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Miscellaneous

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Does Basque Have a Future? Implications of Hegemonic Languages for Audiovisual Consumption by Adolescents

Abstract

This article analyses the consumption of audiovisual content in the Basque language by adolescents in the Basque province of Gipuzkoa and the influence of hegemonic languages on two levels: Spanish as the dominant language in a bilingual society, in which linguistic competence in Basque does not translate into its use; and an audiovisual industry in which English and Spanish are the dominant languages. For this study, surveys were completed by 2,426 students in the compulsory secondary school system (ages 12–16) enrolled in either the “Model B” language stream (half in Basque and half in Spanish) or the “Model D” language stream (Basque as the language of instruction) at 60 schools across the province. Cluster sampling was used, stratified with proportional allocation in order to obtain data on the seven regions of Gipuzkoa. Audiovisual consumption was examined mainly in five significant areas: cinema, television, news, sports and the Internet. Special attention was also given to the use of subtitles when viewing fiction content. The study found that adolescents in Gipuzkoa consume audiovisual content mainly in Spanish, although not all to the same degree, as there is considerable variation between *regions*. Affectivity in relation to the language is a key aspect for interpreting the results of this research.

Keywords

Audiovisual consumption, adolescents, Basque, hegemonic languages, cinema, television content, Internet.

1. Introduction and state of the question

Young people in the Basque province of Gipuzkoa are bilingual and immersed in a context in which Spanish is the dominant language of their day-to-day lives. Widespread access to the Internet and to new audiovisual platforms, together with the prevalence of English-language learning, underpin the dominance of English and Spanish in audiovisual consumption. In this context, the objective of this study is to analyse the consumption of audiovisual content in the Basque language by adolescents in Gipuzkoa. This analysis is limited to the areas of cinema, television, sports, news and the new online audiovisual formats, with a focus on the use of subtitles when viewing fiction. The originality of this

research lies in the unprecedented size of the sample, which provides sufficient data for an in-depth analysis of linguistic differences in the seven regions of Gipuzkoa, and in the fact that other recent studies do not focus on this age group (adolescents aged 12 to 16).

1.1. *New technologies and language of consumption*

Liquid modernity has transformed the concept of leisure time and the education of the new generation. According to Zygmunt Bauman (2011), “the function of culture today is not to satisfy existing needs but to create new ones –while simultaneously maintaining needs already entrenched or permanently unfulfilled” (back cover). In technology, adolescents have found an excellent medium for interaction, communication, learning, leisure and entertainment (Castellana, Sánchez-Carbonell, Graner & Beranuy, 2007).

Indeed, their cultural consumption is heavily dependent on new technologies. There are numerous studies examining the influence of ICTs on both traditional and digital leisure activities (Drotner, 2008; Viñals, 2013; Spracklen, 2015). Moreover, Marc Prensky (2001), who coined the term “digital native,” called some time ago for traditional schooling to begin incorporating leisure- and entertainment-based educational formats.

However, there is one factor that is not usually taken into account in examinations of the relationship between adolescents and their cultural consumption: language. Indeed, the literature on the topic is not very extensive. In his article *Cyberspeak: The Death of Diversity* (1998), Jim Erickson warned that the hegemony of English on the web represents a threat to other languages, because although the Internet is considered a channel for building an international community, it can also accelerate the positioning of English as the dominant global language.

David Crystal (2004), on the other hand, rejects the theory that the language of the Internet is English, noting that, precisely because of globalisation, the online presence of other languages has been steadily rising:

It is not surprising to see the Web (and the Internet as a whole) becoming predominantly non-English as communications infrastructure develops in Asia, Africa and South America. This is where the bulk of the people are. The Web is increasingly reflecting the distribution of language presence in the real world, and many sites provide the evidence. There are thousands of businesses now doing their best to present a multilingual identity, and hundreds of major sites collecting all kinds of data on the languages themselves (p. 87).

However, Erickson’s conclusions appear in numerous more recent studies. András Kornai (2013), to cite but one example, warns of the danger of the “digital death” of non-hegemonic languages. According to figures from his research, currently less than 5% of the world’s languages have access to the Internet, suggesting that hundreds of languages will disappear due to the digital gap. And the report *Europe’s Languages in the Digital Age*, published by the Multilingual Europe Technology Alliance (Rehm & Uszkoreit, 2012), identifies Basque among the European languages that currently have a high risk of digital extinction.

1.2. *Young people, leisure and Basque: contextualisation*

In Basque society, the Basque language coexists with Spanish, the hegemonic language, and also with English in audiovisual media. According to the Basque Government’s Sixth Sociolinguistic Survey in 2016, in recent years the number of Basque speakers has increased in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country. 33.9 % of the population over the age of 16 speak Basque, 19.1% are passive Basque speakers and 47% are monolingual Spanish speakers. Moreover, the predominant language streams in secondary schools in Gipuzkoa are the “Model B” (Basque immersion) and the “Model D” (instruction in both Basque and Spanish), while there is only marginal enrolment in the “Model A” (entirely in Spanish), which is not offered in the public system and is only available at five private institutions in the

province. Enrolment data published by the Basque Government's Department of Education for the 2017–2018 school year reflect this situation: of the 28,817 students enrolled in the four compulsory secondary grade levels in Gipuzkoa, only 752 are enrolled in the Model A stream, while there are 4,367 in the Model B stream and 23,698 in the Model D stream.

However, linguistic competence in Basque does not translate directly into use of the language. Only 30.6% of Basques use the language with any kind of regularity, while 69.4% use Spanish all or most of the time. Although the use of Basque has increased by 5 percentage points in the last 25 years, it has grown considerably less than knowledge of the language, and in some regions its use has even fallen. Six years ago, after the results of the Basque Government's Fifth Sociolinguistic Survey were made public, a number of studies warned of the slowing growth of Basque language use (Mujika, 2012; Iurrebaso, 2012).

