade, on both sides of the frontier, but chiefly in the south, the so-called free or associative stations emerged, with more restricted broadcasting areas, and in many cases with an important presence of Euskara in their programming. Besides, as noted above, some of the older stations of the Catholic church have reoriented their contents, which are almost exclusively in Euskara.

This movement in favour Euskara in the public and associative mass media is more evident in the Basque Autonomous Community and less so in the northern provinces and in the Foral Community of Nafarroa.

In the latter, as becomes evident from study of the television panorama, the public initiative of creating radio stations is non-existent. Everything is in the hands of the Spanish radio networks that only have a small structure of news and local programming, where Euskara barely finds a space. The autonomous institutions do nothing to compensate for the linguistic imbalance and, quite the contrary, they take clearly arbitrary decisions that are prejudicial to some of the stations that work in Euskara. This was the case with *Euskal Herria Irratia*, which inexplicably has still not received official permission to broadcast, in spite of the fact that it has been broadcasting in the Irufiea (Pamplona) area since 1988, with broadcasts that are entirely in Euskara.

### 2.2.3. Historical overview of television in the Basque Country

Until the creation of *Euskal Telebista* (*ETB*), the Basque public television, on New Year’s Eve of 1982, the Basque Country had the role of being
a mere receiver of broadcasts proceeding from Paris or Madrid. The paltry programming of *France 3 Region*, in Bayonne, since 1970 or the brief daily news programmes of *TVE* from Bilbao (1971) or Iruñea (1981) were simple and limited local opt-outs.

*ETB* came onto the air and its stated aims included the promotion of the Basque culture and language and to serve as a Basque communication channel. Initially it had a single channel, which broadcast principally in Euskara, although with some news programmes in Spanish. In 1986, a second channel was created, with the first (*ETB1*) exclusively broadcasting in Euskara and the second (*ETB2*) in Spanish. Later on, in 2008, *ETB Sat* and *Canal Vasco* were launched and, in the Autumn, *ETB3* was born and the same happened a year later with *ETB4*

A few years later, in the early 1990s, on a par with the rest of the Spanish and French regions, the signals of the commercial televisions began to arrive.

On the other hand, throughout these years there was a proliferation of small local television stations, with a restricted area of coverage. In some cases they had their own programming while a majority connected to the programming of other networks. Under the label of «local television» close to 60 stations have been counted. Some of them broadcast by cable (especially in the south of Nafarroa), while others do so on Hertzian waves. The autonomous governments of the Basque Autonomous Community and Nafarroa have begun to regularise these stations, and in some cases have imposed quotas of programming and the presence of Euskara in their broadcasts.

Meanwhile, the years straddling the two millennia have been witness to an increase in the penetration of cable television, in both the north and the south of the Basque Country, and to the appearance of satellite dishes on many buildings.

As happens with the radio, the diversity of the television signal transmission systems, the proliferation of channels and the steps towards digitization are accompanied by the preponderant presence of television channels that broadcast from Paris or Madrid and with general programming.

### 2.2.4. **Historical overview of television in the Basque language**

The limited local opt-outs of *France 3 Region* and the brief daily news programmes of *TVE* in the Basque Country left little space for Euskara in this medium. It is, however, worth mentioning the magazine programme of *TVE* «*Euskal Herri*» that in 1976 offered contents in Euskara for the southern part of the country.

From what has been said, the birth of television in Euskara must be situated with the start of broadcasting by *ETB*. Since then, the first channel of this television station has broadcast its programming in this language and with a range of programmes that give pride of place to children’s contents.
and sports, although there are also programmes with a social, cultural and news character.

Without any doubt, **ETB1** is an important reference point in the social legitimation of Euskara and a powerful tool for linguistic normalisation, even though the audience levels of this channel in Euskara have historically been low, which is logical given the limits of knowledge of Euskara by the population.

In Law 5/1982, creating the public body **EITB** (the body on which Basque public radio and television depend), it states that in the use of its powers «(...) respecting the concept of essential public service, the present Law configures the social mass media, to which the same refers, as a capital instrument for information and for political participation by the Basque citizens, as well as a fundamental medium of cooperation with our own educational system and for the fomentation and diffusion of Basque culture, bearing closely in mind the fomentation and development of Euskara, all of this as a basis and foundation for the adequate development of the rights and freedoms of the citizens of this Autonomous Community».

Although there have not been subsequent legislative developments that affect the role that Euskara must play in the Basque public mass media, the **EITB** Strategic Plan for the 2000-2007 period envisages that a version in Euskara must be considered in any of the new media (the same aims can be considered for **ETB 3** in Basque and **ETB 4** using both Basque and Spanish). This balance, present on the websites of **ETB**, has not been respected in the satellite broadcasts where there is a manifest imbalance in favour of Spanish. Only 40% of the broadcasts of **ETBSat** (the satellite broadcast for Europe), are in Euskara and, more striking, on **Canal Vasco**, the satellite broadcast for Central and South America, the proportion is 10%.

Nor did the so-called «Contract programme 2002-2005» make any attempt to change the linguistic correlation existing between channels and it did no more than restate vague general principles.

The technical coverage of the signal of **ETB** is total in the Basque Autonomous Community and more restricted in Nafarroa, where innumerable obstacles have been imposed for political reasons. While the authorities of this autonomous community accept that the mass media must play a role in the fomentation and diffusion of Euskara, the reality is very different. The practical obstacles to a normalised reception of **ETB** and the application of the regulation on digital television have prevented the channels that already broadcast in Euskara from legalising their situation.

In fact, the legislation on digital television in Nafarroa has made it clear that there is a total lack of interest in Euskara finding a space in the broadcasts. In spite of the existence of an Audiovisual Council of Nafarroa (since 2001) that regulates the audiovisual activity in this autonomous community, the different digital concessions (two with a general character **Canal 4** and **Canal 6**; and one with a more local character for Iruñea, **Popular TV**) do not
envision any contents in Euskara. Besides, the present system of demarcations for local digital television does not herald any improvement in this respect, which is why the future of local televisions in Euskara is more than a little worrying. In fact, *Ttipi-Ttapa* cut off its emissions at the beginning of 2009 as it did not gain a licence and could not count with the economic help of the local government; the future of *Xaloa Telebista* seems to be quite dark as well.