In the educational context, despite the predominance of the Model D stream in schools, the use of Basque among students is not in consonance with their knowledge of the language. As is the case in society as a whole, use of Basque by students is significantly lower. The technical report *Proyecto Arrue: Uso del euskera por el alumnado en el entorno escolar de la C.A.P.V. 2011-2015* ("Use of Basque by Students in School Contexts in the Basque Country, 2011–2015") found that second-year high school students display a tendency towards convergence with the predominant social norm for language use in the region: "The main aspiration of adolescents is to be like adults, or at least to imitate some of their behaviour. And they know only too well that the adult world in the Basque Country operates mostly in Spanish" (Martínez de Luna & Suberbiola, 2017, p. 130).

In other words, outside the school environment adolescents tend to use the dominant language in their social environment (Spanish). Consequently, this influences their choice of language for information and cultural consumption.

Affectivity in relation to Basque needs to be a key element in any effort to reverse this situation. The concept of affectivity is tied specifically to the context of internal motivations, which in turn arise out of the convictions, emotions and desires of the individual and are intimately related to elements of affect, identity and ideology. "The challenge is to strengthen support for the language through reinforcement of the internal motivations which, by connecting with the affective dimension, take root more deeply and are less dependent on external circumstances, and are therefore more effective in establishing a personal commitment to the Basque language" (Amorrortu, Ortega, Idiazabal & Barreña, 2009, p. 144).

The education system alone is not enough to bring the use of Basque by young people into line with their knowledge of the language. It is precisely in this context where affectivity is important, because the current reality makes it essential to find other spheres of social engagement where Basque can be learned and used, spheres associated with affectivity, social relations and leisure activities.

However, fostering affectivity in relation to Basque is much more complex in environments where the predominant language is Spanish, given the lack of the kind of spaces of social engagement in Basque that are essential for young people to develop an allegiance to the language on social and emotional levels. What is needed then is to create such spaces and to support similar initiatives already under way (such as the *Kuadrillategi* project) that are also designed to promote the use of Basque in leisure contexts (Ortega, Amorrortu, Goirigolzarri & Uriá, 2016, pp. 255–256).

1.3. A map of consumption by Basque youth: Internet, television and cinema

One of the main conclusions of the last report by the Basque Youth Observatory, *Diagnóstico de la situación de la juventud de Euskadi 2017* ("Assessment of the Situation of Basque Youth, 2017") is that the most popular leisure activities among people aged 15 to 29 are associated with new technologies. Moreover, 99% of young people are users of at least one social network. It could therefore be assumed that the predominance on the Web of the hegemonic languages

(Spanish and English) would constrain the activities of digital consumption in Basque by adolescents.

The situation is similar in the case of television, which continues to play a dominant role in audiovisual media consumption among young people (Callejo, 2013). Competition of generalist television networks with new forms of audiovisual consumption (Álvarez-Monzoncillo, 2011) explains the low audiences for television stations that broadcast in Basque. In addition, if we take into account the fact that young people tend to watch more fiction and entertainment (López, Medina & González, 2013), the challenge for Basque-language television broadcasters is even greater, because although they are capable of producing good quality entertainment series and programs, it is hard for them to compete with audiovisual platforms and networks that can offer such a diverse range of quality viewing options.

The release of *Aupa Etxebeste!* (2005) represented a turning point for Basque-language cinema (Manias, 2015), which is currently enjoying its finest moment. *Loreak* (2014), *Amama* (2015) and *Handia* (2017) have won numerous awards and achieved an unprecedented level of international exposure. Along with the recent success of Basque-language films, it is worth noting initiatives like the program *Zinema euskaraz*, supported by the Basque Government, which promotes the screening of films dubbed into Basque in commercial cinemas (mostly targeting the children's market). Equally worthy of mention is the work of Zinea.eus (Lazkano & Peña, 2017), a website that gives priority to Basque-language films. In this context, it might be expected that such favourable conditions would have a direct effect on adolescent audience numbers in movie theatres, but this is not in fact the case.

To sum up, taking all of the foregoing into account, this study poses the following research questions:

RQ1. In what languages (Basque, Spanish, English) do adolescents consume media content?

RQ2. How much Basque-language cinema do adolescents watch?

RQ3. How much content on the Basque broadcasters ETB1, Hamaika Telebista and the local Tokikom networks do they watch?

RQ4. What is the actual and potential use of subtitles in Basque?

RQ5. What types of sports and news programs do adolescents watch in Basque?

RQ6. What kind of Internet content do they consume?

2. Methodology

This research analyses data from 2,426 surveys completed by adolescents (ages 12 to 16) enrolled in compulsory secondary education (1st to 4th year) in the Model B stream (50% in Spanish and 50% in Basque) or the Model D stream (entirely in Basque) in Gipuzkoa.

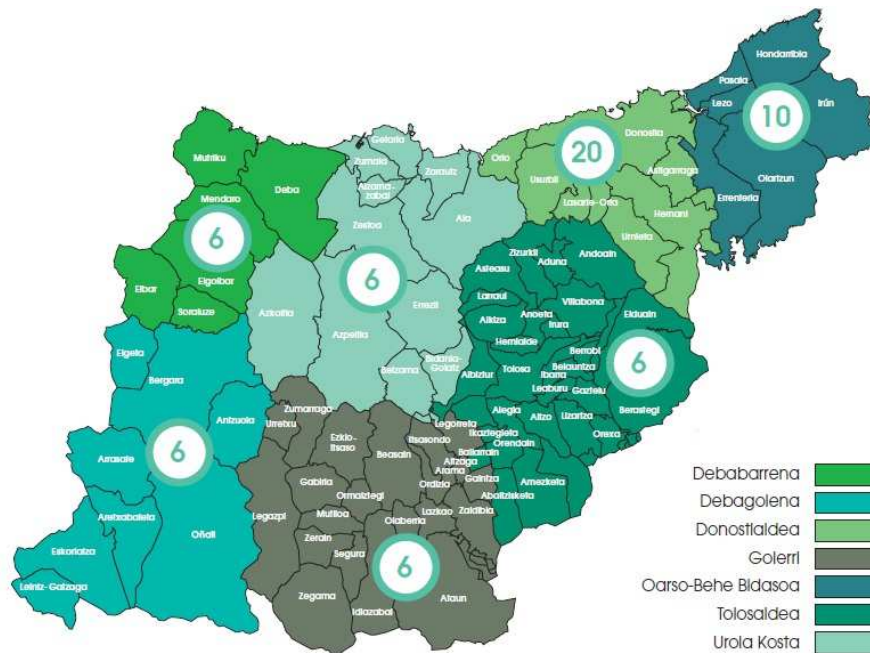
The results described in this paper are based on data extracted from a larger research project whose purpose was to analyse the presence of Basque in the consumption and creation of media content by adolescents in Gipuzkoa. To this end, a self-administered questionnaire in Basque was designed with 100 questions divided into six blocks. This paper focuses on one of those blocks, covering the consumption of Basque-language media content, and analysing five aspects in particular: the status of Basque-language cinema; audiences for television programming in Basque on the public broadcaster ETB1 and the private Hamaika network, both covering the whole Basque Country, and the local stations Goiena and Erlo, both part of the TOKIKOM group; the use of subtitles in Basque and in other languages; viewing of sports and news programs; and finally, consumption of online content (YouTubers and video tutorials).