In the northern regions, the municipal institutions have facilitated the spread of the *ETB* signal and at present coverage is very significant, both over the waves and by cable. In any case, starting from the general linguistic design of the French Republic, with French as the only official language, there is a manifest lack of norms for the protection of minority languages, as well as the non-existence of promotion plans for mass media in those languages. Within this panorama, Euskara is practically excluded from the television circuit, except for minimal exceptions in the broadcasts of *France 3 Euskal Herri*, which emits a daily news programme with one or two reports in Euskara.

On the other hand, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a considerable social movement arose in the Basque Country that resulted in the creation of local televisions that achieved a certain weight and where stations could be found that worked entirely in Euskara or with certain programmes in that language.

Since there was no specific legislation for local televisions until 2006, this movement developed in a fairly chaotic way.

In spite of everything, it is worth mentioning *Goiena Telebista* (linked to the local communication group *Goiena*, which had resulted from the fusion of *Arrasate Telebista*, 1988, and *Arxabalta Telebista*, 1992), *Zarautz Telebista*, *Plentzia Telebista*, *Tiip-Ttapi Telebista* (already extinct) *Xaloa Telebista*, *Goierri Telebista*, *Oizmendi Telebista* or 28. *Kanala*, amongst those that broadcast entirely in Euskara.

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On the other hand, as a result of the confluence of companies from the field of the printed mass media, telecommunications, the publishing world in Euskara and audiovisual production, *Hamaika* was created in mid-2006, with the clear aim of creating a local television channel in Euskara in each of the 15 demarcations into which the Basque Autonomous Community is divided. This undertaking will principally seek to install new television channels in the most populated demarcations, like Vitoria-Gasteiz, Bilbo or Donostia-San Sebastián, and agreements with already existing televisions in the rest of the demarcations.

Besides this, and with respect to the Northern Basque Country, given the strict French legislation that restricts television broadcast on Hertzian waves, the experiences of *Aldude Telebista* are worth mentioning, as are the channels broadcast on Internet (*TVPI* or the more recent *Ezeleta Telebista*).

On the other side of the balance are to be found the big public and private televisions that broadcast in Spanish or French and where Euskara is practically non-existent. These broadcasts, an extremely high percentage of which proceed from Paris or Madrid, leave little space for decentralised programming, little more than some brief news opt-outs. If we add to this the existence for several decades of unregulated local television channels in Spanish (widely implanted in the provincial capitals and big cities of the Southern Basque Country), broadcasts by cable and by satellite, one can easily deduce that the weight of the Basque language in the television system is very small. Similarly, the audience figures in the Basque Country have historically shown that the majority of the population chooses broadcasts arriving from the exterior and in Spanish or French.
2.3. Television Today

As we have noted, the television offer in Euskara is very limited within the general framework of the offer from Madrid and Paris, and in practice it is circumscribed to the broadcasts of ETB1, a children’s channel broadcast by cable by the Basque telecommunications company Euskaltel that is partially in Euskara, and the local channels in the Basque language. Besides, to these figures must be added the part corresponding to satellite broadcast by Canal Vasco and ETBSat (although obviously not for the study of the offer to the Basque population, as these two satellite broadcasts are directed at the exterior).

Having said that, there can be no doubt that to speak at present of television in Euskara is to take ETB1 as the main reference point for analysis, both for the study of the offer and for the audience response to television broadcasts in that language.

The range of programming of ETB1 virtually fills the 24 hours of the day. Although initially, before the appearance of the Spanish language channel, it broadcast some programmes in Spanish, or with Spanish subtitles, nowadays it broadcasts exclusively in Euskara.

The offer by genre of ETB1 is very clear, and the outstanding programmes are those described as having a social character (cultural and news programmes), miscellaneous programmes (a pot-pourri which contains variety, humour and light entertainment) and sports. The latter category marks one of the substantial differences between the Basque public television channels in Euskara and Spanish, as can be seen from the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genres</th>
<th>ETB1 (basque)</th>
<th>ETB2 (spanish)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiction</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musicals</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quiz shows</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This type of «share out» of roles, where the channel in Euskara uses Sports as a genre that is highly attractive for the Basque population, includ-
ing that part of the population that can follow the sports transmissions although their knowledge or use of Euskara is low, is reversed when it comes to Fiction. Curiously, the latter genre is still one of the «unresolved issues» of television in Euskara, since both offer and consumption are very low, in spite of there being series of long-standing tradition like Goenkal» and the more recent and successful Martin, amongst others. However, feature films do not seem to catch on with the population. The opposite happens with ETB2, where Fiction is one of its most important programme genres and where it is able to compete for supremacy with the channels broadcast from Madrid. In the second Spanish-language channel, Sport barely finds a space.

If we analyse the audience that this offer finds amongst the Basque television spectators, we find that the response is very different.

As we noted above, the pattern of consumption of the Basque population in general (here we are referring specifically to that corresponding to the Basque Autonomous Community, which is where the audience measurement company TNS makes its study), broadcasts in Spanish are clearly favoured. It is true that the offer in Spanish is much more numerous, but it also true that the in the final result the option is for those broadcasts that are not in Euskara.

Thus, the audience quota of ETB1 in the year 2008 was only 4.4%, against the 15.1% of ETB2, as can be appreciated from the following table.

### Share of the television channels with the largest audience in the Basque Autonomous Community; total population (TNS, 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canal</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tele 5</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETB 2</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TVE 1</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antena 3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuatro</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Sexta</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TVE 2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Euskara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETB 1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematic channels</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These percentages are very different when we analyse only the figures corresponding to the Euskara-speaking population (for the example, data of 2006). In this population group, logically enough, there is an increase in the audience percentage that watch ETB2 and, especially, ETB1, although it is true that the ranking remains similar.
Share of the television channels with the largest audience in the Basque Autonomous Community; Euskara-speaking population (TNS, 2006)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Canal</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tele 5</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETB 2</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antena 3</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TVE 1</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ETB 1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Euskara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuatro</td>
<td>6.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>La Sexta</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematic channels</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there are no figures for audience totals for the local television channels, some partial studies indicate that their offer —based principally on news programmes, debates, reports and local sports retransmissions— is important. Thus, for the case of Goiena Telebista, a channel that broadcasts for the Alto Deba area in Gipuzkoa, some 60% of the population watch its broadcasts at some point in the day.

There is not data available about the audience of Canal Vasco and ETB Sat.