One of the most notable features of the methodology is the *ad hoc* design of the questions in each section. The section on Basque-language cinema combines a multiple-response question intended to determine respondent attitudes and an open question to gather data on the films in Basque that most adolescents have seen. Although the diverse range of titles

resulting from the open question does not offer quantitatively definitive results, it does reveal some general trends related to audience preferences.

In the case of television, multiple response questions were developed that included the titles of programs broadcast by the different Basque networks (18 on ETB1, 10 on Hamaika, 12 on Goiena and 4 on Erlo), with the aim of obtaining a reliable picture of the audience for this content. The other sections of the research (general consumption of Basque-language content, consumption of online content, use of subtitles and consumption of sports and news programming) combine single-response and multiple-response questions to contextualise these aspects. The results were analysed based on four potentially behaviour-defining variables: region, affective use of Basque, gender, and grade level. Because Basque language use varies across Gipuzkoa, the design of the sample took into account the results for each region. The map below shows the seven regions analysed, as well as the number of schools surveyed in each one.

Image 1: Map of regions of Gipuzkoa.



Source: Own elaboration.

The study universe was made up of 28,817 boys and girls across 108 secondary schools offering Model B and D streams and the sampling unit was the group. Cluster sampling was used, stratified with proportional allocation, taking into account the geographical distribution of the schools in Gipuzkoa and the different grade levels. The sample takes a random selection of 60 schools, with a total of 120 groups (2 groups in a different grade for each school), 30 groups per grade level and a total of 2,426 surveys. The maximum sampling error is +/-1.90% for the whole province of Gipuzkoa and is never more than +/-7% in any of the regions. The statistical confidence level is 95% (in the most unfavourable case of $p=q=0.5$).

Table 1: Distribution of sample at secondary schools by region.

REGION	Population	Sample		
	Total no. of schools	No. of samples	No. of schools	Sampling error
Debarrena	9	234	6	+/-6.40%
Debagoiena	10	264	6	+/-6.03%
Donostialdea	37	767	20	+/-3.53%
Goierri	10	229	6	+/-6.47%
Oarso-Behe Bidasoa	20	424	10	+/-4.75%
Tolosaldea	11	253	6	+/-6.16%
Urola Kosta	11	255	6	+/-6.13%
GIPUZKOA	108	2,426	60	+/-1.90%
Total number of groups surveyed: 120				

Source: Own elaboration.

The field work was carried out at the schools from December 2016 to January 2017, under the supervision of the researchers and the teacher responsible for the group and with prior consent from the parents.

3. Results

3.1. Consumption of Basque-language content

Adolescents in Gipuzkoa consume media content mostly in Spanish (70.17%); trailing a long way behind in second place is Basque (19.96%), followed by English (9.87%). Significant differences were not found based on gender, age or language use, although there were geographical differences, as a comparison of the results for each region reveals a clear territorial division. The regions where young people consume the most media content in Spanish are Donostialdea (74.36%) and Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (76.27%). Conversely, the regions where consumption of Basque-language content is above the average are Debarrena (24.6%), Debagoiena (25.47%) and Tolosaldea (28.94%). Goierri is an exception, because adolescents in this region consume more audiovisual content than the average for both Spanish (71.05%) and Basque (21.13%). This disparity also matches up with the affective use of Basque in each region.

Although English is the foreign language taught at all the secondary schools surveyed, there are geographical differences. In Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (11.17%), Donostialdea (10.76%), Urola-Kosta (10.33%) and Debarrena (10.11%), adolescents watch more English-language content than the average. However, Debagoiena (8.55%), Goierri (7.83%) and Tolosaldea (7.49%) are all below average.

In relation to audiovisual consumption in Basque, 21.2% of Gipuzkoan adolescents reported that they never watch productions in this language. The largest percentage responded that 1-25% of the content they view is in Basque (38%), followed by 26-50% (20.8%), while results for the other options (51-75%, 76-99% and 100%) were marginal. Consumption by region reveals a clear geographical division between two regions. The regions with the smallest audiences for Basque-language content are Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (34.2%) and Donostialdea (27.5%); in both cases, the percentage of adolescents who never watch media content in Basque is considerably higher than the average. On the other hand, the regions where the percentage of adolescents who never view content in Basque is well below the average are Tolosaldea (9.5%), Debagoiena (11%), Urola Kosta (13.3%), Debarrena (14.5%) and Goierri (16.6%).

This pattern is directly related to the affective use of Basque, as only 9.8% of adolescents who speak Basque regularly reported that they never view audiovisual media content in the language, while the percentage for respondents who don't use Basque in their daily lives is 41.6%. Older age levels also view less Basque-language content: 27.3% of first-year secondary

students watch 26-50% of their audiovisual content in Basque, while among third-year students it is only 16.7%. Furthermore, girls consume more content in Basque than boys in the 1-25% bracket (40.7% of girls and 36.5% of boys) and the 26-50% bracket (23.6% of girls and 18% of boys). Viewing levels differ little in all other categories.