Just before finishing, as we have mention before, in the context of the digitalization (the analogical cut off will take place in the Spring of 2010), in octuber 2008, ETB 3 was born as channel broadcasting in Basque solely and with contents related to the kids but including also culture and society. As part of the thematic channels, ETB3 is obtaining quite a considerable audience. In October 2009 the forth channel is going to be launched, broadcasting in Basque and Spanish.

2.4. Radio Today

The concentration of ownership of the public and private stations, both Spanish and French, their tendency to homogenise formats and the exclusive use of the Spanish and French languages, with very important audience results, creates a fairly monotonous panorama. The space remaining for local stations and/or those that broadcast in Euskara is a highly reduced one.

Let us consider the noteworthy aspects of the close to thirty stations that broadcast in Euskara today. These are grouped in three broad typologies: commercial radio, public radio and those promoted by associations or social movements.
In the first place, and with respect to commercial radios in Euskara, there are few examples and these correspond to small radios. The case of *Bizkaia Irratia* is perhaps the most significant. It broadcasts to all of Bizkaia and is one of the radios that originally belonged to the church. Today, having widened its shareholders, it seeks income through advertising. The case is the same with others like *Loiola-Donostia Herri Irratiaik* (which employ Euskara and Spanish in a very interesting way within the same programme), *Arrate Irratia* in Gipuzkoa, and *Xorroxin Irratia* in Nafarroa. In the field of commercial radios that broadcast entirely or mainly in Euskara, we find *Euskal Herria Irratia*, to which we referred above and that has been involved in a long lawsuit with the autonomous government of Nafarroa, attempting to obtain a broadcasting licence that the latter denies it for political reasons.

With respect to stations that are publicly owned, there are two types. Those that belong to the Basque Government and that broadcast for the whole of the Basque Country, such as *Euskdil Irratia*, with general programming, and others that are more specific in their broadcasts, such as *Gaztea*, which offers music to a younger segment of the population.

On the other hand, continuing in the field of public radio broadcasting, although we are dealing with a more reduced area, there are numerous county and municipal stations. This is the case of radios like *Oñati Irratia* or *Arrasate Irratia*, *Oiartzun*, *Txolarre*, *Zirika* or *Itsuki*. In Nafarroa there are also a significant number of municipal stations in Euskara, *Esan Erran*, *BELIXE*, *Karrape* or *Aralar* amongst others.

In the third place, with respect to the so-called associative, free or social movement radios, it is worth mentioning the experience of stations in the south of the Basque Country like *Matrallako* (Eibar), *Tianttakun* (Donostia), *Arrakala* (Lekeitio), *Irrintzi* (Astigarraga) or *Molotoff* (Hernani). To these must be added others that, although they have bilingual broadcasts, have acquired significant experience, such as *Hala Bedi*, *Eguzki*, *Garraxi*, *Koska* or *Uhinak*.

In the year 2000, several of these stations, together with those of the Northern Basque Country that we shall be mentioning, created *Arrosa*, a centre of coordination and programme production that can be used for completing broadcasts.

The tendency to use new technologies for the production and exchange of programme contents seems to be one of the strengths of these small radio stations, which are besides highly flexible when it comes to contents and formats. This tendency was already evident with the creation of *Topagunea*, a coordinator of mass media in Euskara, and today it is also evident for the radio with experiences like *Arrosa*.

Besides, for the case of the radio stations in the Northern Basque Country, going beyond the use of their own names, *Gure Irratia*, *Irulegiko Irratia* or *Xiberuko Botza* have started to use the generic name *Euskal Irratia* to identify themselves as a brand and thus establish a space for themselves in the fragmented and at times confusing radio panorama.
To conclude, and with respect to the use of the new technologies applied to the radio, we will mention Irratia.com which broadcasts on the internet, providing programs principally in Euskara and Spanish, although in French as well.

With respect to radio consumption and its distribution by stations, it must be said that this is a medium that has achieved significant levels of acceptance amongst the Basque population. Thus, in the Southern Basque Country, nearly 60% of people over 14 years old dedicate over two hours a day to listening in. This amount of time has been increasing in recent years and mainly affects thematic radio, although pride of place is held by radio with a general character.

In the Southern Basque Country, the audience distribution amongst stations shows the strength of state-level stations broadcasting in Spanish against those from the Basque Country, especially those broadcasting in Euskara.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radio station</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cadena SER</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Euskadi</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 Principales</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onda Cero</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Nervión-Gorbea</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RNE</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COPE</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Euskara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaztea</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadena 100</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Euskara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euskadi Irratia</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiss FM</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Euskara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herri Irratia</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>&amp; Spanish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. PRESS

The specific weight of the daily press in the Basque Country is quite considerable. Both because it has served as a basis for the creation of multimedia groups with a regional and state projection and because they publish a significant number of local, provincial and national newspapers.
Besides, in general, daily press consumption is very high and reaches notable levels.

The total number of daily newspapers published in the Basque Country, in any of the three languages, is 10. To this figure must be added another three that have specific editions for the Northern or Southern Basque Country. Besides, the diffusion of newspapers published in Madrid or Paris is very considerable amongst Basque citizens, both those with a general content and those specialising in sport or economics.

Sales of the daily press in the Basque Country are considerable, in fact the number of copies per 1,000 inhabitants is 179.1, a figure far above the levels reached in Spain and even France (105.5 and 145.7 respectively). In total, more than half the Basque population reads at least one of the close to half a million newspaper copies that are sold at the news kiosks.

The most widely sold newspapers are those belonging to the Vocento group (El Correo and El Diario Vasco), followed by El Diario de Navarra and Gara, in Spanish, and Sud Ouest, in French.

With respect to audiences, it can also be seen that those published in Spanish are the ones that achieve the highest figures.

**Share of the newspapers with the largest audience in the Southern Basque Country (figures calculated from CIES data for 2008)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El Correo</td>
<td>30,4</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Diario Vasco</td>
<td>19,4</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diario de Navarra</td>
<td>12,9</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gara</td>
<td>6,5</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marca</td>
<td>5,8</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diario de Noticias Navarra</td>
<td>5,5</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deia</td>
<td>5,3</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El País</td>
<td>4,7</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berria</td>
<td>4,4</td>
<td>Euskara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Mundo</td>
<td>2,5</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diario de Noticias Álava</td>
<td>1,1</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1. The History of the Press in Euskara

The press in Euskara emerged, with a certain delay with respect to the press in Spanish and French, during the xix century. Amongst its predecessors must be mentioned almanacs, a type of popular press that was already widespread in the neighbouring languages one or two centuries before. An-
other characteristic, also observable in other places, was the relationship between political movements and the emergence of written media in Euskara. Thus, in the middle of the Carlist war (1833-1839) there was an unsuccessful attempt by the Liberal side to create a newspaper in Euskara, aimed at the peasant sectors that were more favourable to the Carlist side. What did materialise, however, was the first magazine in this language in the Northern Basque Country (Uskal Herrico Gasetak, 1848), which was also a propaganda medium aimed at peasants. In this first period we must also mention the magazines that were published in America (the US and Latin America), as a means of communication amongst the important Basque diaspora that emigrated to the New Continent during the XIX century.

Later, in the early XX century, the emergence and development of Basque nationalism found expression in the creation of different printed media in Euskara, as well as in a diversification of genres: religious, political, literary-cultural, etc. In this context the magazine Argia was founded in 1919, the forerunner of today’s printed media. It was also in this upsurge of the printed media that the first newspaper Eguna was founded in 1937 in the middle of the war. But the conflict put an end not only to this newspaper, but also to the development of the press in Euskara and, as already noted, to nearly the whole of the cultural renaissance of the period. The little that could be saved continued to be published in the Northern Basque Country and America, on the initiative of the diaspora and the refugees from the war.

During the 1950s, as we have explained, there was a new movement of linguistic and cultural recovery. The birth of this movement is usually dated, significantly, to the foundation of a magazine in 1956: Jakin. Following this date other media were published up until the 1970s. Following the death of general Franco and the transition from the dictatorship to a constitutional regime, new publications emerged that were to follow very different courses. These publications included two newspapers (Egin and Deia), linked to Basque nationalism, which began to include Euskara in their pages, but always in a proportion of less than 20%.

During the 1980s the Basque press became consolidated, thanks to journals such as those we have mentioned and various others. Thanks to this consolidation, a critical mass of professionals and readers was formed that made it possible in 1990 to create the first newspaper in Euskara, if we except the wartime journal mentioned above. This was Euskaldunon Egunkaria. This newspaper was created by popular subscription and, although this might seem paradoxical, from before its creation and for many years after, it had to confront a total boycott by the Basque autonomous institutions. The reasons for this boycott must be sought in the already mentioned distrust of these institutions towards the social movement in favour of the language. Even so, in spite of facing not only a diglossic situation but also the Basque administration, this newspaper managed to carve out a space for itself in the press panorama, with a print run that oscillated between 10,000 and 12,000 copies.
and a loyal readership. This did not prevent it, after overcoming the most difficult years and having normalised its relationship with the Basque Government, from being closed down by the Spanish Civil Guard in February 2003, under a judicial order and with the express support of the Spanish president. Its editors and managers were arrested and some of them tortured, and its installations were confiscated, all under the accusation of having a relationship with ETA. What is certain is that, at the time of writing (October 2009), no trial has been held where these accusations might be analysed, and even the prosecutor has called for the case to be shelved given the lack of any indication of any offence being committed.

The social response to this closure was certainly notable, and developed into a popular campaign to collect funds that raised 4.6 million euros in four months. Thanks to this movement it was possible to create, in June the same year, the newspaper Berria (The New or The News), which continued the work of the previous newspaper. This was the second case of a newspaper being reopened that had been closed down by the police: previously, in 1998, the Spanish judges had closed Egin, published mainly in Spanish but with some 15-20% of its articles in Euskara. Just as in the case of Euskaldunon Egunkaria, Egin was also accused of having links with ETA. Now, after eleven years of legal dispute, the Spanish Supreme Court have declared invalid that closure, too late, considering that the company was dismantled long time ago. And in the same way, there has still been no trial held to demonstrate these accusations. Finally, continuing with this parallel, on that occasion there was also a popular campaign that managed to raise 6 million euros in six months, making it possible to found a new newspaper, Gara, which has similar characteristics in both its orientation and its use of languages.

3.2. The Press in Euskara Today

3.2.1. The daily press in the Basque Country

Nowadays there is single newspaper in Euskara that is distributed throughout the Basque Country: Berria. As mentioned, it was created following the closure of Euskaldunon Egunkaria; both newspapers were founded from a social initiative. This means that the ownership of Berria is distributed between over 24,000 small individual shares, with no big shareholders. Its capital is, as we have explained, 4.6 million euros, and its budget for the year 2006 was 11 million euros. Sales (46%) and income from advertising (34%) are the chief sources of funding for this budget, while public grants do not exceed 16%. The number of people working for the newspaper is 102, to which must be added another 153 people working in the other companies of the group (digital edition, administration, advertising, distribution, etc.).
With respect to its contents, it is a newspaper of a general type, and its pages (normally between 48 and 64, besides weekly supplements) carry sections on politics, society, international news, opinion, culture, sports, agenda, etc.; that is to say, it has a structure similar to that of the rest of the Basque press. We can add besides that it is a newspaper aimed at the whole of the Basque territory, both the southern and the northern provinces. And this refers not only to its distribution, but also to the orientation of its news and articles. Amongst its sections, the most highly considered are those on culture and on international news. The latter demonstrates the concern of the newspaper in Euskara not to be labelled as a merely local media because of its language. This intention has also been associated with its interest in becoming a medium of reference on the Basque Country, not only amongst Euskara-speakers but internationally. It is no accident that Euskaldunon Egunkaria was the first Basque newspaper, and the second in Spain, to publish a daily edition in English on Internet. This initiative was cut short, however, with its closure in 2003, and it has only been partially taken up by Berria.

Berria has a daily print run of approximately 23,000 copies, half of them distributed through subscription, and a daily readership of 66,000 people. This represents close to 4.4% of the press readership in the Basque Country. If we consider the number of readers of the press who are literate in Euskara, the percentage rises to above 13%. On the other hand, if we take as a reference the people who read Berria two or three times a week, the figures are multiplied by two. That is, some 26% of people over 16 years of age who are able to read in Euskara read Berria with a certain frequency. With respect to the profile of its readers, Berria stands out from the rest of the newspapers because of the educational and professional level of its readership. This, and the fact that its is the only general newspaper in Euskara, means that its specific weight within the daily press of the Basque Country is greater than is suggested by its readership figures. Similarly, its character as a product of a social initiative, and its relationship to other initiatives in favour of the mass media in Euskara, places it in a privileged position within the Euskara-speaking universe.