3.2. *Basque-language films*

More than half of Gipuzkoan adolescents (55.4%) report that they don't go see films in Basque because they don't like movies in this language. Most of those who do go see Basque-language films only do so because the topic of the film interests them (32.9%). The percentage of respondents who attend screenings organised by institutions like local councils or cultural centres is minimal (6.6%), as is the percentage of adolescents who go to the cinema whenever a new Basque-language film is released (3%).

Once again, a breakdown by region reveals the existence of two opposing trends. The lack of interest in Basque-language cinema is thus clearest among adolescents in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (73.6%) and Donostialdea (67%), which had the highest percentages of respondents who reported that they don't watch films in Basque because they don't like Basque-language cinema. Conversely, adolescents in Tolosaldea, Goierri and Urola Kosta express a clear interest in films in Basque and are therefore the ones who go to see them most. The topic of the film is the main incentive to go see such films in Urola Kosta (49.4%), Tolosaldea (44.4%), Goierri (42.8%), Debagoiena (42.8%) and Debarrena (42.2%). And the percentage of adolescents who always go to the cinema when a film in Basque is released is above the average in Goierri (6%), and also in Tolosaldea (5.6%), a region where the percentage who attend screenings in Basque organised by government or cultural institutions (12.2%) is twice the provincial average.

Affective use of the language aligns with this geographical split. Adolescents who speak Basque regularly (42.8%) and use technology (43.1%) in Basque are the most likely to go to see a Basque-language film if the topic interests them. The opposite tendency is found among respondents who speak Spanish in their everyday lives (43.2%) and use technology in Spanish (41.4%), who were more likely to state that they don't watch films in Basque because they don't like them. Moreover, boys (60.7%) expressed greater disinterest in Basque-language films than girls (50.9%).

54.6% of respondents did not answer the open question designed to identify the most viewed Basque-language films in recent years. Because those who did offered a very wide range of different answers, only the seven most prominent titles have been taken into account. As noted in the methodology section, the findings on this question are not valuable in strictly scientific terms, but they nevertheless offer interesting information about the preferences of adolescents in relation to Basque-language cinema.

The results suggest that adolescents prefer films originally produced in Basque, as five of the seven most viewed films were, while only two –*Ezkatuan* and *Zipi & Zape eta kapitainaren irla*– were dubbed into Basque as part of the Zineuskadi cultural initiative. The two dubbed films were in fourth and sixth position among the top seven titles chosen by respondents.

Table 2: The most viewed Basque-language films.

Basque-language films shown in movie theatres	Percentage
<i>Igelak</i> (Patxo Telleria, 2016)	6.5%
<i>Go!azen</i> (Jabi Elortegi, Aitor Aranguren, 2016)	6.1%
<i>Amama</i> (Asier Altuna, 2015)	3.8%
<i>Ezikutuan</i> (Original Spanish title: <i>A escondidas</i> , Mikel Rueda, 2014)	3.6%
<i>Loreak</i> (Jon Garaño, Jose Mari Goenaga, 2014)	3.4%
<i>Zipi & Zape eta kapitainaren irla</i> (Original Spanish title: <i>Zipi y Zape y la isla del Capitán</i> , Oskar Santos, 2016)	2.2%
<i>Aupa Etxebeste!</i> (Asier Altuna, Telmo Esnal, 2004)	2.2%
<i>Eguberri on, amona!</i> (Telmo Esnal, 2011)	1.9%
<i>Olentzero eta iratxoen jauntxoa</i> (Gorka Vázquez, 2011)	0.8%

Source: Own elaboration.

Among the films originally shot in Basque, comedy is the most popular genre with adolescents. *Igelak*, the most viewed film, is proof of this, as are *Aupa Etxebeste!*, *Urte berri on, amona!*, and the musical comedy *Go!azen*. Films in Basque that are at least theoretically intended for an adult audience, *Amama* and *Loreak*, also obtained good results.

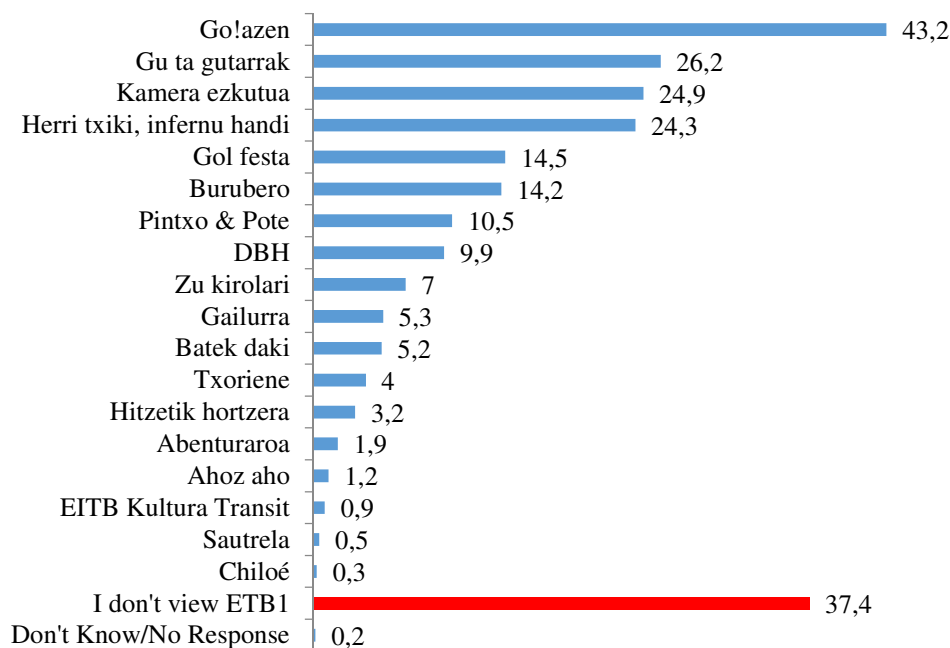
Breaking down the results by *region*, *Igelak* was the most viewed film in Debagoiena (15.9%) and the least viewed in Tolosaldea (1.6%) and Goierri (1%). *Amama* was the most viewed in Urola Kosta (16.5%), *Loreak* in Debarrena (18.6%), and *Aupa Etxebeste!* in Donostialdea (6.8%). The popularity of this last film in Donostialdea is particularly interesting because a majority of respondents in this *region* expressed no interest in Basque-language cinema. It is also worth noting that *Ezikutuan* obtained its best results in Tolosaldea (21.3%), pointing to the organisation of a special screening in this region. Gender- and age-based differences have also been identified: audiences for *Igelak* were predominantly female (8.6%), while males were less likely to have seen this film (3.5%); and the oldest respondents (fourth year of secondary) were the most likely to have seen the films *Igelak* (10.4%), *Amama* (8.1%) and *Aupa Etxebeste!* (4.6%).