3.2.2. Local daily press

It is precisely the relationship of Berria with other initiatives that has given rise to the creation of another seven newspapers in Euskara in recent years. They are grouped under the generic name of Hitza and their scope is the county level: Tolosaldeko eta Leitzaldeko Hitza (2001), Oarsoaldeko Hitza (2003), Lea Artibai eta Mutrikuko Hitza (2003), Goierriko Hitza (2004), Urola Kostako Hitza (2004), Donostialdeko Irutxulo Hitza (2005), and Busturialdeko Hitza (2005). In collaboration with over 270 associations and local companies, the publishers of Berria have participated in the emergence of these newspapers carrying local news. With print runs that oscillate be-
between 5,000 and 10,000 copies, they add up to a total of 50,000 daily copies, with an average of 8-12 pages each. They are distributed by subscription, which is free in the majority of cases, although some subscribers pay a quota. They are basically funded through advertising and public grants. Its audience is bigger than the one of Berria, with some 89,000 daily readers and 208,000 sporadics. As a whole, these newspapers involve 60 journalists working full or part-time, besides another 160 people working on commercial or distribution tasks.

The strategy of association between the newspaper Berria and the different associations that publish in, or defend, Euskara at the local level, has two big objectives. On the one hand, to promote daily reading in Euskara—something essential for a language that has until recently been basically one of oral use and transmission—and in this way to convert the newspapers in Euskara into media of reference. On the other hand, it seeks to create an advertising market that will make it possible to continue advancing in the development of media in Euskara without dependence on social contributions or public grants.

In another field, the experience of collaboration between Berria and local media is without doubt facilitating projects that are at present being developed for the creation of local televisions in Euskara, promoted by Hamaika (see the section on local television).

The contribution of Berria to linguistic normalisation must be considered as a continuation of the work begun by Euskaldunon Egunkaria in 1990. From the point of view of status, the daily press in Euskara has managed, for many people, to progress from being a complementary press to become their chief source of news about what is happening in their country and in the world. From the point of view of corpus, the style used in the newspaper in Euskara has facilitated the development of a language that was not unified until barely forty years ago. An important contributory factor to this has been the fact that amongst the readers of this newspaper there is a significant percentage of professionals with considerable social projection (such as, for example, those involved in the educational system) who have thus increased the significance of this medium.

In the field of the local newspapers, it also worth mentioning the presence of Hernaniko Kronika, a local newspaper of two pages (at times four), which publishes six issues a week with a print run of 3,600 copies, and is normally read by nearly 5,000 people.

3.2.3. Weekly journals and specialist press

Argia is the main weekly journal containing general news in Euskara, besides being the doyen of the press in this language, since it was created in 1919. It is around this magazine that a large part of the critical mass of journalists were formed that made possible the subsequent development of the
daily press. *Argia* has a print run of 10,500 copies, the majority of which (8,000) are distributed to subscribers; and an estimated regular readership of 12,000 people. Together with *Argia*, there are another two general news magazines: *Herria*, a magazine with over 60 years of publication that is essentially aimed at the northern provinces; and *Aldaketa 16*, recently created, the only subsidiary publication in Euskara of a magazine published in the Spanish state (*Cambio 16*).

On the other hand, there are nearly one hundred specialist magazines in Euskara, the majority published every one or two months. Amongst those with a regular readership of over 3,000 people are to be found *Gaztetxulo*, a youth magazine;! and *HABE*, aimed at adults who are learning Euskara, the first of which is linked to the social movement for adult literacy in Euskara (AEK), and the latter to its institutional counterpart (*HABE*); and *Elhuyar*, a scientific magazine, closely linked to different projects for developing technical Euskara.

Concerning the rest of the specialist magazines, their print runs rarely exceed 2,000 copies and they cover very different areas: academic, scientific, literary, the learning of Euskara, religious, entertainment, etc.

### 3.2.4. Local press

Amongst the non-daily press, a special mention is deserved by the local press in Euskara, a phenomenon made up of nearly 70 publications, with a frequency of publication that runs from weekly to six-monthly. As a whole, these magazines have a considerable diffusion, estimated at about 160,000 copies (which ensures the presence of at least one medium written in Euskara in an important part of Euskara-speaking homes). The majority are distributed free, as they are funded by public grants, advertising and private contributions. The scope of their diffusion varies from the local town to the county, with a growing tendency to publish media at the latter level. The issues they cover are generally of a local character.

Outstanding amongst these media is the county-level publication *Goi-enkaria*, with two editions per week, linked to the communications group *Goiena* (see the section on local television), with a diffusion of 21,500 copies, and a readership of a similar number. They are followed by other magazines like *Goierritarra*, *Anboto* and *Eta Kitto*, with audiences of around 10,000 regular readers.

### 3.2.5. Presence of Euskara in the Spanish and/or French language press

The presence of Euskara in the media written in Spanish is never higher than 20%, a figure approached by the newspaper *Gara*. In this newspaper, one can find both opinion articles and news of every type in Euskara, without the use of this language restricted to a fixed section. In the rest of the
daily press published in the Basque Country, Euskara tends to appear in supplements or in fixed sections, or to be used sporadically. It must be pointed out that the Basque Government gives grants to this Spanish-language press for the publication of sections or articles in Euskara, with the aim of promoting the presence of this language in these media that are habitually consumed by thousands of Euskara-speakers. On the other hand, it is also worth drawing attention to the unsuccessful attempt to create a weekly in Euskara, Zabalik, by the largest publishing group in the Basque Country (at present called Vocento, with a joint audience of 50% of the press readership). This project was interpreted in certain sectors as a first step towards the subsequent creation of a newspaper in Euskara, as the group had verified the existence of a market in this language thanks to the experience of Euskaldunon Egunkaria and Berria. However, it closed down after six years of publication, in 2005.

With respect to the non-daily press, the casuistry varies greatly, from bilingual publications (in many cases bulletins of public bodies) to an anecdotal presence in magazines in the Spanish, French or other languages.

4. NEW MEDIA

The presence of Euskara in the new electronic media is determined by two main factors. On the one hand, its character as a minority language, in a diglossic situation, and with a community of speakers that does not reach the figure of a million people. On the other, the economic level of the Basque Country, with a Gross Domestic Product that is slightly higher than the European average. Obviously these two factors generate counterposed tendencies. While the first of them puts a brake on the use of Euskara in these new media, the second stimulates it. For example, half of the homes in the Basque Country are connected to the Internet, with an average similar to that of the Europe of 15 states; and the percentage of Internet users (according to the terminology of Eurostat, «persons who have been connected to the Net in the last three months») is 41% in the Basque Autonomous Community. The percentage of households that have a computer is 10 points higher.