3.3. Audience for Basque-language television networks

3.3.1. ETB1

Of Gipuzkoan adolescents enrolled in the Model B and Model D streams, 37.4% (i.e. one out of three) reported that they don't watch ETB1. This is especially significant because ETB1 is the region's leading Basque-language broadcaster. It is also important to note that of the 18 programs on its schedule, *Go!azen*, a TV series aimed at youth audiences that mixes comedy and music, is the most popular program among adolescents who do watch this network; the Basque-language film of the same name was also one of the top viewed movies.

Figure 1: Programs viewed by most adolescents on ETB1.



Source: Own elaboration.

The reality show *Gu ta gutarrak* is the second most viewed program, although it is seventeen percentage points behind first place. Humour is the common denominator for *Kamera ezkutua* (“Hidden Camera”), a silent program with visual gags that holds third place on the list, and *Herri txiki, infernu handi* (“Small Town, Big Hell”), a magazine program directed by the comedians Mikel Pagadi and Zuhaitz Gurrutxaga, is in fourth place. After this come the sports program *Gol festa* (“Goal Fest”), the competition *Burubero* and the humorous content *Pintxo & Pote*, *DBH* and *Batek daki*. Finally, programs with smaller audiences include minority sports shows (*Zu kirolari*, *Gailurra* and *Abenturaroa*); a cooking show (*Txoriene*); a magazine show (*Ahoz aho*); and culture programs (*Hitzetik hortzera*, *EITB Kultura Transit* and *Sautrela*). The travel show *Chiloé* has only a very marginal audience.

The geographical split is evident here too. The percentage of young people who report that they never watch ETB1 is well above the average in Oarso–Behe Bidasoa (56.8%), which also registered the lowest viewing percentages for 15 of the station’s 18 programs, and in Donostialdea (46.5%). In all other regions, however, the percentage of young people who don’t watch ETB1 is below 30%. But the clearest indicator of the yawning gap separating these two regions can be found in the viewing numbers for the successful TV series *Go!azen*. Although it is most-viewed program in all regions, it rates its lowest percentages in Oarso–Behe Bidasoa (24.1%) (20 points below the average) and Donostialdea (36.1%). Conversely, in all other regions its audience is over 50%, with Tolosaldea (56.1%) having the highest percentage of all. Unsurprisingly, the content on ETB1 achieves its best results in this region –14 out of 18 programs on the channel rate above the average– where only 21.7% of respondents reported that they don’t watch the network.

Affective use of Basque is directly associated with viewing ETB1. Roughly two thirds (65.7%) of students who don’t use Basque in their day-to-day lives don’t watch this network, while only 21.5% of respondents who communicate in Basque on a daily basis say they are not ETB1 viewers. This marked difference is also reflected in reported viewing of the most popular programs, like *Golazen* (56.9% of regular Basque speakers; 18.7% of non-speakers), *Gu ta gutarrak* (35% of Basque speakers; 10.5% of non-speakers), *Kamera ezkutua* (31% of Basque

speakers; 14% of non-speakers) and *Herri txiki, infernu handi* (36.5% of Basque speakers; 2.5% of non-speakers).

Gender is also clearly a defining variable in this category. Of the students who report that they are not ETB1 viewers, more are boys (45.8%) than girls (29.1%) and, logically, girls watch much more ETB1 programming than boys. The series *Go!azen* is a paradigmatic case: 59.3% of its audience is female (16 points above the average), while only 26.7% of boys view the show (16.5 points below the average); the same is true of the reality show *Gu ta gutarrak* (33.3% of girls; 18.9% of boys). The trend is reversed only in the case of the sports shows *Gol festa* (23.5% of boys; 5.9% of girls) and *Ʒu kirolari* (10.6% of boys; 3.6% of girls). *Herri txiki, infernu handi* has an audience with close to gender parity (24.5% of girls; 24.2% of boys).

Finally, age is another defining variable, as ETB1 audiences are smaller among students in higher grades. Evidence of this can be found in the figures for *Gu ta gutarrak*: 30% of first-year students watch the show, but only 21.7% of fourth years.

3.3.2. Hamaika telebista

96.3% of adolescents state that they don't watch the Hamaika network, which greatly limits the analysis of the audience for this channel. Its most viewed program, the music video show *Bizi musika*, has a viewing audience of only 1.9% of adolescents. The minimal presence of Hamaika is similar across all of the regions. Tolosaldea is the region with the lowest percentage of respondents who don't watch the channel (92%), while Oarso-Behe Bidasoa has the highest percentage (98.1%).

3.3.3. Goiena telebista

Although this network can be streamed anywhere in Gipuzkoa, its viewing numbers across the province are poor, and therefore the analysis here is limited to its local influence in Debagoiena. In this region, 67.8% of adolescents don't watch the network, and those that do don't represent a large volume of viewers. *Kantari*, a karaoke show with songs in Basque, is the most viewed program with 15.9%. After this is the magazine program on parties, *Ʒaiak*, with 10.2%, while the music show *Amaia DƷ* is in third place with 9.8%. Once again, respondents who are regular Basque speakers are more likely to watch *Kantari* (3.5%), *Ʒaiak* (2.8%), or *Amaia DƷ* (2.6%) than those who communicate in Spanish (0.8%, 0.6% and 0.7%, respectively). And finally, it is worth noting that girls are more likely to watch *Kantari* (3.7%) than boys (1.3%).

3.3.4. Goierri Telebista, 28. kanala and Erlo

In addition to observing the impact of each of these TV networks in the local context to which they belong, the results for the programs they broadcast in each region were also analysed. In terms of audience, 85.8% of adolescents in Tolosaldea do not watch 28. kanala, 90% of adolescents in Goierri are not Goierri Telebista viewers and 96.1% of adolescents in Urola Kosta never watch the channel Erlo. Of the content offered by these networks, the music video program *28 Klip* is the most viewed in Tolosaldea (7.1%), second in Goierri (2.2%) and third in Urola Kosta (0.8%). As can be seen, the percentage of viewers of this program is very low in all regions.

3.4. Use of subtitles

3.4.1. Cinema

The use of subtitles while viewing a film in a foreign language is a common practice among adolescents, engaged in by slightly more than half the respondents (52.6%). A somewhat lower proportion (45%) never use subtitles at all. A marginal percentage of 0.9% report using subtitles only occasionally.

These figures could be explained by the lack of government support for subtitled films with their original soundtrack either on television or in movie theatres. These adolescents could be said to have grown up in an environment dominated by dubbing. However, new platforms that make it possible to view content in its original version with subtitles, together with the study of English and other foreign languages, have resulted in an increased use of subtitles, a trend that will presumably continue in coming years.

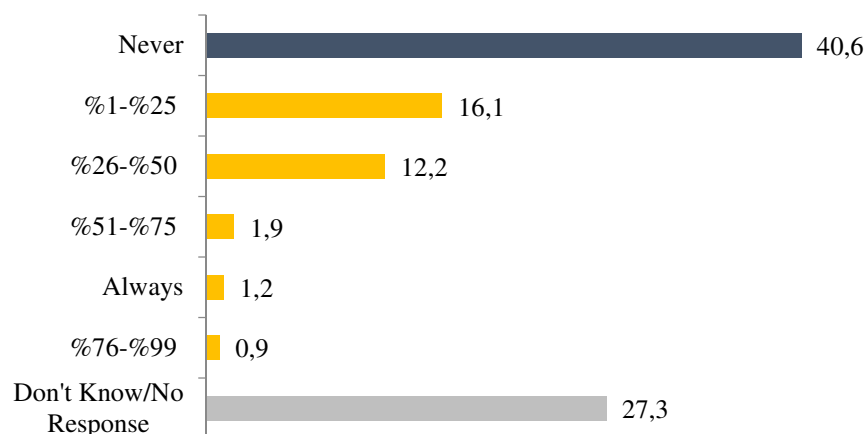
The breakdown of the data by regions reflects the general tendencies with the exception of Debagoiena, where occasional use of subtitles is above the average (2.4%). Age is also a determining factor, as adolescents aged 15-16 use subtitles more often when watching films in other languages (58.7%), while a higher proportion of younger respondents (aged 12-13) state they never use them (52.9%).

Subtitle languages

Spanish is the most common language for subtitles used by adolescents (58.4%). English is in second place with 27.8%, ahead of Basque (13.7%). These figures are not surprising if we take into account that subtitles are more likely to be available in Spanish and English, while the possibility of having access to them in Basque is more complicated. In addition to the Zineuskadi program *Filmazpit*, there are currently two options available for subtitles in Basque: the first is the Open Data Euskadi initiative, which offers downloadable subtitles in Basque for 547 films and 24 television series released on the Canal + digital platform; the second is the project *Azpitituluak euskaraz* (azpigituluak.com), promoted by the Sustatu platform, which offers Basque subtitles for around 1,000 films. Open Data Euskadi is based on subtitles created by professionals, while the subtitles on *Azpitituluak euskaraz* are created by the users themselves.

An analysis of the data on subtitles in Basque points to a lack of interest among adolescents, with a larger proportion of respondents stating they never use subtitles (40.6%) than those who report using them to different degrees. Specifically, around three out of ten respondents (28.3%) choose to use subtitles in Basque with a frequency of 1-50% of the time. The percentages for the other categories are very low; most notably, only 1.2% of respondents always add Basque subtitles when viewing foreign-language films. The percentage of respondents who did not answer this question is also quite high (27.3%).

Figure 2: Frequency of use of subtitles in Basque for film viewing.



Source: Own elaboration.

The breakdown by region once again reveals a marked difference in Donostialdea and Oarso-Behe Bidasoa compared to Tolosaldea and Debarrena. Adolescents in the first two

regions use subtitles in Basque less often, while young people in Tolosaldea and Debarrena are more likely to use them. The percentage of respondents who reported never using subtitles in Basque was higher in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (46%) and Donostialdea (45.6%) than in any of the other regions.

Age also has an influence, as first-year students use them more while fourth-year students use them less often. This trend is reflected in the fact that 52.3% of fourth-year students reported never using them, much higher than the 29.8% of first-years who gave this answer.

Table 3: Use of subtitles in Basque compared against affective use of language.

	Informal use of Basque		Technological use of Basque		Academic use of Basque	
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Yes (%)	No (%)	Yes (%)	No (%)
Never	33.7%	52.8%	33%	52.5%	38.8%	54.8%
1-25%	16.5%	15.5%	18.3%	12.7%	17%	9.2%
26-50%	15.2%	6.8%	15.3%	7.2%	13%	5.1%
51-75%	2.8%	0.1%	2.8%	0.4%	2%	0.4%
76-99%	1.3%	0.1%	1.3%	0.2%	0.9%	0.4%
Always	1.5%	0.5%	1.7%	0.3%	1.1%	1.5%

Source: Own elaboration.

Affectivity in relation to Basque means that adolescents who speak the language in their everyday lives, use it to operate new technologies and/or communicate in it in educational contexts are more likely to use subtitles in Basque, and vice versa. Thus, respondents who report that they never use such subtitling are less likely to be regular Basque speakers, but more likely to use Spanish in their day-to-day lives, with technology and in academic contexts.