With respect to the adaptation of Euskara to the standards used in these media, there are no obstacles regarding the alphabet employed, just as with many other languages: the alphabet of Euskara adapts perfectly to the standards of the Western keyboards and codes, without any presence of differential characters that are not recognised by other languages of European origin. However, its character as a language without any relatives at all, and its grammatical distance from the dominant languages, both neighbouring and in the new communication technologies, means that automatic translation is more complex than between languages that are close to each other. This, and its minority character, have meant that the systems of translation
are less developed than in other languages, although important steps are being taken in this field. Nowadays, the main initiative in the field of automatic translation from and into Euskara is articulated around the *Opentrad* project; this is an initiative of different universities and is based on open code technologies. *Opentrad* is a project for automatic translation between the official languages of the Spanish state (Euskara, Spanish, Catalan and Galician), although, at least in the case of Euskara, it is framed within the objective of developing automatic systems that make it possible to translate into other languages, such as English.

4.1. Euskara on Internet

4.1.1. Contents in Euskara

Given that Euskara is not yet a language that is automatically recognisable on the big Internet search engines, we do not have sufficiently acceptable data on the number of websites in Euskara present on the Web. A study made in 2003 (Mas i Hernández 2003) placed this language at number 40 at the world level with respect to the number of websites. Other later studies place it at position 34. In any case, the estimated figures available from the different sources clearly show the immense distance separating Euskara from the languages with a greater presence on Internet. However, it should not be forgotten that the hegemony of English on the Net, while unquestionable at present, is being modified by the growing presence of other languages. This means it will be necessary to observe the uses that are becoming consolidated on this new medium to be able to make a minimum projection regarding the languages that will be used on it; and, especially, concerning the languages that will be used by the members of each linguistic community.

4.1.2. Internet-users in Euskara

In this last respect, according to the statistics of the Basque Government (which normally refer to the inhabitants of the Basque Autonomous Community, where 84% of Euskara-speakers over 16 years of age reside), there is a rising tendency with respect to the accessing of websites in Euskara, which rises from 15% in 2004, to 24% in 2008. We can thus say that the percentage of people who visit websites in Euskara is approaching the percentage of Internet-users who speak the language. On the other hand, to understand the significant increase of recent years one must possibly refer both to the overall tendency mentioned previously, reflected in the increase in the offer of Euskara on Internet, and to the greater knowledge of this language amongst the generations that are coming to use the Internet. On the basis of these percentages, and extrapolating them to the whole of the Basque Country, we
would then be talking of a community of some 200,000 people who surf the Internet in Euskara as well as in other languages. This figure is slightly higher than the number of people who say that they also visit websites in English.

4.1.3. Websites. Typology, linguistic uses, agents and most visited websites

There is obviously a great variety of websites in Euskara. According to linguistic usages, we can distinguish between those that are bilingual or multilingual —where Euskara is one amongst other options— from those that are exclusively in Euskara. Amongst the former, there is a predominance of those websites that depend on public institutions and bodies. Amongst those that are exclusively or principally in Euskara, there is a predominance of those belonging to non-profit-making organisations. These two fields, the institutions and bodies created through social initiatives, provide the majority of websites in Euskara, while there are less belonging to private or professional companies.

Some of the most visited websites in Euskara are the on-line editions of the mass media. This is the case of berria.info, the website in Euskara that receives the most visits, with somewhat over 13,000 visits per day. Another news website that is a point of reference is the Euskara version of eitb.com, the website of Basque public radio-television, with half the audience of the former. These are followed by the electronic editions of the publications Elhuyar, Argia and Hitza, with averages of between 1,000 and 2,000 visits per day.

Amongst the exclusively digital media, we can draw attention to sustatu.com, a website with news on technology, culture and the economy, aimed at Euskara-speaking professionals, and which is visited by more than 1,000 different users per day. Another phenomenon to bear in mind is that of portals with a local scope (for example eibar.org or uztarria.com), which are, in a certain respect, pioneers in the use of Euskara on the Net.

4.1.4. The corpus of Euskara on the Net

The digitization of a significant part of the literary production in Euskara from the XVI century to the XX century has not only made it possible to provide linguists with a useful terminological database, but also to make available to the general public a great part of what has been written in this language over the course of the last centuries. This is possibly one of the advantages of being a minority language. Thus, nowadays, there are projects like Klasikoen Gordailua, which offers on-line over 300 works in different genres from the period mentioned, and which makes it possible to search for terms throughout all of this written mass. Or Euskararen Corpusa, which does the same with a very broad sample of the production of the whole XX century.
4.1.5. Blogosphere and virtual communities (.eus)

In recent years there has been a significant increase in the phenomenon of blogs in Euskara. Today the portal aurki.com registers some 500 blogs in Euskara, which include all types of information, experiences and discussions. Similarly, linked to this blogosphere in Euskara, an initiative has recently emerged in favour of the .eus domain for websites in the Basque language. This initiative has emerged, as in other minority linguistic communities, following the example of the .cat domain for websites in the Catalan language, and at present it is in its initial stage (Puntueus).

4.2. Software

One of the pioneering computer programs in Euskara was the linguistic corrector Xuxen, which was created on the initiative of a group of researchers at the University of the Basque Country at the end of the 1980s. This corrector was a landmark inasmuch as it introduced Euskara into the world of the new information technologies, an arduous task for a language with a grammatical structure differing so greatly from its dominant neighbours around which a great part of the basic technology for such tasks has been developed. On the other hand, the appearance of this corrector not only contributed to consolidating the image of Euskara as a language adaptable to new situations, but also helped enormously in the social diffusion of an orthography that was still in the process of standardisation and regulation; it should not be forgotten that unified literary Euskara had only appeared at the end of the 1960s. Nowadays, in its renovated versions, Xuxen continues to be the most important corrector for texts written in Euskara.

At present, the use of Euskara in the area of software can be observed through the catalogue Softkat, which registers 369 computer applications that can be used in this language. In it we find both open code applications and copyrighted software. These are office applications (37), which include Openoffice and Microsoft Office amongst others; basic applications (31), which include the main operating systems, both free and by payment; programs for Internet surfing (70); for documentation (57); use of languages (dictionaries, correctors, etc., 50); for use in teaching (78); entertainment (33) and others (13). One third of them are localised products, that is to say, translations into Euskara of applications produced in another language. The rest are applications originally created in Euskara.

Finally, just as in other areas, social initiatives are also playing a determinant role in developing Euskara in the field of the new media. The strength of this role has brought a growing interest in applications based on open codes, facing the more conservative tendency of the public administration and private companies, which are today, with exceptions, more inclined to
use copyrighted software. The possibilities opened up by open code technologies for minority languages are what underlie this interest.

5. BOOK PUBLISHING

The first book published in Euskara dates from 1545. This was the *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae*, by the clergyman Beñat Etxepare. It was a collection of tales on different subjects, from religion to love (the predominant subject) full of praise for the Basque language. The publication of such a book cannot be understood without remembering the existence in those years of the Kingdom of Nafarroa, still independent from the Kingdoms of Spain and France. In that same context, some years later (1571), a translation of the Bible into Euskara was published, a commission from Queen Joana Albretekoa to the priest Joanes Leizarraga in order to spread the Protestant faith in Nafarroa. The definitive annexation of this Kingdom by the crowns of France and Spain, however, frustrated the incorporation of Euskara into written culture, and bibliographical publication along with this.

Thus, during the XVI and XVII centuries only 52 books were published in Euskara, the majority on religious questions. From 1700 until 1875, 671 books were published, with a greater presence of other subjects but, even so, three out of every four had a religious character. During the next sixty years (between 1875 and 1936) the figure rose to 1,422, and there was greater diversification, with an important flourishing of literature (30%). At that time, as we have mentioned, the Francoist dictatorship put a brake on the cultural recovery, which was also reflected in bibliographical production. Even so, from 1937 until 1974, 1,733 books were published, of which less than 25% concerned religion. Finally, the changes that occurred in both the political and the cultural fields in the last quarter of the xx century and the start of the xxi century have been reflected in a considerable increase in publications, as well as a normalisation of the subjects dealt with. Thus, during this latest period (1975-2007) 33,509 books were published (Jakingunea).

For an analysis of the present situation of the publication of books in Euskara, we can make a review of the figures for 2007. During that year, 2,135 books were published, which confirmed the rising tendency of recent years, at least with respect to the number of titles. In keeping with the introduction of Euskara in the educational system, somewhat over a third of books published are aimed at education: 32%. The second most important genre is indirectly linked to the previous one: children’s literature, with 26% of the titles. This is followed by the field of the human and social sciences, with 19%; literature, excepting children’s books, with 13%; scientific and technical, with 6%; entertainment, 3%; with the rest barely reaching 2%. One out of every four books published is a reprint of titles that had previously been published. Similarly, 70% of the total are works originally
produced in Euskara, while 30% are translations of works in other languages.

On the other hand, the publishing industry is in an atomised state, with numerous small publishers. The presence of the public administrations as publishing agents is relatively small (12%), lower than that of publisher companies external to the Basque Country which publish works in Euskara (21% of the titles). This means that, independent of the existing public support for publication in Euskara, this depends to a large degree on the market, a potential market of less than 800,000 Euskara-speakers.

The average print run of each title was, in 2004, 2,211 copies, with a continuous fall over recent years: the average print run in the year 2000 was 2,900 per title. This drop has meant a loss of nearly a quarter of the total number of copies placed on the market. This indicates that the book publishing industry is in a precarious situation, given that the number of copies needed for a profitable edition cannot fall much below the present figures.

As can be deduced from the figures provided, the publishing production in Euskara depends to a large extent on its presence in the educational system. The importance of the books aimed at this sector amongst publications as a whole increases further if we measure its weight with respect to the number of copies published in 2004 (56%), and further still if we consider its importance with respect to the volume of business it represents (68% of the total sales of books in Euskara). That is why the recent announcement by the Basque institutions that they will promote a policy of reusing school books (against the present policy of annual renovation of the books used) has been a real shock to the sector, whose existence as a profitable activity is threatened.

6. CINEMA

In the whole Basque communicative and cultural system, cinematography is perhaps the field where the presence of Euskara has been the most irregular and, what is worse, it is still the furthest from a definition of a model of public management that would ensure a significant presence of Euskara in production and screening. At present, there is institutional activity aimed to promote the dubbing of films for release in cinemas and on DVD format, as well as to encourage the production of films in Euskara, but both are very limited and have little impact outside the children’s segment of the public.

6.1. The beginning: the 1980s

The opening of Euskal Telebista in 1982 brought a massive policy of dubbing films and television series into Euskara (about 1,500 hours a year
during the period 1983/93); this did not however affect the cinematographic system. On the contrary, in the 1980s the screening of films in a Basque-language version (subtitling was not attempted, as there is a very low acceptance of this system of audiovisual translation) or the release of videos in this language was very limited. Only in the case of a few films, produced with the support of the incipient system of grants from the Basque Government (started in 1980 and consolidated from 1984 onwards) and thus with the obligation of presenting the administration with a copy dubbed into Euskara, were a few timid attempts made to exploit the investment and test the reaction of the public. However, even when in some cases —such as the first film by Julio Medem *Cows*— the results were interesting, these efforts were not continued. Basque Government support for production continued to establish the obligation of making a version of the film in Euskara, but this was done to meet administrative requirements and had no public repercussion.

With respect to video, in 1987 the Basque Government established a very limited policy of promoting the edition of videos in Euskara, which resulted up until 1990 in the edition of 41 titles —although it is difficult to find any successful or profitable titles amongst them, not even amongst those aimed at the children’s segment—.

### 6.2. Production

Basque cinema began to develop in this decade in a context that was favourable for new film producers. This context was fostered by the system of financial support of the Spanish Government and, especially, the added advantage of the support that the newly created Basque Government began to provide in 1980 and consolidated from 1984 onwards, and the financial contributions of *ETB*, established in an agreement signed by the Basque television and the Producers Association. These systems of funding, based on financial support for projects, greatly facilitated access to the necessary means for cinematographic production and resulted in the emergence and development of a new generation of filmmakers in the Southern Basque Country, many of whom achieved a good public projection in the Spanish state.