Attitudes towards the potential use of subtitles in Basque to watch films

There are more adolescents who would prefer subtitles in Spanish (34%) than those who feel that subtitles in Basque would be useful for them to better understand a film (26.4%). However, the high percentage of survey respondents who did not answer this hypothetical question (one out of four) is striking.

This result is evenly distributed across all of the Gipuzkoan regions, although once again there is a distinct regional division between the two general trends. Thus, respondents in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa expressed a less receptive attitude towards this hypothetical situation than respondents in Tolosaldea and Urola Kosta. On the other hand, respondents who use Basque in their day-to-day lives (34.2%) and in technological contexts (35.8%) were much more positive about the hypothetical use of subtitles in Basque.

3.4.2. Television

Half of the adolescents surveyed (49.1%) do not use subtitles when they watch a television series in another language. And of those who prefer to add them, the majority do so in Spanish. Roughly a quarter of respondents (27%) use this language, well above English (9%) and Basque (7.3%).

A breakdown by region reveal an even distribution in the percentages of respondents who don't use subtitles, which are close to the average in all cases. For the percentages of respondents who do use them, however, there are marked regional differences. In Tolosaldea

more respondents use them (11.5%), while in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa the figure is much lower than the rest of the regions (2.7%). Goierri has the highest use of subtitles in Spanish (35.4%), while Donostialdea holds this distinction for subtitles in English (10.8%).

In general terms, the use of subtitles is more common among older respondents, as the percentage of students who report not using subtitles is lowest among fourth years (42.7%).

Affectivity in relation to Basque is very clearly reflected in the use of subtitles in different languages, as it would be reasonable to conclude that adolescents who speak Basque in their everyday lives and use it both in their studies and with technology are most likely to choose subtitles in Basque.

Attitudes towards the potential use of subtitles in Basque for viewing television series

A majority of respondents did not have an opinion about the potential use of subtitles in Basque for viewing TV series. One out of four (24.7%) stated that they could get used to them, as they would aid in comprehension of content. However, a larger proportion of respondents still preferred subtitles in Spanish (35.1%). Moreover, the percentage of adolescents (40.1%) who did not answer this question was very high.

In the breakdown by region, young people in Tolosaldea (35.7%) and Debagoiena (30.5%) expressed a more positive attitude towards subtitles; in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa, on the other hand, they are used less than in any other region (17.3%). Subtitles in Spanish exhibit two distinct trends: on one hand, in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa nearly half the respondents prefer them (49.4%); while on the other, their use is lower in Debabarrena (27.7%), Debagoiena (27.4%), Urola Kosta (25.8%) and Tolosaldea (23.4%).

Once again, affectivity in relation to Basque in a Basque-speaking environment influences attitudes towards the potential use of subtitles in this language, as respondents who speak Basque in their daily lives displayed a more receptive attitude (31.8%) than those who do not (12%). The opposite is the case for subtitles in Spanish, which are more widely favoured among non-Basque speakers (54.7%) than Basque speakers (24.3%).

3.5. Consumption of sports broadcasts in Basque

3.5.1. Television

Sports hold fourth place among the forms of audiovisual media content most viewed by adolescents (70.2%), behind films (94.8%), TV series (83.2%) and YouTubers (80.6%). Spanish is the main language in which this content is viewed (92.6%), more than twice the percentage for sports in Basque (44.2%), while English (15.9%) is in third place.

Spanish also predominates in the breakdown by region. With the exception of Tolosaldea (86.4%) and Debagoiena (89.3%), the percentage of youth who watch sports broadcasts in Spanish is over 90% in all cases. Meanwhile, broadcasts in Basque achieve better figures in Tolosaldea (62.3%) and Urola Kosta (57.6%) than in Donostialdea (36.7%) or Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (31.2%). In Debagoiena (51.8%), Goierri (46%) and Debabarrena (45.1%), the percentages are above the average.

On the other hand, it is significant that Donostialdea recorded the highest percentage of viewers of sports events in English (20.1%), while Tolosaldea has the lowest with 9.5%. Tolosaldea is the only region with a percentage below 10%, while sports viewing in Basque in this region is over 60%.

Not much difference was found between genders, except for the fact that more boys watch events in English (19.4%) than girls (11.9%). Age also has an effect on the language choice, as older students were more likely to watch sports events in English (first years: 10.8%; third years: 21.4%).

3.5.2. Radio

As in the case of television, Spanish is the preferred language of most young people (81.8%) for listening to sports broadcasts on the radio. Basque is in second place, with 48.9%, far above the 4% of respondents who choose to listen in English.

The findings by region repeat the marked differences already identified above: Spanish is predominant in Goierri (87.2%), in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (87%), and especially in Donostialdea (92.5%). However, the percentage of listeners in Basque is ten points below the average in Donostialdea (35.2%) and Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (36.8%). Although the percentage is not all that high in Debarrena (53.5%), it is above the average (48.9%), while in Goierri it is slightly below it (46.2%).

There is a balance between Spanish and Basque in Urola Kosta, where the percentage for both was 66.4%, and in Tolosaldea, where they also have almost identical percentages (67.1% and 66.5%, respectively). In these two cases, the use of Spanish is also 15 points below the average. Tolosaldea also recorded the lowest level of consumption of sports content in English (2%).

3.6. News

Adolescents follow the news on a daily basis in both Spanish and Basque. Nine out of ten do so in Spanish while slightly less than half (46.3%) do in Basque. Only 7.2% of respondents stated they follow news in English.

Once again, the breakdown by region reveals two completely different realities, especially in relation to news in Basque. Spanish is clearly the language that the majority of young people use to get their news. The highest percentages, above the average, were in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (96.1%) and Donostialdea (95.1%). On the other hand, in Urola Kosta and Tolosaldea, the percentage of students who use Basque for their news is 20 points above the average (65.6% and 65.5%, respectively). Predictably, in Donostialdea (38.9%) and Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (25.2%) the percentages are much lower. Finally, Donostialdea has the highest percentage of respondents who follow news in English, while Tolosaldea, Urola Kosta and Goierri have the lowest. And once again, the students who use Basque in their daily lives, in their studies and for technology are the most likely to follow news in Basque.