Nonetheless, the question of Euskara, while always present in the debates on the problematical definition of the identity of Basque cinema or its social function (mention was often made of its contribution to the linguistic normalisation of the Basque Country), occupied a very marginal place in that production. In this respect, only one film, the feature length animation film aimed at the children’s public *Kalabaza Tripontzia* was entirely produced in Euskara in the 1980s. In the other films where there was a presence of Euskara, this was to provide realism and verosimilitude to the narration
—with a only few exceptions, such as the film *Karaletik* by Anjel Lertxundi in a few dialogues—. An attempt was made to redress this scarce commitment of producers, creators and the administration to Euskara; this took shape in a project supported by the Basque Government and *ETB* for the production of several TV films, lasting 60 minutes each, adapted from recognised works of recent Basque literature. Three were made: *Ehun Metro*, *Zergatik Panpox* and *Hamaseigarrenean aidanez*, but the project ended there, with an important division opening up between the production sector and the Basque Administration because of the Administration’s direct involvement in production, which was not well received by the professional sector.

### 6.3. The 1990s

This decade brought few new developments in the situation of Euskara in the cinema with respect to the previous decade. As before, and with a few isolated attempts to produce partially but significantly in Euskara, such as the film *Urte Ilunak* by Arantza Lazkano or *Maité* by Carlos Zabala and Eneko Olasagasti, only 3 animated films were produced and released in Euskara. In this respect, the changes that had occurred in the systems of funding both in the Spanish state and from the Basque Government itself did little to change the situation of Euskara in the cinema. In the Spanish case, access to funding became significantly linked to relatively substantial box office results, while there was an important reduction in the contribution of the Basque Government over the decade, and *ETB* distanced itself from Basque cinema production - this was in spite of its being subjected, by the transposition of the European Television Without Frontiers Directive, to the obligation to invest 5% of its budget in the production and purchase of the rights of European audiovisual works, of which 60% should originate in the Spanish state; all of this was of little help in reverting the situation of Euskara in the cinema. On the contrary, there was a considerable increase in the economic risks linked to cinematographic production and a notable reduction in the activity of Basque production companies. For their part, the successful filmmakers —Julio Medem, Alex de la Iglesia, Imanol Uribe— pursued their careers outside the Basque Country. Meanwhile, after the mid-1990s the Basque Government developed a more ambitious policy of edition on DVD and cinema release of films dubbed into Euskara, significantly increasing the economic value of the grants destined to this field. This did not bring any change to the dominant tendencies of commercial cinema screening, where it continues to be virtually impossible for a film in Euskara to be kept on release for more than one weekend, but it did nourish an incipient circuit aimed above all at schoolchildren, besides generating a catalogue of films available in a dubbed version for domestic use, especially in the children’s segment. However, this catalogue continues to lack the main commercial titles.
6.4. Today

The present situation is marked by a change of policy of ETB and the correction of some aspects of the public models of support for the cinematography of the previous decade. This has made possible a greater development in recent years of Basque cinematographic production and, within it, of production in Euskara, as well as a certain development, still very incipient, of the market of commercial cinema screenings in Euskara aimed at children, especially in periods like the Christmas holidays.

The principal development that has positively corrected the position of Euskara in cinematographic production is the change of policy by ETB. While ETB continues not to fulfil the obligation imposed by the European Television Without Frontiers Directive, of investing 5% of its income in the production and purchase of European production rights, over the course of this decade it has successively signed two agreements with associations of audiovisual producers of the Basque Country (the first was in effect between 2000 and 2002, and the second is in effect for the 2005-2007 period); these have made it possible to provide a more solid financial foundation for Basque production. The second agreement especially, currently in effect, establishes the commitment by ETB to participate annually in the production of 7 films and 7 creative documentaries with Basque producers. Besides, and this is perhaps the most significant fact, in this second agreement ETB has assumed the commitment to promote and participate in the production of at least one film in Euskara each year, with a significantly higher minimum contribution (250,000 euros against 150,000 euros).

The Spanish Government, for its part, has significantly increased the value of its financial support, introducing flexibility into the box office minimum to be obtained in the case of films whose original version is in Euskara (120,000 euros —30,000 euros of which for the original version— against the 330,000 euros required for commercial films made in Spanish). Meanwhile, the Basque Government has been adjusting its guidelines for financial support for Basque production; while still some way from answering to the real needs of the Basque production companies, these do offer a more stable framework for activity than in the previous decade. This scheme is composed, on the one hand, of preferential funding without costs for Basque producers and by non-recoverable grants worth 1,720,000 euros and distributed in three categories: support for creation of screenplays, support for the development of projects and support for production (fictional feature films, feature length animation, creative documentaries and shorts).

The result of these factors taken together has been a significant recovery of Basque cinematographic production and an unprecedented presence of Euskara within this. While it is true that the bulk of production in Euskara continues to be made up of animation films aimed at a children’s public (14 films since 2000) and with limited distribution in the cinematographic
field, it is also true that two films aimed at the adult market have been produced and successfully released in their original Euskara version — *Aupa Etxebeste* (with 70,000 spectators), *Kutsidazu Bidea Ixabel* (still on release, with close to 40,000 spectators) and *Eutsi!*. In 2008, the amount of feature films produces in euskara was bigger, some of the were for adults (*Sukalde kontuak*, *Axun eta Maite*…) and others for kids (*Munduari bira 80 egunetan…doan*, *Zigortzaileak*…). It is worth mentioning that ETB produced *Goazen* a musical TV-movie following the successful pattern of *High School Musical*.

There has also been a significant increase over the decade in the budget of aid for the cinematographic distribution of films dubbed into Euskara and the incorporation of a version in Euskara in DVD editions. Each year, between 10 and 15 films have been released in the cinema, while 8 or 10 new DVDs have been released. The 450,000euros assigned annually for this purpose at the start of the decade had risen to 698,000euros in 2008. This effort has not however served to break down the great barrier put in place by the multinationals of cinema distribution, which continue refusing to dub their big releases into Euskara. This is the case with the *Harry Potter* series, *The Lord of the Rings*, or the Disney films. In this respect, the scope of this policy of support for dubbing and cinematographic distribution is still very limited and it has not managed to extend beyond the frontier of the children’s segment and distribution in the educational sphere. The evolution of the policy of cinematographic broadcasts by ETB has also contributed to this. Following an initial period of massive dubbing and regular broadcasts in Euskara, there is now an almost total lack of broadcasts of feature films by the channel in Euskara, which makes it difficult to generate habits of spectatorship and listening.

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