3.7. Internet: YouTubers and video tutorials

The study from which this data has been taken reveals three factors that clearly influence the consumption of products in Basque online. First of all, quite apart from the language question, adolescents consume more traditional television content than new online formats. Indeed, viewing of films (94.8%) and series (83.2%) is higher than viewing of YouTubers (80.6%), who are in third place among the ten types of content most commonly viewed by adolescents. Online videos (68.6%) are in ninth place, while online video tutorials (39.7%) are in tenth. Secondly, general consumption of audiovisual content in Basque is low (19.9%). Viewing of productions in Spanish is much higher (70.2%) while viewing of content in English (9.9%) is still considerably lower. And third, the range of online formats in Basque, whether for entertainment or for educational purposes, is much more limited than that available in hegemonic languages like Spanish or English. Consequently, it is unsurprising that the data from the study would indicate only moderate consumption of online content in Basque.

YouTubers are the most widely consumed online leisure content and SuperTxope is the only YouTuber in Basque among the ten most followed YouTubers. With only a very marginal percentage of followers (1.6%), she is in last place, a long way behind the YouTuber who tops the list, *Elrubius* (40.6%).

Video tutorials are popular with six out of ten adolescents (62.4%), although this percentage is higher among older respondents (71.1% of fourth-year students report having viewed tutorials, compared to 51.9% of first-years). Gipuzkoan adolescents view video tutorials

in Spanish the most (95.3%), followed by English (23.8%), while tutorials in Basque (10.8%) are in third place, well behind the others. There are significant differences related to age, region and affective use of Basque. Contrary to the results for general consumption of video tutorials, first-year secondary students view content of this kind the most. At the same time, consumption in Tolosaldea (20.8%) is twice as high as all other regions, while these videos are viewed least in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa (5.3%) and Donostialdea (6.7%).

Last of all, it is worth noting that in general tutorials on video games are the type of tutorials viewed most (28.1%), especially boys (46.5% of boys and 10.3% of girls). Logically, video games are the favourite activity of this group, which dedicates an average of 50 minutes a day to them.

4. Discussion and conclusions

Although adolescents in Gipuzkoa live in a bilingual environment and are able to communicate both in Basque and in Spanish (and a significant number of them in English as well), most of the cultural and news content that they consume is in Spanish. While it is true that there are conditioning factors that have a decisive influence on the consumption of content in Basque (the predominance of hegemonic languages on the Internet, the diverse range of content offered on pay television networks, the very limited presence of Basque in commercial movie theatres and the gap between knowledge and affectivity in relation to Basque), the inconsistency between linguistic competence and consumption is significant.

The hegemony of Spanish as the language of consumption is not the same in every region of the province. Indeed, there are big differences between the different *regions* of Gipuzkoa. Adolescents in Oarso-Behe Bidasoa and Donostialdea consume much more content in Spanish than their counterparts in other *regions*, and also watch more news and entertainment in English, while viewing less audiovisual content in Basque. In the other *regions*—Tolosaldea, Urola Kosta, Debarrena, Debagoiena and Goierri—the situation is the exact opposite: the consumption of audiovisual content in Spanish, although still preferred, is proportionately lower, while the percentages of consumption in Basque are above the average for the province and much higher than the figures for Oarso-Behe Bidasoa and Donostialdea.

Affectivity in relation to a language –Basque, in this case– is key to understanding the disparity existing between regions in the consumption of audiovisual content. It is for this reason that adolescents who regularly use Basque in their social relations –those living in the regions where it is spoken most– consume more audiovisual content in the language. This tendency can be seen clearly in the use of subtitles, given that in this case as well adolescents who speak Basque in their everyday lives and use it in both technological and academic contexts report a higher level of actual and potential use of subtitling in this language.

This heterogeneous scenario highlights the need to explore the reasons behind the notable differences and to agree on lines of action, in the context of the single language policy for the province, that are in keeping with the reality and use of the language in each region. The performance of a prior in-depth study focusing on the geographical disparity described above would help to identify the source of the problem, and thus facilitate the proposition of future actions that could address it.

An analysis of the characteristics specific to the consumption of media content in Basque reveals that fiction products are preferred among adolescents in the province. Evidence of this is the success of the musical comedy *Golazen*, the audiovisual content on ETB1 with the most adolescent viewers. The percentages of adolescents who watch the local television networks, however, are very low, with music shows being the only programming on these networks that stand out. Moreover, in the context of television, the importance of the gender variable needs to be taken into account, as girls view more television than boys, especially

fiction and entertainment programming. Boys, however, watch more sports programming than girls.

Cinema in the Basque language, despite institutional efforts and the success of children's films, continues to appeal to only a minority of adolescents. Young people who go to the movies prefer comedies originally filmed in Basque in which music plays a major role, and the recent boom in Basque cinema is not important to them. The situation for online formats in Basque is similar, as the dominance of hegemonic languages over audiovisual content on the Web leaves little room for products in Basque. However, despite the limited range of Basque-language products on offer, this study has identified the existence of a potential audience of young people interested mainly in YouTubers and video tutorials. These new formats open up the opportunity for the creation of audiovisual products in Basque that could be attractive to members of the younger generation who have transferred their cultural and leisure consumption to digital platforms (mainly on smart phones), thereby going from being passive spectators to active participants in the creation and distribution of content.

In a global market where the influence of new technologies is constantly growing and the range of audiovisual media content is as profuse as it is diverse, the future for the consumption of content in Basque seems uncertain. In this respect, institutional support and collaboration will be essential to meet the biggest challenges for Basque to be established as a language of consumption. Those challenges lie especially in the production of quality audiovisual content in Basque, a commitment to promoting and disseminating Basque-language productions to young audiences, and the development of more interactive formats in consonance with transmedia narratives.

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